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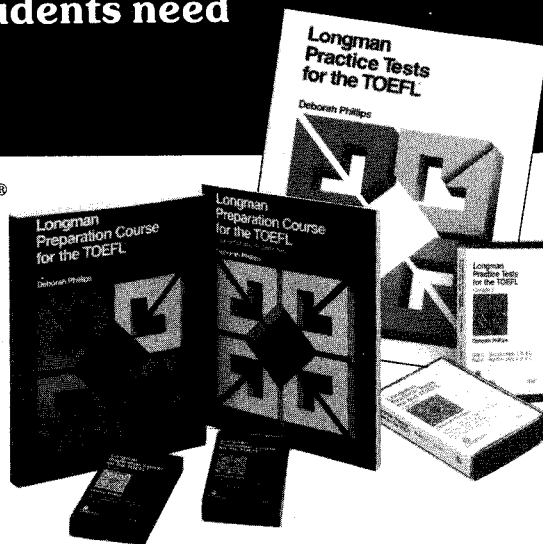
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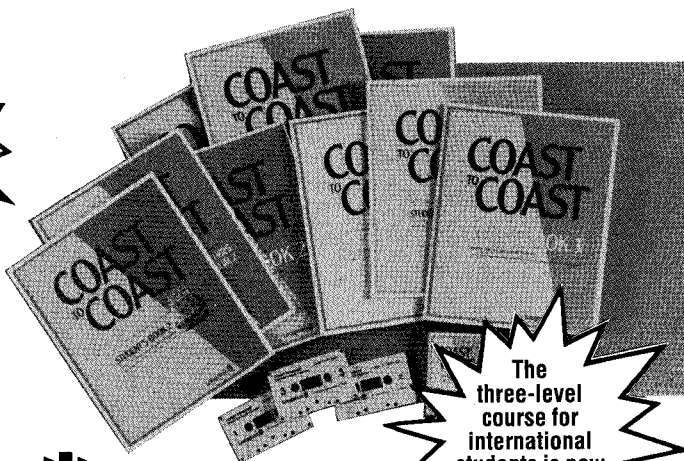
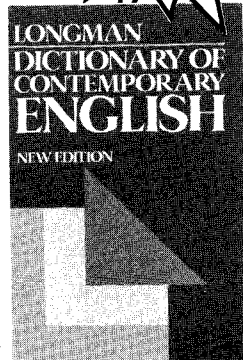
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In This Issue

■ The articles in this issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* examine a broad range of issues that collectively shape what takes place in a language classroom. Curriculum development, teacher preparation and development, research on perceived barriers to participation in classroom instruction, language testing, materials selection and development, and classroom methodology are each treated in one (and in some cases more than one) of the six articles in this issue. Each of the articles makes a forceful appeal for TESOL specialists to reconsider traditional perspectives on the nature of language teaching and learning and the management of second/foreign language instructional environments.

- David Nunan's description of the National Curriculum Project, an effort in curriculum renewal set up within the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program, illustrates the rationale for a collaborative approach to curriculum development. In contrast to the traditional, center-periphery approach, the collaborative approach involves teachers, school administrators, and curriculum specialists in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of school-based curriculum development. Nunan outlines the development of the National Curriculum Project itself and the four-stage strategy used to promote and nurture local efforts in curriculum renewal. The article also contains a discussion of administrative obstacles and other problems with which the Project had to contend and of ways in which the Project (or other attempts to foster a collaborative approach to curriculum development) might be conducted differently.
- Donald Freeman asserts that "how we define language teaching will influence, to a large extent, how we educate people as language teachers." As an alternative to what he perceives as a "fragmented and unfocused" approach to language teacher education, Freeman offers two proposals: Language teaching may be productively viewed "as a process of decision making based on the constituents of knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness," and language teacher education can be understood to involve a collaborative effort through which change in a teacher's practice can be generated. The author's proposals are intended to provide a coherent perspective on basic issues in language

teacher education; the task, Freeman argues, is not simply to develop a description of teaching, but to arrive at “a theoretical and practical understanding of how people are taught and learn to teach, how they learn to implement that description of teaching in practice.”

- Arguing that attempts to address the English language needs of Hispanic adults are hampered by limited understanding of the variables that affect the educational participation of this group, Elisabeth Hayes collected data from 200 Hispanic adults enrolled in five large urban ESL programs in New Jersey. The data included demographic information and responses to a Spanish translation of a version of the Deterrents to Participation Scale designed for low-literate adults. Hayes’s analysis identified four factors—Self/School Incongruence, Low Self-Confidence, Lack of Access to Classes, and Situational Constraints—which serve as the basis for a tentative typology of Hispanic adults. Such a typology, claims Hayes, is valuable for educators because it suggests how specific strategies might be designed to recruit and serve particular groups of learners.
- James Dean Brown reports the use of criterion-referenced testing procedures as a complement to more traditional norm-referenced procedures in a test revision project at the University of Hawaii. Following a discussion of the distinction between norm-referenced testing (in which each student’s performance is interpreted by comparison with that of other examinees) and criterion-referenced testing (in which performance is judged against predetermined learning objectives) and of the procedures for statistical analysis appropriate for each, Brown describes the steps taken to revise the reading section of the placement test used at the University’s English Language Institute. Revision was aimed at discriminating levels of performance “on the basis of items that are demonstrably related to what the students learn while in the program.” Initial efforts to validate the revised measure of reading ability suggest that it now contains “items that function well as [norm-referenced testing] items *and* are related to the content and skills that the students are learning.”
- Judith Oster proposes that “discussing literature, particularly point of view in literature, can help foster academic skills in a way that minimizes the threat and encourages taking risks, both in reading and in writing.” To enable students to recognize better their own and other viewpoints and values, literature is “the ideal vehicle: Students become involved in a world that engages their feelings yet is not the world they actually inhabit. . . . Separated from the student’s own life, fictional conflicts, complexities, and points of view can be felt and understood at no great personal risk.” Oster shows how “the art of multiple perspectives is learned and practiced” by reading short stories and by completing related writing assignments. Through careful selection of reading and writing tasks, we can help students to “build into their own texts some of those elements and qualities that enhanced their participation in the texts of others.”

- Ruth Cathcart's in-depth analysis of the frequency of occurrence and distribution of topics, utterance functions, and structural and lexical elements in a doctor-patient interaction, together with evidence from three other such interfunctional encounters, suggests that "authentic discourse may be very different from what text writers invent." In Cathcart's view, analysis of authentic native-speaker/native-speaker discourse can provide valuable insights into curriculum development and lesson planning. The author responds to objections that are frequently made about the use of authentic discourse as a basis for teaching survival English and outlines how "carefully selected real discourse can provide students with appropriate conversational models that will lead them from dependence on teacher talk toward real communication."

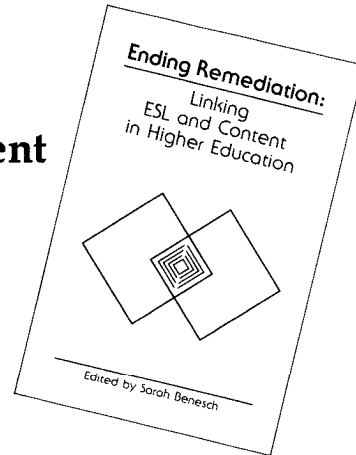
Also in this issue:

- Review: In the first part of a two-part survey review of recent publications on statistics, language testing, and quantitative research methods, Liz Hamp-Lyons reviews James Dean Brown's *Understanding Research in Second Language Learning*, Christopher Butler's *Statistics in Linguistics*, Grant Henning's *A Guide to Language Testing*, and Anthony Woods, Paul Fletcher, and Arthur Hughes's *Statistics in Language Studies*.
- Book Notices
- Brief Reports and Summaries: Janet Ramsay describes the development and basic components of a curriculum framework used in designing instruction for limited English proficient students in the Denver (CO) Public Schools; and Mary Barrett describes the rationale for and implementation of an ESL reading course for secondary school students.
- The Forum: David Freeman's Commentary on Virginia Gathercole's recent *TESOL Quarterly* article, "Some Myths You May Have Heard About First Language Acquisition," is followed by a response by the author; and Jeanne Polak and Stephen Krashen respond to comments by Barbara Duff on their recent *TESOL Quarterly* contribution, "Do We Need to Teach Spelling?"

Stephen J. Gaies

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Toward a Collaborative Approach to Curriculum Development: A Case Study

DAVID NUNAN

*National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research
Macquarie University, Sydney*

This article presents a rationale for the development of a collaborative approach between teachers and curriculum specialists to language curriculum design. The adoption of such an approach within the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP) is described, as is the National Curriculum Project, setup within the AMEP to realize the ideals of a collaborative approach.

The “curriculum” of a given institution or language program can be looked at from different perspectives. On the one hand, it can be seen as a statement of intent, the “what should be” of a language program as set out in syllabus outlines, sets of objectives, and various other planning documents. Another perspective is that of the curriculum as “reality,” that is, in terms of what actually goes on from moment to moment in the language classroom (Nunan, 1988).

Recognition of the fact that there is no simple one-to-one relationship between intention and reality has promoted interest in classroom research in recent years (see Chaudron, 1988, and van Lier, 1988, for comprehensive reviews of classroom research from quite different perspectives). This work on classroom research has underlined the complexity of language learning and teaching and has provided insights into why there are mismatches between what is planned, what actually gets taught, and what learners learn. Additional insights have been provided from second language acquisition research, which has demonstrated that mismatches between the various curriculum perspectives can be accounted for, among other things, by speech-processing constraints (see, for example, Pienemann, 1985).

In addition to a range of diverse and sometimes contradictory views on the nature of language and language learning, curriculum

developers need to take account of and respond to data coming from classroom researchers, second language acquisition researchers, test and evaluation specialists, funding authorities, learners, teachers, and so on. They need to incorporate these into a design that is consonant with the political, social, cultural, and historical contexts in which the language programs will be implemented.

Most curriculum proposals can be ranged on a “control continuum,” with fully centralized curricula at one extreme and decentralized curricula at the other. The history of education systems can be seen as an interplay between forces representing centralization and decentralization. For example, in the 20 years following the Second World War, many school systems were based on the center-periphery model, wherein, in Schwab’s (1983) graphic phrase, curricula were “decided in Moscow and telegraphed to the provinces” (p. 240). This was followed by a period in which various forms of school-based curriculum development were experimented with. (See also Richards’s [1987] distinction between bottom-up and top-down approaches to the language curriculum.)

The interplay between centralized and decentralized forms of curriculum development is reflected in language curriculum development. During the 1970s, a number of developments prompted experiments with various forms of school-based curricula. Changing views on the nature of language, particularly the development of communicative language teaching in its various guises with its implication of differentiated curricula for different learner types, the work of the Council of Europe with its behavioral approach to syllabus design, Munby’s (1978) needs-based approach, the application of competency-based education to second language learning, and, in Britain, the Graded Levels of Achievement in Foreign Language Learning (Clark, 1987; Clark & Hamilton, 1984) all promoted the cause of decentralized language curriculum development.

School-based models accord greater power and control to the classroom practitioner in the curriculum development process than do more centralized models. This article describes an experiment that has employed such an approach, an experiment in which the practitioner has been accorded a central role in the curriculum development process and in which the renewal of the curriculum reflects a collaborative effort between teachers and curriculum developers.

BACKGROUND

The Australian Adult (Im)migrant Education Program (AMEP) is a large, federally funded English language education program for immigrants and refugees. Some 1,500 teachers provide instruction in 300 language centres across the country. Annual enrollments total 130,000.

Until the early 1980s, the AMEP curriculum followed a classical center-periphery model. Course materials were centrally produced by a team of curriculum writers and disseminated to the various language centres around the country. The course materials, which were, in effect, covert teacher-training instruments as well as the embodiment of the chosen curriculum model, were intended for all learners undertaking AMEP courses, irrespective of their needs, previous learning experiences, and so on.

The fragmentation of client groups, which was accelerated during the late 1970s and early 1980s by a large influx of Southeast Asian refugees, drove home the message that a single curriculum cannot hope to cater to a huge and diverse group of learners. Influenced by the work of the Council of Europe (see, for example, Holec, 1981; Richterich, 1972, 1983; Richterich & Chancerel, 1978), the AMEP embraced a needs-based philosophy in which a centralized model was abandoned and in which curriculum activity was encouraged at the local level. However, it is worth noting that although the funding authority (the Federal Department of immigration and Ethnic Affairs) was happy to promote a reformulation at the level of pedagogy, it retained a centralized approach to program management and administration.

In order to facilitate and assist school-based curriculum development, a teaching and research unit, the National Curriculum Resource Centre (NCRC), was established in 1984. Philosophically, the Centre was committed to localized curriculum development and focused its energies on establishing processes and structures to support local initiatives.

As a federally funded program, the AMEP was subject in 1985-1986 to a ministerial committee of review. The committee noted the difficulties teachers were having in implementing the school-based curriculum and recommended the establishment of a curriculum "task force" consisting of three curriculum experts. This group's brief would be to develop a curriculum model and produce a set of guidelines for its successful implementation (Campbell, 1986). The danger of such an initiative was that it could lead to a return to a centralized approach to curriculum design.

As the body responsible for curriculum issues, the NCRC was asked to manage the task force, in accordance with Campbell's (1986) recommendation. However, it wanted to do so without returning to a centralized curriculum model. In order to determine what the teachers thought, a detailed ethnographic study of the AMEP professional work force was undertaken (see Nunan, 1987, for a detailed account of this study, its methodology and results). Over half of the 1,500 teachers in the AMEP were surveyed and interviewed.

The most striking result of the study was the affirmation by teachers of the localized approach to curriculum development. However, almost all teachers called for greater support. From several hundred oral and written submissions, 18 principal problem areas emerged. These are listed in rank order in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Reasons for Lack of Curriculum Continuity

Rank	Item
1	Lack of curriculum guidelines or models
2	The philosophy and nature of the Program
3	Lack of skills or experience on the part of teachers
4	Lack of time for consultation and communication
5	Lack of information about students' previous courses
7	Lack of appropriate administrative support
7	Problems caused by students (e.g., irregular attendance)
7	Heterogeneous groups and diverse learner types
9	Courses too short
10	Lack of support resources
11	Rapid changes in TESOL theory and practice
12	Lack of appropriate teaching materials
13	Lack of appropriate assessment procedures
14	Lack of information for learners about courses
15.5	Lack of funding
15.5	High teacher turnover
17	Lack of information and induction for new teachers
18	Class sizes too large

The study revealed that problems with the chosen curriculum model could not be seen solely in pedagogic terms but that they had administrative, managerial, and organizational roots. In many centres in which the virtues of localized curriculum development were acknowledged by classroom practitioners, program administrators continued to behave as though they still belonged to a centralized system. In one centre, for example, teachers were

prevented from organizing flexible learner groupings that were responsive to learner needs because the administration would not provide the required number of roll books and learner logs.

From the study, it was clear that the great majority of teachers endorsed a bottom-up, school-based approach to curriculum renewal despite the fact that it made their job more complex and difficult. A minority of teachers felt that curriculum issues should not be their responsibility and said they would be happy to implement a curriculum produced by outside experts. Whether they would be satisfied, in the eventuality of such a curriculum being produced, is a matter for conjecture.

All teachers wanted greater support as they planned, implemented, and evaluated their programs. The major issue was how this support might be provided. In the short term, many centres established professional support networks and program band meetings (meetings between teachers working with similar learner types). Although these networks and meetings provided teachers with collegial support (Shaw & Dowsett, 1986), this support was not sufficient for most classroom practitioners.

In the end, the solution that emerged in lieu of the curriculum task force was the establishment of a network of teacher-based curriculum projects under the rubric of the AMEP National Curriculum Project (NCP). The establishment of this Project is described below.

THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM PROJECT

The NCP was given a limited lifespan (18 months) and a limited budget (an amount equivalent to what would have been required to employ three task force consultants for 18 months, had the original Campbell [1986] recommendations been carried out according to the letter of the law). The project coordinators developed a four-stage strategy for implementing the NCP.

Stage 1: School-Based Curriculum Documentation

It was decided to use most of the available funds to underwrite projects in which teachers documented curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation activities and carried out a number of classroom research projects. Teachers were required to bid for funds by submitting a curriculum-funding proposal. In formulating their proposals, teachers were assisted by local curriculum advisers

and support staff. The following information was required on curriculum funding proposals:

1. Curriculum process to be documented
2. Location
3. Starting and terminating date
4. Total and distribution of teaching hours
5. Teaching plans
6. Student profile
7. Learning objectives
8. Rationale for documenting this curriculum process
9. Description of documentation to be provided
10. Other relevant information

Teachers were funded for 10% of total teaching time of the learning arrangement being documented. Thus, a bid to document a 300-hour course would, if successful, attract 30 hours of funding.

Exactly 100 proposals were submitted by individual teachers and small teacher teams for funding. Table 2 and Figure 1 show the

TABLE 2
Total Number of Submissions Categorized
According to Principal Curriculum Focus

Curriculum focus	No. of submissions
Activities/task types	18
Independent learning strategies	16
Learning-arrangement case studies	16
Formative evaluation	7
Learning-arrangement materials	6
Objective setting	6
Prelearning-arrangement needs analysis	5
Morphosyntactic sequencing	5
Teaching sequences	4
Summative evaluation	4
Teacher/learner needs analysis	3
Learning activity course outline/design	3
Use of the learner's first language	2
Team teaching	2
Self-access center case study	1
Administrative/curriculum interface	1
Professional development	1

Note: Acknowledgment is made to Jill Burton for collating these proposals.

FIGURE 1
Curriculum Documentation proposals From
Adult Migrant Education Services (Victoria)

-
1. Distance learning materials for Spanish speakers
 2. Use of computerized information for class placement
 3. Development of learning objectives from proficiency rating scales
 4. Provision of collegial support for teachers with similar learner types
 5. Use of withdrawal support classes for learners with special needs
 6. Development of access skills (job/study skills for disadvantaged migrant/refugee young adults)
 7. Documentation of the work of bilingual support, bridging course, computer-assisted learning, and learning objectives working parties
 8. Use of (Spanish) L1 in the language program
 9. Interviewing procedures for diagnosis and placement
 10. The curriculum/administrative interface
 11. Provision of inservice curriculum support
 12. Development of independent learning strategies
 13. How to deal with mixed proficiency groups
 14. Strategies for teachers to influence the organization and management of a learning centre
 15. Counseling and student referral
 16. Refugee youth program
 17. The interface between language centres and centres for technical and further education
 18. Strategies for encouraging the development of oral interaction skills in older adolescent students with interrupted schooling
 19. Diagnosis and placement of students in special literacy classes
 20. Bilingual strategies for developing advanced writing skills
 21. A model for ongoing course evaluation
 22. Exercises for developing morphosyntax
 23. Negotiation of the curriculum with unemployed migrants
 24. Use of bilingual assistants in the language class
 25. Development of strategies for low-level literacy programs
-

range and diversity of proposals. The former provides a breakdown of all proposals according to their principal curriculum focus, and the latter provides a more detailed illustration of the actual proposals received from one state.

The submissions received provide insight into those curriculum areas and issues that were preoccupying teachers as well as those that, by their omission, were not so highly rated. Not unexpectedly, the greatest number of submissions related to the development of task and activity types. The work done within the AMEP in the last few years on learning styles and strategies was also reflected in the number of proposals received for this area. It is also worth noting the comparative lack of interest by teachers in summative assessment and evaluation—areas of intense interest to those funding the AMEP!

The project coordinators had two objectives in mind in providing small grants to many projects, rather than giving all the available

funding to the best of the submissions. The first objective was a process one. It was believed that the act of systematically working through and documenting curriculum processes would be a form of curriculum consciousness-raising for teachers, would help obviate the grass-roots distrust of the concept of curriculum revealed by the Nunan (1987) study, and would act as a self-directed learning experience, providing those involved with practical skills in curriculum renewal. Given the fact that almost one third of the national work force of 1,500 teachers were directly involved in one project or another, it was believed that this in itself would assist in obviating some of the problems associated with localized curriculum development.

The second objective was product oriented. The NCP was to provide curriculum resources that could be collated and disseminated back into the Program for centres to exploit in their curriculum planning, implementation, and evaluation. In other words, the AMEP curriculum was to be derived from representative samples of practice from within the classroom itself.

To provide teachers with a common vocabulary to assist them in documenting their curriculum processes and to facilitate the collation of what would inevitably be a massive amount of data, a set of guidelines was drawn up and distributed to teachers taking part in the NCP. However, it was not mandatory for teachers to submit data along the lines suggested in the guidelines. In several cases the nature of the curriculum processes being documented made it undesirable to follow the format suggested by the guidelines. The guidelines addressed the following areas:

1. Principles of adult learning
2. Goals for learners in the 0 to 2 proficiency range as determined by the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating (ASLPR) Scale (Ingram, 1984)
3. Objective setting and sample objectives for learners in the ASLPR Scale range 0 to 2
4. Sample activity types for learners in the ASLPR Scale range 0 to 2
5. Selection of experiential content
6. Sequencing of learning tasks
7. Development of learning strategies and skills
8. Learner assessment and program evaluation
9. A practical framework for learner-centered curriculum development

10. Use of second language acquisition research to grade morphosyntax

Stage 2: Data Analysis

The second stage of the NCP was to analyze and categorize the enormous amount of data resulting from Stage 1. Two experienced teachers were released from their regularly assigned positions to temporary duty with the NCRC to sort and categorize the data and, in consultation with the project coordinators, to create a data base that would allow for the ready retrieval of data. The data base was created on a Macintosh computer using Filemaker Plus, a powerful, flexible, and easy-to-use software package that allows large amounts of text to be stored in a number of specially created information categories.

The project teachers created 19 categories as follows:

1. Project code number
2. Location of project
3. Title of project given by teacher/team responsible for the project
4. Project authors
5. Class type (13 class types were identified, and each project was assigned to one or more of these)
6. Proficiency range as measured by the ASLPR Scale (Ingram, 1984)
7. Age range
8. Pace (whether the project targeted slow-, medium-, or fast-track learners)
9. Ethnicity (principal ethnicity of learners)
10. Length of residence in an English-speaking country
11. Educational background
12. Sex mix
13. Occupations
14. Learning arrangement (e.g., community class, individualized learning, small-group approach, team teaching)
15. Duration of course
16. Intensity (e.g., whether full/part-time, number of hours per week)
17. Whether the project was tested or was a plan or proposal

18. Evaluation (each project was given an evaluative rating as to its potential utility as a curriculum planning tool)
19. Content (what the documentation actually provided in terms of needs analysis, student profiles, course outline, description of methodology, description of learning styles, lesson plans, materials/references, diary of activities, assessment, evaluation)

Table 3, which presents one of the data-base records, illustrates the coding of information.

TABLE 3
Sample Record From Data Base

Information category	Data
1. Code	SAPA
2. Location	[Deleted]
3. Title	Part-time, ongoing course
4. Authors	[Name deleted]
5. Class type	General, social/communicative interaction for learners in the ASLPR Scale 1- to 1+ range
6. Proficiency	ASLPR scale 1- to 1+
7. Age range	20 to 50
8. Pace	Medium
9. Ethnicity	Mixed
10. Length of residence	6 months to 7 years
11. Education	Mixed; 3 to 14 years formal education
12. Sex mix	21 male, 11 female
13. Occupations	16 factory workers, 6 unemployed, 10 not in work force
14. Learning arrangement	Classroom, one teacher
15. Duration	9 weeks
16. Intensity	Part-time, 4 hours/week
17. Tested	Yes
18. Evaluation	Likely to be of intermediate utility
19. Content	Course outline, lesson plans, materials/references, activity evaluation, course assessment

Individuals can gain access to relevant records by specifying a need relating to one or more of the information categories. For example, information on the project listed in Table 3 would be called up by a request for data on part-time courses for factory workers, by a request for data on courses with a social/communication orientation for intermediate proficiency, mixed-ethnicity groups, and so on.

In addition to the curriculum documentation data that were fed directly into the data base, a number of projects yielded valuable

and interesting data that did not fit the data base. A brief description of one such project will demonstrate the value of collaborative, classroom research between teachers, researchers, and curriculum specialists.

In this particular project, the teacher concerned had become interested in the second language acquisition research on speech processing and learnability, particularly the testable hypotheses yielded by the research of Pienemann and Johnston (see, for example, Johnston, 1985; Pienemann, 1985; Pienemann & Johnston, 1987). In setting up the project, she was assisted by a curriculum adviser with expertise in second language acquisition research and research methods.

The aims of the project were (a) to test the predictions made by the Pienemann/Johnston model for one syntactic area (question formation), noting any variability across task types; (b) to document the practical ramifications for teaching methodology, syllabus, and materials development of attempting to take learnability into account in day-to-day teaching; and (c) to document a range of activity types and teaching materials that could be used in a course centered around asking questions and to identify any notable gaps.

Using semistructured elicitation procedures, the teacher collected speech data from a sample of learners before the course and assigned them to a developmental stage according to the syntactic assessment procedure developed by Pienemann and Johnston (1987). Classroom instruction was then focused on those question forms that the Learnability Hypothesis predicted would be learnable according to learners' developmental stage. Speech data were collected from learner performance on classroom tasks, and postcourse data were then collected using precourse procedures. These were analyzed and checked against the predictions of the Learnability Hypothesis.

Although space does not permit a detailed analysis and critique of this particular project, this brief description does illustrate one way in which a collaborative approach between classroom practitioner and curriculum adviser can yield classroom data that, potentially at least, can be utilized in subsequent curriculum development.

Stage 3: Creation of Curriculum Frameworks

During Stage 3, a number of senior teachers from within the AMEP were temporarily released to the NCRC to write curriculum frameworks derived from the data yielded during Stages 1 and 2.

They carried out this work under the guidance of a steering group that consisted of the project coordinators and three outside curriculum consultants. Eleven frameworks, written for a range of class/learner types (see Table 4), were tested.

TABLE 4
Class/Learner Types for Which Curriculum Frameworks Were Written

ASLPR Scale proficiency level	Class/learner type
0 to 1-	Indo-Chinese; cultural focus
0 to 1-	Slow; elderly; reading/writing focus
0 to 1-	Young; fast-track; survival
1- to 1+	Young; fast-track; educational focus
1- to 1+	General; social/communicative interaction
1 to 2	Job-seeking; work experience focus
1+	Social interaction focus
1+	Media focus
1+ to 2	Education/study skills focus
1+ to 2	Long-term residents (stabilized learners); reading/writing focus
1+ to 2	Linked skills (bridging)
1+ to 2	Particular; professional skills focus
0 to 2	Mixed ability

The frameworks were written in such a way as to enable teachers working, either individually or in small teams, to systematize the planning, monitoring, and evaluation of their programs. They are thus intended as teacher-development tools as much as curriculum-planning tools. This reflects the notion that in school-based curriculum systems, curriculum development becomes largely a matter of teacher development. The following principles underlie the frameworks:

1. The teacher has a key role to play in curriculum development, particularly in systems such as the AMEP, in which courses are meant to be responsive to learner needs.
2. Curriculum guidelines and frameworks should be flexible enough to allow teachers to work from a variety of different starting points in planning courses. Frameworks are devised so that teachers can start with resources (materials, course books, etc.), learning tasks, communicative skills, or lists of learning outcomes. They are intended to facilitate planning for courses with either grammatical, functional, or notional focuses.

3. Existence of a framework does not imply that courses derived from it will be identical. It is recognized that each course is unique, being shaped by interaction and negotiation between learners and teacher.

Although frameworks differ somewhat from one another, each contains the following information and resources:

1. An introduction and statement of underlying principles
2. A description of how the framework might be used
3. A description of the learner type for whom the framework is written
4. A statement of appropriate goals for the target group
5. A set of principles underlying the framework
6. Models and examples of alternative methods of program planning
7. Sets of syllabus-planning checklists (these include topics, tasks, objectives, functions, notions, morphosyntax, vocabulary, settings, learning styles, and strategies appropriate for the designated group)
8. Sample teaching units
9. Assessment and evaluation resources

Stage 4: Evaluating the Project

Ultimately the value of the NCP will be determined by the extent to which it makes a difference to curriculum development at the school level. This is one of the central questions to be answered by the formal evaluation of the Project.

At the outset of the NCP, an evaluator was appointed who, though outside the AMEP, had undertaken curriculum research within the Program and was therefore familiar with its history, politics, and aspirations. In keeping with the essentially collaborative flavor of the NCP, it was decided that a process- rather than a product-oriented approach should be taken toward the evaluation. To this end, the evaluator was provided with access to all the documentation relevant to the Project, including the transcripts of meetings—between one of the project coordinators and teachers and administrators—that gave shape to the NCP (described in Nunan, 1987). He was also invited to attend as participant observer at project management and consultation meetings. As a result, the evaluator was able to provide information and insights that were used formatively during the course of the NCP itself (for example,

he was influential in encouraging a more process-oriented approach to the curriculum frameworks). A final, summative evaluation will be undertaken in spring 1990, by which time the frameworks will have been comprehensively tested and introduced into the Program.

In a project of this sort, it would be desirable to undertake a product-oriented evaluation, that is, to conduct pre- and postproject assessments to determine the efficacy of the intervention in terms of learning outcomes. In the current situation, however, this has not been possible because the NCRC has no mandate to assess students, this being the sole responsibility of the state and territory education departments that are actually responsible for program delivery.

DISCUSSION

Numerous problems and difficulties arose in initiating and implementing the NCP. In the beginning, there was resistance from the funding authority, which wanted a return to a center-periphery curriculum model. There was also a certain amount of resistance and suspicion from some state program managers and administrators (although, it must be said, that there was also a great deal of support). In addition, many teachers mistrusted the intentions of the project coordinators.

Once initial submissions were received, another major problem emerged: Many of the most experienced and talented teachers within the Program had not bothered to apply for funding. Presumably this was because these teachers had few problems in developing their own curriculum and saw little point in providing assistance to teachers who were having problems.

During Stage 2, the data-analysis stage, it became apparent that the data were uneven in terms of quality. Some of the projects resulted in high-quality information that could be fed directly into the curriculum frameworks, whereas others provided very little usable data at all. During Stage 3, it was therefore necessary to censor, cull, and reformulate a great deal of data.

With the wisdom of hindsight, it is possible to identify ways in which a project such as the NCP could be carried out differently next time around. In particular, the democratic impulse to involve as many teachers as possible would probably be tempered by the need to obtain the cooperation of those teachers who have the most experience and skill in curriculum development.

Greater care would also be taken in identifying learner groups and class types, although decisions made on educational grounds

can be preempted by political and demographic factors. In the case of the NCP, changing patterns of immigration and government policy have, since the initiation of the Project, changed the profile of AMEP clients and made largely redundant several of the curriculum frameworks.

Given the instability of learner types, it becomes extremely important for a learner-centered, school-based curriculum model to be reinforced at the local level with key teachers who have the skills and knowledge necessary to help their peers to plan, implement, and evaluate a range of programs that can be readily adapted to changing client groups. It would certainly be educationally indefensible to return to a more centralized approach.

CONCLUSION

The localized, school-based approach to the language curriculum outlined in this article attempts to model the curriculum on instances of successful practice and is therefore tied closely to the classroom. Such curriculum development requires a collaborative approach between the different stakeholders in the educational enterprise, including teachers, researchers, curriculum specialists, and program managers and administrators.

The AMEP National Curriculum Project, an ambitious attempt at curriculum renewal involving many teachers, administrators, and curriculum personnel, is an example of such an approach. This Project bears similarities to a number of other attempts at school-based language curriculum renewal, most particularly and recently to the Graded Levels of Achievement in Foreign Language Learning in Britain and the Australian Language Levels Project (both of which are described in some detail in Clark, 1987). The following characterization aptly summarizes the essential spirit of localized curriculum development:

The two most important factors in school-focused curriculum renewal are the quality of relationships between participants and the sharing of responsibility. Education is about people, whether it be teacher education or pupil education, and the most valuable contribution that a project leader can make is to ensure that the diverse strengths, energies, and personalities of those involved are harnessed and forged together harmoniously. For this to occur, a democratic framework of shared responsibilities is essential, rather than a simple hierarchical structure. The sort of accountability that seems to work best in curriculum renewal is not managerial . . . but rather one of mutual responsibility. (Clark, 1987, p. 136)

THE AUTHOR

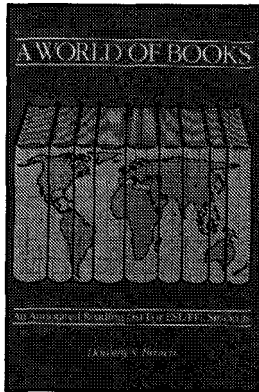
David Nunan is Associate Professor of Linguistics and Associate Director, National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research (formerly the NCRC), Macquarie University, Sydney. He has worked as a TESOL teacher, teacher educator, curriculum designer, and consultant in Australia, Britain, Singapore, Thailand, and the Middle East.

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Teacher Training, Development, and Decision Making: A Model of Teaching and Related Strategies for Language Teacher Education

DONALD FREEMAN

School for International Training

Language teacher education has become fragmented; too often, its efforts focus on ancillary areas such as applied linguistics, methodology, or language acquisition while overlooking the core—teaching itself. Emphasis on these areas, although it may create a pedagogical foundation for the teacher-in-preparation, skirts the central issue of learning to teach. This article refocuses language teacher education on teaching itself by proposing two schemata: (a) a descriptive model that defines teaching as a decision-making process based on the categories of know-ledge, skills, attitude, and awareness and (b) a related framework of two educating strategies—training and development—to teach teaching.

Language teacher education has become increasingly fragmented and unfocused. Based on a kaleidoscope of elements from many disciplines, efforts to educate individuals as language teachers often lack a coherent, commonly accepted foundation. In its place, teacher educators and teacher education programs substitute their own individual rationales, based on pedagogical assumptions or research, or function in a vacuum, assuming—yet never articulating—the bases from which they work.

This lack of coherence has come about for several reasons: the historical accident of a profession (language teaching) principally derived from an academic discipline (applied linguistics); the transparency of content (language), which often discourages the development of coherent professional preparation, since “anyone who speaks it can teach it”; or perhaps the “polymorphic nature of teaching” itself (Senchuk, 1984, p. 192).

Regardless of the sources, however, this lack of an articulated theoretical basis for language teaching and for how individuals learn to teach language remains a central shortcoming that handicaps language teacher education. Without a common terminology to describe language teaching itself, beyond the metalanguage described by linguistics, and without a coherent model of how language teaching is taught and learned, those who educate language teachers are confined to so many parallel discussions that argue unfounded comparisons; this advances the activities of the field and the profession sporadically, if at all.

This article puts forth two interlocking proposals. The first is a model describing language teaching as a process of decision making based on the constituents of knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness. The second describes two general strategies for educating language teachers—training and development—that are based on that model. The proposal rests on the assumption that one must have a clear definition of language teaching as the subject matter of language teacher education in order to develop a coherent view of the overall process of language teacher education and to suggest appropriate strategies for carrying out that process. In other words, how we define language teaching will influence, to a large extent, how we educate people as language teachers.

Some elements of this proposal will be familiar; others will be new. The intent is not radical; rather, it is to provide a coherent set of terms to describe language teaching and language teacher education. Implicit in this formulation is the interrelationship between language teaching and language teacher education: The former, as a process, is the content of the latter, which is itself a process. Thus, language teacher education is concerned with the learning and teaching of language teaching.

THE CURRENT STATE OF LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

I begin with three observations about the current state of language teacher education. These reflect, in my mind, the basic challenges faced in educating individuals as teachers of English—or any language—to speakers of other languages. First, although evidence of successful language learning is generally recognizable and often even incontrovertible, an understanding of how language is learned remains elusive and hypothetical at best (J. Schumann, 1983). Thus, the outcome is clear, but the process is not. Second, because this understanding of the language-learning process is partial, there is only a hazy grasp of the actual language-teaching

performance that results in successful language learning (Larsen-Freeman, 1987; Long, 1980). Third, this lack of a clear and integrated understanding of language learning itself and the language-teaching performance that fosters it makes it difficult to define the language-teaching competence on which actual teaching performance should be based (Thomas, 1984).

What is needed, then, is an understanding on two levels: a view of what language teaching is and a view of how to educate individuals in such teaching. We need to define the content of language teacher education—that is, the processes of effective language teaching—and we need to understand the processes of language teacher education itself—that is, how to teach language teaching.

This basic challenge may be obscured because we have been proceeding in the wrong direction. Although applied linguistics, research in second language acquisition, and methodology all contribute to the knowledge on which language teaching is based, they are not, and must not be confused with, language teaching itself. They are, in fact, ancillary to it, and thus they should not be the primary subject matter of language teacher education.

Herein lies a critical distinction: Language teacher education deals with the processes of language teaching; these other areas help to define and articulate the knowledge and skill base of language teaching. It is inaccurate and misleading to imply, as we do in most preservice language teacher education, particularly at the graduate level, that knowledge of these areas alone will necessarily enable or equip people to teach. We should not be so taken in by that relationship between the knowledge/skill base and its possible uses in teaching that we miss seeing how these are basically distinct.

Blurring the distinction between language teaching itself and the areas of inquiry on which it is based (e.g., applied linguistics, second language acquisition research, or methodology) leads to two major misconceptions that have often jeopardized the success of language teacher education. The first misconception is that language teacher education is generally concerned with the transmission of knowledge, specifically about applied linguistics and language acquisition, and of skills in methodology and related areas. The second misconception, which follows closely from the first, is that transmission of knowledge will lead to effective practice. Practicums and internships are often seen as the panaceas that will provide the missing link between knowledge and implementation. Once they know about it, the argument goes, teachers will figure out how to act on what they know (see Richards & Crookes, 1988).

Both misconceptions stem from overattention to the ancillary areas supporting language teacher education, at the expense of a clear focus on language teaching itself and the person who is learning to teach. What is language teaching? How can we define it? How do people learn to teach? How do they change in order to become more effective at what they do?

Language teacher education serves to link what is known in the field with what is done in the classroom, and it does so through the individuals whom we educate as teachers. We must therefore understand it on its own terms. It has to be examined and better understood if what is being learned through linguistics, language acquisition research, materials development, and methodological exploration is to come to proper fruition in teaching practice.

If a confluence of these two streams of research and practice can be achieved, it will no doubt strengthen both. However, that confluence will come about not through greater attention to teaching or research *per se*, but through a closer examination of how people learn to teach.

There is a parallel here to the field of medicine, in which professionals recognize that issues of how to get people to practice more effective health care—to stop smoking, change diet, or get more exercise, for example—are in some sense independent of both health care research and health care delivery. Although research expands the knowledge base of medicine and delivery works to implement that knowledge systematically, neither directly addresses questions of how to get individuals to alter what they do to make themselves more healthy. Thus, in health care there is a three-pronged approach involving knowledge, systematic implementation, and individual practice, with none of the three standing alone, nor obviating the need for the other two (see Schon, 1983). The proposals in this article are intended, as a coherent set of terms and frameworks, to suggest such a third prong in language teacher education: to encourage the confluence of knowledge, gained in research, and insight, gained in systematic implementation, through attention to the evolution of individual teachers' craft.

This article, then, offers a closer examination of language teacher education, both its subject matter and its processes. Teaching is described as a model of four constituents that interact through the teacher's decision making. From that perspective, two principal educating strategies are defined. These strategies, training and development, are forms of collaboration that can occur between the teacher-in-preparation and the educator as they work together on teaching.

A DESCRIPTION OF TEACHING: THE CONSTITUENTS

The first part of this proposal describes the subject matter of language teacher education—that is, language teaching. Language teaching can be seen as a decision-making process based on four constituents: knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness. (These four terms were originally identified by the faculty of the MAT Program at the School for International Training and serve as foci of the program curriculum; see Larsen-Freeman, 1983. However, their definition, development, and treatment in this article, although influenced by my colleagues, are my own.)

The first two of these constituents are probably self-evident and are certainly less controversial. Knowledge, for the teacher, includes what is being taught (the subject matter); to whom it is being taught (the students—their backgrounds, learning styles, language levels, and so on); and where it is being taught (the sociocultural, institutional, and situational contexts). Skills define what the teacher has to be able to do: present material, give clear instructions, correct errors in various ways, manage classroom interaction and discipline, and so on. Taken together, these constituents—knowledge and know-how, or skills—make up what is often referred to as the knowledge base of teaching. As Shuhnan (1986) has pointed out, this knowledge base is not fixed but tends to evolve and be redefined throughout the teacher's professional life. Nonetheless, it remains the broad foundation on which the teacher's decisions are based.

When approached from the perspective of knowledge transmission, language teacher education concentrates almost exclusively on these two constituents. It is interesting to note that in a majority of published work, language pedagogy is seen almost exclusively as a matter of knowledge and skills. Consider, for instance, the title of Chastain's classic work *Developing Second-Language Skills: Theory to Practice* (1976) or the table of contents of Rivers and Temperley's *A Practical Guide to the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language* (1978), which includes such chapter headings as "Structured Interaction," "Oral Practice for the Learning of Grammar," or "Teaching the Sound System." The latter chapter includes a balance of sections on knowledge, such as Generative Phonology or Two Varieties of English (General American and General British), and sections dealing with skills, such as Early Teaching of the Sound System or Teaching the American English /r/. The preceding analysis, although cursory, seems to be fairly representative of most language teacher education texts available today.

Other factors that enhance the use of skills and knowledge may be recognized but are addressed in print only occasionally. Stevick, for example, begins *Teaching and Learning Languages* (1982) with a chapter entitled "Between the People in the Classroom," which examines the roles and interpersonal interactions at the heart of the teaching/learning exchange. These factors are often viewed as individual and idiosyncratic, and therefore they are not systematically addressed in the language teacher education literature. However, it is precisely these factors, functioning as individuating constituents, that must be identified if the descriptive model is to cover the generic practice of language teaching, as Chastain (1976) and Rivers and Temperley (1978) address it, and the individual ways in which people actually teach, as Stevick begins to do.

Thus, attitude is introduced in this proposal as the principal constituent of language teaching that accounts for individual performance within the generic model. *Attitude* is here defined as the stance one adopts toward oneself, the activity of teaching, and the learners one engages in the teaching/learning process. Attitude is an interplay of externally oriented behavior, actions, and perceptions, on the one hand, and internal intrapersonal dynamics, feelings, and reactions, on the other. It becomes a sort of bridge that influences the effective functioning of the individual teacher in particular circumstances. As such, it can begin to account for the differential successes, strengths, and weaknesses of individual teachers.

Teacher attitude, which is distinct from learner attitude as examined by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and others or as more recently described theoretically by Krashen (1981), has been acknowledged as a critical variable in teaching. Smith (1971) has observed that

there is little doubt that the attitudes a teacher has towards himself influence his behavior in the classroom. And there are strong reasons for believing that the teacher's attitudes towards his pupils-e. g., his expectations of them—will influence their achievement. (p. 8)

However, despite the acknowledged importance of teacher attitude and the wide variety of research instruments available to examine it, little in the way of conclusive findings that go much beyond common sense has been established (Getzels & Jackson, 1963, pp. 574-575). It may be that as an inherently personal constituent, attitude is best studied introspectively by the individual, perhaps along the lines of diary studies in second language acquisition (Bailey, 1980; F. Schumann & J. Schumann, 1977). Likewise, these individuating aspects make attitude a complex issue to include in

language teacher education. Neither reason, however, should account for its being overlooked in an effort to describe language teaching.

Thus far, I have outlined three constituents in this model of language teaching knowledge, skills, and attitude. To account for the appropriate mobilization, interaction, and integration of these constituents as a person teaches, I suggest a fourth constituent—awareness—that functions as the unifying superordinate within the model. *Awareness* is the capacity to recognize and monitor the attention one is giving or has given to something. Thus, one acts on or responds to the aspects of a situation of which one is aware.

Attention, in a pedagogical sense, is distinct from awareness; it is generally defined as engagement in some aspect of what is happening in the classroom: the learning activity, social dynamics, or whatever (Lahaderne, 1968). Awareness has a more holistic function; Gattegno (1976) observes that “awareness provides the dynamics that scan the field to be known and is, therefore, both a *condition and a means* [italics added] of knowing” (p. 4). One can be aware of many aspects of a situation, while attending to particular ones within that awareness. Thus, the notion of being “vaguely aware of something” is misleading in this sense: One is aware, yet one is only vaguely attending to that awareness. Polanyi (1958, pp. 55-65) distinguishes between *focal* and *subsidiary* awareness along similar lines. He says that both contribute to knowing in different, related, and exclusive ways:

Subsidiary awareness and focal awareness are mutually exclusive. If a pianist *shifts his attention* from the piece he is playing to the observation of what he is doing with his fingers while playing it, he gets confused and may have to stop. This happens generally if we switch our focal *attention* to particulars of which we had previously been *aware* only in their subsidiary role [all italics added]. (p. 56)

Awareness functions as a binary distinction, whereas attention is a matter of degree. One is either aware of something or one is not; within that awareness, one focuses attention on various things. The confusion comes when attention is measured in binary terms, such as time on/off task, because attention is not inherently binary by nature, as Fisher et al. (1980) have pointed out in their studies of attention and learning. Smyth (1987) makes the interesting observation that such “correlational studies fail to explain the precise nature of pupil attention and the variables which promote or are otherwise associated with it” (p. 377). By positing awareness as a superordinate constituent that embraces and monitors attention, we begin to respond to Smyth’s concern. Both awareness and attention are critical in learning: The former is more encompassing,

whereas the latter is more focused; the former defines the territory, whereas the latter sets a direction within it.

To return to the context of this discussion, the teacher either is or is not aware of a particular aspect of his or her practice; that awareness is binary. The aspect of practice of which the teacher is aware, in effect the contents of the awareness, is expressed in terms of degree, often as the intensity or depth of attention to that awareness (Gattegno, 1987, pp. 38-82; Krishnamurti, 1970). Thus, a teacher who says, for example, "I suddenly realized that I'm talking too fast for my class" is articulating three things: an awareness ("I . . . realized X"), the content of that awareness (" . . . that I'm talking too fast"), and something about the degree of that awareness, in this case the time ("I *suddenly* realized . . .").

Within this analysis, then, we can speak of teachers being, or becoming, aware of how much knowledge they possess, how well skilled they are, or how productive their attitudes are. Thus, access to each of these constituents is through teachers' awareness. One can logically ask the following questions, for example:

1. Are teachers aware of how they are responding to students? In other words, are they aware of their attitude toward them?
2. Are they aware of how a particular type of correction is working? Are they aware of their skills in correcting?
3. Are they aware of what students already know? Are they aware of their students' prior knowledge in relation to the content of the lesson?

Awareness as a constituent integrates and unifies the previous three constituents—knowledge, skills, and attitude. It therefore can account for why teachers grow and change.

Awareness may be immediate, or it may be delayed, occurring sometime later when something or someone triggers it. As Gattegno (1976) has observed: "Awareness is needed to bring back what is known and work on it again to change it, make it more conscious, more precise, more useful and connected with other . . . knowledge" (p. 4). The following account illustrates a teacher's learning, by means of awareness, about the relativity of certain cultural norms. (The teacher's analysis of and reflection on his experience were recounted in a case study in a graduate course on teaching culture in 1986.)

Early on while teaching in a Japanese classroom, the teacher would lean, half-sitting, on the desk. He often noticed some response in the students, a response that, although he was aware of it, he did not quite understand or know how to interpret. If he had

attended to the students' responses to what he was doing, he might have linked them to sitting on the desk. The teacher might then have become aware of a gap in his knowledge: Is there something I should know about sitting on desks in Japanese classrooms? In this instance, awareness would have triggered a question that could be answered through greater knowledge of Japanese culture: that it is, indeed, generally disrespectful and inappropriately casual for the teacher to sit on the desk.

Alternatively, the teacher could have been told, "When you teach, avoid sitting on the desk; it's disrespectful." This would have reversed the learning process: Knowledge would have preceded awareness. This, however, is the weaker link; people are often told things that have little impact because these things do not take root in their awareness.

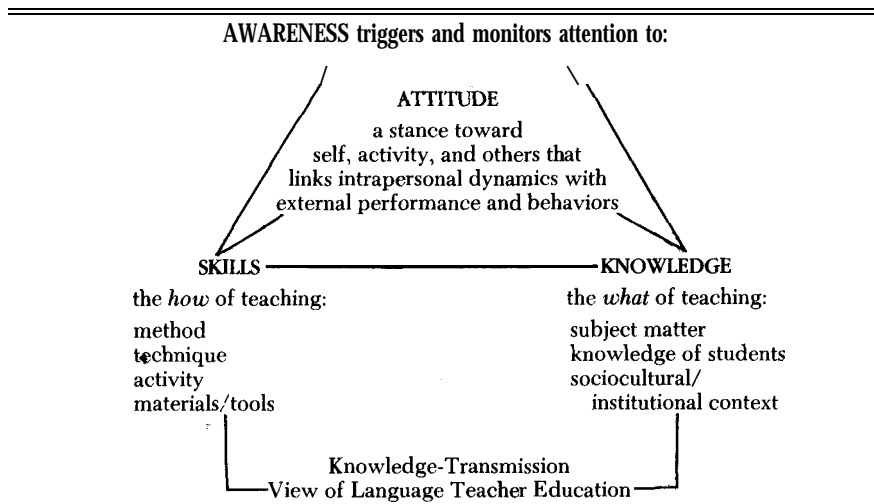
The stronger link comes when one recognizes the need to learn something on one's own, as this individual did:

My first social gaffe as a teacher in Japan was to address a class whilst sitting on a desk. Teachers in Japan do not sit on desks, but I wasn't made aware of this *until years later* [italics added] (the Japanese are usually too polite to tell you). In a relaxed situation, a graduate student recalled the incident and mentioned how horrified she was at my bad manners.

It is worth noting that awareness can operate over long spans of time—several years in this example—and seems to have the effect of isolating and collapsing relevant events so that the learning is as clear and potent as if the incident had just taken place.

Awareness can also account for a more complex explanation of the incident. Suppose the teacher had continued to sit on the desk, although he knew it was inappropriate. There are two possible explanations: The teacher did not care, or he wished to raise the larger cross-cultural issue of the personal discomfort incurred when cultural norms are violated. The latter explanation demonstrates the function of awareness in this teaching situation: The teacher knew what was appropriate and yet chose to manipulate it in service of a pedagogical objective. Were the descriptive model of language teaching limited to the constituents of knowledge, skills, and attitude, there would be no way to account for such a choice or manipulation of one constituent within it. Thus, awareness, as the superordinate constituent, plays a fundamental role in how the teacher makes use of the other three constituents; it is also the critical link in the language teacher education process, as the depiction of the descriptive model of teaching in Figure 1 demonstrates.

FIGURE 1
Descriptive Model of Teaching
The Constituents



I have thus far sketched a static model involving four constituents—knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness. Taken together, these four constituents comprise a cross-section of teaching; however, they require a “moving part.” As a process, teaching is definitely not static; it involves constant shifts, negotiations, actions, and responses to a myriad of variables. Therefore, the final element in this model must be one that captures the dynamism of the process, and that element is decision making.

A number of writers have described teaching in such terms. Stevick has talked about teaching as the making of “informed choices” (1982, p. 2) or choosing among “options” (1986, p. vii). Calderhead (1984, p. 2) has categorized the types of teaching decisions into reflective, immediate, and routine. Larsen-Freeman (1983) describes teacher choice, quoting A. Bartlett Giamatti, who says that “the teacher’s power and responsibility lie in choosing where everyone will begin and how, from that beginning, the end will be shaped” (p. 266). Another related perspective is that of teaching as the “management of dilemmas” (see Berlak & Berlak, 1981; Lampert, 1985, 1986) or as “situational decision making” (see Bolster, 1983). There is also a growing interest in pedagogical decision making as part of the research into teacher cognition

(Verloop, 1987) and as a part of a description of the foundation of teaching (Shulman, 1986, 1987).

Seeing teaching as choosing between options or making decisions is not by itself new or controversial. The new dimension comes in linking the process of decision making with the four constituents elaborated here. The decisions themselves clearly vary in magnitude, complexity, and the degree of self-consciousness and preplanning. They range from the microdecisions of whether to sit or stand at a particular juncture in the lesson or whether to use script or print when writing on the blackboard, to the macrodecisions about content, methodology, or classroom dynamics. Yet the decision as a unit of teaching remains constant, even though its content is continually shifting.

Taken as a whole, this descriptive model defines both the process and the structure of language teaching, that is, decision making and the constituents on which those decisions are based. This helps to further clarify the goal of language teacher education: It works to educate the teacher's decision-making capability through the constituents of knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness. How language teachers are educated—the strategies used—is the subject of the next section of this article.

TWO EDUCATING STRATEGIES

Having set out a descriptive model of language teaching in order to define the content of language teacher education, I turn now to the process through which that content is taught to teachers. The two principal strategies within that education process are training and development.

First, a brief remark on terminology is in order. The words *teacher training*, *development*, *education*, and *preparation* have been and often continue to be used interchangeably, as many have observed (Fanselow & Light, 1977; Larsen-Freeman, 1983; Stern, 1983; Strevens, 1981). Although my purpose here is not to disentangle these terms, I suggest, as I have done previously (Freeman, 1982, pp. 21-22), that within the general process of language teacher education, a valid operational distinction can be made between two functions, which I will call *training* and *development*. Thus, the term *education* is preserved as the superordinate, whereas *teacher training* and *teacher development* are used to describe the strategies by which teachers are educated.

Before proceeding, it would be useful to clarify a basic premise on which this discussion is based. First, language teacher education is presented here as an interactive process involving two

individuals: the teacher (or teacher-in-preparation) and another person—the teacher educator, trainer, supervisor, program administrator, mentor, colleague, or peer. This second individual I refer to as the collaborator. (Professor R. Bylinski, University of Strasbourg, pointing out the possible political connotations of this choice of term, has suggested the French *compagnon de route* [personal communication, March 1986]. His suggestion indicates the difficulty in finding an appropriate generic term to describe this relationship.) Although I do not intend, by this definition, to exclude teacher self-education as a valid and important part of language teacher education, it is essentially beyond the scope of this article.

These two individuals, the teacher and the collaborator, engage in a process, the purpose of which is to generate some form of change in the teacher. Since one person cannot intervene to change another directly, the two individuals must collaborate to achieve that purpose. The roles and relative balance of control and initiative may vary through the collaboration; however, its purpose remains to generate change in some aspect of the teacher's decision making based on knowledge, skills, attitude, and awareness. Four points will help qualify this idea of change.

First, change does not necessarily mean doing something differently; it can mean a change in awareness. Change can be an affirmation of current practice: The teacher is unaware of doing something that is effective; the collaborator is able to focus attention on that aspect of teaching practice and thus to trigger a change in the teacher's awareness so that it is recognized and thus affirmed.

Second, this change is not necessarily immediate or complete. Indeed, some changes occur over time, with the collaborator serving only to initiate the process.

Third, some changes are directly accessible by the collaborator and therefore quantifiable, whereas others are not. The collaborator can assess, by counting, whether the teacher has increased the number of techniques used to correct. The collaborator cannot, however, directly measure a change in attitude and must therefore rely on behavioral manifestations that may or may not represent an internal shift. Thus, the former change is directly observable and quantifiable; the latter is not.

Finally, some types of change can come to closure and others are open-ended; this is directly linked to the quantifiability of change. A quantifiable change is generally finite and thus can have closure. The number of different correction techniques one teacher will use is finite; however, the collaborator may suggest that the teacher increase, decrease, or modify any of these techniques. Triggering in

the teacher the desire to continue to explore new correction techniques is a qualitatively different type of change. It is open-ended; once it takes place, there may be no end point, only the increasing experimentation and refinement of technique.

Let us now return to training and development, which I will outline as strategies for collaboration in the language teacher education process through which change in the teacher's practice can be generated. As strategies, they each have distinct foci: They call on the collaborator to provide different types of input, to act in different ways, and they result in different outcomes.

Training

Training is a strategy for direct intervention by the collaborator, to work on specific aspects of the teacher's teaching. The intervention is focused on specific outcomes that can be achieved through a clear sequence of steps, commonly within a specified period of time. The aspects of teaching that are seen as "trainable" are discrete chunks, usually based on knowledge or skills, which can be isolated, practiced, and ultimately mastered. The collaborator can take the lead in this process by isolating and presenting a specific issue for the teacher to address and by proposing ways to address it. Furthermore, the collaborator can assess the teacher's success in working on the issue by setting out observable criteria for change and a time period within which that change can or should be achieved.

For example, in observing a vocabulary lesson, the collaborator might identify as an issue the fact that the teacher did not elicit students' prior knowledge. The issue could be isolated by making the following "training" statement

"I noticed you started right in presenting vocabulary [focuses on a specific issue]. An alternative would be to ask students which of the words they already know [a concrete alternative]. Why don't you try it this way in the next few lessons [a defined time period] and see whether your students seem more or less involved in the lesson [a criterion for evaluating change]?"

Training, as a strategy, is clear and direct. It originates with the collaborator, is implemented by the teacher, and is evaluated either by the collaborator or by the two together. It is based on an assumption that through mastery of discrete aspects of skills and knowledge, teachers will improve their effectiveness in the classroom. Furthermore, training assumes that this mastery of discrete aspects can and does aggregate into a whole form of

teaching competence. There is no doubt that training is often effective, although it has clear shortcomings. Principal among them is the fragmented view it takes of teaching (see Eisner, 1983).

Short (1985) has observed that much of what is done in education is based on “production metaphors of industrial management” (p. 3). These metaphors assume that by breaking down the whole and emphasizing particular aspects of it, as one does in training, the overall output should rise. The problem, according to Short, is that such an assumption casts matters “of value and judgment in language befitting the fixed elements and predictable processes of the inanimate world” (p. 3). However, if teaching is more than the exercise of generic knowledge and skills, a second strategy, one that adopts a holistic and integrated approach, is needed. Such a strategy will not generate the same types of discrete change; however, it will address the complex aspects of teaching that cannot be dealt with in a fragmented way. This strategy is development.

Development

Development is a strategy of influence and indirect intervention that works on complex, integrated aspects of teaching; these aspects are idiosyncratic and individual. The purpose of development is for the teacher to generate change through increasing or shifting awareness. Any teacher must learn how to present material or hand out homework, but these types of things can be learned through training. To learn to recognize one’s own impatience and how it affects student participation or to learn how one’s self-confidence or lack of it affects students’ reactions to the lesson—these types of things depend on developing an internal monitoring system. They are aspects of a teacher’s teaching that stem from attitude toward, and awareness of, self in the classroom. Here the collaborator must take a different strategy.

Through development, the collaborator works to trigger the teacher’s awareness of what the latter is doing. By asking questions, by making observations in a detached way, by sharing personal teaching experience, the collaborator endeavors to start the teacher on a process of reflection, critique, and refinement of the teacher’s classroom practice. Working on the issue of lack of student involvement in the vocabulary lesson mentioned earlier, the collaborator might say, “Tell me about those two students who didn’t participate. What do you think was happening with them?” Or the collaborator might ask the teacher, “When you’ve been in a class that didn’t interest you, why were you bored? What did you do?” Or the collaborator might make an observation from personal

experience: “When I don’t participate in a lesson, it’s often because it’s too hard, or I don’t want to make a fool of myself.” All of these statements can have the effect of probing the teacher’s awareness to begin to identify the source of the problem and what can be done about it.

As such, development is a far less predictable or directed strategy than training. It is highly dependent on the individual teacher, the collaborator, and their interaction. Because the collaborator’s role is to trigger change through the teacher’s awareness, rather than to intervene directly as in training, the changes that result from development cannot be foreseen or expected within a designated time period. They are essentially internal, although they can have external manifestations through changes in performance or behavior. However, to attempt to quantify them, as one would changes resulting from training, can lead to the misleading assumption that if no change is evident in practice, then none has occurred internally.

The teacher’s experience and perceptions of the teaching situation form the basis for the collaborator’s work in development. Rather than referring to one’s own view of the situation, to one’s own solution, or to an external body of knowledge or skills, as one would in training, the collaborator works through a development strategy to clarify and expand the teacher’s awareness of what that teacher is doing and why. Solutions are generated by the teacher, with or without the collaborator’s help, but they are ultimately based on the teacher’s awareness and understanding of the situation.

This is perhaps a critical difference between training and development. In development, although the issues raised must fall within the collaborator’s understanding of teaching, the solutions do not necessarily need to be ones that the collaborator knows or can implement. The collaborator encourages and supports the teacher in addressing the complex and individual nature of many teaching issues and in sorting out a personal course of action. Development is a strategy that works with the more indivisible, idiosyncratic aspects of a teacher’s teaching. In training, however, it is the collaborator’s role to be responsible both for the issue and its solution. Figure 2 highlights the major differences between teacher training and teacher development.

The process of language teacher education requires differing strategies depending on which constituents of teaching are to be addressed and the kinds of change in teacher performance that are sought. Training and development are two basic educating strategies that share the same purpose: achieving change in what the teacher does and why. They differ in the means they adopt to

FIGURE 2
Educating Strategies

	Teacher training Process of direct intervention	Teacher development Process of influence
Characteristics of aspects of teaching focused on	Generally accessible; can be mastered through specific courses of action	Idiosyncratic and individual; mature through constant attention, critique, and involvement of the teacher in his or her teaching
Constituent base	Knowledge and skills	Attitude and awareness
Focus	Initiated by collaborator; work carried out by teacher	Raised by collaborator, but work initiated by teacher
Criteria for assessing change	External; accessible to the collaborator	Internal; personal to teacher
Closure	Can be within a fixed time period, once criteria are satisfied	Is open-ended; work continues until teacher decides to stop

achieve that purpose. This, I would contend, is not because definitions are fuzzy or because of some rather haphazard philosophical distinction. They differ because of what teaching is. Whereas the constituents of knowledge and skills are accessible through external intervention and yield to a compartmentalized educational approach, the constituents of attitude and awareness are idiosyncratic and, as such, respond to an approach that works from the individual teacher's unified experience to achieve change.

CONCLUSION FROM HERE

The challenge is to define language teaching as a whole, integrated activity and then to examine just how that definition affects and is reflected in how language teachers are taught to teach. We need, as Bowers (1986) has argued, "a theory of practice," which I understand to be a description of teaching. But that is only half the challenge. We also need a theoretical and practical understanding of how people are taught and learn to teach, how they learn to implement that description of teaching in practice. The two go hand in hand, and one without the other is less than fully useful or effective.

The need to understand the relationship between what we define as language teaching and how it is taught and learned is pressing on both the theoretical and practical levels. It will no doubt strengthen the coherence of our work as language teacher educators, and it

may help us to withstand the pressures and panaceas in the growing calls for accountability in teacher education generally. Yet if we look beyond these immediate concerns, there is a larger perspective, which Lortie (1975) puts quite clearly: "Teachers are largely self-made; the internalization of common knowledge plays only a limited part in their movement to work responsibly" (p. 80). The question then becomes, What role does language teacher education actually play as a step—at present imperfectly understood—in this process of professional self-construction?

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THE AUTHOR

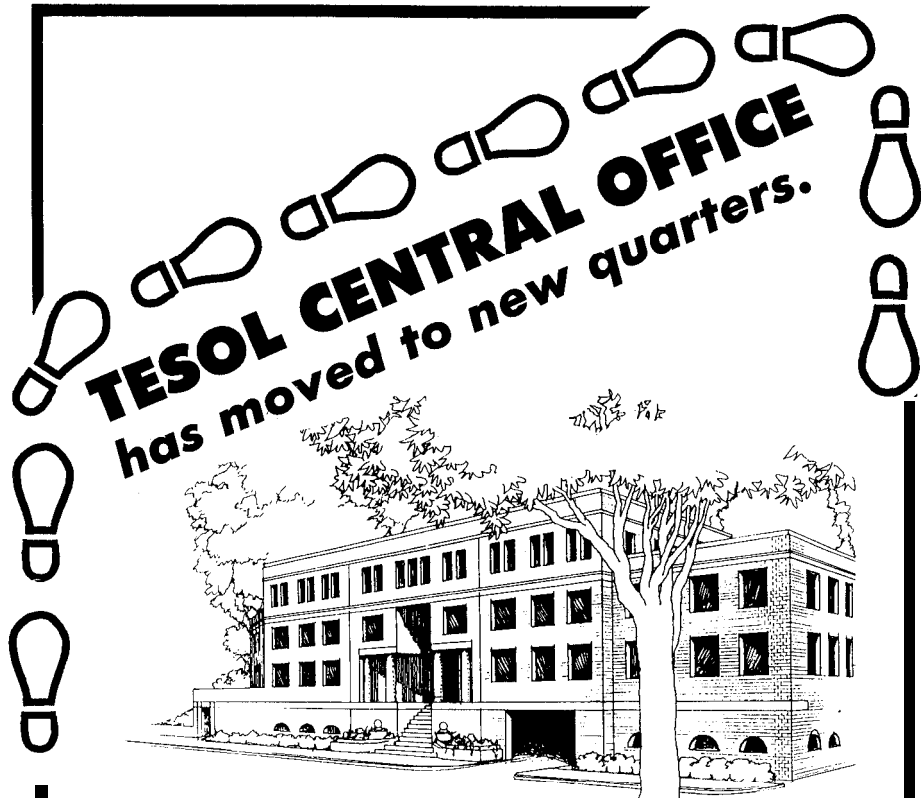
Donald Freeman teaches in the MAT Program at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, VT. He has worked with teachers and trainers in various contexts in Asia, South America, and Europe as well as in the United States. He has served as Chair of the TESOL Teacher Education Interest Section and on the TESOL Executive Board.

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Hispanic Adults and ESL Programs: Barriers to Participation

ELISABETH HAYES

Syracuse University

Hispanic adults represent a significant proportion of the low-literate population in the United States and are thus a group of great potential concern to educators. Attempts to increase the English literacy levels of this group are limited by lack of empirical data regarding variables that affect Hispanics' participation in educational programs. The purpose of the study reported in this article was to gather information about barriers to participation in ESL programs for these adults. Data were obtained from 200 Hispanic ESL students with the Deterrents to Participation Scale—Form LLS (adapted from Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988). Four orthogonal factors were identified through principal components analysis of the data: Self/School Incongruence, Low Self-Confidence, Lack of Access to Classes, and Situational Constraints. Through disjoint cluster analysis, five types of low-literate Hispanic adults were identified according to their scores on the four deterrent factors. These findings provide information that can be used as the basis for developing strategies and programs to meet the ESL needs of specific subgroups of the adult Hispanic population.

Hispanic adults represent a significant potential student population for adult ESL and basic literacy programs. Hispanics comprise the largest group of immigrants to the United States and the second largest minority group in the nation (Davis, Haub, & Willette, 1983). The limited English language skills of many Hispanics continue to retard the educational progress and economic advancement of both recent immigrants and long-term residents. According to the 1982 English Language Proficiency Survey (ELPS), from 39% to 49% of the approximately 10 million Hispanic adults in the United States are illiterate in English (see McKay, 1986b). The Adult Performance Level Project (1975) indicated that 56% of the Hispanic population is functionally illiterate, based on an assessment of individuals' ability to perform functional literacy

tasks. Furthermore, Hispanic adults comprise a large proportion of the low-literate population as a whole. Although Hispanics represent 6% of the U.S. population (based on 1980 Census figures), the ELPS indicates that 22% of illiterate adults are Hispanic (McKay, 1986b) .

A variety of ESL programs have the challenging task of trying to increase the English literacy levels of this population; however, such attempts are hampered by limited understanding of the variables that affect the educational participation of Hispanic adults. The potential barriers to participation faced by this group are numerous. In 1984, the median number of school years completed by Hispanic adults age 25 and over was 11.3, as compared with 12.2 for blacks and 12.6 for whites (McKay, 1986a). Furthermore, studies indicate that 81% of adults who are monolingual in Spanish have fewer than 8 years of schooling (McKay, 1984). Research indicates that in general, educationally disadvantaged adults frequently experience dispositional barriers to educational participation, such as lack of confidence in their ability to learn and negative perceptions of the utility of education (Cross, 1981).

In addition, approximately 28% of Hispanic individuals were found to live below the poverty level in 1984 (McKay, 1986a); 67% of respondents to earlier surveys who were monolingual in Spanish had family incomes of less than \$10,000 (McKay, 1984). This generally low economic status suggests that child-care and transportation costs might be significant barriers to participation.

Moreover, aspects of Hispanic culture may create unique reasons for nonparticipation in English language education. Hendricks (1973) points out that Hispanic immigrants often consider their residence in the United States to be temporary and assume that they will eventually return to their native country. Some maintain close ties with family and friends in their homeland and even travel back and forth frequently. Such continued connections may contribute to a diminished perception of the long-range utility of learning English.

These strong ties to the homeland also have fostered the development of a Hispanic subculture in the United States (Hendricks, 1973). Social and legal systems support this separate culture; for example, literacy in English is not a requirement for voting or for taking driver's license examinations. The accessibility of Spanish language media, entertainment, and other commercial enterprises also reduces the immediate need to learn English. Furthermore, the value and necessity of assimilation into the dominant culture remain points of controversy among the Spanish-speaking community (Davis et al., 1983; Ramirez, 1975).

RELATED RESEARCH

Despite a growing concern with the education of Hispanics in the United States (see, for example, Davis et al., 1983; Ogletree & Garcia, 1975), little empirical research has been done on Hispanic adult participation in ESL programs or in adult education in general. Research on the general population's participation in adult education, such as the studies conducted by Johnstone and Rivera (1965) and Carp, Peterson, and Roelfs (1974), does not include information about Hispanics as a distinct group.

In addition, Hispanics have not been included in the growing body of empirical research that focuses specifically on deterrents, or barriers, to participation in adult education (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985; Hayes, 1988; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988; Scanlan & Darkenwald, 1984). Scanlan and Darkenwald (1984) initiated this line of research with their study of deterrents to participation in continuing education for health professionals. Their study included the development and utilization of a Deterrents to Participation Scale; of particular value were the results of factor analyses of the data, which yielded a six-factor conceptualization of deterrents for this population.

Adopting a similar approach to scale construction and data analysis, Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) developed a generic scale to collect information about deterrents to participation for the general adult population. Most recently, deterrents to participation in adult basic education programs were identified by Hayes and Darkenwald (1988) with an instrument developed specifically for use with low-literate adults.

The results of this research reinforce the findings of earlier studies that indicate that the importance of barriers differs among groups of the adult population (Carp et al., 1974; Johnstone & Rivera, 1965). This research also provides empirically based conceptualizations of the dimensions underlying individual barriers, or deterrents. (Although in the current literature some preference is given to the use of the term *deterrent*, implying a less absolute obstacle than *barrier*, in this article the terms are used synonymously.) For example, Hayes and Darkenwald (1988) identified five such factors: Low Self-Confidence, Social Disapproval, Situational Barriers, Attitude to Classes, and Low Personal Priority.

However, the nature of the respondents in this and other studies does not permit generalization of the findings to the Hispanic population. The samples in the research by Scanlan and Darkenwald (1984) and Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) consisted

primarily of white, middle-class, highly educated individuals. The respondents in the Hayes and Darkenwald (1988) study of low-literate adults were native English speakers. The approach used in these studies can, however, be adopted in further research on deterrents for the Hispanic population.

Although information about the relative importance of individual deterrents and the nature of the dimensions underlying them is important in its own right, the practical benefit of research on deterrents lies in our enhanced ability to identify patterns of deterrents for specific subgroups of the target population. Given the great differences that exist in subgroups of the Hispanic population (Davis et al., 1983; Ogletree & Garcia, 1975), it is reasonable to assume that differences might also exist in reasons for nonparticipation among various groups.

Prior research (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985; Hayes, 1988; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988) has suggested that analysis of differences among groups based on sociodemographic characteristics such as sex and age is of limited value. The most useful approach is to identify groups based on their perception of deterrents and then to describe the groups in terms of available background information. The development of a typology of Hispanic adults based on their perception of deterrents to participation in ESL has the potential to yield the most helpful information for program planners interested in designing strategies to recruit and serve hard-to-reach segments of the Hispanic low-literate population.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The overall goal of this study was to gather specific information about deterrents for a previously unexamined target group, Hispanic adults. To accomplish this goal, the following research objectives were established: (a) to assess the importance of individual deterrents to participation for Hispanic adults, (b) to determine the underlying factor structure of deterrents for the Hispanic population, and (c) to develop a typology of Hispanic adults based on their perception of deterrents to participation. It was felt that the accomplishment of these objectives might provide valuable information for the development of educational programs for Hispanic adults, as well as for educational theorists and researchers interested in better understanding the nature of educational participation by Hispanics.

METHODOLOGY

Instrumentation

Of the three instruments utilized in previous research on deterrents, the Deterrents to Participation Scale-Form LL (DPS-LL), developed for use with low-literate adults (Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988), was considered to be the most appropriate for the present study. The DPS-LL consists of 32 items, each representing a discrete deterrent to participation. The items were identified through a literature review, interviews with low-literate adult basic education students, and interviews with adult basic education teachers and teacher aides. Respondents are asked to indicate the importance of each item as a barrier to their participation on a 3-point Likert scale (3 = most important). The reliability of the DPS-LL was found to be .82 in the initial study (Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988).

To enable low-literate Hispanic adults to understand the questionnaire, the DPS-LL directions and items were translated into Spanish. The translator was a Hispanic graduate student in adult education, fluent in both Spanish and English. The accuracy of her translation was evaluated by a Hispanic administrator of an ESL/bilingual adult education program, whose educational credentials included a doctorate in adult education. The final version of the translated questionnaire (identified as the DPS-LLS) was pilot tested with 15 Hispanic ESL students of different nationalities, who were asked for feedback on the clarity of the items. Their comments indicated that the translation was satisfactory. Furthermore, the pilot study indicated that the time needed to complete the instrument was approximately 10 minutes, thereby making it easy to administer during a class session.

Sampling and Data Collection

The identification of a sufficiently large group of non-English-speaking Hispanic adults among the general population for the study posed insurmountable logistical problems; therefore, the subjects were drawn from Hispanic adults currently participating in ESL programs. The respondents were asked to indicate how important each deterrent was for them *before* they began to attend classes. Since the limited resources of most educational programs may restrict efforts to overcome all barriers, such a sample could provide information about the most appropriate deterrents for educators to address: those that had the potential to be modified, as evidenced by the ultimate participation of respondents, yet were

identified as barriers important enough to prevent previous participation. Obviously, deterrents will vary in nature and intensity for the low-literate Hispanic population as a whole.

The subjects were Hispanic adults actively attending classes in five large urban ESL programs in New Jersey at the time of the survey administration in early spring of 1986. ESL teachers and counselors in the programs identified all Hispanic students who were attending classes during the time the instrument was being administered and asked them to participate in the study.

A total of 207 respondents completed the survey instrument. Seven questionnaires with missing data were eliminated from the sample, leaving a working *N* of 200 cases. Demographic information gathered along with the questionnaire data revealed that the individuals represented 19 different nationalities, with the largest group (35%) from Puerto Rico. The majority of the subjects (67%) were women. The respondents had lived in the United States for periods ranging from less than 1 year to 29 years, with 6 years as the average. The mean age of the group was 28 years. Slightly less than half (46%) of the subjects were unemployed. Approximately 53% indicated that they had at least one dependent child; the average age of the youngest child was 7 years. The group had completed an average of 8 years of schooling.

Since a number of the respondents were not literate in either Spanish or English, the ESL teachers read aloud in Spanish the DPS-LLS directions and items. The instrument was administered in class sessions on an individual and small-group basis so that teachers could make sure respondents understood the directions and items. To ensure uniformity in administration, all questionnaire administrators received written guidelines. Respondents completed the questionnaires anonymously.

Data Analysis

Several methods of data analysis were necessary to accomplish the research objectives. First, the individual deterrent items were ranked according to mean importance ratings. This procedure provided useful information about specific deterrents but could not be used to identify interrelationships among the discrete deterrents. In order to derive empirically based categories of deterrents, the responses to the 32 items on the instrument were factor analyzed. Factor analysis could reveal whether correlations among groups of the deterrents could be explained by a smaller number of underlying source variables, or factors. Because of uncertainty regarding the categorization of deterrents for this population,

exploratory rather than confirmatory methods were used. Principal components analysis was used to generate the initial factor structure; subsequently both orthogonal (resulting in uncorrelated factors) and oblique (resulting in correlated factors) rotations were utilized to derive factor solutions (SAS PROMAX).

Several criteria were used to evaluate and select the final factor solution. The eigenvalues of the factors were examined as indicators of the amount of variance explained by each dimension. The scree test was used to indicate the point at which the contribution of additional factors to an explanation of variance in the data began to level off (see Kim & Mueller, 1985). Ultimately, however, a final factor solution was selected that yielded the largest number of interpretable dimensions. A greater rather than fewer number of dimensions was considered desirable from a theoretical as well as a practical stance. Understanding of underlying similarities and differences among deterrent items could potentially be enhanced with a more diverse factor structure; such factors, still less numerous than individual deterrents, would provide a parsimonious guide for program development and recruitment strategies.

Cluster analysis was used to attain the final research objective, the development of an empirically based typology of respondents. The basic purpose of cluster analysis is "to place objects into groups or clusters suggested by the data, not defined a priori, such that objects in a given cluster tend to be similar to each other in some sense, and objects in different clusters tend to be dissimilar" (SAS Institute, 1985, p. 45). SAS FASTCLUS, a disjoint clustering procedure, was utilized because it places each object in one and only one cluster. Observations (in this case, individuals) were clustered on factor scores for the identified deterrent factors. Variables used in cluster analysis must be expressed in a uniform metric, so that they are not given unequal weights in the analysis. Factor scores are standard scores, having a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one, and therefore were appropriate for the analysis.

A series of cluster solutions were requested, deriving two through seven clusters. As there is no completely satisfactory method for determining the optimal number of clusters (SAS Institute, 1985), a final cluster solution was selected based on the meaningfulness of the pattern of cluster means on the deterrent factors. Comparison of the overall R^2 values and examination of the proportionality of cluster size for each solution were also used to ascertain the most valid solution. Clusters in the final solution were described in terms of the following characteristics: sex, age, educational attainment, employment status, age of youngest dependent child, and years of residence in the United States. Due to the large number of

nationalities represented, this characteristic did not differentiate among clusters and for that reason is not included in the description of the typology.

RESULTS

Rank Order of Deterrents

The individual deterrent items, item means, and standard deviations are presented in rank order according to item mean in Table 1. As the table reveals, the most highly ranked barriers relate to lack of time, the low priority of education in relation to work, costs, and lack of transportation. The items perceived to be of least importance for the subjects as a group included dislike of other students, beliefs that education would be of little benefit, and concern about the negative attitude of family and friends toward their educational efforts. Overall, the mean item importance scores were relatively low, a finding similar to those of previous research (Darkenwald & Valentine, 1985; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988; Scanlan & Darkenwald, 1984).

Factor Analysis Four Deterrent Factors

The four-factor orthogonal solution provided the most meaningful factor structure; these four factors accounted for 37% of the total scale variance. Although 11 factors met the Kaiser criterion for retention, possessing eigenvalues greater than 1.0, the scree test suggested that five factors should be retained. However, since the five-factor solution included a factor that was uninterpretable, it was rejected in favor of the four-factor solution.

Item factor loadings, coefficients that express how much each item "loaded" on a factor, were used to define the factors. Only items with factor loadings of .40 or above were used in this interpretation. Based on this criterion, six items did not load on any factor: "I tried to start classes but they were already full," "I didn't want to admit I needed help with reading," "I didn't have any transportation to school," "I heard that the adult school classes were not very good," "I don't like doing schoolwork," and "I went to adult classes somewhere else and didn't like them." Three items had loadings of more than .40 on two factors. The factors, items, and item factor loadings are presented in Table 2. The interpretation of each factor is provided below.

Factor 1: Self/School Incongruence. The items loading on this factor suggested a perceived discrepancy between individual needs,

preferences, and self-concept as compared with the educational environment. The two highest loading items—"I felt I was too old to learn" and "I didn't want to answer questions in class"—indicated a conflict between individuals' self-perception and their perception of the role of a student. Other items suggested a perceived lack of compatibility with other students and teachers in the program. Two items—"I felt my family wouldn't like it if I returned to school" and "I felt that my friends or people I work with wouldn't like it if I

TABLE 1
Rank Order of Deterrents by Mean Importance Scores

Rank	Item	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1	I didn't have time to go to school.	1.87	0.88
2	I thought it would take me too long to finish school.	1.83	0.83
3	It was more important to get a job than to go to school.	1.76	0.78
4	I didn't think I could go to classes regularly.	1.75	0.75
5	I couldn't pay for child care or transportation.	1.67	0.85
6	I didn't have any transportation to school.	1.66	0.79
7	I didn't know anyone who was going to the adult education classes.	1.65	0.85
8	I thought that adult education would be like regular school.	1.64	0.78
9	I thought starting classes would be difficult, with lots of questions and forms to fill out.	1.63	0.78
10	The classes were held at times I couldn't go.	1.61	0.81
11	I had family problems.	1.59	0.76
12	I didn't know there was any place to take classes.	1.56	0.80
13	I was afraid I wasn't smart enough to do the work.	1.55	0.66
14	I didn't think I needed to read better.	1.47	0.76
15	I tried to start classes but they were already full.	1.45	0.79
16	I don't like doing schoolwork.	1.40	0.60
17	I felt I was too old to learn.	1.36	0.64
18	I felt the teachers would not be friendly or understanding.	1.35	0.61
20	I didn't want to answer questions in class.	1.34	0.59
20	I had health problems.	1.34	0.61
20	I was worried because classes were held in a bad neighborhood.	1.34	0.66
22.5	I went to adult classes somewhere else and didn't like them.	1.33	0.66
22.5	I didn't want to admit I needed help with reading.	1.33	0.79
24	I didn't want to go to classes alone.	1.28	0.58
25	I heard that the adult school classes were not very good.	1.26	0.55
26	I didn't want to take classes in a school building.	1.24	0.55
27	I thought I wouldn't like being in classes with younger students.	1.22	0.48
28	I felt my family wouldn't like it if I returned to school.	1.21	0.49
30	I felt that my friends or people I work with wouldn't like it if I returned to school.	1.17	0.46
30	I felt returning to school wouldn't help me.	1.17	0.49
30	I thought "book learning" wasn't important.	1.17	0.51
32	I didn't like the other students who go to the classes.	1.12	0.38

returned to school”—represented a conflict between roles as spouse, parent, relative, or friend and the adoption of a student role. Finally, the items “I thought ‘book learning’ wasn’t important” and “I felt returning to school wouldn’t help me” reveal a lack of congruence between perceived needs and benefits of participation.

TABLE 2
Deterrents to Participation in ESL: Four Factors

Item	Loading
Factor 1: Self/School Incongruence (mean item mean = 1.24)	
I felt I was too old to learn.	.61
I didn't want to answer questions in class.	.61
I had health problems.	.60
I thought “book learning” wasn't important.	.55
I didn't want to take classes in a school building.	.52
I thought I wouldn't like being in classes with younger students.	.49
I didn't like the other students who go to the classes.	.48
I felt my family wouldn't like it if I returned to school.	.47
I felt returning to school wouldn't help me.	.47 ^a
I felt the teachers would not be friendly or understanding.	.46 ^a
I felt that my friends or people I work with wouldn't like it if I returned to school.	.40
Factor 2: Low Self-Confidence (mean item mean = 1.61)	
I thought starting classes would be difficult, with lots of questions and forms to fill out.	.72
I didn't know anyone who was going to the adult education classes.	.62
I was afraid I wasn't smart enough to do the work.	.61
I thought it would take me too long to finish school.	.60 ^a
I thought that adult education would be like regular school.	.57
I felt the teachers would not be friendly or understanding.	.46 ^a
Factor 3: Lack of Access to Classes (mean item mean = 1.43)	
I didn't know there was any place to take classes.	.62
I was worried because classes were held in a bad neighborhood.	.61
I didn't think I needed to read better.	.53
I had family problems.	.52
I felt returning to school wouldn't help me.	.43 ^a
I didn't want to go to classes alone.	.42
Factor 4: Situational Constraints (mean item mean = 1.75)	
I didn't have time to go to school.	.65
It was more important to get a job than to go to school.	.61
The classes were held at times I couldn't go.	.57
I couldn't pay for child care or transportation.	.50
I didn't think I could go to classes regularly.	.50
I thought it would take me too long to finish school.	.40 ^a

^aItem loaded above .40 on more than one factor.

Factor 2: Low Self-Confidence. This factor was comprised of items that reflected doubts about one's ability to be successful in educational activities, including starting classes, learning the material, and completing the program. Unlike the barriers associated with Factor 1, items loading on Factor 2 did not reflect feelings that education was inappropriate, but rather that the learning process would be difficult or unpleasant.

Factor 3: Lack of Access to Classes. The highest loading item on this factor represented a lack of information about classes. Other items ("I was worried because classes were held in a bad neighborhood" and "I didn't want to go to classes alone") reflected feelings or situations that presented deterrents related to the location of the educational program, as well as perhaps other dispositional barriers. Two items—"I didn't think I needed to read better" and "I felt returning to school wouldn't help me"—indicated a belief that education would not be helpful; it is possible that these beliefs were related to lack of access to information about the nature of ESL programs for adults.

Factor 4: Situational Constraints. This factor included barriers related to lack of time or money needed to attend classes. These items reflect life circumstances in which limited resources make education a low priority.

A Profile of Low-Literate Hispanic Adults

The five-cluster solution was selected for the development of a typology of Hispanic adults. Comparison of the overall R^2 values for each derived solution revealed a pronounced leveling between the fifth and sixth solutions. The five-cluster solution also yielded the most proportionate groups: No cluster included less than 5% or more than 41% of the sample. Information about the clusters is presented in Table 3. It should be kept in mind that the cluster mean factor scores in Table 3 are based on standardized scores and, accordingly, represent relative rather than absolute values. Thus, for example, a negative mean indicates that the factor was comparatively unimportant for the cluster in relation to the entire group (which, as the table indicates, has a mean of zero on each factor).

The most salient characteristics of each cluster are described below. The characteristics of each cluster are described in relation to the sample as a whole and in relation to other clusters, although the small size of some clusters rendered invalid statistical tests of differences among groups.

TABLE 3
Results of Cluster Analysis: Summary Statistics

	Total group	Cluster				
		1	2	3	4	5
<i>N</i>	200	82	61	36	10	11
% of subjects	100	41.0	30.5	18.0	5.0	5.5
Mean factor scores^a						
F1 Self/School Incongruence	0	-.26	-.43	.19	1.12	2.77
F2 Low Self-Confidence	0	-.64	-.17	1.61	.14	-.34
F3 Lack of Access to Classes	0	-.32	.16	-.31	2.87	.19
F4 Situational Constraints	0	-.69	1.03	-.01	.20	-.20
Sociodemographic characteristics^b						
% female	66.8	63.3	67.8	72.2	66.7	70.0
% unemployed	45.8	45.0	40.0	58.8	66.7	22.2
Mean age	28.2	27.0	29.6	27.6	32.0	30.4
Mean years of formal education	8.4	8.6	8.5	8.8	5.5	4.4
Mean years in United States	6.2	6.8	6.1	5.6	6.2	6.0
% with dependent children	52.9	38.5	65.6	61.8	66.7	45.5
Mean age of youngest dependent child	7.0	7.0	7.2	5.3	8.5	6.0

^aFactor scores are standard scores based on statistics for the sample as a whole; accordingly, the mean factor scores for the total sample are zero, with standard deviations of 1.0. When interpreting the table, it is important to keep in mind that the cluster means are relative scores; for example, a mean of greater than +1.0 indicates that the deterrent factor was very important for that group in relation to the entire sample.

^bPercentage figures for cluster sociodemographic data are based only on those questionnaires that were complete.

Type 1. This, the largest group in the sample (41.0%) represents individuals who were “least deterred” from participating in ESL programs. The group’s mean factor scores on Self/School Incongruence and Lack of Access to Classes were both comparable to the means for the whole sample, whereas its mean scores on Low Self-Confidence and Situational Constraints were more than one half of a standard deviation lower than the sample means. Examination of the group’s background characteristics suggests one potential reason why these individuals perceived situational barriers to be less important: A somewhat lower proportion (38.5%) had dependent children. Other characteristics of the group were reasonably similar to the sample as a whole. Thus, the least deterred might be described as young women who had lived in the United States for more than 6 years, who tended to have at least a primary education, and who had school-age children, if they had children at all.

Type 2. This group was the second largest in the typology, comprising 30.5% of the sample. Their highest mean factor score was on Situational Constraints, and their lowest score was on Self/School Incongruence. This group, with its somewhat higher percentage of individuals with dependent children (65.6%) and somewhat lower percentage (40.0%) who were unemployed, was primarily deterred by barriers such as unavailability of child care or low priority of education compared with employment or other concerns. They might be characterized as employed mothers.

Type 3. The third largest group, 18.0% of the sample, can be differentiated from other groups and the sample as a whole on the basis of a number of characteristics. The group consisted of the highest proportion of women (72.2%); the proportion who were unemployed (58.8%) was also high in relation to the entire sample. A comparatively high percentage (61.8%) had dependent children; the average age of the youngest dependent child was comparatively low (5.3 years). Interestingly, despite their young children, this group did not perceive Situational Constraints to be as important as did Type 2. In contrast, these individuals indicated that Low Self-Confidence was the most significant barrier to their participation; Lack of Access to Classes was least important for the group overall.

A somewhat surprising finding was that this group's level of educational attainment was somewhat higher than every other group; their relatively low self-confidence might suggest that they had more limited or negative past experiences with schooling. However, it also is possible that these women, because of their young children and lack of employment, were more confined to their households, had less contact with the English-speaking community, and thus felt less sure of their ability to learn English. In general they might be described as educationally insecure homemakers.

Type 4. This group, the smallest in the typology (5.0% of the subjects) is distinctive due to its very high scores on two deterrent factors: Self/School Incongruence and Lack of Access to Classes. These individuals had the highest mean age (32.0 years), the highest proportion of unemployment (66.7%) and the second lowest mean level of past educational attainment (5.5 years). This combination of characteristics seems to reflect both a lack of access to information about educational opportunities and a tendency to perceive educational programs as inappropriate or irrelevant. The group might be described as the culturally isolated unemployed.

Type 5. This final group, 5.5% of the respondents, exhibited an extremely high score on Self/School Incongruence; in contrast to

Type 4, their score on Lack of Access to Classes was comparable to the sample mean. Like Type 4, their average age (30.4 years) was somewhat higher than that for the total sample. Their past educational attainment (4.4 years) was the lowest of all five groups. The most striking difference between this group and Type 4, as well as the total sample, was their low proportion (22.2%) of unemployed individuals. Possibly their success in the working world, combined with their previous lack of education, created the perception that learning English was not important or that educational programs were inappropriate. They can be termed noneducationally oriented workers.

DISCUSSION

The mean importance scores of the DPS-LLS deterrent items suggest that for this group of participants in ESL programs, the most pressing barriers related to a lack of time to attend classes on a regular basis, the low priority of education in relation to work, costs, and lack of transportation. Ranked as least important were items reflecting a belief that classes would not be helpful, that friends and family would not approve of participation in such classes, and dislike of other students. The identified factors provide a helpful way of grouping these individual deterrents; comparison of mean item means for the factors indicated that overall, Situational Constraints were most important, whereas the least important kind of barriers concerned Self/School Incongruence.

The identification of these categories of barriers facilitates further understanding of differences among groups of individuals. The results of the cluster analysis indicate the potential benefit of this approach as a means of understanding group differences in perceptions of barriers to participation. The ability to describe a combination of salient background characteristics for each group enables greater distinctions to be made among individuals who might appear similar if described according to only one or two characteristics.

For example, Situational Constraints were perceived as most important by Type 2, mothers who were employed outside of the home, whereas for Type 3, mothers who were unemployed, these barriers were comparatively less important. Self/School Incongruence was relatively important as a barrier for both groups of individuals with relatively low levels of educational attainment and higher ages (Types 4 and 5). However, the difference in employment between these two groups may mean that the group with high employment (Type 5) was already functioning successfully and that

the group with relatively low employment (Type 4), because of less contact with English speakers as a whole, felt less need to become integrated into English-speaking society. Both situations may contribute to a lack of self/school "fit." The latter group's participation was also affected by Lack of Access to Classes; lack of information about classes, an important aspect of this factor, might have contributed to perceptions that ESL programs were not compatible with the adult needs and roles of this group.

The profile of potential target groups provided by the typology is valuable for educators concerned with recruiting and serving greater numbers of Hispanic adults in ESL programs. Differences among the groups suggest that strategies should be geared specifically to the needs of each group. For example, the provision of child care and educational programs at the workplace may be essential to increase the participation of employed mothers. In contrast, educationally insecure homemakers might be most likely to participate in programs offered in neighborhood locations staffed by teachers with similar ethnic backgrounds. Neighborhood programs may also be most appropriate for the culturally isolated unemployed who are deterred by lack of access to classes. To reduce their perceptions of self/school incongruence, it may be essential to provide a "nonschool-like" format, stressing an adult-oriented environment. Noneducationally oriented workers may be best recruited and served by workplace ESL programs that gear instruction to the demands of the workplace, thus diminishing their perceived self/school incongruence.

Further research is needed to establish the stability of both the factor structure and the typology for this population. Certainly, the importance of individual deterrents, the deterrent factors, and the nature of potential groups may vary for a wider sample of the low-literate Hispanic population. The differences in the findings of this study and those of earlier research on deterrents for low-literate adults (Hayes, 1988; Hayes & Darkenwald, 1988) do provide evidence of the need to examine the characteristics of Hispanic adult learners as a distinct group. Much more information is needed about the constellation of personal and social variables that affect the educational participation of this growing segment of the U.S. population.

Finally, the approach adopted in this study can be utilized in research concerned with ESL and EFL students from different cultural backgrounds. Increased understanding of the diverse variables that affect the educational participation of these groups can form the foundation for more effective programs tailored to meet their distinctive needs.



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THE AUTHOR

Elisabeth Hayes is Assistant Professor of Adult Education at Syracuse University. Previously she was an instructor in the graduate program in adult education at Rutgers University and Associate Director of the Rutgers Center for Adult Development. She is the author of several publications on adult literacy education.

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Improving ESL Placement Tests Using Two Perspectives

JAMES DEAN BROWN

University of Hawaii at Manoa

ESL placement testing is commonly conducted at the beginning of students' studies to determine which level of study would be most appropriate. However, serious mismatches can occur between ESL placement results and the actual progress made by students between levels. The present study was conducted at the University of Hawaii to develop a placement test that would match the curriculum for ESL reading. The usual placement procedures were conducted ($N = 194$), using a well-established instrument to test reading comprehension. The 61 students who placed into our reading course were then retested using the same instrument at the end of the 15-week term. The results were analyzed using classical norm-referenced and criterion-referenced item analyses statistics. When the results of the norm-referenced analyses (item facility and discrimination indexes) were combined with those of the criterion-referenced analyses (particularly the difference index), serious mismatches between the testing procedures and our ESL program were revealed. The combined information from both sets of analyses was used to revise the placement test and to improve the match between the test and our specific reading program.

The first contact that many students have with an ESL or EFL program is the cold and detached experience of taking some form of placement examination. Placement is an important element in most programs because of the necessity for sorting students into relatively homogeneous language-ability groupings, sometimes within specific skill areas. Since we regularly put students through such experiences, it seems logical that we should do our best to make responsible placement decisions based on the results of their efforts.

In most language programs, the placement tests are either bought from commercial publishing houses, adapted from other ESL programs, or pulled straight from the current textbook. There are

two potential problems with any of these approaches. First, the effectiveness of even a good test can vary dramatically from one group of students to another. For instance, Brown (1984a) demonstrated that varying the ranges of ability in the groups of students can cause a cloze test to appear to be the single best cloze procedure ever developed (with a reliability estimate of .95 and criterion-related validity coefficient of .90) or the worst in the history of cloze testing (with a reliability estimate of .31 and criterion-related validity coefficient of .43). In other words, it is important to ensure that a given placement test is suitable for the range of abilities found in the particular program in which it will be used.

Second, students in ESL/EFL programs around the world differ widely in nationality, language background, and level of English ability. For example, at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, the vast majority of our foreign students are from Asia, whereas the foreign student populations at institutions in the eastern United States tend to include more Europeans and Middle Easterners. Since Farhady (1982, p. 54) demonstrated that students may perform quite dissimilarly on different types of tests, depending on their nationalities, it is quite possible that many of the currently used placement tests are being employed incorrectly with students quite different from the ones for whom the tests were originally designed and normed. One possible result of such problems is that placement decisions—ones that can dramatically affect the lives of our students—may often be based on test questions quite unrelated to the needs of the students in a particular language program or to the curriculum being taught there.

Where sufficient expertise is available within a program, placement tests can be developed and normed on the basis of that population of students. This would seem to be an ideal situation, but Brown (1981) found that even when a relatively sophisticated placement test such as the English as a Second Language Placement Examination is developed specifically for a given program, in this case the ESL courses at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), a serious mismatch can occur between what is being tested by the placement examination and what is being taught in the program. In the English Language Institute (ELI) of the University of Hawaii at Manoa (UHM), we recently recognized problems analogous to those found at UCLA. As a result, we decided to develop a placement battery that would be related in content to the curriculum of our institute—a proposal that struck us as strangely novel.

As a starting point, we chose to focus on the reading component of the ELI. Reading was selected, from among the listening, reading, and writing skills taught by us, because the test used for reading placement was the most seriously in need of revision and because the decisions based on the reading test scores were the simplest; that is, students were either placed into a single level of reading or exempted altogether from training in the reading skill. The plan was to develop a new, workable strategy for constructing a program-related reading placement test, then to use the same strategy in improving the other skill tests.

Before explanation of this strategy will make sense, however, a few basic concepts and terms must be clarified. First, the distinction between norm-referenced tests and criterion-referenced tests is discussed. Then, three item analysis statistics are reviewed: item facility, item discrimination, and item difference indexes. Since the overall purpose of this article is to demonstrate a practical and useful model for developing program-related placement tests, every effort has been made to define and explain technical jargon.

BASIC TERMINOLOGY

Norm-Referenced Versus Criterion-Referenced Tests

The distinction between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests may not be entirely familiar to readers of the *TESOL Quarterly* because it is relatively new in our field. For instance, as recently as 1982, Cziko (see also 1983) made the first cogent call for the use of criterion-referenced interpretations in language testing. Brown (1984b) listed some of the key differences between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests, but it remained for Hudson and Lynch (1984) to outline the basic principles of criterion-referenced test construction and analysis. Bachman (1987) added to the small but growing literature in this area with his article discussing the place of criterion-referenced tests in language program evaluation and curriculum development. It seems strange that the distinction between norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests has only recently entered our field because this contrast has been a part of educational testing for years, dating back to Glaser (1983). (For much more on criterion-referenced testing and its background, see Berk, 1980; Popham, 1978, 1981; Popham & Husek, 1969.)

In general terms, *norm-referenced tests* (NRTs) are designed to measure global language skills or abilities (e.g., overall English language proficiency, academic listening ability, reading comprehension, etc.). Each student's score on a NRT is interpreted relative

to the scores of all other students who took the test. Such interpretations are typically done with reference to the statistical concept of normal distribution (familarly known as the bell curve) of scores dispersed around a mean, or average.

The purpose of a NRT is to spread students out along a continuum of scores so that those with “low” abilities are at one end of the normal distribution, whereas those with “high” abilities are found at the other (with the bulk of the students found between the extremes, clustered around the mean). Another characteristic of NRTs is that even though the students may know the general form that the questions will take on the examination (e.g., multiple-choice, true-false, etc.), they typically have no idea what specific content will be tested by those questions.

Criterion-referenced tests (CRTs), on the other hand, are usually produced to measure well-defined and fairly specific instructional objectives. Often these objectives are unique to a particular program and serve as the basis for the curriculum. Hence, it is important that the teachers and students know exactly what those objectives are so that appropriate time and attention can be focused on teaching and learning them.

The interpretation of CRT results is considered absolute in the sense that a student’s score is meaningful in and of itself, without reference to the other students’ performances. Instead, each student’s score on a particular objective indicates the percentage of the skill or knowledge in that objective that has been learned. Moreover, the distribution of scores on a CRT need not necessarily be normal. If all of the students know 100% of the material on all of the objectives, it follows that all of the students will receive the same score with no variation among them.

The purpose of CRTs, then, is to measure the degree to which students have developed knowledge or skill on a specific objective or set of objectives. In most cases, the students would know in advance what types of questions, tasks, and content to expect for each objective on such a test because it would be implied, or perhaps explicitly stated, in the objectives of the course.

This view of the differences between NRTs and CRTs is summarized in Figure 1, which focuses on ways scores are interpreted and distributed, as well as on the purposes for giving each type of test and on the students’ knowledge of question content. There are also numerous contrasts between NRTs and CRTs in the ways that they are viewed empirically and treated statistically (see Hudson & Lynch, 1984), but for the purposes of this article, a basic explanation of how NRTs and CRTs differ in item statistics will suffice.

FIGURE 1
Differences Between Norm-Referenced and
Criterion-Referenced Tests

Adapted from "Criterion-Referenced Language Tests: What, How and Why?" by J.D. Brown, 1964, *Gulf Area TESOL Bi-annual*, 1, pp. 32-34.

Characteristic	Norm-referenced	Criterion-referenced
Type of measurement	General language abilities or proficiencies are measured.	Specific objectives-based language points are measured.
Type of interpretation	Relative: A student's performance is compared with that of all other students.	Absolute: A student's performance is compared only with a prespecified learning objective.
Score distribution	There is a normal distribution of scores around a mean.	If all students know all of the material, all should score 100%.
Purpose of testing	Students are spread out along a continuum of general abilities or proficiencies.	The amount of material known or learned by each student is assessed.
Knowledge of questions	Students have little or no idea what content to expect in the questions.	Students know exactly what content to expect in test questions.

Item Statistics

When considering item characteristics, the unit of focus is the individual test question, or item. The item characteristics of NRTs are most often described in terms of item facility and item discrimination, whereas CRTs are more appropriately characterized by two item facility values (often pretest and posttest) and difference indexes. Each of these is defined in turn, then discussed with a focus on how they are used differently in developing each of the two types of tests.

Norm-referenced item analysis. *Item facility* (also called item difficulty, item easiness, or simply IF) is the proportion of students who answered a given item correctly. This index is calculated by counting the number of students who correctly answered a question and dividing the result by the total number of students. This yields an index that ranges from 0 to 1.00. The result can be interpreted as the percentage of correct answers for that question. For example, a correct interpretation of an IF index of .27 would be that 27% of the students correctly answered the item. This would be a fairly difficult question because many more students missed it than

answered it correctly. Conversely, an IF of .96 would indicate that 96% of the students answered correctly—a very easy test item.

Item discrimination (ID) is an index of the degree to which an item separates the “high” students from the “low” ones. *High and low achievers* or *high- and low-proficiency students* are terms that might equally well be substituted here, depending on the testing situation. (This particular index was used instead of the biserial correlation approach because it, unlike correlation approaches, is biased toward items of middle difficulty, that is, the types of items that we wanted for placement purposes [Ebel, 1979, pp. 262-263].)

ID is often calculated by contrasting the performance of the upper third of the students on the test with that of the lower third. This is done by ordering the students’ total test scores from high to low and determining which students were in the top and bottom thirds on the test. An IF for each item is then calculated for the top and bottom groups separately, and the IF for the lower third of the students (again, based on total test scores) is subtracted from the IF for the top third. The resulting ID values can range from -1.00 (if all of the low students answer correctly and all of the high ones miss the item) to $+1.00$ (if all of the high students answer correctly and all of the low ones miss the item).

Consider a situation in which the top third on a test had an IF of .90 for Item 4 and those in the lower third had an IF of .20. The item discrimination index for Item 4 would be $.90 - .20 = .70$. This would indicate that the item was “discriminating,” or distinguishing, very well between the high and low students on the whole test. On the other hand, an item for which the upper third had an IF of .10 and the lower third an IF of .71 would have an ID of $.10 - .71 = -.61$. This would indicate that the item was producing results quite different from those on the rest of the test. In other words, many of those students who scored low on the whole test managed to answer this item correctly, whereas those who scored high on the total test were answering it incorrectly. Since the multiple observations of all of the items on a test, that is, their combined effect, are generally considered to be a better estimate of the students’ actual knowledge or skills than any single item, there is good reason to question the contribution being made to a norm-referenced test by items that have low or negative ID indexes.

Norm-referenced test development or revision projects are usually designed to (a) pilot a relatively large number of test items on a group of students similar to the group who will ultimately be taking the test, (b) analyze the items, and (c) select the best items to

make up a smaller, more efficient and effective revised version of the test.

When selecting items for NRT placement tests at UHM, we typically select those with IFs as close as possible to .50 and with the highest available ID. There are legitimate arguments for using a more humane item facility of .625, but we use .50 to maximize the degree to which items are centered (i.e., 50% answer correctly and 50% incorrectly). Since the exact ideal value of .50 is seldom obtained, actual item selection is based on a range of acceptable IFs between .30 and .70. Once it is determined which of the items fall within that acceptable range of IFs, those with the highest IDs among the remaining items are selected so that the resulting test will not only be centered but also discriminate well between the low and the high students. Ebel (1979) has suggested the following guidelines for making decisions based on ID:

- .40 and up Very good items
- .30 to .39 Reasonably good but possibly subject to improvement
- .20 to .29 Marginal items, usually needing and being subject to improvement
- Below .19 Poor items, to be rejected or improved by revision (p. 267)

Of course, these are not meant to be used as hard and fast “rules” but rather should be used as aids in making decisions about which items to keep and which to discard until a sufficient number of items has been found to make up whatever norm-referenced test is being developed.

Criterion-referenced item analysis. As noted, the revision process for NRTs is based on a single pilot administration of the test. A single administration is adequate, since the purpose of a NRT is to determine the language placement or proficiency of the students in a single population on a single occasion. The piloting of items in a criterion-referenced test development project is quite different because the purpose of selecting those items—to assess how much of an objective or set of objectives has been learned by each student—is so fundamentally different. In order to measure such learning, as in achievement testing, students should be tested before and after studying the relevant concepts or skills to determine whether there was any improvement in their scores. Hence, the piloting of a CRT often involves administering it before and after instruction and comparing the results of the two administrations. To minimize the practice effect due to taking exactly the same test twice, two forms can be developed, with half of the students taking each form on the pretest, then the other form on the posttest. Item

analysis of a CRT can then be conducted on the basis of these results.

As with NRT item analysis, *item facility* plays an important role in examining CRT items. However, there are two possible item facilities for each item: one for the pretest and one for the posttest. In CRT development, the goal is to find items that reflect what is being learned by the students. As a result, an ideal item for CRT purposes might be one that had an IF (for the whole group) of 0 at the beginning of instruction and another IF of 1.00 at the end. This would indicate that everyone had missed the item at the beginning of instruction (i.e., they had needed to study this objective) and that everyone answered it correctly at the end of instruction (i.e., they fully learned whatever it was that was being taught). Of course, this example is of an ideal item, in an ideal world, with ideal students and an infallible teacher.

Reality may be different because students arrive in most teaching situations with differing amounts of knowledge. Thus, it is unlikely that there will be an IF of exactly 0 for any CRT item that measures any realistic objective, even at the very beginning of instruction. Similarly, students differ in ability and motivation, so it is probable that they will not learn each and every objective to an equal degree. This would mitigate against the possibility that many CRT items will have an IF of 1.00 at the end of instruction.

Since CRT items are seldom perfect in the sense described above, the *difference index* (DI) is used to analyze the degree to which an item is reflecting gain in knowledge or skill (Hudson & Lynch, 1984, p. 178). In contrast to item discrimination, which shows the degree to which a NRT item separates the upper third of students from the lower third, the difference index indicates the degree to which a CRT item is distinguishing between the students who know the material or have the skill (sometimes called masters) and those who do not (termed nonmasters).

To calculate the difference index, one subtracts the IF for the pretest results (presumably nonmasters) from the IF for the posttest results (ideally masters). For example, if the posttest IF for Item 10 on a test was .77 and the pretest IF was .22, it would indicate that only 22% knew the concept or skill at the beginning of instruction, whereas 77% knew it by the end. That would be an encouraging trend, further supported by the relatively high DI for that item of $.77 - .22 = .55$. Note that the DI can range from -1.00 (indicating that students knew but somehow unlearned the objective in question) to +1.00 (showing that students went from knowing nothing about the objective to knowing it completely).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

As discussed above, Brown (1981) found that students who were placed by examination into the upper level ESL course at UCLA were different from those students who had been promoted from lower level courses. That study provided initial evidence of the degree to which NRT placement tests may not necessarily measure what is being taught and learned in the courses.

At UHM, we felt that CRT development techniques might provide a key to solving this problem because CRTs can be designed to reflect program objectives directly. However, CRTs are not designed for spreading students out along a continuum of general abilities as is necessary for NRT placement decisions. We therefore decided to create a completely new strategy for constructing language placement tests. This strategy would combine the useful qualities of NRTs with those for CRTs to create placement tests that not only spread students out along a continuum of language abilities (NRT), but do so on the basis of items that are demonstrably related to what the students learn while in the program (CRT).

This study differs from other test revision projects primarily in that the item selection part of the test revision was based on both the NRT item analysis approach (using the item facility and discrimination indexes) and the CRT item analysis approach (using the mastery/nonmastery item facilities to calculate difference indexes). In other words, an item was selected for retention in the revised version of our Reading Comprehension Test on the basis of its item facility and item discrimination when used for placement, as well as its difference index when viewed as a pretest and posttest for the reading course.

This combination of sometimes contradictory NRT and CRT item analysis techniques was inspired by Popham's (1978, p. 13) observation that when effective instruction is present, the distribution of scores at the beginning will tend to be normal, whereas the scores at the end of instruction will tend to be negatively skewed. We realized that these were the types of pretest and posttest distributions that we were hoping to foster in this project and that we might do so by combining both NRT and CRT item analyses criteria for item selection.

The first two criteria, item facility and discrimination indexes, helped us select sound NRT items, that is, items that were effectively spreading students out along a continuum of abilities in reading. The last criterion, difference indexes, helped us to select that subset of effective NRT items that was most closely related to the reading skills learned during the 15 weeks that the students

studied with us. Of course, we realized that the students were doing many other things in their lives, including taking other ELI courses, that might affect any observed gains. Nevertheless, we felt that it would be preferable to select items that were related to the students' overall reading experiences at UHM rather than to continue in ignorance of the relationship between our placement test items and those experiences.

It was then incumbent upon us, having developed such a hybrid reading placement test, to examine the following research questions so that our placement decisions would be as responsible as possible:

1. What are the item statistics for the original and revised versions of this Reading Comprehension Test?
2. What are the descriptive statistics for the original and revised versions of the program-related ESL Reading Comprehension Test?
3. To what degree are the original and revised versions of the test reliable?
4. To what degree are they valid as tests of ESL reading comprehension as it is taught in the ELI?

METHOD

Subjects

All of the subjects in this study were students who had been required to take the English Language Institute Placement Test (ELIPT) because they were incoming foreign students who had been fully admitted to UHM with a minimum score of 500 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Students who scored 600 or higher on the TOEFL were exempted from both the ELIPT and any further ELI training. Therefore, it is safe to say that the TOEFL scores of those students who were required to take the ELIPT ranged from about 500 to 600. The groupings used here for analysis included the entire population of foreign students who took the fall 1987 ELIPT ($N = 194$), as well as the subset of those students who were placed into the reading course ($n = 61$).

Because of our geographical location, the overall population of 194 students was predominantly Asian, with 21% from the People's Republic of China; 19% from Hong Kong; 11% each from Japan and Korea; 9% each from Taiwan and Vietnam; and 4% each from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. The remaining 8% came from a variety of other predominantly Asian countries. The overall population included a mixture of graduates (38%), undergraduates

(48%), unclassified persons (10%), and auditors/visiting faculty (4%). The students in this group were 43% female and 57% male and had a wide variety of majors, with a majority in the sciences.

Materials

Five subtests make up the ELI Placement Test at UHM: the Academic Listening Test, Dictation, Cloze, Writing Sample, and Reading Comprehension Test. The placement of ELI students in terms of reading ability has traditionally been based on the Reading Comprehension Test. As mentioned above, the reading subtest was chosen for this study partly because it was urgently in need of revision (last revised in 1983). It was also chosen because the decisions for this skill area are relatively simple: Students are either placed into our single reading course or exempted. The placement is more complicated in the other skill areas because we have four courses in writing and two levels for listening.

The original version of the UHM Reading Comprehension Test was made up of 60 four-option multiple-choice reading comprehension questions. One of the example questions given in the directions of the test illustrates the general form of these items:

Out of the darkness of the cold, wintry night came the clatter of a toppled garbage can lid. Startled, Peter dropped his book and ran to the back door.

Ex. 1

What was Peter doing before he heard the noise?

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| A. singing | C. washing |
| B. reading | D. sleeping |

This is an example of an inference question. However, there were numerous other question types (e. g., vocabulary, fact, main idea, etc.). Naturally, the 10 passages used in the actual test were longer than this example (ranging in length from 72 to 290 words).

Procedures

The original version of the Reading Comprehension Test was administered in fall 1986 to the 194 subjects. This administration took place in a large auditorium. The students were allowed 50 minutes to finish the 60 items. It was administered again 16 weeks later as a posttest to the 61 students who had been placed into four sections of the reading course. This administration took place in the students' classrooms during their final examination period. They were once again allowed 50 minutes to finish the test.

Analyses

The Reading Comprehension Test was administered to all incoming students as a placement test (for IF and ID) and viewed as a pretest-posttest study for those students who had placed into the reading course (for DI). Each of these sets of data was examined in terms of descriptive test statistics. The items were then individually analyzed for each administration, with the goal of selecting items for the revised version of the test. Only those that fell approximately within a range of .30 to .70 in IF and had the highest item discrimination and difference indexes were to be kept in the revised test. This new version was then reanalyzed for descriptive test statistics and item characteristics in order to determine the degree to which the test revision process had succeeded.

RESULTS

The actual decisions about which items to include in the revised version were based on the item facility, item discrimination, and difference index statistics shown in Table 1. Items with an asterisk before them were selected for the revised version of the reading test. Comparing those that were selected with those that were not, notice that most of the selected items had an IF between .30 and .70, an ID near or in excess of .30 on the placement administration, and a DI higher than .10.

From a NRT point of view, such items would be reasonably well centered (IF between .30 and .70) and would maximally separate the high ESL readers from the low ones (high ID). From a CRT point of view, such items would be related to the learning that was going on during the reading course (higher DI). Choices were also tempered by the fact that these items were based on passages that had to be treated as units. In other words, the items were linked to particular passages of text, and we did not want to require students to read entire passages to answer only one or two items. Hence, item selection was necessarily moderated by passage considerations.

Once the items were selected, the results of the placement test were reanalyzed as though only the 35 remaining items had been administered. The new item statistics are reported in Table 2, and the overall descriptive statistics can be found in the second column of Table 3. This analysis gives a rough estimate of what will happen when we actually use this version.

The descriptive statistics for the original and revised versions of the test, when analyzed separately for the total placement

TABLE 1
Selecting Norm-Referenced Items Related to the Program

Item no.	IF	ID	DI	Item no.	IF	ID	DI
* 1.	.912	.439	.033	*31.	.696	.347	.115
2.	.649	.303	-.033	*32.	.454	.222	.164
3.	.871	.304	-.033	33.	.582	.228	.017
4.	.747	.273	-.032	*34.	.727	.440	.147
* 5.	.407	.357	.148	*35.	.789	.476	.131
6.	.799	.470	.098	36.	.392	.253	.066
* 7.	.649	.355	.213	*37.	.686	.446	.131
* 8.	.541	.302	.164	*38.	.644	.473	.148
9.	.500	.279	.050	*39.	.722	.489	.164
10.	.340	.268	.000	*40.	.552	.425	.082
11.	.897	.490	.049	*41.	.624	.569	.196
12.	.742	.443	.082	*42.	.521	.305	.131
13.	.577	.406	.033	*43.	.711	.385	.147
14.	.809	.387	.017	*44.	.696	.465	.148
15.	.629	.170	.000	45.	.660	.374	.082
*16.	.644	.344	.148	46.	.309	.236	.082
*17.	.763	.329	.115	*47.	.680	.543	.295
18.	.536	.305	.082	*48.	.552	.465	.345
*19.	.479	.348	.181	*49.	.443	.406	.312
*20.	.567	.308	.132	*50.	.490	.349	.295
21.	.845	.455	.065	*51.	.686	.401	.181
*22.	.593	.310	.148	52.	.278	.264	.016
23.	.711	.325	-.032	*53.	.732	.462	.131
24.	.423	.290	.180	*54.	.577	.411	.131
25.	.881	.425	.049	*55.	.665	.480	.148
*26.	.629	.437	.213	56.	.541	.544	.082
27.	.691	.351	.082	*57.	.536	.480	.164
28.	.722	.325	.065	58.	.407	.275	.065
*29.	.629	.329	.262	*59.	.381	.323	.181
*30.	.510	.299	.131	*60.	.531	.310	.196

* Items selected for the revised version.

population and for the reading students alone (pretest and posttest), are shown in Table 3. This table includes the number of students in each analysis, the number of items, the mean, the standard deviation, the Kuder-Richardson formula 20 reliability coefficient, and the standard error of measurement (*SEM*).

DISCUSSION

Returning to the first research question, the item statistics for the original and revised versions of our reading placement test indicate that item selections and test revision along the lines outlined here are

possible and practical. It is remarkable and somewhat disturbing to us that almost 50% of the items in the original version were apparently unrelated to content and reading skills taught in our reading curriculum. It should help that we now have a strategy for

TABLE 2
Revised Version

Item no.	IF	ID	DI	Item no.	IF	ID	DI
1.	.912	.384	.033	39.	.722	.504	.164
5.	.407	.337	.148	40.	.552	.454	.082
7.	.649	.342	.213	41.	.624	.584	.196
8.	.541	.309	.164	42.	.521	.278	.131
16.	.644	.319	.148	43.	.711	.383	.147
17.	.763	.311	.115	44.	.696	.497	.148
19.	.479	.331	.181	47.	.680	.600	.295
20.	.567	.284	.132	48.	.552	.537	.345
22.	.593	.282	.148	49.	.443	.435	.312
26.	.629	.398	.213	50.	.490	.383	.295
29.	.629	.326	.262	51.	.686	.418	.181
30.	.510	.272	.131	53.	.732	.503	.131
31.	.696	.331	.115	54.	.577	.435	.131
32.	.454	.232	.164	55.	.665	.519	.148
34.	.727	.424	.147	57.	.536	.506	.164
35.	.789	.472	.131	59.	.381	.344	.181
37.	.686	.458	.131	60.	.531	.305	.196
38.	.644	.486	.148				

TABLE 3
Descriptive Statistics

Statistic	Total placement population		Reading students only			
	Original	Revised	Original version		Revised version	
			Pretest	Posttest	Pretest	Posttest
<i>N/n</i>	194	194	61	61	61	61
No. of items	60	35	60	60	35	35
<i>M</i>	36.96	21.44	33.84 ^a	40.93 ^a	18.90 ^b	24.87 ^b
<i>SD</i>	10.78	7.10	6.62	7.19	4.60	5.03
<i>r</i>	.89	.85	.72	.79	.63	.75
<i>SEM</i>	3.51	2.76	3.52	3.28	2.79	2.53

^a The difference of 7.09 points (a 21% gain) between the pretest and posttest means was significant at the .01 level. The observed *t* (*df* = 60) was 7.35; the critical *t* was 2.66.

^b The difference of 5.97 points (a 32% gain) between the pretest and posttest means was significant at the .01 level. The observed *t* (*df* = 35) was 6.18; the critical *t* was 2.75.

constructing placement tests that are related to what is going on in the reading classes. However, this is just a beginning.

We must continue to strengthen this relationship and attempt to understand it better. It may prove particularly fruitful to examine the curricular implications of our findings with a focus on what can be borrowed from the course objectives to refine further the relationship between the placement test and the course. For instance, as part of the reading curriculum development, the terminal objectives for our reading program have recently been revised to include the following

Intensive Reading Skills (Focus of Weeks 1-4, but continuing)

- Building vocabulary
- Understanding abbreviations and acronyms
- Recognizing word chains
- Using roots and affixes for guessing vocabulary
- Improving performance on multiple-choice reading tasks

Extensive Reading Strategies (Focus of Weeks 5-8, but continuing)

- Skimming for primary content
- Scanning for specific information
- Guessing vocabulary from context
- Predicting while reading
- Reading for speed and comprehension

Academic Study Skills (Focus of Weeks 9-12, but continuing)

- Understanding cultural differences in reading and studying in English
- Finding periodicals, books, and reference materials in the card and computer catalogs in campus and departmental libraries
- Using reference materials
- Note taking and outlining from reading
- Reading statistics and statistical tables
- Properly citing references and not plagiarizing
- Reading to pass examinations

Items are being written for each of these objectives. The primary goal of this process is to develop achievement tests for reading, but based on further pretest-posttest results, we also hope to find some new items that will function well for placement purposes, that is, will have IF, ID, and DI statistics much like those items selected for the revised version in this study.

In response to the second and third research questions, the descriptive statistics indicate that the revised version of the Reading Comprehension Test will function effectively as a norm-referenced reading placement test because it is equally well centered (mean) and produces a respectably wide spread of scores (*SD*). It is also

reasonably reliable, especially in view of its new shorter length. (In general, if all other factors are held constant, longer tests tend to be more reliable than short ones; see Ebel, 1979, for further explanation.)

The fourth research question concerned validity. Validity is defined as the degree to which a test is measuring what it claims to measure. The original version of our test had been viewed as content valid because it was judged by “experts” to tap various reading comprehension skills taught in our classes. This is not a very strong argument on its own and was accompanied by no other types of corroborating validity studies.

The present study has demonstrated another kind of validity. This is called construct validity, that is, showing through an experiment that a test is measuring what it purports to test. One way that construct validity can be demonstrated is by showing that the test is assessing a particular construct through a pretest-posttest experimental design. The construct under investigation here was reading comprehension. Our strategy was to test the students before they had received instruction in this construct, instruct them in the construct, and test them again to see if our instrument actually tapped what they had gained in learning the construct.

Since this test was designed specifically for placement into our course, it seems logical that the construct, reading comprehension, could in part be defined by those skills and knowledge areas taught in the course. Thus, in a very fundamental way, even before this study, it was arguable that the existing test was construct valid in the sense that there was a 21% gain shown in Table 3 for the pretest-posttest results on the original version.

However, it can be further argued that the construct validity of the test is enhanced in the revised version, as indicated by the larger proportional gains that result when this 35-item version is analyzed for pretest-posttest differences. The pretest mean for those students taking our reading course was 18.90, and their posttest mean was 24.87—a gain of nearly 6 points, or approximately 32%. Although this is still not as high a gain as we would like to see, it is an indication that our revised reading comprehension test is not only more efficient than the original version but also more valid for purposes of placement into our reading classes.

There is always a possibility that observed differences like these are due to chance alone. However, the *t* tests (Fisher’s *t* for correlated means; see Guilford & Fruchter, 1973, p. 161) reported in Table 3 indicate that the differences found between pretest and posttest means for the original and revised versions of the test are

statistically significant (i.e., we can be 99% sure that the observed differences in means are due to other than chance factors).

Although the practice effect (i.e., the effect of having taken a test once on the results of subsequent administrations of the same test) is one possible explanation for these gains, it does not seem likely that it accounts for any large proportion of the gains because there was a 16-week interval between the administrations and the students had no warning about what their “final examination” would be like.

It is also important to remember that these gains cannot be attributed solely to the reading instruction received in our ELI course. Students were concurrently enrolled in other courses in the ELI and elsewhere on campus. It is hoped that they also had extensive English language input in other nonacademic aspects of their lives. Thus, it would be an error to claim that the gains were entirely due to our marvelous classes.

CONCLUSION

The outcomes of this study are encouraging from our point of view because they indicate that we have managed to revise the test so that it is more fully assessing the reading skills that students are learning while in our classes, whereas previously, we had little idea of how the test was related to our program. Based on the success of this project, implementation of the revised version of the Reading Comprehension Test is now under way. An additional 25 items are being piloted with the ones selected in this project. These 25 were constructed to be similar to those that worked well in this study. Thus, another version of the test can be further refined and administered for use in subsequent semesters.

In addition, to expand on this model, a lead teacher for each skill area has been given release time and primary responsibility for marshaling the resources and personnel to generate tests for each skill area. Future research will also include the use of item response theory to help us establish the comparability of placement across semesters and to develop sound behavioral descriptors for each of our levels of placement (see Perkins & Brutton, 1988). These separate, but related, projects are now under way in what will be an ongoing process of placement test generation, analysis, revision, and further testing. The difference here is not that we are systematically generating norm-referenced placement tests for the various skill areas, but rather that we are doing so with items that function well as NRT placement items *and* are related to the

content and skills that the students are learning while in the ELI at the University of Hawaii.

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THE AUTHOR

J. D. Brown is in the Department of ESL and Director of the English Language Institute at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His primary interests are language testing, curriculum design, program evaluation, and research design. His new book, *Understanding Research in Second Language Learning*, was recently released by Cambridge University Press.

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Seeing With Different Eyes: Another View of Literature in the ESL Class

JUDITH OSTER

Case Western Reserve University

Focusing on point of view in literature enlarges students' vision and fosters critical thinking by dramatizing the various ways a situation can be seen. This is especially valuable in international classes, wherein students from traditional education systems are often unfamiliar with critical ways of reading, questioning, and analyzing texts. Short stories told from a single, limited point of view or through the eyes of one character make excellent vehicles for demonstrating the extent to which limited knowledge or an emotional stake in the events colors a character's vision. As students respond to stories and analyze their impressions, they see how their information was filtered through a point of view and limited by it; furthermore, they begin to see how their own experiences, cultures, or values affect their views. Once students see how point of view and sympathy can be manipulated in a story, they are assigned writing tasks requiring them to shift points of view in a given story or in a story of their own. They must speak with different voices, see with different eyes, which fosters more flexible reading, writing, and thinking. Moreover, contact with literature stimulates more imaginative student writing, and with it an increase of significant detail and appropriate figurative language.

Blaise Pascal (1670/1910) wrote: "We view things not only from different sides, but with different eyes; we have no wish to find them alike" (p. 50). In coupling the notion of "different eyes" with that of having "no wish to find [things] alike," Pascal implies that we see things differently because we have no wish to find them alike, seeing what we want to see and blind to what we do not want to see or, one might add, to what we have not learned to see. Surely our experience, culture, and personal desires act as "lenses" through which we see what lies before us.

What does it mean to see with eyes different from our own? What does such seeing require of students who might not have been asked what they see even with their own eyes, let alone with another's? To a student from a traditional type of education system that puts its highest premium on memorizing, seeing through other eyes can be a new and sometimes threatening experience. Yet if we do indeed hope to help students learn the liberal art of seeing from different perspectives, we will find in literature the ideal vehicle: Students become involved in a world that engages their feelings yet is not the world they actually inhabit. They may identify with the characters and their situations, but they do not, in reality, share them. Separated from the student's own life, fictional conflicts, complexities, and points of view can be felt and understood at no great personal risk; the art of seeing with different eyes can be more readily cultivated when the subject is a public literary text, not a private "real" one. Thus, the art of multiple perspectives is learned and practiced, not on what students may wish to protect, but displaced onto a fictional world.

It is not only issues, however, that may be sensitive. The very ways we view a text can also be at odds with everything students have experienced when they sat in classrooms in front of the printed word or attending to their teachers' voices. Osterloh (1987, p. 78) writes that students from preindustrial countries must acquire new ways of dealing with texts as they emerge from a society whose texts, until recently, had been exclusively sacred. The texts we and our colleagues put before them are not only secular, but man-made, fallible, and possibly biased. When students read these texts, we want them to be analytical and critical. When they write, we want them to be aware that a text can remain malleable as long as the author wishes, that there is never only one way it could have been written, that it should be convincing to readers who are "other" to the writer and potentially varied in knowledge, cultural predisposition, experience, and opinion.

When we ask students who come from such diverse places as the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, or Latin America to argue an opinion, especially an opinion different from that of a teacher or a text, or more threatening yet, to take a stand when there has been no direction from the teacher, we are often reversing assumptions deeply ingrained in the value system of their culture, implicitly telling them, for example, that a younger person has something new to say to an older one (Anderson & Powell, 1988, p. 208), that words can have value in argument (Barnlund, 1987, p. 164; Becker, 1988, p. 251), that no one will be offended or feel personally attacked (Becker, 1988, p. 245; Osterloh, 1987, p. 81) if a pupil or fellow student openly disagrees with her or him.

Maley (1987, p. 103) speaks of books as the embodiment of knowledge, wisdom, and truth in China, where the prevailing view is that what is in books is there to be taken out and put into the heads of students. He is not alone in showing how and why students from such an education system rely on memorization and quotation and find our insistence on originality and analysis difficult to understand—still more difficult to produce (Maley, 1985; Matalene, 1985; Parker et al., 1987; Valdes, 1987, p. xi; Young & Lee, 1985).

Becker (1988, p. 257), in explaining several different “Reasons for the Lack of Argumentation and Debate in the Far East,” points out that where there is lack of verbal debate, the necessary sensitivity to nuance and difference of opinion is due in part to a homogeneity of culture and language over millennia, which a pluralistic society—or world—does not, cannot share. This, of course, raises another issue: In a Western education system, a plurality of views, and openness to them, is considered a value, and we must see it as such—a value, perhaps even our value, not by any means a universal value. Surely we know that not all our students come from pluralistic cultures that would consider it development to become more open and more relativistic in their thinking. As Bizzell (1984) writes, “this academic way of thinking might not be valued in a fundamentalist community” (p. 453). She is correct in pointing out that these are not value-free terms; they are value laden. Those of us who teach students to be “fair,” “analytical,” open-minded, and nondogmatic are teaching a value system—and it *is* culture bound. However, if we are, for example, teaching students in an American university or preparing them to enter an American or European university, we must prepare them for the kind of seeing and thinking that will be expected of them.

Equally threatening to a nonnative speaker can be self-disclosure. Barnlund (1987, pp. 163-164), for example, has demonstrated that Japanese and Americans differ sharply in the depth of conversation they feel is appropriate in interpersonal encounters and that among the Japanese one finds substantially less disclosure of inner personal experience. This is partly because talk, putting feelings into words, is disparaged, which contrasts with the value Americans place on being able to articulate ideas and feelings.

We do not want students to bare their souls, but we do want them to feel more free to express what they are willing to share and to find value in what they have thought and experienced. We speak of voice in a writing class, of authenticity, of concrete detail, and we need to help students to see these qualities in what they read and to develop them in what they write. I am grateful for the insight given

me by a Malaysian student who had discovered in his English class a love not only for literature but also for writing—pride in his newfound ability and joy in the act of writing. He continued to write beyond the end of the term, but he did so only in his still imperfect, more limited English. As he explained it, in Malay one did not write this way. English remained the medium more congenial to this form of self-expression.

It comes as no surprise to us when we are told that English teachers can help students through their experience of culture shock (Brown, 1987, p. 132) or that we need to help students develop the discursive language behavior of our educational culture by depersonalizing argument (Osterloh, 1987, pp. 81-82). Nor should we be surprised by the comments of a student who, looking back on his years in an American university, considered the English class, with its readings, discussions, and writing assignments, the best, the most natural place to help students with their acculturation: “Language and culture are so close . . . a teacher—teaching—is not just memorizing; it’s beyond that really, and we all do this learning and teaching to be human and that’s a very important part” (Oster, 1985b, p. 19).

POINT OF VIEW AND LITERATURE

What this article proposes is that discussing literature, particularly point of view in literature, can help foster academic skills in a way that minimizes the threat and encourages taking risks, both in reading and in writing. Literature engages the emotions and encourages personal identification, but it does so in a self-contained world it has created, and it remains fiction. It is a printed text, but clearly one that has been made, and very consciously made to affect its reader, very often doing so by adopting a particular point of view.

What is most important for the purpose of this discussion is that by viewing literature in this way, we are not just seeing issues and giving ourselves topics to discuss, but we are helping students learn how to read in new ways (see also Gajdusek, 1988, pp. 230, 233), even as they write in new ways; we are giving them the opportunity to see and even take up various positions without necessarily having to argue at all and with no possibility of giving offense. We can introduce seeing from different viewpoints without offending them or boring them by asking them to debate abortion or women’s rights. What we are saying, rather, is, Read this story. Let it move you. Please notice that you have seen it through only one lens. Now, what would happen if you change lenses?

As they share their views and perceptions in class discussion, students discover that others in the room have seen things differently, and thus the lenses widen. In fact, my students have commented to me that they enjoyed our literature discussions most of all, mainly because they had a chance to listen to others' views, to be exposed to new angles of vision. As one student put it:

This class is so far the best with a diverse collection of colleagues, each with a different background. So far I have learned so much . . . how one's horizon can be broadened by one's colleagues. When we were discussing anything, sometimes someone out of the blue just opened up a point that I couldn't see in the topic. It feels like someone put a torch in a dark part of my mind. . . . A new way of looking at things is achieved. . . . It's not just English, it's life.

The arguments—pedagogic, linguistic, humanistic, and cultural—in favor of using literature in ESL classes have been convincingly made before this, and therefore they are not repeated here (for example, Brumfit & Carter, 1986; Gajdusek, 1988; Marckwardt, 1978; Marquardt, 1967; Marshall, 1979; McConochie, 1985; McKay, 1982; Oster, 1985a; Povey, 1979; Spack, 1985; Widdowson, 1984). Other influential voices, however, do bear quoting, especially because of their relevance to this topic.

Rosenblatt (1976, 1983) writes of literature as a medium of exploration; she also speaks of seeing one's own cultural blind spots when one compares one's own responses to a literary text with someone else's—and she was not even speaking of ESL students. Then, let us remember Shelley's classic words, not only for their power in "A Defence of Poetry" (1840/1951) but for what they say to us as we consider focusing on point of view:

The great secret of morals is love, or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. (p. 502)

Of course, good literature moves us to sympathy even if we pay no conscious attention to point of view. But when we do pay attention to it, we come to understand better how we have been moved. If our own points of view are lenses, we must not only be aware that they *are* lenses, but we must be willing to examine those lenses closely. This is not easy even for experienced readers and teachers. Again, fictional lenses are so much easier to examine than our own.

To make our students careful examiners, though, requires us to make them aware of some subtleties in narration that the naive

reader could easily miss. Before we take a narrator's story completely at face value, we must understand who is speaking and how that speaker is viewing the events or characters; we may have a different view. Therefore, it is not enough to divide narration into first person and third person or even to subdivide third person into "omniscient" or limited.

The immediacy of the first person may derive intensity from its distorted view, as in Edgar Allan Poe's "The Tell-Tale Heart." We will have a greater problem, however, with the narrator who seems rational, although we cannot be sure, as in Henry James's "The Turn of the Screw." We must also be alert when a narrator whose view is limited or distorted tells us about events outside himself, tells us someone else's story (Joseph Conrad's Marlowe or F. Scott Fitzgerald's Nick, for example), or paints a larger social picture, as does Huck Finn, whose own story of running away is bound up with that of his runaway slave companion Jim and thus with complex legal, social, and moral issues related to slavery. When Huck Finn decides not to turn in Jim, saying "All right then I'll go to Hell!" (Twain, 1884/1981, p. 206)—and believing it—we consider him to be the closest he has come yet to heaven, and of course Twain means us to. So much depends on the *teller* as well as on the tale. More difficult to detect is the point of view that seems to be objective; a seemingly detached narrative voice tells the story in the third person, but when we look closely, we see that the narrator is really showing us primarily the view of one character.

What is important for our purposes is to determine how these tools of literary analysis can have value for us as ESL teachers and for our students. One obvious value, aside from making us all better readers, is that in fine-tuning such discriminatory abilities, we hone a skill that can be transferred to the "reading" of anything-literary texts, nonliterary texts, speeches, conversations, events. Who is speaking? What is his or her purpose? point of view? value system? Why is the person seeing it this way? Such questions make us suspicious and wary. How would I feel in that person's place? This question could make us sympathetic. How would the others on the scene be reporting the same events? Asking ourselves a question such as this makes us more alert to the various possibilities, opinions, interpretations that any event, relationship, or dialogue—fictional or factual—can yield. Perhaps most crucial of all is the question, If others in the group are sympathetic and I am not, why am I not? This query brings to mind Rosenblatt's comments about our own possible blind spots.

One form of blindness is to assume something to be universal when, in fact, it may be culture bound. One of the best examples of

this comes not from fiction, but from anthropology. Bohannan (1980) writes of trying to tell the story of Hamlet to the Tiv of West Africa. Although she had translated titles and situations into terminology the Tiv could understand, she had great difficulty in enlisting the “proper” sympathies of her listeners. They were horrified that Hamlet would try to kill his father’s brother—that was the job of his father’s age-mates. Surely he, like Ophelia, had been possessed. Some of their responses follow:

“You tell the story well, and we are listening. But it is clear that the elders of your country have never told you what the story really means. No. Don’t interrupt! We believe you when you say your marriage customs are different, or your clothes, or your weapons. But people are the same everywhere: therefore there are witches, and it is we, the elders, who know how witches work.” (p. 358)

“That was a very good story . . . and you told it with very few mistakes . . . sometime you must tell us more stories of your country. We, who are your elders, will instruct you in their true meaning, so that when you return to your own land your elders will see that you have not been sitting in the bush, but among those who know things and have taught you wisdom.” (p. 359)

Although the Tiv may not be typical of our students, their wearing of cultural lenses, or, more broadly, the lenses of past experience, education, background, age, and sex, is typical of us all. A story told from one particular point of view allows us, rather forces us, to “see” the way that person is seeing, to see through the eyes of another.

POINTS OF DEPARTURE-READING SELECTED STORIES

Even a fairly straightforward telling of an incident can have this effect. In “Why Couldn’t My Father Read” an educated writer is telling the true story of his shame as a child that his father

smarter than anyone else . . . an articulate, fascinating story-teller . . . couldn’t read. Not one damned word.

. . . I told my mother that we ought to teach him how to read and write. And when she said it was probably too late to teach him—that it might hurt his pride—I stomped out of the house and ran furiously down the back alley, finally staggering behind a trash can to vomit everything I’d eaten for supper. (Lopez, 1987, pp. 34-35)

Once, the author had to watch his father being ridiculed and humiliated by a furniture dealer who refused to accept the validity of the signature he had so painstakingly drawn on the back of his social security check.

“You bastard!” I yelled. “You know who he is! And you just saw him signing it.”

Then suddenly grabbing a can of furniture polish, I threw it at Fenner’s head, but missed by at least six inches. As my father tried to restrain me, I twisted away and screamed at him “Why don’t you learn to write, goddamn it! Learn to write!” . . . Hours later, now guilt-ridden by what I had yelled at my dad, I came home and found him and my mother sitting at the kitchen table. . . . “Your mother’s teaching me how to write . . . then maybe you won’t be so ashamed of me.”

But for reasons too complex for me to understand at that time he never learned to read or write. (p. 36)

Neither my students nor I would condone throwing cans or swearing at one’s father, but except for the Chinese woman who concluded the boy needed a “mental doctor,” readers of this incident were moved to understand, to feel the complex ambivalence of the boy’s love for his father—the combination of admiration, shame, and guilt that is so poignantly conveyed.

One assignment that stretches still further students’ ability to see through different eyes is to have them tell the same story as if the father were telling it or the mother or Mr. Fenner, the smirking furniture dealer. Presumably, if a student chooses to have the furniture dealer tell the story, a lesson in irony will result; the teller, instead of having his audience with him, will only increase the sympathy toward the victim he is shaming. We do not always agree with the tellers of the tales we hear, and this is another valuable lesson.

In keeping with this principle, I choose at least one work in which we obviously cannot rely on the narrator to give us a clear view of the events. O’Connor’s delightful story “My Oedipus Complex” (1950) is a perfect example, as it is told by a small child whose father has just come home from the war, upsetting the exclusive relationship he was having with his mother. Now for the first time he hears “those ominous words, ‘talking to Daddy’” (p. 306), which always follow “ ‘Be quiet!’” The more sophisticated reader is clued in to the humorous, ironic mode with: “The war was the most peaceful period of my life” (p. 303). Those who miss that clue “get” the narrative posture a bit further on:

Ours was the only house in the terrace without a new baby, and Mother said we couldn’t afford one till Father came back from the war because they cost seventeen and six. That showed how simple she was. The Geneys . . . had a baby and everyone knew they couldn’t afford seventeen and six. It was probably a cheap baby. (p. 304)

Our narrator goes on to tell us how unimpressive father now looked out of uniform. Then there is the “‘talking to Daddy’” (p. 306) he cannot bear. And to think he had gone to mass every day to pray for his father’s safe return. “ ‘Mummy,’” he says one night, “‘do you think if I prayed hard God would send Daddy back to the war?’” (p. 306).

Their apartment has now become the front, and the climactic battle is the child’s kicking Father in bed and receiving a hard smack as an anguished mother looks helplessly on. Peace is made only when a new baby comes along to push Daddy out of joint and into a new alliance with his first-born son, who understood what it was like—he had been there before!

In the ESL class, unlike its nativespeaking counterpart, I find there are very bright students who totally miss the humor. They think the child has a real problem, the father is cruel, the child’s behavior is inexcusable, and so on. Very often they have not read carefully enough, or they implicitly trust the teller, or they assume an assignment must, by definition, be serious. A bit of discussion that includes pointing out the more obviously naive passages effects a quick change in view and in the whole tone of the class discussion. One passage that always works is the following:

I was mortified. I felt it wasn’t fair . . . every time I had pointed out to her the waste of making two beds when we could both sleep in one, she had told me it was healthier like that, and now here was this man, this stranger, sleeping with her without the least regard for her health! (p. 307)

By this time, the students understand that the view is that of a naive little child who has never really known a father, whose jealousy after having been alone with his mother is entirely normal. It takes a shift in viewpoint for most of them, however, to understand the father. He may not be the world’s best child psychologist, he may not be putting his son’s needs first at all times, but he is certainly not the villain his little child describes. Even through the child’s distorted view, we are given to understand that he is worried about being able to find employment.

Grown young men, some of whom have served in armies themselves, suddenly understand and smile sheepishly when I point out that this man has just come home from a war—he is tired. Furthermore, he has been separated from his wife for a few years with just a short visit here and there. Suddenly they see that the mature author and the mature reader are smiling over the head of the little boy, sharing a gentle joke that the child will not understand for quite a few years. If they are asked to write part of the story as

the father would tell it, they really see just how limited this narrator is—how limited any uninformed or emotionally involved narrator must necessarily be.

POINT OF VIEW IN STUDENT WRITING

An assignment requiring more imagination can also grow out of reading a story such as this. I ask students to write a story of their own (it can be something out of their childhood) as a little child—perhaps the child a student actually was—would see it. Perhaps something was frightening that is no longer frightening, like the account a student wrote of his “First Witch.” His reliable friend Elie the Finger had warned him of her, so, armed with the wooden sword his brother had made him, he bravely tracked her to her hideout in the basement:

I started going down very carefully and very quietly. A sound of huffing and puffing came to my ears. I could hear the witch breathing, but I still couldn't see her. Suddenly I saw a huge round container. It was the biggest silver-colored thing I had ever seen, and the witch was hiding in it. I swung my sword as hard as I could, and hit the witch with all my might. The witch screamed with pain in a terrible metallic voice that kept echoing in my ears as I escaped up the stairs. That night Elie told me that the wounded witch left our basement and found a new basement in another neighborhood. . . . The next day when I told Daddy what happened, all he said was that if I damaged the boiler once more he would punish me.

Conversely, one could show how an event the child did not perceive as a problem was, in fact, dangerous or traumatic. The following is an excerpt (edited for error) from a composition written by a student who was able to convey the child's viewpoint with great skill and sensitivity, despite the obvious limitations he still shows in English sentence structure and vocabulary. He is telling a childhood memory of meetings that used to take place at his home in Algeria during the revolution. The “guests”

were always carrying something like sticks which were wide and brown colored at the top . . . but the most wonderful thing which caught my attention was a very beautiful small radio. It was not like our radio. This radio you can speak with and it will answer you as if you are talking to a human being. (Oster, 1987, p. 43)

Later he is awakened by his mother's carrying him outside the town in a crowd. Many of his townsmen

were surrounded by some people wearing green clothes. They were carrying the same sticks that I saw the night before. They started picking

men. They put them in one line. My father was among them. I heard some women lamenting; then some children crying because their parents were beaten. The people with green clothes gave all the children a piece of chocolate. When I got mine, my mother asked me to throw it away as all the children did. I loved chocolate, so I did not want to throw it away. She took it away from my hand; then I started crying as all the children did. (p. 43)

Another suggestion for this type of assignment is to write from the point of view of an old person, possibly a grandparent or neighbor. Reading "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall," by Katherine Ann Porter, inspired one student to write "Feelings of an Old Man," which shows the unmistakable influence of Porter's story. It must be noted that this is a difficult story, told in a stream-of-consciousness mode. I would only recommend it for really advanced students, and even then, it takes some reading of passages aloud and some attention in discussion to the subtleties of the text in order for students to understand it fully. The student who wrote the essay would not necessarily have understood these subtleties and complexities completely unaided, but what he wrote followed only one class period of discussion. He may very well be an illustration of the point Marshall (1979) makes that "students [who live more closely than we do with nursing the sick and mourning the dead] bring to what they read a complexity of experience that may . . . be more in touch with the spirit of the text" (p. 332). From the essay's description of an old man in a wheelchair, we move to the man's thoughts:

He opened his mouth but his own voice failed him . . . he forced his right hand to roll the wheel of his chair but the friction of the wheel was too great for his feeble hand. He closed his eyes and wepted. He saw himself on a junk . . . strong and young with the dream of hitting rich in a foreign land.

"Dad, are you alright? Do you need anything?" He looked up and saw his son beside him. He said that he wanted to go to the garden. "What did you say? I don't understand what you are saying. Do you want to go to your room? It is still early, why don't you watch the television?"

"No, no, I want to be in the garden! Why can't you even understand what your father wants?" He kept opening his mouth but no words poured out. . . . If I am still strong and healthy I will spanked you. . . . He saw himself sitting on a rosewood chair. Kneeling in front of him was his youngest son, Wang, holding a rattan cane with both hands high above his head. Wang looked nervously up to his father. When Wang saw his father stern eyes, he quickly dropped his head and looked at the floor. "Please dad, don't punish me. I will never do it again." He always liked his sons and daughters to obey and respect the eldest. He hate to

punish his sons and daughters. It always hurt him. However, at times one must be stern in order to bring up a good family.

The old man's reverie is broken by the striking of the clock and a grown Wang coming with a feeding tube, patiently reminding his father that this is the only way he can be fed without his choking.

He hate this tube, and pushed it away each time Wang tried to insert it into his nose. "Why can't I eat like the others? Is this the way they treat me after all what I have done to [for] them?" he kept asking himself. How he wished he had been more strict to them in the past. . . . The old man looked up at his son. His eyes in tears, pleading for a bun.

"Dad, I would like to, but the doctor said no . . ."

"Why can't you listen to your dying father; can't you see I have not eaten for months," said his mind.

His grandson came to his side and watched him with great amazement. He looked at his grandson and with his mouth open he said to himself: "Don't treat me or your dad like what they did to me. Your father used to be like you . . ."

"Father what does grandpa wants?"

"Oh, Dad! it is still to early for bed. Why don't you watch the television?"

Even from this cut version, one can see the great insight and sensitivity in the execution of both the old man's view of his "treatment" and his son Wang's anguished attempts to explain it to him and to cope with his father's pain and frustration. One suspects that this student must have had some experience witnessing such scenes, but we may wonder if he had ever imagined so vividly and painfully just how it must all have seemed to the old man.

Perhaps most frustrating and moving of all is the way the old man's "speech" and the younger man's "replies" are at cross-purposes. After all, the old man cannot speak—he only thinks he can—and his son's inability to understand him results in anger on the father's part, exasperation on the son's, and frustration and pain for them both.

The inability to communicate when it should be so simple is a subtheme that the foreign student, as well as the sympathetic son in the story, can understand only too well. This had also been illustrated in Porter's story of the dying Granny Weatherall, as well as in Kafka's "The Metamorphosis" (1912/1974), another story the class had read. In the latter, Gregor's long and eloquent "speech" of pleading and explanation, given from his side of the closed door, is met with: "Did you understand a word of it? Surely he can't be trying to make fools of us?" (p. 79). For those out in the hall have not yet seen Gregor's metamorphosis into a gigantic insect, and

Gregor cannot imagine that his words have not been uttered in human language.

The student's debt to these two literary works is obvious when one looks at the three texts side by side. The question is, Of what value was such influence to the student? As a reader—and a human being—he was “seeing” an unfamiliar anguish with a degree of sensitivity and understanding made possible by the insights the literature gave him and, of course, by his willingness to let it move him. As a writer, he was using the kind of apt, precise details he had seen in the stories, as well as the distorted, misunderstood point of view, to create his own very moving story. Nothing else he wrote that semester approached the affective quality that this assignment had elicited. Several years later he himself admitted he had never written anything else as “good” before or since.

We must not, however, neglect to mention a very important element at work in this context, enhanced by the literature: imagination—the imagination necessary, as Shelley said, to go “out of our own nature” in seeing or reading about fictional “person[s] not our own,” the imagination necessary to create the people in that Chinese family so that we, the readers, are also forced “out of our own nature[s]” as well.

FURTHER BENEFITS OF LITERATURE TO WRITING

Related to this is the point that reading and discussing literature as literature has the additional value of stimulating creativity in our students (McKay, 1982; Preston, 1982), evidence of which can also be seen from the above examples. Not only are they assimilating the richer vocabulary (Spack, 1985, p. 721) they find in literature, but they are assimilating ways of using language, particularly figurative language, and are inspired to risk some experimentation with language themselves.

A case in point is a student from the Middle East who wrote an essay (in class, but with no time restriction) on the subject “You Can't Go Home Again.” The student begins by describing his realization, upon returning to his home country, that he had become used to freer ways of thinking in the United States, that his countrymen were “brainwashed.”

A heavy Western wind blew the dust that had accumulated over my head throughout the years. By reading different books and meeting new, exciting more educated people, I was exposed to a new set of ideas, and I began to see things with less background distortion.

The student goes on to speak of his sensation of “floating around. . . flying high over . . . [the] heads” of his former friends, who seemed

not to know that anything was wrong or were unwilling to face or talk about the problem. After the one friend he thought he could talk to silences him and leaves in fear, the student concludes:

I began to scilently [sic] suffer. As a flying fish, I saw myself, who jumped up in the air but only this time it came down with lungs not gills. Diving in water where it always lived almost killed it, so it jumped up again to get some fresh air. But what is there to do next? It doesn't have wings to fly . . . even if it did, it is a fish not a bird . . . it belongs to the ocean—it can't just fly forever.

I asked the student whether he wrote poetry or whether he had done any kind of “creative” writing in the past, here or in his home country in his native language. The answer was no. He also responded in the negative to my suggestion that perhaps he had read literature in Arabic that had suggested these metaphors, and he went on to explain that his education even in high school had been mostly technical. He became inspired to write and think more metaphorically, he told me, by the reading and writing in this course, citing one particularly influential passage in Baldwin's “Sonny's Blues” (1965), a passage whose metaphoric richness I had pointed out. The narrator has just read of his brother's arrest for peddling and using heroin.

I was scared, scared for Sonny. He became real to me again. A great block of ice got settled in my belly and kept melting there slowly all day long, while I taught my classes in algebra. It was a special kind of ice. It kept melting, sending trickles of ice water all up and down my veins, but it never got less. Sometimes it hardened and seemed to expand until I felt my guts were going to come spilling out or that I was going to choke or scream. (p. 623)

In beginning to understand how metaphor worked on him and in his willingness to experiment with it himself, this student was surely “test[ing] the limits of the power of language to create a new reality” (McConochie, 1985, p. 126). He was, in fact, pushing the boundaries of his powers to express, to recreate and create reality with words, further than he had ever pushed them before. And he was immensely pleased, not only with his A, but also with the powerful reality he had created.

But metaphor is not the only kind of expression students begin to transfer to their own writing, nor is it the only way to create reality by means of words. Words that give us the details we need to place us in the environment of the story and words that appeal to our senses aid in creating a reality the reader can temporarily inhabit with the writer. In the following example, a student writes of his return to his home country. A few portions of the essay illustrate

how the student's use of detail, sensory imagery, and metaphor help to put us there:

As the plane was landing, I really felt excited about meeting and chatting with my family again. The first thing I noticed when I stepped off the plane was the smell of the country, which I had not noticed before. I remembered smelling America when I first came here and thought only foreign countries have a distinguished smell.

A crowd of passengers was gathered around the conveyer belts that were bringing in the luggage when I walked into the airport's arrival terminal. There was a large crowd, waving their hands, beyond the immigration blockages. The children were jumping and running around with excitement while the adults were looking anxiously, and somehow they had a worried look on their faces. After my bags were checked, I stepped out into the waiting crowd of people and suddenly I was surrounded by my family. That was the first instance that I had the funny feeling of being a stranger among my own family. (Oster, 1987, p. 66)

The essay continues in this vein, telling of ways in which the writer felt sadly estranged from his own. He concludes:

I guess when I left Malaysia for the United States two years ago I left a hole that my family had filled, and now that I return, there is no hole for me. . . . I tried to dig a hole when I came back but the hole was different and I could never fit into it. When I was waving goodbye to my family . . . I saw my parents' faces and knew they knew as well as I did that home for me was where I could dig a new hole and fit into it. I now understood that the worried faces on the parents waiting at the airport were that their children will never be the same anymore. (p. 67)

One cannot isolate precise, mutually exclusive strands that, when taken together, become the finished story told by what seems to us a very real, individual human being. Neither can we pinpoint precisely what exact literary experience might have influenced a student's paper. The whole of each—the story read and the composition written—is greater than the parts, and the ways they interrelate need, and will continue to challenge, further study. But the influence is unmistakably there.

Flower (1979) has written of the difference between unskilled, "writer-based prose," writing that makes sense to its author, but not necessarily to us, that comes to our desk fresh and unrevised from a writer who has not had the reader in mind, and "reader-based prose," prose that takes the needs of the reader into account. The students quoted above have not only been exposed to works of good quality fiction, but they have had the experience of participating in the worlds that these stories have created. They

have also been aware—or been made aware—that these worlds, these entangling emotions, have been evoked by what is really “only” black marks on a page, marks that at one time had no meaning at all for these same students. In addition, they have had the experience of paying very conscious attention to not only what they feel from a text, but how they were made to feel it.

The result is that consciously or unconsciously, students build into their own texts some of those elements and qualities that enhanced their participation in the texts of others. And they become less afraid to express their views in their own voices when individual, even idiosyncratic, views have been legitimized, not as authoritative, but as communicative, in the fiction they have examined. As readers, they have also experienced the ways in which writers provide what readers need, which, as Spack (1985) writes, “can lead students to realize and internalize the idea that what they write becomes another person’s reading” (p. 706).

In her study of rhetorical maturity, Miller (1980) defines proficiency “as an ability to effectively vary perspectives on many writing tasks” (p. 120). She found student performance to be disappointing on persuasive papers about “a universal topic that would require [students] to . . . [vary] perspectives on their audience and an ethical subject” (p. 122) and concludes that perhaps college freshmen are not yet at a developmental stage that such recentering requires. But perhaps freshmen who have the potential to be at that stage can be helped along.

I would like to posit that helping students to see from varied perspectives is one way to assist them in raising that maturity level. As students read, become engaged, and then discuss what they have read, they are also developing their capacity to “see.” Writing makes us see even more fully and more precisely: By means of our words and structures, we must make what we see clear to another, and doing this, we all know, generates new views and new ways of telling and structuring.

Having students assume new perspectives in a story they have already read or having them recreate or create worlds, voices, and perspectives of their own heightens their awareness that there are different perspectives. Students also become aware of just how different these can be from the views they may have assumed automatically and unthinkingly. Thus, the way they have been reading forces the engagement with various perspectives, which the writing then reinforces and further develops, resulting in more thoughtful, more flexible, hence more mature reading *and* writing. At the very least, the students are seeing more feelingly, reading

more incisively, and expressing themselves more vividly in English—no small achievement.

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THE AUTHOR

Judith Oster is Assistant Professor of English, Director of Composition, and ESL Coordinator at Case Western Reserve University. The author of an ESL composition text, *From Reading to Writing: A Rhetoric and Reader* (Little, Brown, 1987), she has also published in *College English* and has presented papers on ESL composition at TESOL and CCCC.

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Authentic Discourse and the Survival English Curriculum

RUTH LARIMER CATHCART

Monterey Institute of International Studies

This article argues the position that classroom language models must be based on authentic native-speaker/native-speaker discourse. The argument is supported with a quantitative distributional analysis of the language of one doctor-patient interaction and examples from three others. The topics, utterance functions, and structures are quantified, and their distribution is examined to show that simulated excerpts may serve to mislead students about the nature of everyday interactions. The implications of this study are discussed in terms of a need for collection of more authentic data, distributional analysis of forms and functions of conversation, and the implementation of a "discourse behavior" syllabus for survival English, in which syllabus items are determined by the needs of a participant in a given conversation.

Reacting against the unnatural, decontextualized language of the audiolingual method and the grammatical syllabus, ESL curriculum writers of recent decades have wasted no time in embracing the notional/functional approach to syllabus design and more communicative approaches to language teaching. However, many function-based language models are as unnatural and inappropriate for communicative language teaching as are the older, more traditional texts because the notions or functions are introduced through the same unnatural texts and dialogues. The dialogues in most current "survival" texts, even after years of so-called communicative language teaching, still tend to be thinly veiled excuses for the presentation of a grammar point. As a case in point, consider the modal auxiliaries in Example 1:

1. Doctor: Here's a prescription. I'd like you to take one of these pills three times a day.
Patient: Is there anything else I should do?
Doctor: Yes. You should drink a lot of liquids and get a lot of rest.
(Rost & Stratton, 1978, p. 133)

Although doctors and patients may make extensive use of the modal *should* in their conversations, it may also be that other language is more common and natural in discussion of medical treatments. At this point we can only rely on our intuition in selecting the forms we put into the mouths of our dialogue characters. Unfortunately, as Wolfson (1986) has pointed out, native speakers are not always good judges of the forms they use in natural speech.

Auerbach and Burgess (1985) have argued that “survival curricula must be examined in terms of how . . . *situationally* and *communicatively* realistic [they are]” (p. 478). They point out how oversimplification of language and unrealistic views of the situations portrayed in texts actually mislead learners rather than helping them cope with everyday interactions.

Auerbach and Burgess (1985) focus mainly on the dangers of giving learners useless and inaccurate advice about society, on the one hand, and of giving them dialogue examples that do not lead to communicative practice, on the other. In this article, I would like to focus in more detail on the issue of how authentic discourse may be very different from what text writers invent and on how we should use the results of the analyses of authentic discourse in curriculum development and lesson planning.

Although interesting insights can be gleaned from analysis of various types of survival encounters, doctor-patient interaction is an appropriate starting place for the development of survival English curricula for at least two reasons. First, the growing body of discourse research on doctor-patient interaction can be tapped for initial insights into the nature of such conversations. Second, participation in medical interactions has been shown to have a high priority for some immigrant students (Cathcart, 1984).

Much of the literature on doctor-patient interaction is found in sociological studies, which tend to focus on the turn-taking structure and power relationships of medical encounters. For example, Frankel (1984) examined the first 3 to 5 minutes of 50 doctor-patient encounters, focusing on the resolution of competing utterances. In an analysis based on the structure of adjacency pairs (pairs of utterances that commonly occur in conversations, such as questions and answers; see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), he found two kinds of evidence that conversations were dominated by doctors: First, in all but one case of competing utterances, the patient relinquished the floor, and second, in over 60% of the cases, a three-part structure described the data better than did utterance pairs. In this three-part interaction structure, the doctor asked a question, the patient answered, and the doctor made an assessment or

acknowledgment after the patient's answer, in much the same way as Mehan (1979) has described for teachers' evaluations of student responses.

Todd (1984) performed three types of analysis on data from 20 doctor-patient interactions, 10 at a clinic and 10 at a private doctor's office. Her discussion concerns the distribution of language functions in the two settings, sequential properties of the interactions, and descriptions of the social and medical "frames" characterizing the conversations. As in Frankel's (1984) study, Todd found doctors dominating the conversations, this time by asking more questions, making more statements, and using nearly all the directive acts, whereas patients tended to answer questions. The Todd study is particularly interesting, since it provides an overview of whole conversations and a frequency count of the functions appearing in the conversations.

This distributional approach has also been used in a study of native-speaker discourse in another domain. Turano-Perkins (1979) performed a quantitative analysis of the grammar structures in the Watergate transcripts and found that structures occurring frequently in that conversation sample were not the same ones taught in popular grammar texts. Her study raised the interesting issue of mismatch between the occurrence of grammar structures in natural conversation and of those in ESL texts. However, for models of situations of interest to ESL students, transcripts of Presidents' conversations cannot provide an alternative to contrived texts.

Although the research discussed above provides a basis for the general study of naturally occurring linguistic items and discourse behaviors in English, the work that applies most directly to the development of ESL materials for medical situations is that of Candlin and his colleagues, for example, Candlin, Bruton, Leather, and Woods (1981). Their work provides explicit detail regarding the overall structure, functions, and content of conversations between doctors and patients. Candlin et al. also suggest a specific list of codes for utterance functions in medical discourse and a graphic presentation of the sequences of utterances called a "tramline," which can be used to illustrate the overall nature of the conversation and its individual functions simultaneously.

In addition, Candlin et al. (1981) have set a precedent in developing learning modules for nonnative-speaking medical personnel directly from their native-speaker discourse samples. Although an important development in the preparation of lessons from real discourse, their curriculum is somewhat different from that needed for American survival English lessons for two reasons.

First, the data base is British, and second, the focus is on training the nonnative-speaking doctors, not the patients.

The study reported in this article employs an in-depth analysis of one American doctor-patient conversation, as well as examples from three others, in order to demonstrate the process of contextualized distributional analysis of discourse. Although it might, on the one hand, seem preferable to collapse and quantify a number of samples for greater generalizability, this practice might produce misleading information. Wolfson (1986), in discussing the danger of combining interlanguage samples, has observed: "The researcher/analyst would need to determine carefully the different patterns emerging in different settings. To ignore such differences and to lump together all observed interlanguage would be to run the risk of losing important insights" (p. 691). As will be seen, a difference in even a single variable may produce different interfactual demands that are important to capture in language models. The methodological stance adopted here is that thorough discourse studies of small conversation samples with a clear description of variables must be completed as a prerequisite to studies of larger data samples with more generalizable findings.

THE STUDY

The data examined in this study were collected using audio recorders in a pediatrician's office and two women's clinics. The patients collected the data in the women's clinic; the pediatrician operated the recorder in his office. (The practice of having participants control the data collection has the advantage of avoiding the intrusive presence of a researcher in a private situation, but has the disadvantage of losing some data, particularly during the opening phases of the conversations, when the person operating the recorder is explaining the study to the other participant.) In each case, the person collecting the data explained to the other participant that samples of natural language were being taped to help nonnative speakers learn to interact more appropriately with their doctors.

The interaction that makes up the central data base in this study takes place in a pediatrician's office in a suburb of San Francisco. Participants include the (male) doctor, the patient (a 15-month-old girl), and the child's mother, the mother being the main interactant in the patient's role. The child was brought in for diagnosis and treatment of an illness.

This conversation was chosen for the present discussion because it was relatively short and simple in terms of discourse structure

(i.e., there were few topic shifts). The conversation was examined in terms of the nature and distribution of (a) conversation topics (phases of the conversation); (b) utterance functions within each topic; (c) grammatical structures, especially verb forms, question forms, and complex sentences within each topic; and (d) content words, especially nouns and verbs.

The two women's clinic conversations and a second interaction by the same pediatrician with a different patient are not quantitatively analyzed here, but examples from them are used to illustrate additional points about doctor-patient conversation.

RESULTS

Topics

Topics here are defined as stretches of discourse or segments of text used by one or both interlocutors to achieve a purpose in the medical interaction. Their focus is generally on the business related to the illness (finding out the symptoms, examining the patient, etc.). Although the terms used to describe the conversational topics sometimes resemble those used for utterance functions (e.g., the topic *elicitation* versus the function *interrogate*), it is important to distinguish between the two. Several different utterance functions may be used to accomplish a larger purpose or conversational function, such as the communication of symptoms.

The topics of discussion found in this interaction included discussion of symptoms (elicitation), language accompanying physical examination (examination), discussion of the nature of the illness (diagnosis), directions and questions regarding appropriate behavior of the patient toward the solution of the problem (prescription), guesses by the doctor as to what will happen to the patient in the near future (prognosis), and chat about other issues, the next appointment, and so on (preclosing). (Although these topics seem to appear in nearly every doctor-patient interaction, there are sometimes additional topics such as discussions of prior visits, personal chat, etc.).

The segments below were selected from the transcript (provided by J. Shea, 1984) to illustrate the topic designations and to show the chronological progression of these topics in the conversation. Some of the conversation has been omitted for brevity (indicated by ellipsis points), but all of the example segments were taken from the one conversation and occurred in the order in which they appear below.

2. Elicitation: P: She was running a fever last night, 102
 D: She did
 P: and a half, so . . .
 D: She's been on the Bactrum for how many days now?
- . . .
- Examination: D: That's not so bad. [Trying to reassure screaming child.]
 P: O. K. [Mother also talking to child.]
 D: Just like that. That's it. [Continuing to look in throat.]
- . . .
- Diagnosis: D: Got a little tonsillitis down there.
 All right. That's enough.
 Well, she does have a little tonsillitis of her right tonsil which I would have to suspect is of a viral nature cuz she's been on the antibiotic and . . .
- . . .
- Prognosis: D: The Bactrum's not gunna do anything for a viral illness. It's just gunna have to run its course. The only thing this changes . . .
- . . .
- Prescription: D: So what we'll do is, I think we'll wait again on the ear aspect. . . . We may not have to put her on the prophylactic medication.
- . . .
- Preclosing: D: And then, all things go well, we should see her when she's about 15 months or so.
 P: That's only 2 weeks away.
 D: Oh oh. . .

In this conversation, the topic structure is fairly clear, at least for the first half of the conversation. The topics flow from elicitation of symptoms to examination to diagnosis; then there is some alternation of prognosis and prescription before the preclosing. Nevertheless, the conversation is simpler than others collected in the course of this research, which have up to 29 topic shifts. In fact, a back-and-forth alternation of topics (prognosis, prescription, prognosis, etc.) seems to be the rule rather than the exception in doctor-patient conversations. Even in this conversation, selected for

its simplicity, there is some alternation between prognosis and prescription before the conclusion of the conversation.

Utterance Functions

Frequently occurring functions are listed in Table 1. Quantification of utterance functions demonstrates that the doctor spends more time in prognosis, or in speculating about the future of the illness, than he does any other single function (in this case, perhaps, because he does not feel any treatment is warranted for the illness and thus spends more time in giving reassurance about the natural progress of the illness than he would if he had specific prescriptive directions to give). He also uses a relatively large number of act/inform utterances, probably because the patient is a child who needs reassurance when he touches her (e.g., "Just gonna blow a little air in your ear"). Other frequent functions, not surprisingly, involve directing treatment, diagnosing, accepting the patient's statements, requesting information ("interrogate"), and clarification ("makesure"). The patient gives solicited information, accepts direction, and, less frequently, gives unsolicited information (or solicits information).

What is important, however, is that these functions are not distributed evenly or randomly across the conversation. Rather, the distribution of utterance functions is related to the conversation topic, as Example 3 below, from the elicitation phase, demonstrates (function codes are given in the right-hand column).

3. D: She's been on the Bactrum for how many days now?	C
P: 10 days.	T
D: and she's [unintelligible] last night?	C
P: mhm developed a fever of 102.	T
D: What other symptoms does she show?	C
P: None.	T
D: Nothing?	E
P: She just started acting kinda . . .	T
D: No stuffy nose, no diarrhea, no vomiting, nothing along that line? No cough?	E
P: [Shakes head.]	T

The tramline in Figure 1 is a visual representation of the utterance functions (see Candlin et al., 1981), plotted along a line representing, from left to right, their chronological order. The doctor's utterances are on top and the patient's on the bottom. It can

TABLE I
Frequent Functions Occurring in Pediatrician's Office Interaction

Speaker	Code	Function	No. of occurrences
Doctor:	I	Prognose (speculate about illness)	10
	G	Act/inform (tell patient what he is doing during exam)	7
	J	Treat direct (tell patient what to do)	5
	H	Diagnose/inform (tell patient what is wrong/nature of illness)	5
	Q	Accept (acknowledge patient's comment)	4
	C	Interrogate (ask for information about symptoms)	4
	E	Makesure (ask for clarification)	2
Patient:	T	Give information (respond to doctor's request for information)	9
	Q	Accept (acknowledge doctor's comment or directive)	5
	X	Give unsolicited (provide information not requested by doctor)	3

Note: Based on 103 utterances (the whole conversation) coded for function. Function codes adapted from Candlin, Bruton, Leather, and Woods (1981).

be seen that the topic of elicitation occasions alternation of questions by the doctor (coded C and E) and answers by the patient (coded T).

However, Example 4, from a prognosis/prescription phase, shows a series of doctor utterances with either no response or an attending response by the patient (P = reassure).

FIGURE 1
Tranline of Elicitation Topic

Doctor:	C	C	C	E	E
Patient:	T	T	T	T	T

Note: C = interrogate (ask about symptoms); E = makesure (request clarification); T = give information (respond to interrogation).

4. D: Uh, y'know, let me know J
 but I think she's gunna have fever this afternoon may be even I
 tomorrow afternoon. I
 If she's like this—it goes down, I'd just ride it through and treat J
 it like as though it's a viral infection. J
 And the only thing to keep in mind is that every one she gets
 now is one that she won't get when she becomes a school girl. P

The tramline of this segment in Figure 2 shows that the doctor uses several predicting, directing, and reassuring utterances, while the patient is silent, indicating comprehension by nonverbal feedback. Other prognosis and prescription phases are more complex, however, including multiple utterances in a turn or varying functions.

FIGURE 2
 Tramline of Prognosis/Prescription Topics

Doctor:	J	I	J	P
Patient:				

Note: J = treat direct (tell patient what to do); I = prognose (speculate about illness);
 P = reassure.

It is interesting to note that there is little if any evidence in these data of the solicit-answer-evaluate structure of turn taking reported by Frankel (1984). Nor is there any other single consistent interfunctional structure throughout the conversation. Although the doctor does seem to control most of the conversation and there are segments in which the doctor asks and the patient answers (as in Example 3), there are also parts in which the doctor takes extended turns and the patient attends or requests information. Thus, even this relatively simple conversation illustrates the danger of oversimplification in the description of the structure of doctor-patient conversation.

A sample from a doctor-patient interaction in one of the women's clinics (transcript provided by D. Fujimoto, 1984) illustrates this point even more clearly. Example 5 represents an interaction in which the patient, who has come in for treatment of an infection, seems to take over the conversation, going far beyond answers to the doctor's questions (O = request nonmedical information; V = restate; B = request general information).

5. P: So sometimes, uh, that would make me feel like I just don't want to put the cap in.	X
You know. Putting it in is not the problem.	X
Getting it out is the problem.	X
D: It's a problem for you.	Q
Now who's been following you through these infections?	O
These vaginal infections.	V
P: Planned Parenthood, in Centerville.	T
The kidney infection, my cousin is also a P.A. up in Pine County,	X
and I called her to get the prescription,	X
you know, because I didn't want to pay to go to a urologist.	X
D: Okay.	Q
P: When I knew what was wrong with me—I had seen the nurse at school	X
and she told me, "Yeh, you have a kidney infection.	X
Get some Gantrasin or something."	X
And I called my cousin	X
and she got the script for me.	X
D: Okay. Okay.	Q
How are you feeling now?	B

As can be seen in the tramline in Figure 3, although the patient is, in general, responding to a general request by the doctor to give information about the illness, she goes far beyond what is requested and provides multiple utterances or nominates new topics, which the doctor sometimes accepts and sometimes tries to redirect.

FIGURE 3
Tramline of Patient-Controlled Conversation

Doctor:	Q	O	V		Q		Q	B
Patient:	X	X	X		T	X	X	X

Note: X = give unsolicited (provide information not requested); Q = accept (acknowledge a comment); O = admin ask (request information nonmedical); V = restate (repeat and rephrase to clarify); T = give information (respond to request); B = elicit (general request for information).

It may be important that the doctor in Example 5 is female, working in a gynecology clinic, whereas the pediatrician discussed here is a male. The sex and topic differences probably account for some of the differences in the discourse structures. However, there is as yet no specific sociolinguistic information on the nature of female doctor-female patient interaction. This may be an important predictor of interactional differences, or it may simply be that this interaction is a product of two individual personalities. The causes and resulting appropriateness rules can only be determined after the collection of more data in controlled studies.

Example 6 below illustrates another type of conversation structure, even more patient-controlled than Example 5, that is common in conversations between doctors and patients: the discussion of displaced events. (Participants are the same male pediatrician as in Examples 2, 3, and 4 and a different female patient; transcript provided by J. Shea, 1984.)

6. P: . . . and, you know, I kept saying, "Well, is it safe to have her on this long term?" And they said, "We've had patients on this for [unintelligible]."

D: Right.

P: Of course as soon as we got there, the doctor said, "Good lord, she can't be on this for . . ."

D: Who said?

P: Uh, y'know, I think it was when we went to G. S. We only went to see him one time and he said he wanted her off it, so y'know when I w—and came here to see Dr. S., she said, "well, you know . . ."

Here again, there is much more shifting of conversational power. Although the doctor may ask for clarification or redirect the conversation, the patient is essentially in control of what might be seen as a subtopic of the elicitation phase. There are differences in both the conversation topic and the utterance functions that again illustrate an important deviation from a simple doctor-controlled, question-and-answer style discourse. It is clear from Examples 5 and 6 and the tramline in Figure 3 that adding a single code for patient response is not sufficient for coding this type of interaction. Codes are also needed for utterances reporting various displaced actions and events.

Taking control of a conversation with a doctor is not traditional, even for a native speaker. However, in the days of consumerism, more and more native speakers are demanding to explain, interrogate, and raise new topics with their doctors, and students

will need to be made aware of this trend.¹The need for ESL materials that reflect awareness of the learners' rights as consumers is argued eloquently by Auerbach and Burgess (1985) and by proponents of Freire's approach to language teaching (see Wallerstein, 1983).

Grammatical Structures

A tabulation of the frequency of selected grammatical structures, especially verb forms, questions, and complex syntax, is presented in Table 2. In one sense, this simple tabulation may seem to support the presentation of grammatical forms typically found in the beginning structural syllabus—present tense first, then modals, future tense, and so on. However, stopping at the documentation of overall frequency provides a very incomplete picture of the use and functions of grammatical structures in the interaction that makes up the central data base in this study. Five points support this assertion:

TABLE 2
Frequent Structures Occurring in Pediatrician's Office Interaction

Structure	No. of occurrences
Verb tense, aspect, and modality	
Present (simple or habitual form)	19
Modal	12
Future	10
Present perfect	5
Present progressive	4
Past	3
Imperative	3
Question forms	
Yes/no	5
<i>Wh</i>	4
Tag	1
Complex structures	
Adverbial clause	14
Noun clause (cleft sentence)	6
Adjectival clause	5

Note: Based on 103 utterances (the whole conversation) coded for function.

¹In the sample below, taken from the interaction in the other women's clinic, notice one native speaker's strategy for controlling part of a conversation with her nurse practitioner:

NP: Umm, any other concerns that you have?

P: Actually, I've got a list.

NP: Oh oh! [Laughs.] Well, if it's small enough to fit in your pocket, I'm not worried.

P: It's on microfilm. [Laughs.] (deGrange, 1987, p. 16)

1. The preponderance of present tense forms is misleading, since it seems to imply that simple or habitual present tense forms in simple sentences are common. A curriculum developer working from this list might produce sentences such as *She gets sick*, *She goes to the doctor*, and so on. What is actually represented by the present forms, however, is often contextualized in a conditional clause (“If she gets another one, we’ll put her on . . .”) or in complex structures such as “What I would have to suspect *is* . . .”
2. Modal forms are also relatively frequent in both the authentic data and in simulated medical dialogues; in the latter, these often appear in the form of *should* for advice giving, as seen in Rost and Stratton’s (1978) example (“You should drink a lot of liquids”). However, in this real conversation, modals are used in a very different function, mostly as hedges. They are used by the doctor to hedge the diagnosis (“I would have to suspect . . .”; “She may have picked up . . .”), They are also used in prognosis to indicate speculation (“It should fade away . . .”; “She may not want to eat . . .”). Finally, they are used in the prescription phase to express a possibility, conditional on some future occurrence (“We may not have to put her on the prophylactic medication”). The advice-giving function in this conversation is realized by the softened inclusive form *let’s*, as in “Let’s continue the Bactrum . . .”
3. Future forms, which occur relatively frequently in the data, occur only during two phases, prescription and prognosis, and the form is consistently different depending on the topic and function. *Going to* future occurs only in prognosis utterances representing speculations about the progress of the illness (“I think you’re gonna see her with another elevation of her temperature tonight and down tomorrow morning and up the next day and . . .”). Future with *will*, on the other hand, is found in the prognosis topic as a negative promise (“Every one she gets now is one she won’t get when she becomes a school girl”) and otherwise is used only to describe joint “plans” in the prescription phase (“So what we’ll do, we’ll wait again on the ear aspect”).²
4. The data contain five questions soliciting a yes/no answer, four of the *wh*- type, and one “tag question.” On the surface this pattern might seem consistent with our intuitions and with general ESL materials. That questions are found mainly in the elicitation and preclosing phases is not surprising either.

² Gee and Savasir (1985), who examined the use of *will* and *gonna* in children’s spontaneous interactions, found that the distribution of these forms was not random, but rather corresponded to whether the child was accepting an interlocutor’s suggestion or undertaking a cooperative venture (*will*) or was introducing a new topic or referring to a temporally more distant plan (*gonna*).

The forms of *wh*-questions are fairly predictable. Three of four appear in essentially canonical form: *Wh*- word, subject-verb inversion, and so on (except that one uses the more colloquial form *how* come?). In one, the adverbial phrase is postponed (“She’s been on the Bactrum for how many days now?”).

The yes/no questions, on the other hand, are not generally realized by their canonical forms. Only one has subject-verb inversion, and even that does not stand alone but follows a repair (“So, I think/uh/are you just about finished with the Bactrum now?”). Three are forms where subject and/or verb are ellipted (“No stuffy nose, no diarrhea?”; “Anybody else showing all the symptoms?”), and one more is marked only by rising intonation (“And she’s [unintelligible] last night?”). In light of these and other research findings, such as those of Merritt (1976), Vanderbrook, Schlue, and Campbell (1980), Vaughn (1984), and others, concerning the nonrandom distribution of question forms and their answers, the role of this structure in the ESL syllabus clearly needs reevaluation.

5. Finally, the number of complex clausal structures in these data is surprising in light of the common perception that conversation tends to be composed of more simple and compound sentences, whereas writing consists of more dependent clauses and complex structures. Bland (1987), in an examination of cleft sentences in foreigner talk, has made the interesting proposal that the role of grammatical complexification may sometimes be to simplify the discourse functionally by highlighting a certain proposition. She goes on to suggest that syntax traditionally thought of as complex need not necessarily be so if it can be acquired as “chunks.” Clearly, the interaction of syntax and function needs more examination before we decide what is simple and what is complex and, thus, what should be presented earlier or later in a syllabus.

Lexicon

Many similar issues arise in examination of the distribution of lexicon in the conversation. Let us consider the examples of noun and verb distribution in the doctor-patient conversation. Forty different nouns appear in this interaction, only eight more than once (see Table 3). The nouns appearing more than once can be divided into three groups: (a) general terms like *day*, *afternoon*, and *thing*; (b) those related to illness in general (subtechnical terms) like *fever*, *antibiotic*, and *illness*; and (c) those related to the specific illness

under discussion (technical terms), here including *Bactrum* (the antibiotic) and *tonsillitis*.

TABLE 3
Frequent Nouns and Verbs Occurring in
Pediatrician's Office Interaction

Lexical item	No. of occurrences
Nouns ^a	
<i>day</i>	4
<i>thing</i>	4
<i>fever</i>	3
<i>antibiotic</i>	3
<i>afternoon</i>	3
<i>Bactrum</i>	3
<i>illness</i>	2
<i>tonsillitis</i>	2
Verbs ^b	
<i>to be</i>	22
<i>to think</i>	6
<i>to see</i>	4
<i>to get</i>	4
<i>to be on (medication)</i>	3
<i>to have</i>	2
<i>to eat</i>	2
<i>to put (a person) on (medication)</i>	2
<i>to pick up (an illness)</i>	2

Note: Based on 103 utterances (the whole conversation) coded for function.

^a These 8 nouns were the only ones (of a total of 40 different nouns) that appeared more than once.

^b These 9 verbs were the only ones (of a total of 39 different verbs) that appeared more than once.

The verbs seen in Table 3 represent the most frequent ones from a total of 39 in the conversation. They can be categorized in the following way: (a) idiomatic phrasal or prepositional subtechnical verbs relating to illness and medicine, as *to be on (medication)*, *to pick up (an illness)*, and *to put (a person) on (medication)*; (b) common verbs used in a subtechnical sense related to catching or having an illness, as *to get* and *to have*; and (c) verbs related to prediction, speculation, or planning, as *to see* in "I'd like to see how . . ." and *to think* in "I think we'll wait." The lexical verbs *to be* and *to eat* are also very common. *To be* appears in various tenses in questions ("She's been a little like this, huh?"; "When was her year?"), complex clausal constructions ("The thing that Bactrum is good for is . . ."), and dependent clauses ("As though it's a viral thing . . ."). Clearly, the simple lists of illnesses or symptoms found

in many texts will not represent the distribution of vocabulary needed to comprehend or participate in such an interaction.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

This examination of authentic English discourse has implications for three areas. The first concerns collection of authentic models of contextualized language. The second addresses what we need to know from these data before we can create good language curricula, and the third involves ways we should approach syllabus design and lesson writing based on authentic discourse.

First, if we are to understand how our own language functions, we must establish bodies of data from situations that we (or, better yet, students) feel are valuable and representative for ESL learners, and only then should we establish lists of structures or functions that will be useful to them. This is not to say that we must approach the study of these situations based on a revised structural or functional syllabus. Rather, we need a more realistic overview of what units of language are necessary for the attainment of the communicative competence our students aspire to.

Furthermore, it should be established which items learners need to be aware of in a metalinguistics sense, which they need to comprehend in a stream of discourse, and which they need to produce. The syllabus should clearly delineate items for production, items for comprehension, and issues of culture or consumerism to be discussed. For example, Candlin et al.'s (1981) language learners were doctors who needed to ask about symptoms, to diagnose, to reassure, and so on, whereas American survival English is usually concerned with the learner-patient who needs to ask about medication, explain symptoms, understand the diagnosis, and so on.

All authentic data must be carefully described in regard to the sociolinguistic variables present in the collection situation. There is considerable evidence in studies of variation in second language acquisition (e.g., Beebe, 1977, 1980; Tarone, 1979) that language use varies across tasks and topics and among interlocutors of different status. In doctor-patient discourse, for example, it may be that there are basic differences in conversational control between female and male doctors interacting with female patients; it may also be that different interfactional structures occur when patients have seen a doctor before or when patient and doctor are perceived to be social equals. This information is as important to language learners as the actual models or dialogues they practice.

Second, the data that are collected should be analyzed for conversation structure, turn-taking behavior, and frequency of

utterance functions, as well as for the interrelationships of these elements. On the one hand, it is useful to know which functions and topics are more generalizable (frequent) in a given type of conversation so that when language models are presented, the most efficient use can be made of learners' time. However, it is clearly not sufficient to choose only frequent utterance functions or only frequent topics; their co-occurrence must be taken into account. A simultaneous representation of utterance functions and conversation structures as seen in a tramline is one way to draw attention to the co-occurrence of certain functions with certain conversation topics.

The same principle applies to the identification and contextualization of syntactic forms. Even in a functional syllabus, the act of requesting information, for example, is often modeled as though it were only realized by a question with subject-verb inversion. A tendency for interrogative functions to be realized in noncanonical forms has now been noted in several studies (Merritt, 1976; Vanderbrook et al., 1980; Vaughn, 1984), and there is evidence in this study that there is a nonrandom distribution of other grammatical forms, such as modal auxiliaries, cleft sentences, future forms, and so on, in certain types of discourse.

Our selection of vocabulary, too, needs rethinking. Inman (1978) has suggested that in technical fields, subtechnical terms are used much more frequently than specific technical ones (a finding supported for doctor-patient interaction in this study) and that teaching these subtechnical terms might be more useful to language learners than teaching the usual technical terminology. This may also be true in survival discourse. The subtechnical terms seen here, such as *to be on (medication)*, *to show (symptoms)*, or *to finish (the medication)*, might be very generalizable and useful.

Third, there are several possible implications for the area of syllabus design; I will discuss two of these, a more conservative one and a more radical one. The more conservative view involves retention of a traditional grammatical or functional syllabus that is informed by analysis of native-speaker discourse. Thus, for example, if the syllabus dictates study of the modal *should*, the curriculum writer examines the discourse in a number of situations of interest, obtains a set of conversations in which *should* is used, and employs these as models or input for students' study. This approach has been recommended by Celce-Murcia (1980) under the name *contextual analysis*.

The more radical approach and, to my mind, the preferable one is to select the situation or task of interest and then not only identify the language items that the learner needs to be exposed to or to

practice, but let the native-speaker behavior in this situation guide the syllabus construction. In other words, a sort of “discourse behavior” syllabus is the guide. Rather than prescribing listening, speaking, reading, and writing components in each unit, this would imply, in doctor-patient interactions, for example, a great deal of listening comprehension that focuses on identifying what topic is being discussed (e.g., Is the doctor guessing what will happen tomorrow, or is he telling you what to do?), accompanied by practice in giving native-like attending responses (*mhmm, OK*). In other cases, it would require answering questions about symptoms, and in yet others, it would suggest practice with more aggressive, topic-controlling behavior.

I have heard many objections to using authentic discourse as a basis for teaching survival English. One such objection is that such discourse is “too hard” for learners. Although conceding that some native-speaker interactions are better than others as models for low-level learners, I still would maintain that whenever possible, a selection of small portions of real interactions is preferable to construction of artificial ones. At worst, if dialogues are to be constructed, we must at least base them on what can and does occur in a given situation. If no example of a target form or function can be found in data from a given situation, then it is not an appropriate context for practice of that structure or function.

This leads to the second argument against native-speaker models of discourse: Foreigners will not have an opportunity to hear such models anyway, since as soon as they display their nonnative English, the interlocutor will switch to “foreigner talk.” This may be true, especially with learners who are just beginning. (In fact, it has been suggested to me that the appropriate authentic discourse for beginning survival English is real native-speaker/nonnative-speaker interactions that show negotiation and strategies for coping with imperfect communication.) However, we cannot accurately choose samples adjusted to a learner’s level, especially if we have a whole class of learners. Thus, it will be more efficient to provide learners with stretches of real discourse that they have the leisure to analyze and understand through repeated exposure and discussion in the classroom, in addition to providing them with strategies for obtaining modification, when necessary, in the real world.

The third and most important objection to the use of authentic discourse with second language learners is that there do not exist at present the appropriately analyzed discourse samples necessary to prepare language models based on real interactions. However, even if fully representative data are not available for all survival

situations, any samples of real interaction will provide a model that can occur and has occurred in the real world. Given what we know about contextual and individual variation in language, it is likely that there is no single most representative sample of a given type of discourse anyway, only principled descriptions of a single discourse example, with full contextual information. In any case, current texts and materials cannot be criticized meaningfully or improved significantly until we are in possession of much more extensive knowledge about the various types and frequencies of interactional structures, utterance functions, syntactic forms, and vocabulary in the situations that we propose to model for language learners.

Despite a desire for authentic models, some teachers may still feel that the doctor-patient conversations excerpted in the preceding discussion are far too difficult for their immigrant students. Indeed, the full transcript of a doctor-patient interaction is not for the beginning class. However, appropriate grading of activities can make even these complicated interactions more accessible to the learner, and there are other types of authentic dialogues that can be selected for low-level learners.

Teaching the doctor-patient conversation can begin with a schema-building activity in which a picture or a series of pictures introduces the doctor's office, and such technical and subtechnical terms as *throat*, *tonsillitis*, *fever*, *infection*, and so on are discussed. Then students can listen for global comprehension of the phases of the conversation, guided by focus questions such as, "Is he asking her about the sickness, or is he telling her what to do?" Alternatively, they could select the appropriate function from a list of those represented by these questions as the teacher or tape provides segments of the conversation. For example, students hear this portion of the conversation: "Well, let's just treat it as if it's a viral infection." Then they choose from the written alternatives: (a) The doctor is asking for information, (b) the doctor is telling the patient what to do, and (c) the doctor is guessing what will happen tomorrow. These activities could be followed by role playing, simulation, or practice of attending responses, such as *yes*, *right*, or *mhmm*.

If even these activities are above the level of the students, they could begin with another type of dialogue, perhaps a set of short, authentic over-the-counter interactions taking place in the post office, such as the following exchange between a postal clerk (P) and a customer (C):

7. P: Morning, ma'am.
C: Will that go airmail?
P: Yes, ma'am. It's a dollar ninety-nine please. Have a nice day.
C: Thank you. (Short, 1986, pp. 12-13)

After students are given a short schema-building activity, they can listen to the conversations and write out or choose from a list the amounts of money mentioned in each conversation. Short (1986) proposes students take part in a communicative activity in which partners each have different incomplete postal rate charts and must ask each other questions to complete the charts. An advanced beginner could certainly participate in these activities. Even a first-semester student, after basic work with numbers and time, could work with authentic "man-on-the-street" interviews such as the following:

8. A: Excuse me, do you have the time?
B: Sorry, I don't have a watch.

Although there is at present no bank of authentic service-encounter data available to teachers, this lack cannot be cited as an excuse for simulating unrealistic and possibly misleading conversations. Only a move from dialogue simulation to carefully selected real discourse can provide students with appropriate conversational models that will lead them from dependence on teacher talk toward real communication. Even if discourse analysis has not been performed, authentic models can be used unanalyzed, as listening comprehension exercises. Ideally, published materials will soon begin to include language models and activities developed through principled selection and analysis of real interactions.

■

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THE AUTHOR

Ruth Larimer Cathcart is Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics and Director of the MA program in TESOL at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. She has published articles and presented papers on situational differences in child language and has coauthored an adult ESL text.

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REVIEW

The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Edited by POLLY ULICHNY
University of Massachusetts at Boston

Recent Publications on Statistics, Language Testing and Quantitative Research Methods: I

Understanding Research in Second Language Learning: A Teacher's Guide to Statistics and Research Design

James Dean Brown. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. xi + 219.

Statistics in Linguistics

Christopher Butler. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. Pp. x + 214.

A Guide to Language Testing: Development, Evaluation, Research

Grant Henning. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House, 1987. Pp. vii + 198.

Statistics in Language Studies

Anthony Woods, Paul Fletcher, and Arthur Hughes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. xii + 322.

■ Lazaraton, Riggenbach, and Ediger (1987) conducted a survey of active professionals (defined as those who had made conference presentations) in TESOL and second language research and found that 67% of them were dissatisfied with the amount of preparation they had had in research design and statistics. Evidently these relatively advanced members of our profession were justified in their hesitation, since some were unable to interpret correctly a table of analysis of variance (ANOVA) results or to decide correctly between ANOVA and *t* tests for multiple comparisons across groups. One thing all were agreed upon was the necessity of training in research design and statistics for all students of TESOL and applied linguistics.

Research methods used in second language learning and acquisition have expanded a good deal in this decade: Qualitative,

and most particularly ethnographic, research has become common, and our view of what constitutes “data” has widened well beyond summary test scores. We have also embraced a new kind of measurement theory, latent trait theory, and studies that appear in our journals are increasingly likely to use the Rasch Model of latent trait measurement in particular.

I believe that every future applied linguist or language teacher should be able to read the literature that affects what and how they teach and to evaluate it, without being intimidated by, or forced to take on trust the accuracy of, the data analyses. Equally, I believe that every future language teacher or applied linguist should be able to observe and analyze a language education situation and make a determination of what tests are needed: progress checks, placement into levels, detailed diagnosis, proficiency measures, and so on. They should then be able to look at the tests available and to make an evaluation to determine whether the tests are appropriate to the needs of the context. If available tests are not appropriate, future language teachers or applied linguists should be able to put together their own test, pilot it, and improve it based on the pilot data.

Obviously, students will not leave a single-semester course able to do all these things, but they should be firmly on their way, with the tools in hand to travel the rest of the way alone. When I look at books in the general area of statistics, language testing, and quantitative research, then, I do so with this personal agenda in mind. In addition, given the apparent diffidence with which most people approach this area, the books had better be accurate, well illustrated, well provided with practice material and answers, carefully sequenced, and user friendly.

Of the four books reviewed here, Brown’s *Understanding Research in Second Language Learning* is the only one that does not aim for “productive competence” in its users. Designed for language teachers with no background in statistics, the book is “oriented toward the consumer, rather than the producer, of statistical studies” (p. x). There is a clear emphasis throughout the book on reading and interpreting second language research studies. Brown stays with that aim consistently throughout the book, offering users a number of chances to read and critique statistical studies. I am impressed by the modest and honest claims that Brown makes for the book: He does not claim that users will be able to *do* research after working through the book but, rather, attempts to explain (a) the basic terms of the statistics field; (b) how tables, charts, and graphs work; (c) the appropriate use of research designs; (d) the logic that underlies the use of statistics; and (e) an approach to critiquing and assessing statistical research.

I see these goals as important and realistic ones: I agree with Brown when he says, “not all teachers have the time and interest to do statistical research. But I believe it is irresponsible to ignore such research just because you do not have the relatively simple tools for understanding it” (p. xi). Too many graduate students do just that or, worse, read the beginnings and endings of research articles and extract the conclusions without considering the data analyses on which those conclusions are based. Perhaps that is because our field has been lacking teachers of Brown’s warmth and common sense, teachers who are able to make the numbers seem less terrifying.

Brown offers a way to enter a discourse community that is particularly intimidating to many teachers; he offers a means of moving from “outsider” to “insider,” at least at the level of understanding statistical studies. We are taken gently and thoroughly through basic concepts, including a discussion of “extraneous variables” that is the most down-to-earth and helpful I have seen in any book. We are walked through several real research studies, with exercises and commentary: The step-by-step guide to hypothesis testing, which is applied in several chapters, is especially helpful. (The only formula that was omitted from the book that I wish had been included is the Pearson correlation, which is central to this field and often discussed by Brown.) In general, I think that once teachers/graduate students find themselves able to read research with comfort, the prospect of conducting quantitatively based research will not seem at all threatening.

The other three books all aim to teach users enough statistics to be able to apply them in practice. Butler’s *Statistics in Linguistics* and Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes’s *Statistics in Language Studies* both focus on teaching statistical concepts to linguistics students (both include applied linguists and classroom researchers within their definition). However, Woods et al. go further in seeking to enable their students to evaluate the research literature and “to make them aware of such [statistical] methods so that they can recognise the potential application to their own work, and to supply them with the information necessary to engage in efficient discussion with a statistician” (p. xii).

Butler’s book is a basic introduction (he does not include “more advanced techniques” such as multiple correlation and regression and ANOVA) to the kinds of quantitative methods applicable for investigations into language, for “making sense of the data” (p. vii), and he aims to explain the reasoning behind the choice of statistical methods as well as the methods themselves. In this I think he succeeds only some of the time. Butler’s method is to work through the technique and then provide an example, which results in pages

with several formulas punctuated by formal, difficult text. The chapter on correlation is an exception, beginning as it does with concepts and moving gently to formulas. Much of the time, the treatment of a statistical technique is like that in many of the basic statistics texts that have been tried and rejected by teachers and researchers in language fields: dry, dense, distant, and devoid of examples or a reality base.

In contrast, Woods et al. keep at the forefront of their discussion the kinds of reality linguists and others in fields such as TESOL and second language acquisition share. Each discussion of a new topic moves, after a brief location of the technique in its place in the world of statistics, to a language situation. A problem or question is posed, and the technique is suggested as a means to investigate it. Thus, at each stage the student knows why it is worth learning about the technique and the kinds of situations in which the technique can be used.

This book is longer than any of the others, which shows in the fuller treatment given to most issues, although sometimes a key concept for readers and designers of language research (e.g., the Pearson product-moment correlation) is given a surprisingly brief discussion. Woods et al. also include several more advanced techniques such as ANOVA, multiple regression, multivariate analysis, and principal components analysis, which they distinguish from and prefer over factor analysis. Several chapters deserve special mention: Chapter 1, "Why do linguists need statistics?" covers ground like that in Brown and noticeably lacking in Butler and Henning; chapter 2, "Tables and graphs," introduces a wide range of visual representations while covering some basic concepts; and chapter 8, "Testing hypotheses about population values," takes us logically through confidence intervals, Type I and II errors, the concept of a test statistic, classical hypothesis testing, and statistical tests of hypotheses. In general, I find the book well organized, thorough, and written at an appropriate level, rarely unduly dense or dry, and never condescending.

Henning's *A Guide to Language Testing* is, as its title suggests, unlike the other books reviewed here in that its focus is on language test design and not on research design. Its main audience is "teachers and teachers-in-training who are preparing to develop tests, maintain testing programs, or conduct research in the field of language pedagogy" (p. vii). Henning cautions users that "the book progresses rapidly. . . . Familiarity with the rudiments of statistical concepts such as correlation, regression, frequency distributions, and hypothesis testing will be useful. . . . A working knowledge of elementary algebra is essential" (p. vii). This is, then, a more

advanced book than any of the others reviewed here. Henning also makes it clear that the book needs to be supplemented with sample tests, articles on testing, and student projects.

These built-in assumptions may explain why I find the organization and development of the book hard to follow and why I feel that the book often moves straight to tools, without any scene-setting of why the tools are useful and without any data to ground them. These assumptions may also account for the number of times I noted that familiarity with a concept is taken for granted in one chapter but the same concept is then taught in a later chapter (for example, on page 19 the formula for a z-score is given, using $X = \text{raw score}$, $M = \text{mean}$, and $s = \text{standard deviation}$, but mean and standard deviation are not taught until p. 39 and p. 40, respectively).

This is a very uneven book: Henning is at his strongest when discussing very practical testing concerns, such as item analysis, and wholly statistical aspects of test evaluation; the chapter on "Language Test Reliability," for instance, is very good. The final three chapters of the book deal in turn with latent trait measurement, item banking and computer-adaptive testing, and program evaluation. These are all important areas not covered in any of the other books reviewed here. However, the treatment of these topics, although well done, is so brief that I wonder if they should not have been saved for a follow-up book, where they could have been fully discussed with multiple examples and practice activities. As an instructor, I think it would be excessive to include these areas, as well as the material in the earlier chapters, in a one-semester course.

Looking at the four books together, I note some areas of common ground and some areas in which the material diverges widely. There is also some failure to agree on basic questions in quantitative methods. This is illustrated by the following two examples, the first of which deals with interval and ordinal data. Brown tells us (pp. 23-24) that data cannot be converted upward: Ordinal data can never become interval data. Henning, on the other hand, tells us, "Interval scales are usually obtained by the transformation or normalization of ordinal scales" (p. 18). Woods et al. do not treat this issue, as far as I can see, but Butler comments, "Investigators of . . . linguistic phenomena commonly assume a higher level of measurement than . . . their data warrant" (p. 12). The second example concerns *t* tests. Henning does not cover this topic, but Butler does, without referring to constraints on their repeated use, and the same is true of Woods et al. Brown, on the other hand, stresses the need to avoid repeated use of *t* tests on the same data sets (p. 170). It would seem,

then, that readers may be forgiven for not being fully in control of some “basic concepts” of quantitative methods, when their informants do not provide them with consistent information.

In the second part of this review, which will appear in the next issue, I will examine several more books and make some summary comments about what we have and what we need in terms of materials in this area.

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LIZ HAMP-LYONS

University of Michigan

BOOK NOTICES

The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes short evaluative reviews of print and nonprint publications relevant to TESOL professionals. Book notices may not exceed 500 words and must contain some discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice in TESOL.

America: The Early Years; America: After Independence; Teacher's Guide (Language Development Through Content). Anna Uhl Chamot. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987. Pp. ii+ 110, 112,100.

Integrating language learning and teaching theory within the context of content areas is what the *Language Development Through Content* series is all about. These books present overviews of specific subjects and, at the same time, teach students learning strategies they will need to survive in any academic situation.

The books' purpose is to prepare intermediate or advanced English proficient students for mainstreaming. Typically, ESL students have difficulty in academic classrooms; they lack the background concepts, vocabulary, and study skills necessary for success. This series introduces the academic concepts and vocabulary of content areas while continuing language development. Basic ESL classes talk about communicative competence; these texts focus on academic competence.

America: The Early Years and *America: After Independence* are the social studies texts in the series (math and science texts are also planned). These materials are designed to serve as a bridge between the ESL class and the mainstream class or to help limited English proficient students who are already mainstreamed. The texts would be most appropriately used in ESL classes in junior and senior high schools or with senior high school students who have already completed a general ESL text series. Through a variety of exercises and activities, students become directly involved in the learning process.

In the *Teacher's Guide*, Chamot describes the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) (pp. 5-7) and gives detailed instructions for teaching the components of the lessons in the texts: Unit Openers, Vocabulary, Reading, Listening Comprehension, Discussion, Writing, Map and Graph Skills, Unit Check-Ups, and Expansion activities (pp. 10-14).

Three strands run through the lessons: Content-based instruction is activity-based and uses the inquiry approach; the language development component stresses literacy and vocabulary skills, using English as a tool for learning the content matter; and learning strategy instruction emphasizes the development of information-processing capabilities.

The learning strategies, in particular, make the approach of these books unique. Defined and explained in the *Teacher's Guide* (pp. 6-7), they are divided into *metacognitive* strategies for planning and preparing for learning materials (e.g., advance organization, selective attention, advance preparation); *cognitive* strategies for manipulating material into another form (e.g., contextualization, note taking, imagery, summarizing, inferencing); and *social affective* strategies for interacting with others in order to assist the learning process (e.g., cooperation.) These strategies are integrated into the lessons so that students learn them while concentrating on the subject matter at hand. Cooperative learning strategies are an integral part of the curriculum.

The focus in content-area ESL is to teach students how to learn, equipping them with planning and organizational skills within the content areas (social studies, math, science, literature). These two books do just that; they successfully integrate subject matter with English language study. I am only sorry that *all* students cannot be taught with such innovative and resourceful texts. We would all benefit from learning and teaching CALLA.

JOAN DUNGEY
Yellow Springs, OH

English Firsthand: Expanding Communicative Language Skills. Marc Helgesen, Steven Brown, and Thomas Mandeville. San Francisco: Lateral Communications, 1966. Pp. 136 and one cassette.

As its title suggests, this textbook is written "to give the students direct experience with understanding and using English plus the ability to engage in longer, more complex conversations" (p. 6). The text is intended for high-beginner and low-intermediate ESL or EFL students. Units are organized functionally (introductions, requests, apologies, etc.), and the guiding methodology is the communicative approach. The book makes use of the "ANSWER PLUS (A+) strategy—a way of following any question or request with an answer *plus* an additional fact, another question, feedback or clarification, or an opinion" (p. 6). This approach "allows students to develop concrete techniques for continuing conversations" (p. 6).

Each chapter begins with a brief listening section (provided on a cassette), which serves to introduce the unit's functions and themes. The listening selection is introduced in the text by a prelistening section, consisting of key phrases used to express the communicative concept being explored in the chapter, and is followed by comprehension questions. In the next section, students engage in conversation that exploits the listening material. Pair work is encouraged to generate student innovation. This section is followed by the "duet" section, which teaches students how to deal with information gaps. Again, pair work is stressed, and students are encouraged to use A+ strategies. The activities then move

to the “solo” or writing activities. Next, in an effort to recycle the material covered earlier in the chapter, comes the “ensemble,” in which students play group games. Each chapter concludes with a reading exercise that emphasizes the development of reading skills.

At the end of every other chapter is a Check Yourself review activity containing a dialogue and vocabulary exercises. There are also two review activities at the end of the text: The ANSWER PLUS Game and WORKING KNOWLEDGE. The book concludes with an appendix charting the language functions and grammatical structures covered in the text.

English Firsthand delivers on its claims. The material successfully integrates the various language skills in a functional format. The activities represent those typical of a communicative approach: There are many problem-solving exercises; students must incorporate their own values and opinions; and the activities encourage peer-group interaction. Will the book lead to language mastery? Of course, that depends on how it is utilized. If the instructor encourages creativity, then the material should succeed. If used by a teacher who is unfamiliar with the communicative approach, then the suggested activities may prove difficult. This book is not the total answer. As with any other text, supplemental materials need to be added to meet the needs of the individual teaching situation. Yet, if a communicative approach is desired, *English Firsthand* can be highly recommended.

ELLIOT L. JUDD

University of Illinois at Chicago

The Teaching of Pronunciation: An Introduction for Teachers of English as a Second Language [Theme issue]. Peter Avery and Susan Ehrlich (Eds.). *TESL Talk*, 17 (1), 1987. Pp. 184.

I have always been impressed with the quality of the teaching materials published by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, and the 1987 theme issue of *TESL Talk* reaffirms this impression.

Prefaced by a section in which the editors discuss the topic in the context of biological, sociocultural, and personality factors, this publication provides the practicing teacher with a viable theoretical framework for teaching pronunciation. In line with current thought that recognizes the communicative dimensions of pronunciation teaching, the volume addresses the segmental versus suprasegmental controversy and deals with such issues as the role of self-monitoring, listening, and communicative-teaching and drama techniques in the pronunciation classroom—all factors that directly impinge on pronunciation syllabus design.

Unlike some of the recent teacher texts in this area, which focus almost exclusively on the teaching of suprasegmentals, the *TESL Talk* volume includes quite complete coverage of the more traditional segmental elements of pronunciation teaching and addresses such time-honored

topics as the role of the student's first language in the acquisition of the target phonological system and the relation between this phonological system and the English spelling system.

In my opinion, one of the most valuable features of this text is the host of practical suggestions and resources included. Among these are the very comprehensive descriptions of the articulatory system and the individual sounds of English; the discussion of the role played by positional variation; the treatment of vowel reduction, linking, and reduced-speech phenomena; the comparison of English syllable structure with that of other languages; and the comprehensive resource sections detailing diagnostic procedures and L1-related problems.

In fact, my only real criticism of the volume is that this excellently done latter section, intended to provide local language teachers with a checklist of pronunciation problems to be anticipated, is restricted to coverage of the language groups typically encountered in Ontario, and thus it (and the follow-up section suggesting compensatory strategies) falls short of providing comprehensive treatment of the issue. Clearly, a more expanded version of this section would be a desirable addition to the text.

As noted by Carlos Yorio in his preface, this text contains the theoretical and practical background necessary for teachers to function effectively in the pronunciation classroom and, as such, provides them with a systematic alternative to the "repeat-after-me" methodology of previous eras of pronunciation teaching. The very complete coverage of this volume, its practical-tips section, and its up-to-date perspective on what the teacher can hope to achieve in the pronunciation classroom all combine to make it a highly useful resource for the experienced ESL teacher and an invaluable teacher-training tool for the novice teacher.

DONNA M. BRINTON

University of California, Los Angeles

Simulation-Gaming in the Late 1980s: Proceedings of the International Simulation and Gaming Association's 17th International Conference.

David Crookall, Cathy Greenblat, Alan Coote, Jan Klabbers, and D. R. Watson (Eds.). New York: Pergamon Press, 1987. Pp. xiv + 342.

During the 1960s, simulations and games were viewed as pedagogical devices for "de-classrooming" the classroom. Today, simulation-gaming software is being used to "decontrol" the computer-assisted language learning (CALL) experience (i.e., to supplement or even replace traditional tutorial CALL lessons) and to generate communicative involvement among L2 learners.

Simulations (computer-assisted or otherwise) represent the real world in ersatz yet manageable form; they provide students with an artificial yet dynamic environment in which they must take actions that affect the modeled real-world situation. But in this environment there is no "correct" response, and the consequences of making errors when responding are

low. A game, on the other hand, involves two or more players (one of which may be a computer program) to reach a specific, defined goal. Although computer-assisted simulations/games (S/G)—for example, J. Wilkenfeld and R. D. Brecht's *ICONS—international Communications and Negotiations Simulations* (College Park: University of Maryland, 1985)—are of relatively recent origin, S/G have been used for many years in industry as executive training mechanisms and in L2 education as catalysts for encouraging students to use rather than just manipulate language.

For professionals interested in de-classrooming the L2 environment, decontrolling the CALL classroom experience, and/or providing communicative involvement for ESL/EFL students, the published proceedings of the International Simulation and Gaming Association's 17th International Conference, held at the Université de Toulon et du Var in 1986, offers a comprehensive and comprehensible overview of the "art and craft" of S/G in the latter part of the 1980s. Tyros to the field of S/G will find the proceedings a lucid introduction to the topic; virtuosos will find the collection of papers an ample overview of expert opinion concerning recent developments in the field, especially in the area of computer-generated S/G.

Simulation-Gaming in the Late 1980s covers five major topics: broad issues related to simulations and games; language and computers; pedagogic concerns; S/G in industry (an especially enlightening chapter for those willing to explore extra-TESL environments in search of novel ideas to use in TESL settings); and taxonomies and methodologies used to investigate the domain, entities, and processes of S/G.

The volume is a gem of a collection in that it presents a broad perspective of current thinking on the application of S/G for use in both L2 education and business. CALL enthusiasts (neophytes or veterans) and more traditional classroom instructors alike will find the papers highly informative, since the authors discuss S/G issues related both to CALL (e.g., in "Simulation Strategy and Communicative Approach in CALL" by Diadori) and the use of S/G that are not computer based (e.g., in "Some Social-Interactional Aspects of a Business Game for Special Purposes in the [L2] Teaching of English" by Watson & Sharrock). Both perspectives on the application of S/G to L2 instruction merit the serious consideration of L2 educators who are interested in expanding their pedagogic options and increasing the communicative involvement of their students.

PATRICIA A. DUNKEL

The Pennsylvania State University

Learning Through Two Languages: Studies of Immersion and Bilingual Education. Fred Genesee. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1987. Pp. X + 213.

Learning Through Two Languages should be required reading for all educators interested in second language education. It attempts so much

and delivers so well. The book begins with a historical overview of bilingual education and a theoretical rationale for immersion education as designed for majority language students.

Genesee provides detailed descriptions of variations of the immersion model (e.g., double immersion, activity-centered immersion) and a comprehensive account of educational outcomes from a variety of longitudinal studies conducted in different provinces of Canada. He also treats American immersion programs, highlighting specific programs such as the magnet schools in Cincinnati, which seek to achieve racial balance with attractive foreign language programs, and the two-way immersion programs in San Diego, which bring together majority and minority language students.

Bilingual education for minority language children in the United States is also addressed. The book chronicles the legislative background leading up to bilingual education, its psychoeducational rationale, and the critical role of sociocultural factors in the education of minority language children. By treating both immersion and bilingual education in the same volume, Genesee elucidates the factors underlying second language learning common to both the American and Canadian settings and underscores the key differences in program goals, student background, and sociolinguistic contexts.

Genesee has dealt with a large volume of information and a great variety of program models in a clear, cogent fashion. A major contribution of the book for American educators is its treatment of the controversial topic of the suitability of immersion for minority language children. In this chapter, Genesee emphasizes the need to understand the social and psychological backdrop in which learning takes place and cautions against the misapplication of the immersion model with minority language students.

Throughout the book, Genesee strikes a constructive tone, presenting challenges from two angles: What can bilingual educators in the United States learn from immersion that might offer insight into the education of minority language students? and, How can immersion educators further maximize the second language learning potential of the model by creating more opportunities for student interaction and meaningful use of the second language?

MARGUERITE ANN SNOW

California State University, Los Angeles

Longman Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric: 1984-1985. Erika Lindemann (Ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman, 1987. Pp. xv + 318.

Longman Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric: 1986. Erika Lindemann (Ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman, 1988. Pp. xviii + 249.

Recent years have seen a growing exchange of scholarship between researchers and teachers of first language composition and those of second

or foreign language composition. Both groups of professionals will find the *Longman Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric* an important resource for readings on theory, research, and practice in composition.

Erika Lindemann, the editor of this long-awaited annotated bibliography, offers the hope that it “will assist teachers and researchers to answer the thoughtful questions they raise in working with student writers” (1987, p. x). To date, two volumes have appeared, the first covering publications from 1984-1985 and, recently, the second covering publications from 1986.

The 1984-1985 volume brings together references to more than 3,800 works and the 1986 volume to over 2,700 titles published in those years. Included are citations to “books, articles, monographs, published collections (of essays, conference presentations, or working papers), textbooks, bibliographies and other reference works, computer software, films, microfilms, videotapes, and sound recordings” (1987, p. vii). Also cited are unpublished dissertations and review articles that “discuss several works, define movements or trends, or survey an individual’s contribution to the discipline” (1987, p. vii). Citations to ERIC documents also appear, and the criteria used to determine which to include were substantiveness, relevance, inclusiveness, and reference value.

Each volume is divided into six areas of focus: (a) Bibliographies and Checklists; (b) Theory and Research; (c) Teacher Education, Administration, and Social Roles; (d) Curriculum; (e) Textbooks and Instructional Materials; and (f) Testing, Measurement, and Evaluation. Within each of these broad areas are annotated entries under subcategories.

Publications are cross-referenced to account for some being of relevance in more than one area, though annotations are presented just once. According to the editor, the brief annotations are meant to be explanatory rather than critical, and “most annotations fall into one of three main categories: they present the document’s thesis, main argument or major research finding; they describe the work’s major organizational divisions; or they indicate the purpose or scope of the work” (1987, p. ix).

The *Longman Bibliography* includes citations to a great number of smaller and less well-known publications, especially regional ones (in the United States) such as those of the National Council of Teachers of English affiliates, for example, the *Iowa English Bulletin* and the *Idaho English Journal*. It also includes citations to articles concerned with composition that have been published in journals such as the *Psychological Review*, which fall outside the field of language, articles that composition specialists might otherwise overlook.

Of particular interest to those in ESL/EFL is the subcategory of English as a Second Language, which can be found in the section entitled Curriculum. This section includes citations (79 in the 1984-1985 volume and 67 in the 1986 volume) to works in journals such as the *TESOL Quarterly*, the *English Language Teaching Journal*, and *The Modern Language Journal*, in addition to dissertations and papers given at conferences such as TESOL. Other published works of direct relevance can be found throughout the other sections, depending on which category they fit into. However, the section Textbooks and Instructional Materials

may be disappointing to ESL/EFL practitioners, as it appears to contain few publications written for ESL/EFL students.

The *Longman Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric* treats ESL composition as one subcategory under the general area/field of composition studies, and thus this collection may neglect important sources of theory, research, and practice drawn on by ESL/EFL professionals, sources from fields such as linguistics and applied linguistics and in journals published outside the United States. However, in spite of this fact, ESL/EFL professionals in composition will find the *Longman Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric* an invaluable resource for their teaching and research.

MICHELLE CHAN

Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Alphabet Effect: The Impact of the Phonetic Alphabet on the Development of Western Civilization. Robert K. Logan, New York: William Morrow, 1986. Pp. 272.

Teachers often seek a source that will provide background in subjects not directly related to classroom teaching, such as the history of the alphabet. This book by Robert Logan, a physicist, suggests much more than the subtitle of the work promises. That the phonetic alphabet had an overt impact on Western civilization cannot be denied; however, Logan writes that another effect of the alphabet is subliminal: "Using the alphabet . . . also entails the ability to: 1) code and decode, 2) convert auditory signals or sounds into visual signs, 3) think deductively, 4) classify information, and 5) order words through the process of alphabetization" (p. 21).

Logan sets forth the hypothesis that he and H. M. McLuhan formulated (in "Alphabet, Mother of Invention," *Et Cetera*, 34, December, 1977, pp. 373-383), which *The Alphabet Effect* is devoted to articulating. In a comparison of Western and Eastern thought patterns, they note that only in the West did such innovations develop as codified law, monotheism, abstract theoretical science, formal logic, and individualism. "While not suggesting a direct causal connection between the alphabet and the other innovations, we would claim, however, that the phonetic alphabet . . . provided the ground or framework for the mutual development of these innovations" (p. 23).

Logan integrates his attempt to prove the hypothesis with a rather straightforward review of the history of writing and the accomplishments of Western cultures in those areas listed as "innovations" in the hypothesis that he and McLuhan have suggested. Unfortunately, he seems to stretch more than one point in his attempt. For example, in speaking of the development of Greek logic, he writes, "The linking together of the elements of the alphabet, the letters, to form words provided a model for

the linking together of ideas to form a logical argument” (p. 109). Linking the medium with the “message,” Logan stresses the use of the alphabet as a model for division and fragmentation: “With the alphabet every word is fragmented into its constituent sounds and constituent letters. The Greeks’ idea of atomicity, that all matter can be divided up into individual distinct tiny atoms, is related to their alphabet” (p. 107). The idea that the alphabet—but not Chinese writing—could serve as a model seems strange when one considers the Chinese system of radicals that, indeed, classifies a complete character as to its meaning.

Logan’s hypothesis that the alphabet fosters particular mental processes such as classification is akin to Benjamin Lee Whorf’s view that a given language embodies a certain view of the world. Yet, to equate the use of the alphabet with a tendency to think deductively and to classify while denying that another system of writing could foster the same attributes mars an otherwise interesting book.

VALDON L. JOHNSON

University of Northern Iowa

Classroom Interaction. Ann Malamah-Thomas. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. Pp. x-1-150.

Classroom Interaction, part of the series *Language Teaching: A Scheme for Teacher Education* edited by C. N. Candlin and H. G. Widdowson, shares three features with other books in the series. First, it deals with modes of behavior and action in classroom management. Second, it avoids prescription, instead providing teachers with opportunities for self-examination, which may lead to behavior modification. Finally, it has a similar format, consisting of three sections: Section 1 *defines* classroom interaction; Section 2 introduces some well-known schemes of classroom observation as means of *describing* classroom behavior and some recent methods of language teaching; and Section 3 provides readers with opportunities to *explore* the interaction in their own classrooms and to experiment with alternative patterns of interaction. *Classroom Interaction* combines explanatory text and learning tasks, with the number of tasks progressively increasing until they outweigh text in the final section.

Overall, this book offers several advantages. It introduces many schemes of systematic classroom observation, provides ample opportunities for readers to gain awareness of the many aspects of classroom interaction, and presents concepts in manageable steps.

Although *Classroom Interaction* can be used by individual teachers for self-study, I believe it would provide the best results if used by groups. The members of a group can benefit from one another’s insights, especially since many of the tasks require different responses depending on the teaching contexts to which they are applied. Moreover, since some of the tasks are difficult to undertake, a group may be in a better position to reach satisfactory solutions.

The book uses some of the same interactional situations in several learning tasks. This has two advantages. First, readers do not have to exert a great deal of effort to familiarize themselves with many new teaching situations. Second, by applying different observation systems to the same teaching situations, readers develop a clear sense of what each system elicits. It would be even more beneficial if these situations were presented on a videotape as an optional supplement to the book. Perhaps readers can use some video-recorded excerpts from their own or their colleagues' teaching as a basis for some of the activities.

The observation schemes in the book take into consideration a variety of student-teacher interactions. However, hardly any of these provide information on interactions *among* students. Apart from this shortcoming, the book does provide a comprehensive range of systems to help describe and explain classroom interactions objectively.

At a time when there is a great deal of interest in classroom-centered research and a communicative approach to language teaching, *Classroom Interaction* is a welcome addition to ESL professional development materials. Its use in ESL teacher-training courses as well as inservice-training meetings in ESL programs is highly recommended.

ALI A. AGHBAR

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

The Media: Catalysts for Communicative Language Learning. Joyce Penfield. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987. Pp. x + 150.

The Media: Catalysts for Communicative Language Learning, a reference book for teachers who want to adapt L1 media resources to L2 classroom settings, is part of the *Second Language Professional Library Series* edited by Sandra J. Savignon. It emphasizes the use of "authentic" sources (i.e., used by native speakers) such as television, radio, and magazines as tools for facilitating naturalistic and communicative language learning. Both practical and theoretical in scope, the book presents a wide variety of media-based classroom activities and provides an overview of current sociolinguistic theory underpinning their use.

The first of the book's four chapters outlines specific competencies—strategic, discourse, academic, and linguistic—that serve as instructional objectives for activities presented. Content areas within which the activities are developed, such as "The Self and Personal Relationships" and "The Community," are highlighted.

Chapter 2, "General Considerations," delineates and illustrates principles Penfield views as crucial to L2 teaching: (a) Language is personal, and thus, classroom activities need to build on the personal interests of students; (b) because language is holistic, students need to be engaged in naturalistic L2 use; (c) language learning is a spontaneous and creative process, and learners therefore need to have opportunities to experiment with its operation in everyday communication; and (d) since

language is a social process, social interaction plays a critical role in L2 learning. Specific strategies for structuring a group-centered learning environment and for following an approach incorporating these principles are presented.

Chapter 3 consists of 60 group-centered, media-based learning activities designed to stimulate communication through such techniques as problem solving, inquiry, and role play. A wide variety of media sources are represented: television, radio, magazines, newspapers, brochures, pamphlets, flyers, manuals, and telephone tapes. The activities, created and field-tested by the author over a 10-year period, are presented in an easy-to-follow and richly illustrated format and are both practical and pedagogically sound.

Chapter 4, "Adapting Media to the Classroom," provides techniques for assessing communicative needs, personal interests, and career goals of students; guidelines for experimenting with the media; and suggestions for small-group management. Appendix A is a detailed description of media resources for L2 learning, along with specific information on how and where to obtain materials. Appendix B cross-references the activities presented in chapter 3 under such headings as Proficiency Levels, Linguistic Competencies Emphasized, Content Emphasized, Group-Centered Learning Orientations, and Sociolinguistic Contexts in Which Specific Activities Can Be Used. Appendix C consists of a brief note on videotaping copyright regulations that apply to off-air television recording.

Penfield's volume should be welcomed by both experienced and inexperienced teachers interested in using media in L2 teaching. Emphasizing usefulness at the classroom level as well as sociolinguistic theory, the book would be a useful and soundly based addition to a teacher resource library and could also serve as a valuable supplementary text in TESOL methods classes or as a core text in media-based workshops and practicums for teacher training.

SUSAN STEMPLESKI

Hunter College of the City University of New York

Phonetic Symbol Guide. Geoffrey K. Pullum and William A. Laduslaw. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986. Pp. xxx + 266.

After using this book as one of two required textbooks in my phonetics course, I found that students were able, at last, to get information quickly about the various phonetic symbols (those based on the work of the International Phonetic Association [IPA] as well as those in the American phonetic tradition, e.g., Kenneth Pike), even the very uncommon ones such as [m] being used for a voiceless [m̥]. I regularly have many TESL Certificate students in this course, as well as several foreign students who plan to return to their native countries to teach EFL. These students have

been particularly well served in that they can see the great value of contrastive analyses. For instance, Portuguese speakers often transfer [ɐ] for English [ə], whereas Marathi or Shan speakers substitute [ɻ].

Each symbol or symbol group is given a page, more or less, in the volume. Thus, for the vowel [ɻ] (cardinal vowel 15), we learn (p. 63) that it was once IPA [au] in I. Pitman's 1845 Phonotypic alphabet and that it was K. Pike who coined its name, *baby gamma*. The book tells us (p. 75) that "barred I," [ī], which occurs frequently in Russian, is used by M. Halle and G. Clements in *Problem Book in Phonology* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1983) as [u]. There is no reason given for this, and students invariably ask if Halle and Clements do not know their phonetics. The answer to this "peculiarity" is that many have used symbols due to reasons of typographical convenience. That is, typewriters normally have the letter *i* and a hyphen, netting a barred I, but how many typewriters (or computer print wheels, etc.) have a turned [m]? That is why many use [ī] or also [i̇] for [u]. However, if one takes the time to look up [u] (p. 97), one finds another justification given for this view: N. Chomsky and M. Halle (*The Sound Pattern of English*, New York: Harper & Row, 1968) do not recognize central vowels, only [+ba] or [-ba].

One can quibble with some of the authors' comments about some symbols. For example, we are informed (p. 19) that [ʌ] is correctly called inverted V and incorrectly called caret. (I learned it as caret—from several well-known linguists—and it certainly looks like the proofreader's caret.) However, the authors never tell us why it is incorrect and for whom. In addition, the reversed glottal stop [ʕ] (p. 189), a very common Arabic phoneme, derives from the Greek *spiritus asper* ⸱ and is sometimes called this or *sain*, after the name of the corresponding grapheme in Arabic. Moreover, the glottal stop [ʔ] (p. 185) derives from the Greek *spiritus lenis* ⸰. This information should have been given. The authors state that [ʔ] derives from the "question mark with dot removed." This is incorrect (it only looks like this).

Despite these minor points, the book is unquestionably quite useful and therefore a real contribution to the field. I can certainly recommend it to TESOL methodologists and ESL teachers who specialize in pronunciation problems. As such, it supplements *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association* or M. Ruhlen's *A Guide to the World's Languages* (Stanford, CA: Merritt Ruhlen, 1976). Don't miss it.

ALAN S. KAYE

California State University, Fullerton

Testing Spoken Language: A Handbook of Oral Testing Techniques. Nic Underhill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Pp. vii + 117,

This book, "intended for teachers and other people who are interested in the use of oral tests of language ability" (p. 1), covers a variety of topics

related to oral testing. The introduction presents a simple model of how communication by speech may work and how the assessor fits into that model. It then proceeds to a gratuitous attack on the “invincibility” of statistical methods, a summary of the themes to be covered in the book, and an incongruously placed glossary, all of which is followed by a flow chart of the structure of the book.

Chapter 1 (10 pages) discusses aims and resources as they are related to oral testing, and chapter 2 (21 pages) presents a variety of test types. The third chapter (42 pages) covers an assortment of elicitation techniques ranging from reading aloud to discussion/conversation. Chapter 4 (15 pages) examines marking systems, and the last chapter (5 pages) covers test evaluation, by which Underhill means a cursory explanation of test reliability and validity.

A glance at the length of each of the above chapters will reveal that the emphasis in this book is on listing and explaining elicitation techniques (chapter 3) and on the various mechanical considerations involved in implementing such procedures (chapters 2 and 4). The book serves the first of these functions—listing the elicitation techniques—reasonably well by describing each technique, discussing possible variations that might prove useful, and, in a few cases, considering the advantages and disadvantages of the technique involved. However, some techniques (e.g., the interview) are only explained in one variation and are scarcely given the attention that they deserve, whereas other useful techniques (e.g., oral presentation to a class, debate formats) are strangely missing.

The second area of emphasis, the mechanics of testing oral language, is less effectively addressed. The book does provide a reasonably useful set of categories for general types of oral tests but gives only perfunctory attention to the mechanics of administering and scoring such tests. For instance, the overwhelming cost (in terms of money and teacher hours) of most oral testing is never mentioned. Underhill also fails to provide any guidance as to what the teacher might do with the scores from such tests. This seems strange in a book that professes to take a practical orientation. There is no sense at all of where these tests fit in the classroom, in the teacher’s grading system, or in the curriculum as a whole.

In short, what this book does provide may be moderately useful to those teachers who know very little about oral testing: a listing of a series of different oral exercises. It is unfortunate, however, that only perfunctory attention is given to the other practical and important issues involved in testing spoken language, such as the implications of using these exercises as tests. Surely this book could have been expanded to include more thorough coverage of these issues.

JAMES DEAN BROWN

University of Hawaii at Manoa



THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

Publications for 1988/89 include:

THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS JOURNAL

96 pp, twice-yearly: US\$20/£11 p.a.

The "ISJ" is a forum for views, ideas and research of international schools' educators. The Journal is unique in its field, reflecting that education in a multi-cultural, multi-lingual setting is recognized as an important goal in national and international education systems. Articles have included research reviews on bi-lingualism and cognitive development; learning disabilities of the bi- or multi-lingual; culture and language shock; the International Baccalaureate; Japanese education; and culture-fair testing. Authors have included Jacques Barzun, Neil Postman, HRH Prince Philip, and Sir Asa Briggs.

THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS DIRECTORY

560 pp, published annually, US\$25/£13

The ECIS Directory of International schools is the most complete volume of its kind; included are one-page descriptions of each of the 275 schools worldwide affiliated with The Council; there are in total some 750 international schools and each is listed in tabular form, giving the enrolment, fees, language of instruction and curriculum, in addition to basic name and address information.

THE ESL HANDBOOK

New publication: available late 1988: price US\$28/£15

This book is a compendium of information for those involved in ESL programs. It contains all that the administrator, department head or teacher needs to know about the ESL program, from the choice of teacher to the integration of the department (both teacher and children) into the regular school program through staff development and sensitivity training; and with four appendices on resources, testing, professional literature and organizations, and a section on terminology, this is THE guide for ESL professionals.

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INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS**

100 pp, US\$28/£15

This guide provides background knowledge for teachers in a multi-national classroom. Features include information on 20 languages and their associated cultures, examples of linguistic and cultural misunderstandings which may arise in the classroom and strategies for overcoming the various related problems; also included is a review of cultural differences between east and west.

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ECIS is a non-profit association of schools throughout the world that provide education for children (mainly but not exclusively expatriate) in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic environment. The Council's services include teacher recruitment, in-service training, a school accreditation program and the publication of specialist magazines and handbooks.

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMMARIES

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Quarterly* readers. Authors' addresses are printed with these reports to enable interested readers to contact the authors for more details.

Edited by D. SCOTT ENRIGHT
Georgia State University

The Bilingual/ESOL Curriculum Framework of the Denver Public Schools

JANET K. RAMSAY
Denver Public Schools

■ Today a major concern of educators working with linguistically diverse students centers on how to address the specific academic, linguistic, cognitive, and social needs of these students on a day-to-day basis in the classroom. Unfortunately, our limited English proficient (LEP) students' needs are rarely addressed in the development of the typical, mainstream curriculum. Instead, curriculum is usually developed with the generic "average" student in the generic "average" classroom in mind. To make matters worse, the specific content and the mass of detailed objectives, lessons, procedures, and evaluations that are the product of this curriculum development process leave little room for individual teachers to interpret and/or modify the curriculum to take into account their LEP learners.

With these concerns in mind, the Director and staff of the newly enlarged Bilingual/ESOL Education program of the Denver Public Schools (DPS) set out to devise a curriculum that would provide teachers in the program with a common focus and instructional goals but that would also allow them to develop, organize, and refine their own individual methods and techniques in order to meet the specific and changing needs of the students in their classrooms.

The result was a curriculum framework that (a) utilizes all four language processes (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and the cognitive process as vehicles for promoting academic achievement; (b) is interdisciplinary, with the teacher as the overall manager, organizer, facilitator, and classroom developer of the various curricula; (c) is student centered and experience based, with students as active participants in the development and implementation of learning activities; and (d) is flexible and responsive to each student's individual learning style, language proficiency, and cognitive development.

This concept of curriculum is a process by which the student is empowered to participate effectively in a changing, culturally diverse society. It is based on recent developments in the areas of first and second language acquisition research as well as on sound and well-documented pedagogical techniques. Because this curriculum centers on how content is presented rather than on specific content, it guides instruction in bilingual and ESL classrooms in Grades K-12, in both self-contained and pullout situations. It also forms the backbone for the inservice training of teachers and paraprofessionals as well as for Spanish classes for teachers and other District personnel. The framework guides all instructional activities undertaken by the Department of Bilingual/ESOL Education.

A VISUALIZATION OF THE CURRICULUM FRAMEWORK

The DPS Bilingual/ESOL Curriculum Framework, depicted in Figure 1, is visualized as 10 interactive components of effective instruction enclosed by an outer circle of affective variables, which also contribute to effective instruction. The entire curriculum is driven by three forces—language and thought, teaching styles, and learning styles.

The wheel-like pattern of Figure 1 indicates motion and emphasizes a view of curriculum as process rather than product. Thus, the curriculum is not a list of specific skills to be taught at each grade level, but an ongoing utilization of materials and techniques that reflect the most current findings on how children acquire oral and written language. The 10 components that actually comprise the wheel are instructional factors that have been identified through research as having a positive effect on the success of LEP students in an academic setting. A brief explanation of each of the 10 components and of the other features of the model is presented below.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE COMPONENTS AND FEATURES OF THE FRAMEWORK

Instructional time refers to the effective utilization of the student's first and second languages in the classroom. Teachers show that both languages are valued by balancing interfunctional opportunities during instruction (Cummins, 1984; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

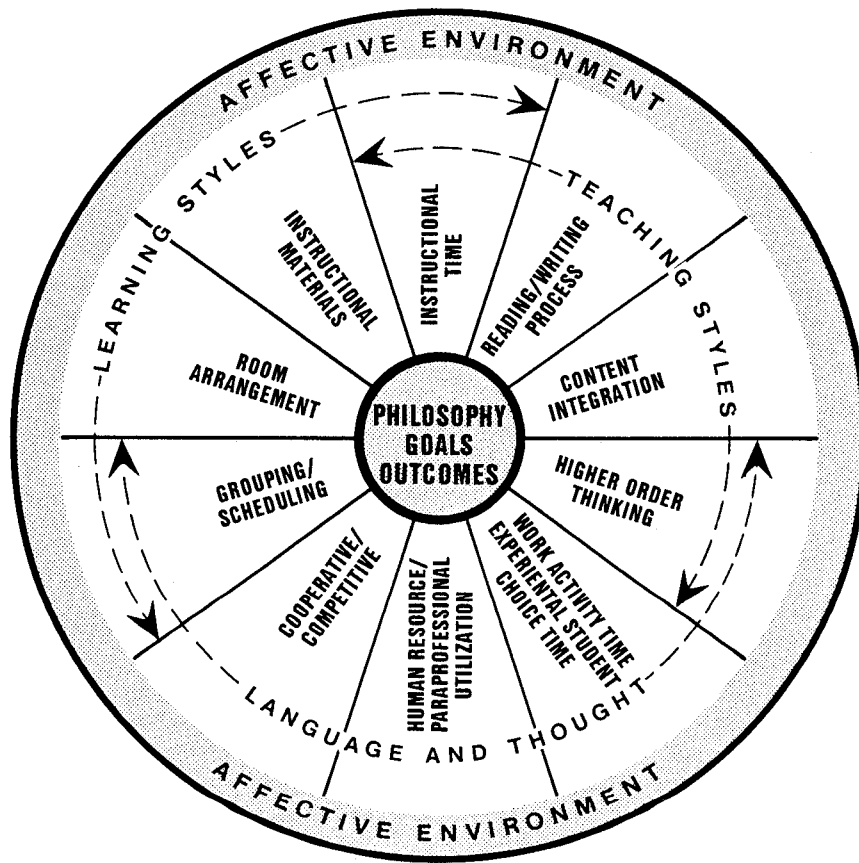
The *reading/writing process* emphasizes integrated skill development in the interaction of all four language processes in order to develop student proficiency in gathering information and producing meaningful communication (Calkins, 1986; Goodman, 1986; Flores et al., 1985; Smith, 1973).

Content integration is managed by organizing subject matter around topics or themes reflective of the students' interests and the scope and sequence of the District's curriculum objectives. The content is used as the medium to develop language proficiency and academic competence (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986; Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Mohan, 1986).

Higher order thinking skills are developed through the use of questioning strategies and activities that allow the student to process meaning at higher cognitive levels (Bloom, 1956; Sternberg, 1987; Vygotsky, 1934/1986).

FIGURE 1
Denver Public Schools
Bilingual/ESOL Curriculum Framework

10 COMPONENTS FOR EFFECTIVE INSTRUCTION



Work activity time is high-interest, experiential student choice time. The student initiates an activity by proposing a learning plan, actualizes that plan, and then shares a representation of the activity with a group (Piaget, 1936/1966).

Human resource/paraprofessional utilization is the fostering of an interdependent relationship between school personnel and the community in order to promote literacy (Cervantes, Baca, & Torres, 1979).

Cooperative/competitive learning involves the placement of students homogeneously and/or heterogeneously in large or small groups in order to enhance active language interaction and academic participation in the classroom (Kagan, 1985; Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974).

Grouping/scheduling refers to the opportunity that each student has to participate in a variety of group structures. It also refers to the balance of target and nontarget students in bilingual classrooms and to scheduling ESOL instructional time (Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

Room arrangements are flexible and conducive to the learning styles of the students. They match the environment to the task (Enright & McCloskey, 1988).

Instructional materials are selected and integrated to match the learning styles of the students (McCarthy, 1981).

These 10 components are interactive aspects of the overall classroom. The mode of instruction is inseparably linked to the curriculum and materials used in the classroom as well as to the learning styles of the students. They are intertwined so that each reflects the others.

The *affective variables* surrounding the 10 instructional components incorporate techniques for lowering the affective filters that may vary from group to group because of the different personalities, interests, and aims of students and their teachers. As Krashen and Terrell (1983) see it, the lowering of the affective filter allows students to participate more fully in the instructional process. LEP students will be more likely to take learning risks when the affective environment of the classroom is secure. This risk taking involves active experimentation and reflective observation using language within the ongoing learning environment.

Of the three major forces that drive instruction within the DPS Bilingual/ESOL Curriculum Framework, the first and foremost is *language and thought*, the idea that thought and its articulation in the first and/or second language of the student are inextricably bound together. Using this force to drive the curriculum results in thinking and using language to think and to communicate thoughts as the real “content” of the classroom. The *teaching style* of individual teachers, the second force, creates an atmosphere conducive to language acquisition and learning. The third force, the students’ *learning styles*, also affects how the 10 components are actually formulated and carried out. Research indicates that students gather and process information, as well as exhibit their learning, in a number of different ways. Often these differences are a product of students’ previous cultural and learning experiences. Teachers can build on the individual learning-style strengths of students while gradually guiding them to function with other styles.

Teachers' full understanding of their own personal teaching style, combined with a thorough familiarity with the learning styles of their students and the concept of language and thought as the critical content of instruction, will lead to the effective use of the 10 components to promote the linguistic and cognitive development of LEP students. Each of the 10 components is influenced by these three forces, although the relationship may vary across the 10 elements.

CONCLUSION

This framework is continually evolving and changing. Because it is based on current research in the areas of second language acquisition and effective instructional strategies, the model will continue to be revised to reflect the latest findings. Research within the District and feedback from teachers based on their experiences using the framework will also continue to have an impact on the model. This ongoing process ensures that the model itself will remain fluid and flexible to the needs of its users. Even more than to flexibility, the curriculum owes its success to the participation of parents, students, teachers, paraprofessionals, and administrators to effect change that will promote success for students.¹

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¹ The curriculum framework was developed with ideas generated by Dr. Dale Vigil, Director; Christina Bernal, Nancy Lee, and Janet Ramsay, Curriculum Writers; and Lucia Aandahl, Barbara Allen-Alverado, Mary Angela Bodenhamer, Ana Garcia-Gustafson, Dr. Toni Jones, Dr. Bonnie Scudder, Glenda Tafoya, and Ronna Winterton of the Department of Bilingual/ESOL Education, Denver Public Schools.

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Author's Address: Department of Bilingual/ESOL Education, Denver Public Schools, 900 Grant Street, Denver, CO 80203

The Secondary ESL Reading Course: Rationale and Implementation

MARY T. BARRETT

Rochester (MN) Public Schools

■ In the fall of 1985, due to a large influx of (primarily) Southeast Asian refugee students, the Rochester Public Schools faced the problem of which classes would be appropriate for these limited English proficient (LEP) students in our five secondary schools. Traditional ESL programs focus on grammar, syntax, and vocabulary acquisition; very few focus on the reading skills LEP students will need to compete in high school and college courses. According to Cummins (1984, p. 133), oral communicative competence can be achieved in as little as 2 years, but it may take 5 to 7 years for a student to achieve academic competence, of which reading comprehension is an important part. Thus, we decided that an ESL reading course would be an essential component of our curriculum, in addition to the traditional ESL program already in place.

Since the school district has more than 600 LEP students (about 5% of the K-12 population), we decided to set up formal, year-long reading classes for secondary ESL students, classes that would meet daily for an hour. As a first step in designing our curriculum, we read *Teaching Reading to Non-English Speakers* (Thonis, 1970) to form an idea of student needs and

teaching strategies. We then looked at what materials were available on the market. Our first decision was whether or not to use a basal reading series as our major text.

Currently, basals are in disfavor with some reading experts. Durkin (1981), in an analysis of five teacher's manuals provided with basal reading series, criticized the fact that the manuals focused attention on comprehension assessment and written exercises rather than on comprehension instruction. She also found that the manuals recommended strategies that "teach by implication rather than with direct, explicit instruction" (p. 524). According to Durkin, "Basal manuals sometimes offer incorrect information; more frequently, they turn means into ends in themselves by not relating what is being done to how-to-read" (p. 537).

Although we decided, for reasons to be discussed, to adopt a basal reader, Durkin's criticism convinced us that an overreliance on the teacher's manual would result in poor teaching. Reading teachers teach; manuals do not. We would use proven instructional methods, provide inservice, and share ideas. A second strategy would be to use a variety of materials in addition to the basal, while keeping the basal as the primary text.

One argument in favor of using basal readers was that they provide a controlled vocabulary at the lower levels. The words used in the basal are chosen from standardized lists that make up as much as 95% of everyday usage in spoken English. This has two advantages: (a) Phonics and decoding skills can be taught, especially at the lower levels where words are fairly regular; and (b) new vocabulary is systematically introduced, reviewed, and used in subsequent stories. For most students, the amount of new vocabulary is manageable. Another benefit of using basals is that the scope and sequence of these reading series extend beyond vocabulary into the introduction of genres of literature and reading comprehension skills such as categorization, compare/contrast, cause/effect, paragraph structure, and fact/opinion.

A problem we faced in our decision to adopt a basal reading series was the childish, elementary look of the materials. To convince the students the stories were appropriate, we decided to use two arguments: (a) that these books were designed to be used by American students who had already been speaking English for 6 to 9 years and (b) that we would move very quickly through the levels until we left the recreational reading level and entered the instructional level. Once we actually started teaching the series, we were able to add another argument: Students would be exposed to the same stories and cultural allusions, as well as vocabulary and study skills, as American students. Most students have readily accepted these arguments as valid.

In addition to the predicted benefits of using a basal series, there were others that we had not foreseen. Probably the most important was that the materials for teaching both vocabulary and comprehension can be "taught up" to the level of difficulty a class needs. This is because the materials in a basal are a foundation that can be used to teach almost anything we need

to. For example, in teaching basic vocabulary for phonics, we can introduce more difficult synonyms that students will encounter in their content classes. With a beginners' group, we might teach simple comprehension, whereas at the intermediate level we might focus on the use of figurative language or on character development in a story. Likewise, at beginner levels, sentence structure and concepts are fairly simple, but at higher levels, we can focus on complex sentences and how they aid in comprehension. Interestingly enough, the focus in the ESL reading class often meshes with that in the traditional ESL class—such as the teaching of cause and effect in the former and of subordination in the latter—thereby creating an opportunity for team teaching and reinforcement.

Another positive outgrowth of using the basal is that the series has provided us with subject matter for writing. In almost every lesson, we do some writing about the story—about plot, characters, and feelings. When we read poems or folktales, we try to write in these genres so that students can use their knowledge and experiences as the subject matter. In May of 1987, we published a book containing native folktales written by our students in response to similar folktales read in the basal reader.

Although the basal reading series has provided the major component of our reading course, we also use a variety of other materials to keep students interested and to teach and reinforce other skills. All of these materials, described below, are readily available, adult-looking, and have been evaluated for reading level.

1. Novels and biographies

The novel is introduced when students achieve about a second-grade reading level. As a class, we read one novel from the *Bestsellers* series (Series I & II, Belina, 1977-1979; Series III, Bander, 1977-1979; Series IV, Curran, 1988), each of which contains 10 titles (four copies of each book are provided). All are well written, interesting, and adult. Once students have read several of these novels, they can begin to sign out books from the other series we have purchased: novels in Scholastic's *Action Library* series (1971-1981) and *Double Action Library* series (1977-1981) or biographies of rock stars in the *Reading Success Paperbacks* series (Morgan, 1987). All of these series are written at between second- and fifth-grade reading levels.

2. Comprehension materials

Reading for Understanding (Thurstone, 1978) allows for individualization to meet student needs and abilities. At each level, students read 10 short paragraphs and complete the last sentence of each by choosing one of four possible answers. The structured scope and sequence of these materials facilitate correct placement; three practices at each of 100 levels allow for learning and review. Kit 1 spans Reading Levels 1.5 to 3.0; Kit 2 spans Reading Levels 3.0 to 7.0.

3. Content materials

Building Basic Skills (Fleming, 1982) is a five-part series that includes Reading 1 and 2, Social Studies, Science, Math, and Writing (only the

first three components of the series are used in the ESL reading class). Designed for General Educational Development courses, these adult-looking books, written at approximately fifth-grade reading level, provide the content background many LEP students need before being mainstreamed.

4. Nonfiction materials

Sack and Yourman's 66 *Passages to Learn to Read Better* (1984) is designed to help remedial readers understand that there are systematic ways to approach nonfiction to achieve comprehension. Passages are well organized and interesting. The reading level spans Grades 3.0 to 8.5, but 90% of the passages fall between Levels 3.0 and 6.0.

5. Spelling materials

The Rochester Public Schools have developed an elementary spelling program (*Success in Spelling*, 1982) that contains regular and stretch lists for Grades 1 through 6. Each grade level has 30 lessons containing either 20 or 25 words. Our ESL classes use the lists for Grades 3 through 6 to learn pronunciation, spelling, and meanings for all the words.

6. Study skills materials

Teacher-made materials are used to teach students at the intermediate and advanced levels such study skills as map, chart, and graph reading and to introduce students at the transitional level to formal study skills such as note taking, outlining, and test taking.

Since the introduction in 1985 of the ESL reading course in Rochester's five secondary schools, we have continued to reassess and refine the program. We believe that the curriculum materials we have chosen have proved to be quite effective. The basal reader has been an excellent primary text, since it allows us to teach basic skills and to assess comprehension based solely on reading rather than on students' past experiences. Moreover, the basal stories give us the flexibility to adapt the materials to the level of students' abilities and needs, while at the same time providing a set of guidelines for introducing appropriate study skills and thinking skills. The adult-looking supplementary materials allow us to challenge students and to prepare them for content classes, and they are fun and interesting. We have seen students learn to read successfully, to enjoy reading, and to develop the skills needed to be mainstreamed. We feel that our program is a sound one that prepares students to enter the academic world and contributes to their ultimately becoming productive members of their new society.

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Author's Address: Mayo High School, 1420 SE Eleventh Avenue, Rochester, MN 55904

THE FORUM

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites commentary on current trends or practices in the TESOL profession. It also welcomes responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published here in The Forum or elsewhere in the *Quarterly*.

Comments on Virginia C. Gathercole's “Some Myths You May Have Heard About First Language Acquisition”

A Reader Reacts. . .

DAVID FREEMAN
Fresno Pacific College

Virginia C. Gathercole's recent article in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 22, No. 3, September 1988) reviews a wealth of research and raises a number of interesting points. In these respects, the article is a valuable addition to our understanding of first and second language acquisition in the area of theory. However, the implications for teaching that Gathercole draws from her review of the research are disturbing.

The first assumption Gathercole questions is the idea that comprehension precedes production. She claims that this “is an explicit element in the Input Hypothesis of Krashen (1982), who argues that we acquire language by understanding language containing structures just beyond our productive capacity—at a level he calls ‘i + 1’” (p. 409). In fact, by “i + 1” Krashen refers to an acquirer's ability to comprehend, not produce, language containing structures slightly beyond his or her present stage.

Stronger support for the claim that production may precede and facilitate comprehension comes from research in emergent literacy. Clay (1975) and others have pointed to the fact that some students produce written language before they develop reading comprehension. These researchers argue that it is not necessary to delay writing until reading is mastered.

In the same way, in both Asher's Total Physical Response (1977) and Terrell's Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), students are not required to produce language at the initial stages. Nevertheless, some students do attempt to produce the target

language from the beginning. It seems to me that these approaches allow the sort of situation Gathercole calls for, “a more flexible approach that aims at a two-way interaction between these two skills” (p. 426).

My concern here, though, is that some teachers may interpret Gathercole’s comment, “The overemphasis on comprehension before production seems to be ill-founded” (p. 426), as legitimizing a return to earlier methods, such as audiolingualism, in which early production is required. Perhaps the strong emphasis on the delay of production in some methods has been a reaction against methods that require immediate production. It is my hope that Gathercole’s comments will not be taken as a rationale for a violent swing back in the opposite direction. As an educator of language teachers, I am concerned that some teachers with a strong background in older methods will interpret the comments in this way.

Gathercole also questions the assumption that children learn in a systematic, rule-governed fashion. For certain structures, rules are learned only after the structures have been used for some time. This leads Gathercole to suggest that rote learning and routines are a necessary feature of second language classrooms.

In the same way that language teaching has moved away from an emphasis on early production, there has also been a move away from a reliance on rote learning and routines. The suggestion that these may be “a necessary first step to the acquisition of most forms” (p. 426) again could be taken as support for a return to pattern practice and memorized dialogues. Although predictable language may facilitate acquisition by providing comprehensible input, as is the case with young readers’ use of pattern books, there is a danger that rote learning and routines can come to dominate the language class, with a resultant shift of focus away from the development of communicative competence. Children acquiring a first language ultimately use the early structures as data for rule formulation. In some second language classes the emphasis on routines and structures learned by rote may be sufficiently strong that learners are not able to construct their own rules.

The third assumption Gathercole questions is that children acquire language for the purpose of communication. She argues that, in part, children explore language in the same way that they explore any other aspect of their world and that communication may be a secondary function. This leads her to comment that “it should not necessarily be assumed that this [a focus on communication] is an essential component for an incentive to learn a language” (p. 426).

Earlier methods of language teaching did not focus primarily on using the new language to communicate. The changes in methodology have been overwhelmingly in the direction of developing communicative and academic competence. In many regions of the United States, there has been a great increase in the number of limited English-speaking and non-English-speaking children and adults in the schools. For these students, communication is the motive for learning the second language. Gathercole's comments, however, could be taken by some teachers as justification for a return to earlier methods that did not emphasize communication.

Finally, Gathercole claims that "everything that has been learned in recent years about first language acquisition argues in favor of an eclectic approach to language acquisition and teaching" (p. 426), since L1 learners use every available trick at hand. Although eclecticism, at least a "cautious, enlightened eclecticism" (Brown, 1986), has been advocated at the levels of technique and method, ESL teachers are generally consistent in their approach (Anthony, 1963). Effective teachers develop basic assumptions about how language is acquired and choose among methods and techniques consistent with their beliefs. This is quite different from using any trick at hand.

It is important to question the assumptions we make about how languages are acquired. The data Gathercole has presented help advance our theoretical understanding of the acquisition process. Nevertheless, at the level of practical application, her suggestions could be taken as justification for a return to teaching methodologies that the language-teaching profession has largely rejected with good reason.



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The Author Responds. . .

VIRGINIA C. GATHERCOLE

Florida International University

David Freeman expresses some concern regarding possible practical implications my article might have for teaching in the classroom. His primary concern is that it might be taken as an appeal for or as a legitimization of a return to older language teaching methodologies—particularly audiolingual methodology, with its emphasis on pattern practice and routine drill. As this was certainly not my intention, I welcome his comments and the opportunity to clarify this point.

First, it should be stressed, the article was addressed primarily to those theoreticians who draw links between L2 and L1 acquisition. My goal was to urge them to reconsider the relationship between comprehension and production in L1 acquisition; to recognize that routines do play a role, particularly at early stages, in the development of the first language; and to acknowledge that not all L1 acquisition has its impetus in a desire or need for communication. I argued that if L2 acquisition is parallel to L1 acquisition—a view that I and others have pointed out may need qualification (see pp. 426-428)—then these three aspects of acquisition need to be reevaluated and their implications for L2 acquisition reconsidered.

Freeman's primary concerns are (a) that my comments on production might be taken as a "rationale for a violent swing back" to requiring immediate production from L2 learners, (b) that my discussion of routines in L1 acquisition "could be taken as support for a return to pattern practice and memorized dialogues . . . with a resultant shift of focus away from the development of communicative competence," and (c) that my claim that language acquisition does not always have its impetus in communication "could be taken by some teachers as justification for a return to earlier methods that did not emphasize communication."

It is important to consider these concerns in light of the tenets of audiolingual methodology. The audiolingual method had its theoretical roots in behaviorism and structuralism: Language learning was viewed in the behavioristic terms of stimulus-response and habit formation and in the structuralist perspectives of emphasis on form in language and of the strict separability of linguistic subsystems, including the separation of syntax and semantics. It was because of this theoretical foundation, based on

contemporary positions in psychology and linguistics, that drill, repetition, and pattern practice—aimed at the formation of “habits”—were emphasized and that the language taught in the classroom was often devoid of meaning and presented out of context. Dialogue memorization, repetition drills, and pattern practice drills were taken as *the* means to learning a language.

I do not believe that anything that I said suggested support for a return to either the theoretical foundation or the pedagogical practices of the audiolingual method. On the theoretical side, what I suggested instead was simply that if second language acquisition is to find its theoretical foundation in L1 acquisition, its theoreticians should examine the issues involved in L1 acquisition carefully. L1 acquisition appears to entail a more complex picture than that espoused by those stances that stress comprehension first, rule formulation, and acquisition for communication.

In direct response to Freeman’s concerns, it should be noted that my position falls outside that of audiolingual methodology on at least two counts. I argued that children’s formulation of rules and abstract structures often entails initial steps in which the child seeks out and discovers regularities in rote-learned, context-bound knowledge. Furthermore, the child treats the language as a formal problem space that is to be sorted out in its own right. These two positions argue, first, for a learner who is much more actively involved in the acquisition process than was ever suggested by behaviorism or audiolingual methodology. Second, initial context-bound knowledge fully supports a crucial role for meaning and pragmatic relevance in L1 acquisition: The importance of the here and now and of the context of use argues against any theory of acquisition that ignores communicative intent.

On the pedagogical side, I proposed that the present state of knowledge of L1 acquisition suggests an eclectic approach to teaching that would make room for production, routines, and linguistic structure. This does not mean that comprehension, comprehensible input, and communication are not also important. We simply need to acknowledge concomitant roles for production and comprehension, for routines and rule formulation, and for some attention to linguistic structure alongside communicative intentions. Simply because the former in each pair was at one point identified with audiolingualism does not mean we have to throw it out like the baby with the bath water.

In the case of production, in particular, I suggested that an overemphasis on comprehension may be “ill-founded, and a more flexible approach that aims at a two-way interaction between these two skills [comprehension and production] appears more desirable”

(p. 426). This is far from a rationale for a “violent swing back” to requiring immediate production; it is, rather, a suggestion that production may indeed contribute to the process of acquisition, contrary to the stance taken in a number of comprehension-based approaches.

Freeman suggests that Krashen’s Input Hypothesis is not concerned with production and that Total Physical Response and the Natural Approach allow for a two-way interaction between comprehension and production. However, as noted by Richards and Rodgers (1986, pp. 87-88, 97, 129), these approaches all treat comprehension as the primary *means* to the end of language acquisition. Production emerges as a sort of by-product of acquisition that takes place with comprehension. With regard to his Input Hypothesis, Krashen (1982) says,

The final part of the input hypothesis states that speaking fluency cannot be taught directly. Rather, it “emerges” over time, on its own. . . . The best way, and perhaps the only way, to teach speaking, according to this view, is simply to provide comprehensible input. . . . Accuracy [in speech] develops over time as the acquirer hears and understands more input. (p. 22)

The data from LI suggest that production should perhaps be afforded a more central role than this in second language acquisition.

Freeman concludes that “effective teachers develop basic assumptions about how language is acquired and choose among methods and techniques consistent with their beliefs.” I am in complete agreement with this. The goal of my article was, in fact, to contribute to our knowledge of how L1 acquirers learn language, precisely so that those working in second language acquisition can move toward the more and more principled basis for theory and practice that the field has been diligently approaching in recent years.



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Comments on Jeanne Polak and Stephen Krashen's "Do We Need to Teach Spelling?"

A Reader Reacts. . .

BARBARA DUFF

Gulf Polytechnic, University of Bahrain

In their brief report in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 22, No. 1, March 1988), Jeanne Polak and Stephen Krashen suggest that the "modest" correlations they found between voluntary reading and spelling ability may be due to the fact that their reading questionnaire was not a sufficiently sensitive measure of reading habits and their dictation test did not probe a wide enough variety of words. I would like to suggest that their results may have been affected by two other factors in their experimental design, namely, their choice of measure (dictation) and their method of scoring errors.

First, I would argue that dictation is not the best instrument to sample spelling ability for two reasons: the dependence of dictation on the auditory channel and the connectedness of a dictation text. Use of the auditory channel assumes that subjects have made the required auditory discriminations, phonic-graphic associations, and so on, without taking into account possible contamination of results from this source. It must also be questioned whether the ability to write in response to someone else's oral representations is what is actually meant by spelling ability (although I concede that this is almost exclusively what is measured in traditional spelling tests). In the natural course of events, spelling arises out of the writing process; samples derived from this situation may differ qualitatively from those derived from a dictation.

The second problem with dictation is that it is connected text. Consequently, when subjects write and check a dictation passage, they are drawing on skills that go beyond the ability to spell. (e.g., the use of expectations). Again, this could have distorted results. (An alternative approach might be to devise a spelling test based on responses to picture cues.)

Second, I would take issue with Polak and Krashen's means of scoring the misspellings on the grounds that it lacked sensitivity to different aspects of spelling ability and so missed the opportunity to investigate the hypothesis more thoroughly. (I am assuming,

although this was not stated, that errors of a grammatical nature—for example, the spelling of *there's* as *theirs*— were not counted as misspellings.) No distinction was made between minor errors such as those commonly made even by native speakers and gross distortions liable to render the word unintelligible. If voluntary reading and spelling ability are related, it might be hypothesized that more mistakes of the latter kind would be made by those subjects with limited exposure. Similarly, no distinction was made between performance on items familiar and unfamiliar to the subjects. If a relationship between voluntary reading and spelling ability exists, subjects with a more extensive voluntary-reading background might be expected to have developed more spelling rules and so be better able to generate the spelling of unfamiliar items.

Consideration of these factors, as well as the limitations mentioned by Polak and Krashen, might produce more informative results.



The Authors Respond. . .

JEANNE POLAK

Los Angeles Valley College

STEPHEN KRASHEN

University of Southern California

Barbara Duff points out two potential problems with dictation as a measure of spelling ability: (a) Dictation depends on the auditory channel, but tests in which subjects themselves generate words are closer to what occurs “in the natural course of events”; and (b) dictation is “connected text,” which could “distort” results.

Duff’s first point has come up before in the spelling research literature; Orleans (1926) and Thompson (1930) have argued that writers are not ordinarily called upon to spell words from dictation. Rather, “the aim of learning to spell is to be able to spell correctly the words that one writes spontaneously in running composition” (Orleans, 1926, p. 407).

However, the available data suggest that spelling performance on dictated tests (dictation of coherent texts as well as lists of isolated words) correlates well with performance on tasks (for example, essays and compositions) in which subjects themselves generate the

words (Orleans, 1926; Pitts & Hirshfield, 1987).¹ Figure 1 describes several such studies, and Table 1 presents intercorrelations, based on these studies, of performance on various types of spelling tests: dictation, list, essay/composition, and multiple-choice. These data appear to support the use of dictation tests. (We should note, however, that our use of dictation tests for research purposes does not mean that we recommend their use as classroom activities or as achievement tests.)

As for Duff's second point, it is possible that connected text distorts spelling test performance. However, spelling performance measured by using connected text, dictation, and essays correlates with spelling performance as measured by two kinds of tests using unconnected text: (a) lists of isolated words and (b) multiple-choice tests, tests in which testees select the correct spelling from among alternatives (Moore, 1937; Murray, 1919; Northby, 1936; Orleans, 1926; see Table 1).

Still, it is possible that a test that is not dependent on the auditory channel and that does not use connected text will produce different results. The problem with such a test, such as the picture-cued test Duff suggests, is that it will not be close to what occurs "in the natural course of events." Paraphrasing Duff, it must be questioned whether the ability to spell words in response to picture cues is what is actually meant by spelling ability.

Picture-cued tests, lists, and dictation avoid a major problem inherent in using free writing to measure spelling: In essays and compositions, there is little or no control over what words will be tested (although, as M. Lewison [personal communication, November 9, 1988] has pointed out to us, restricting the essay topic can at least partially limit what words writers will use).

Figure 2 summarizes the properties of spelling tests discussed here, as well as those of the multiple-choice spelling test, which intercorrelates well with other spelling tests (see Table 1). The advantages of multiple-choice tests are that they do not involve the auditory channel and can use a controlled set of words. They can be used with connected text but are often not. In multiple-choice tests, however, the words are not self-generated. Also, these tasks do not "occur in the natural course of events." The multiple-choice task is only distantly related to proofreading. As Shores and Yee (1973)

¹A puzzling result in the Pitts and Hirshfield study that appears to contradict our findings is that spelling as measured by dictation was not a significant predictor of reading comprehension scores; the *beta* for spelling was in fact negative (although not significant; Pitts & Hirshfield did not report the actual size of the *beta*). Spelling as measured by a multiple-choice test (the California Test of Basic Skills) was positively associated with reading comprehension, and the two measures of spelling were positively correlated ($r = .81$). We discovered this article soon after ours was published.

FIGURE 1
Description of Studies

Study	Subjects	Additional details
Northby, 1936	Grade 6, <i>N</i> = 43	Same words on all tests
Moore, 1937	Grade 6, <i>N</i> = 102	Same words on all tests
Murray, 1919	College students, <i>n</i> = 37 juniors <i>n</i> = 36 seniors	Different words used on tests For juniors, <i>r</i> = .42 For seniors, <i>r</i> = .50 Students not aware dictation was a spelling test
Pitts & Hirshfield, 1987	“Underprepared” college freshmen, <i>N</i> = 71	Spelling dictation test from Wide Range Achievement Test Essay = 500 words on assigned topic Multiple-choice spelling test from California Test of Basic Skills
Orleans, 1926	Grades 4-8, <i>N</i> not given	Morrison-McCall Spelling Scale Composition = 24 sentences describing “situations”; 1 point awarded for each sentence with no spelling errors

TABLE 1
Intercorrelations of Spelling Tests

Test	List	Essay/composition	Multiple-choice
Dictation (texts)	.94, .94 (Northby) .95, .99 (Moore) .50, .42 (Murray)	.72 (Pitts & Hirshfield)	.77, .79 (Northby) .81, .64 (Moore)
List		.54 to .86 (Orleans)	.85 (Northby) .82 (Moore)
Essay/composition			.81 (Pitts & Hirshfield)

Note: Correlations from Northby (1936) and Moore (1937) were computed by the second author from raw data reported in their articles. First correlation = dictation words in a story, second correlation = dictation words in sentences.

point out, “When we are actually proofreading spelling, we rarely confront as many as four different spellings of the same word at once, with prior knowledge that one of the alternatives before us is incorrect” (p. 303).

FIGURE 2
Properties of Spelling Tests

Test	Auditory channel	Connected text	Naturally occurring	Controlled list
Dictation	yes	yes	no	yes
Essay	no	yes	yes	no
Word list	yes	no	no	yes
Picture-cued	no	no	no	yes
Multiple-choice	no	possible	no	yes
Ideal				
Polak & Krashen	no	yes	yes	yes
Duff	no	no	yes	yes

It is not obvious to us how to construct ideal spelling tests, satisfying ours or Duff's criteria. The fact that different, yet imperfect measures of spelling are intercorrelated, however, gives us some confidence in our results.

Duff also questions our scoring system. All we can say is that (a) we did not score grammatical errors as spelling errors and (b) we agree that it would be of interest to probe familiar versus unfamiliar words and the relationship between free voluntary reading and the kind of spelling error made.



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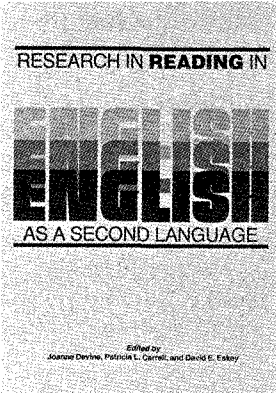
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