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TESOL QUARTERLY

In This Issue

■ With this issue, the *TESOL Quarterly* completes its 20th year of publication. Readers will find articles dealing with the teaching of writing, the teaching of grammar, and methodology in second language research—topics of traditional concern to our field. Other articles address issues which have become especially prominent, particularly in recent years—functional, competency-based teaching in refugee education and orality and literacy. Individually and together, the articles reflect the tradition in our field of searching for multiple and interdisciplinary perspectives on topics of interest and exploring new issues and challenges in the context of our accumulated knowledge and experience.

- May Shih presents a rationale for "content-based approaches to teaching academic writing—in which writing is linked to concurrent study of specific subject matter in one or more academic disciplines." Shih contrasts content-based approaches with traditional approaches (pattern centered, functional, and process centered) and argues that "content-based academic writing instruction may be . . . more effective . . . because it deals with writing in a manner similar (or identical) to how writing is assigned, prepared for, and reacted to in real academic courses." The article includes extensive description of five frameworks for implementing content-based academic writing instruction for learners who have more than elementary proficiency in English.

- James Tollefson describes problems in the functional, competency-based curricula developed for the U.S. Refugee Processing Centers in Southeast Asia. Since 1980, approximately 150,000 refugees have completed the intensive program in ESL, cultural orientation, and pre-employment training off ered at these centers. Tollefson argues that although unprecedented funds have been spent on overseas refugee education, a number of fundamental problems persist in this program. He describes problems in the curriculum development process, in the role of values in the curriculum, and in the validation of tests of functional competence. The article concludes with a call for critical examination of all of these issues, as they relate both to the work of the U.S. Refugee Program and to the functional, competency-based approach to curriculum development in general.

- Jeanette DeCarrico argues that a major problem in teaching the English modality system stems from a failure of ESL grammar texts to make clear the past time relationships expressed by modal perfect forms (modal + *have* + participle). DeCarrico's article stresses the need for instruction on these forms to explain "the systematic nature of the forms and of the *semantics* with respect to time relationships." According to the author, the simplest and most accurate explanation is that "modals in past contexts are normally restricted to *one* time frame, in terms of actual time . . . the definite, or *simple,* past time." This explanation underscores the point that modal perfects bear no relation semantically to the past time frame of present perfect forms. The article includes a five-step sequence for teaching the English modality system; this sequence reflects the author's emphasis on the "need to distinguish clearly between tense and aspect as opposed to actual time."

- For several years, TESOL's Research Interest Section, continuing a tradition begun by its predecessor, the Research Committee, has presented a state-of-the-art session at each TESOL Convention. The *Quarterly* is pleased to publish revised versions of the contributions to the 1985 session, the topic of which was research methodology. The intention is to promote further the goals of the session: to examine current practice in research design and analysis and to stimulate discussion of how research on second language development should be conducted in the future.

  In her introduction, Miriam Eisenstein, who organized the session, summarizes the case for research alternatives. Eisenstein's comments focus on the effectiveness of different approaches in investigating different problems and issues; she takes the position that alternative methods of data collection and analysis can complement one another.

  A two-pronged approach, involving systematic observation and controlled elicitation, is viewed by Nessa Wolfson as a necessity in research on rules of speaking in a specific speech community. Wolfson discusses a number of methodological problems in sociolinguistic research—the "observer's paradox," the unreliability of subjects' intuitions about their speech behavior, and the "tendency to forget the context in which speech was produced and to collapse data from studies in which the speech events were quite different." In addition, she illustrates the hypothesis-generating potential of systematic observation by summarizing her own and others' research on "how people use their linguistic resources to negotiate within the social structure of which they are a part."

  Grant Henning discusses the current state of quantitative research on language acquisition—research which he defines as involving "the tallying, manipulation, or systematic aggregation of quantities of data." Henning's analysis of articles published in the *TESOL Quarterly* and

Language Learning at 5-year intervals beginning with 1970 reveals that while the percentage of quantitative research has increased dramatically, the percentage of quantitative research involving formal hypothesis testing has declined. In Henning's view, a widespread problem in quantitative research in applied linguistics is the failure of "experiments" to state a formal hypothesis and to satisfy other fundamental requirements of experimental research (such as estimating the reliability and validity of instrumentation and procedures). The article concludes with suggestions to guide future research, with particular emphasis on studies involving small samples.

Craig Chaudron contends that "research in and about L2 classrooms illustrates the interdependence, in fact the virtually inseparable application, of qualitative and quantitative approaches." He summarizes the interaction of product- and process-oriented approaches to classroom research since the 1960s, arguing that the pattern of development in this research involves "qualitative refinement of the relevant categories and quantitative analysis of the *extent* of relevance." The variable of teacher questioning behavior is used to illustrate the need for "a continued program of qualitative refinement and quantitative testing" to determine what aspects of learning tasks are affected by differences in a classroom interaction variable and what effects these differences produce.

- James Gee's review article aims to place the "literacy crisis" in a cross-cultural perspective. By reviewing key works on orality and literacy, Gee traces the progression of critical thought toward the view that literacy has different social and cognitive consequences in different social contexts. He stresses that teachers of English must see themselves not simply as teaching language, but rather as "teaching a set of discourse practices, oral and written, connected with the standard dialect of English." According to Gee, we must recognize that for our students, "a change of discourse practices is a change of identity" and that we "socialize students into a world view that, given its power here and abroad, must be viewed critically, comparatively, and with a constant sense of the possibilities for change."

Also in this issue:

- Reviews: Andrew Cohen reviews J.C. Alderson and A.H. Urquhart's *Reading in a Foreign Language;* Patton Tabors reviews Kenji Hakuta's *The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism.*
- Brief Reports and Summaries: James Dean Brown and Ann Hilferty report a study of the effect of teaching reduced forms on performance on a test of grammar, a test of listening comprehension, and a dictation; and Michael Janopoulos reports a study which examined, for adult learners of English, relationships between amount of reading in the native language, amount of reading in English, and writing proficiency in English.

- The Forum: Christopher Reznich's comments on Elsa Auerbach and Denise Burgess's "The Hidden Curriculum of Survival ESL are followed by the authors' response, as are Martha Pennington's comments on Carol Chapelle and Joan Jamieson's "Computer-Assisted Language Learning as a Predictor of Success in Acquiring English as a Second Language." In addition, two readers react to Daniel Horowitz's "Process, Not Product: Less Than Meets the Eye": JoAnne Liebman-Kleine in "In Defense of Teaching Process in ESL Composition" and Liz Hamp-Lyons in "No New Lamps for Old Yet, Please." Each reaction is followed by a response by Horowitz.
- The Cumulative Index for the *TESOL Quarterly,* Volumes 19 and 20.

Stephen J. Gaies

TESOL QUARTERLY, Vol. 20, No. 4, December 1986

Content-Based Approaches to Teaching Academic Writing

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In content-based academic writing instruction, writing is connected to study of specific academic subject matter and is viewed as a means of promoting understanding of this content. A rationale is presented for adopting content-based instruction to meet ESL composition goals; it is argued that such instruction develops thinking, researching, and writing skills needed for academic writing tasks and does so more realistically than does traditional instruction that isolates rhetorical patterns and stresses writing from personal experience. Five approaches for structuring content-based writing instruction are defined and exemplified: topic-centered "modules" or "minicourses," content-based academic writing courses (reading and writing intensive), content-centered English-for-special-purposes courses, composition or multiskill courses/tutorials as adjuncts to designated university courses, and individualized help with course-related writing at times of need (through faculty in writing-across-the-curriculum programs, tutors, and writing center staff).

How can intermediate- and advanced-level ESL composition instruction effectively prepare university-bound and matriculated students to handle writing assignments in academic courses? In recent years, composition programs for native and nonnative students have experimented with a range of content-based approaches to teaching academic writing—in which writing is linked to concurrent study of specific subject matter in one or more academic disciplines. This may mean that students write about material they are currently studying in an academic course or that the language or composition course itself simulates the academic process (e.g., minilectures, readings, and discussion on a topic lead into writing assignments). Students write in a variety of forms (e.g., short-essay tests, summaries, critiques, research reports) to demonstrate understanding of the subject matter and to extend their

knowledge to new areas. Writing is integrated with reading, listening, and discussion about the core content and about collaborative and independent research growing from the core material.

This article presents a rationale for content-based approaches to teaching academic writing skills and describes five instructional approaches for ESL programs.

TYPES OF WRITING ASSIGNED IN ACADEMIC COURSES

To prepare students for university courses, it is important to have information about the types of writing tasks actually required across academic disciplines and about instructors' purposes in assigning these tasks. Several published reports on writing and academic skills surveys include data on types and relative frequency of writing tasks in various academic fields, at undergraduate and graduate levels.

Behrens (1978), analyzing survey returns from 128 faculty in 18 academic disciplines and 6 professional fields at American University, found that essays interpreting experiences and/or readings were the most frequent type of papers assigned in undergraduate humanities and social science courses but were infrequent in professional school courses and never assigned in undergraduate science courses. In the sciences, experimental reports were the most frequent, and in the professions, reports providing factual discussion and research papers were the most often assigned. Of the undergraduate courses surveyed, 85% had some kind of final exam, most with at least some essay questions.

Eblen (1983) received completed questionnaires from 266 faculty in five academic divisions at the University of Northern Iowa. The most frequently required form of writing across fields was, by far, the essay test—showing that writing as a mode of testing was stressed at least as much as writing as a mode of promoting new learning. Most assigned writing was informative or transactional—including, in decreasing order of frequency across fields, analytical papers, abstracts of readings, documented papers, essays or themes, lab reports, case reports, technical reports, and book reports. Some expressive or personal writing was assigned (personal essays, journals), significantly more in education and humanities courses than in science, social science, and business courses.

To find out what students were asked to write in university classes, Rose (1983) collected and analyzed 445 essay and take-home examination questions and paper topics from 17 departments at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Most questions and topics required (a) exposition and academic

argument, (b) synthesis of information from lectures and readings (rather than ideas from personal experiences or observations of immediate objects or events) and thoughtful reflection on material, and (c) writing which fits the philosophical and methodological assumptions of specific academic disciplines (p. 111).

Several recent studies have examined writing and other tasks required of international students. According to *Open Doors 1982-83* (Boyan & Julian, 1984, p. 33), the fields with the heaviest concentrations of international students in 1982-1983 were engineering (23.1% of all students reported), business and management (18.1%), physical and life sciences (8.0%), mathematics/computer science (7.6%), and social sciences (7.1%).

Kroll (1979) gave 35 international students (mostly in engineering, science, and business fields) and 20 American students—all enrolled in freshman English courses at the University of Southern California—a questionnaire on their past, current, and future writing needs. The two groups had similar past writing experiences and current academic writing needs; international students also predicted a need to do some writing in English in future jobs. Kroll interpreted these results as justification for the requirement that ESL students take English composition courses. She urges, however, that composition courses let students practice the types of writing they really need.

In Kroll's survey, the personal essay, the most common assignment in traditional composition courses, was rated as less important than tasks such as business letters and reports. When asked to state the most challenging academic writing assignment faced in the current semester, international students most often specified term papers in fields remote from their major fields. This is a reminder that lower division undergraduates, more than students doing specialized graduate/professional work, need to be equipped to handle more diverse writing demands across disciplines.

Ostler (1980) reports on another survey of international students at the University of Southern California. To determine if its advanced ESL classes were meeting student needs, the American Language Institute administered a questionnaire to 131 of its students (96 undergraduates and 35 graduates), asking them to assess the academic skills needed to complete their degree objectives as well as to evaluate their own language abilities in several contexts. A distinction was found between skills most needed by undergraduates and those most needed by graduates. For example, undergraduates more frequently indicated a need to take multiple-choice exams than essay exams and to write lab

reports. Advanced undergraduates and graduates more frequently indicated a need to read academic journals and write critiques, research proposals, and research papers. The importance given to specific skills also varied by major field.

A.M. Johns (1981) distributed a questionnaire to 200 randomly selected classroom instructors (10% of the faculty) at San Diego State University to determine which skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening) were most critical for nonnative-speaker success in university classes. The 140 faculty who responded placed the receptive skills, reading and listening, ahead of writing (third) and speaking (fourth). Johns recommends that more extensive, systematic instruction in the receptive skills, using real academic materials and problems, be part of the academic ESL curriculum.

> Teaching of the productive skills of writing and speaking, rather than being central to the curriculum, should be secondary to listening and reading activities. Writing, for example, could involve the paraphrase or summary of reading materials or the organization and rewriting of lecture notes. Speaking instruction should include response to readings or lectures rather than the preparation of dialogues or presentations. (p. 56)

Use of writing tasks which follow from, and are integrated with, the listening and reading of academic material is in fact a defining characteristic of the academic content-based approaches to writing instruction discussed later in this article.

To find out what kinds of writing are required in graduate engineering courses, West and Byrd (1982) analyzed responses from 25 engineering faculty at the University of Florida, who rank ordered specified types of writing according to frequency of assignment to graduate students in classes during the preceding academic year. They found that faculty assigned examination, quantitative problem, and report writing most often, homework and paper writing less often, and progress report and proposal writing least often. If undergraduate technical writing courses are to prepare students not only for careers in industry but also for graduate studies, instructors should carefully consider the types of writing assigned; for example, progress reports and proposals might be de-emphasized.

Based on completed questionnaires from faculty in 34 U.S. and Canadian universities with high international student enrollments, Bridgeman and Carlson (1983, 1984) analyzed academic writing tasks and skills required of beginning graduate students in six academic disciplines with relatively high numbers of nonnative students: business management (MBA), civil engineering, electrical

engineering, psychology, chemistry, and computer science. Undergraduate English departments were also surveyed to provide data on writing requirements for beginning undergraduates across disciplines. Faculty were asked to indicate how frequently per semester first-year students were assigned various writing tasks and then to rate (on a scale of 1 to 5) the importance of given writing skills (e.g., describing an object or apparatus, arguing persuasively for a position) for success in the first year of graduate study. Some major findings were summarized as follows:

> Even disciplines with relatively light writing requirements (e.g., electrical engineering) reported that some writing is required of first-year students. Lab reports and brief article summaries are common writing assignments in engineering and the sciences. Longer research papers are commonly assigned to undergraduates and to graduate students in MBA, civil engineering and psychology programs.
>
> Descriptive skills (e.g., describe apparatus, describe a procedure) are considered important in engineering, computer science, and psychology. In contrast, skill in arguing for a particular position is seen as very important for undergraduates, MBA students, and psychology majors, but of very limited importance in engineering, computer science, and chemistry. (1983, p. 55)

The studies cited above indicate that many types of writing tasks are assigned in university courses; types of tasks emphasized vary from one academic level to another (especially lower division undergraduate versus graduate), from one academic field to another, and even within disciplines. Writing is often required as a mode of demonstrating knowledge (e. g., in essay exams, summaries) and is also used by instructors as a mode of prompting independent thinking, researching, and learning (e. g., in critiques, research papers). Especially in the academic fields chosen most often by nonnative students, tasks require mostly transactional or informative writing; writing from personal experience only is rare.

Writing instruction for students at the beginning of their undergraduate education needs to prepare them to handle a variety of tasks across disciplines. As students begin to specialize, they must learn to gather and interpret data according to methods and standards accepted in their fields, to bring an increasing body of knowledge to bear on their interpretations, and to write in specialized formats.

Further empirical case studies such as, those of Faigley and Hansen (19S5) and Herrington (1985) are greatly needed to provide teachers and curriculum developers with information on writing demands posed in specific academic contexts and problems

experienced by student writers, as well as to establish a basis for comparisons of such demands and student needs across university courses.

APPROACHES TO TEACHING WRITING IN ESL PROGRAMS

Intermediate- and advanced-level ESL academic writing courses generally have one of four orientations, depending on which element of composing is taken as the basis for course organization: rhetorical patterns (form), function, process, or content.

Patient-centered approaches ask students to analyze and practice a variety of rhetorical or organizational patterns commonly found in academic discourse: process analysis, partition and classification, comparison/contrast, cause-and-effect analysis, pro-and-con argument, and so on. Kaplan (1966, 1967) and others point out that rhetorical patterns vary among cultures and suggest that nonnative students need to learn certain principles for developing and organizing ideas in American academic discourse, such as supporting generalizations by presenting evidence in inductive and deductive patterns of arrangement.

Model essays are generally used to help build this awareness. (Eschholz, 1980, and Watson, 1982, recommend using models after students have started writing—as examples of how writers solve organizational problems—rather than as ideals to be imitated.) Writing assignments require students to employ the specific patterns under study. Traditionally, the source of the content for these essays has been students' prior personal experience (how to make something, to practice process analysis; one city versus another city, to practice comparison/contrast). The assumption has been that once student writers assimilate the rhetorical framework, they will be able to use the same patterns appropriately in future writing for university courses.

Functional approaches recognize that in real writing, purpose, content, and audience determine rhetorical patterns. Starting from given patterns and asking students to find topics and produce essays to fit them is thus a reversal of the normal writing process. Instead of having students write a comparison/contrast essay, a functional approach would ask students to start with a specified purpose and audience, for example, "Persuade one of your friends who is planning to move that City X is a better place to live than City Y." A rhetorical problem motivates writing. Students should not be asked "to fit their ideas into preexisting organizational molds (implying that there is a limited number of correct ways to

organize)"; rather, they should see that "organization grows out of meaning and ideas" (Taylor, 1981, p. 8).

Typically, in a functionally oriented writing program, writers assume a variety of roles; academic writing is only one context and usually not the sole focus. Contexts for writing tasks are carefully defined; purpose and audience are always specified. If the writer is placed in unfamiliar roles in which background knowledge about the topic may be lacking, data may be supplied in the form of facts, notes, tables or figures, quotations, documents, and so on. Specific-purpose tasks posed in McKay (1983) and McKay and Rosenthal (1980) and case problems such as those in Hays (1976), Field and Weiss (1979), and Woodson (1982) are good examples of functionally based composition assignments.

Process-centered approaches help student writers to understand their own composing process and to build their repertoires of strategies for prewriting (gathering, exploring, and organizing raw material), drafting (structuring ideas into a piece of linear discourse), and rewriting (revising, editing, and proofreading). Tasks may be defined around rhetorical patterns or rhetorical problems (purpose), but the central focus of instruction is the *process* leading to the final written product. Students are given sufficient time to write and rewrite, to discover what they want to say, and to consider intervening feedback from instructor and peers as they attempt to bring expression closer and closer to intention in successive drafts (Flower, 1985; Murray, 1980, 1985; Taylor, 1981; Zamel, 1982, 1983). Hartfiel, Hughey, Wormuth, and Jacobs (1985) and Flower (1985) are good examples of process-centered composition textbooks for ESL and for native English writers respectively.

A process approach which is student centered takes student writing (rather than textbook models) as the central course material and requires no strict, predetermined syllabus; rather, problems are treated as they emerge. "By studying what it is our students do in their writing, we can learn from them what they still need to be taught" (Zamel, 1983, p. 182). Revision becomes central, and the instructor intervenes throughout the composing process, rather than reacting only to the final product. Individual conferences and/or class workshops dealing with problems arising from writing in progress are regular features of process-centered instruction.

At least in early stages, the focus is on personal writing—students explore their personal "data banks" (Hartfiel et al., 1985, pp. 18-33; Hughey, Wormuth, Hartfiel, & Jacobs, 1983, p. 11).

> Most students begin to write in personal papers about subjects that are important to them. Once they have successfully gone through the writing process, taking a subject that is not clear to them and developing and clarifying it so that it is clear to others, they are able to write about increasingly objective subjects, and they can see how to apply the process to a variety of writing tasks, academic and professional as well as personal. (Murray, 1985, p. 240)

Later in the course, students may move to academically oriented topics. They may continue to write primarily from personal experience and beliefs, or they may move to writing from sources, practicing new prewriting, drafting, and rewriting strategies as they tackle academic tasks like the library research paper.

Content-based approaches differ from traditional approaches to teaching academic writing in at least four major ways:

1. Writing from personal experience and observation of immediate surroundings is de-emphasized; instead, the emphasis is on writing from sources (readings, lectures, discussions, etc.), on synthesis and interpretation of information currently being studied in depth. Writing is linked to ongoing study of specific subject matter in one or more academic disciplines and is viewed as a means to stimulate students to think and learn (Beach & Bridwell, 1984; Emig, 1977; Fulwiler, 1982; Newell, 1984).
2. The focus is on *what* is said more than on *how* it is said (Krashen, 1982, p. 168) in preparing students for writing and in responding to writing. The instructor who guides and responds to writing must know the subject matter well enough to explain it, field questions, and respond to content and reasoning in papers. Treatment of matters of form (organization, grammar, mechanics) and style do not dictate the composition course syllabus, but rather follow from writers' needs.
3. Skills are integrated as in university course work: Students listen, discuss, and read about a topic before writing about it—as contrasted to the traditional belief that in a writing course, students should only write.
4. Extended study of a topic (some class treatment of core material and some independent and/or collaborative study/research) precedes writing, so that there is "active control of ideas" and "extensive processing of new information" (Anthony, 1985, p. 4) before students begin to write. A longer incubation period is permitted, with more input from external sources, than in traditional composition classes, in which students rely solely or primarily on self-generated ideas and write on a new topic for

each composition. Writing assignments can build on one another with "situational sequencing" (Schuster, 1984).

> Intuition and experience suggest that when students write to a topic about which they have a great deal of well-integrated knowledge, their writing is more likely to be well organized and fluent; conversely, when students know little about a topic, their writing is more likely to fail. When students have few ideas about a topic, or when they are unwilling to risk stating the ideas they do have, their writing may rely on glib generalizations, unsupported by argument or enriching illustrations. (Langer, 1984, pp. 28-29)

RATIONALE FOR CONTENT-BASED APPROACHES TO TEACHING ACADEMIC WRITING: SKILLS DEVELOPED

The formal writing tasks assigned in university courses (as identified in the survey studies noted earlier) require students to exercise complex thinking, researching, and language skills. Traditional composition courses have often fallen short in helping ESL students to develop the skills needed to handle real academic writing tasks. Content-based academic writing instruction may be a more effective means of prompting students to develop the requisite skills because it deals with writing in a manner similar (or identical) to how writing is assigned, prepared for, and reacted to in real academic courses.

Prewriting

The formal academic writing tasks identified in the survey literature require students to restate or recast information presented in course lectures, readings, and discussions or to report on original thinking and research (primary or secondary) connected to the course content. Important prewriting skills needed to handle such tasks include the following:

1. Recalling, sorting, synthesizing, organizing, interpreting, and applying information presented in course lectures, readings, and class discussions (for essay exams, controlled out-of-class essays). The material must be mentally reordered as necessitated by the question, so that the essay will not be merely a "memory dump" (Flower, 1985, p. 66)–that is, a writer-based, rote recital of information in the order stored—but a coherent essay directly answering the question posed (Jacobs, 1984).

2. Calling upon personal experience and knowledge; selecting, interpreting, and connecting relevant ideas; reflecting; imagining (for personal essays, creative writing).
3. Relating concepts presented in course reading (and lectures, discussions) to personal experience (for response essays in the social sciences, journals).
4. Conducting primary (firsthand) research (for data-based reports).
   a. Defining the research question and working hypotheses.
   b. Collecting appropriate and sufficient data, with appropriate methods and instruments. Designing data-collection procedures and objectively recording data through systematic observations (for observational studies, field trip reports, case studies, etc.); experiments (for lab reports, other experimental reports); surveys and questionnaires (for research reports in social science, business, and other fields); tests (for research reports in social science, education, and other fields); and letters of inquiry.
   c. Analyzing and interpreting data correctly—using appropriate statistical tests and appropriate lines of reasoning; drawing, from events, appropriate inferences at various levels of abstraction (Applebee, Auten, & Lehr, 1981; Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, & Rosen, 1975; Moffett, 1968): record of ongoing events, record of observed events, analysis and interpretation, theory and speculation.
5. Reading a text (poem, story, novel, play, historical document, etc.) carefully and critically (for critical analyses, reviews/ critiques); identifying an interpretive problem and the appropriate techniques of analysis; isolating and analyzing points important for the chosen interpretive problem, for example, theme, plot, characters, language, style (Bazerman, 1985, pp. 354-358; Maimon, Belcher, Hearn, Nodine, & O'Connor, 1981, pp. 155-163).
6. Obtaining and organizing information from secondary sources (for research proposals, library research papers).
   a. Choosing a suitable and compelling research topic and restricting it; making hypotheses about the central question/ problem to be investigated.
   b. Locating appropriate reference sources (library skills).
   c. Evaluating sources (to judge relevance and usefulness); selecting sources that work well together.

d. Skimming, scanning, and close reading; taking notes—to record information, aid understanding, and prompt own thinking; distinguishing more important and less important information; differentiating own ideas from those of sources; using direct quotation, paraphrase, and summary; recording page references.

e. Synthesizing information from secondary sources with writer's own thoughts and firsthand data.

7. Recasting data and ideas collected from primary and/or secondary investigation, using schemata common in academic writing: listing, definition, process analysis, classification, comparison/contrast, analysis, and so on (D'Angelo, 1975, 1980; Kiniry & Strenski, 1985; Rose, 1979a, 1983). D'Angelo assumes a loose connection between thought processes and the organizational patterns which express ideas. Rose (1979a, p. 64) suggests that these are not only categories of rhetoric (ways to present information) but also of epistemology (ways to gain, explore, and order information); they are "thinking strategies as well as discourse strategies" (1983, p. 123).

Writing assignments in many traditional composition courses may fall short in preparing students for real academic writing because they require a different set of prewriting strategies than do writing tasks in university subject-matter courses. Pattern-centered approaches have traditionally given more attention to the form of the final written product than to the prewriting (and rewriting) process. Moreover, requiring student writers to find a topic to fit a pattern reverses the normal prewriting process (finding a pattern suitable to topic and purpose).

Functional approaches, by placing student writers in a variety of roles for which they may sometimes lack background knowledge, often shortcut the prewriting process by providing a great deal of guidance. For example, case assignments often provide students with the precise rhetorical problem and specific content for writing, rather than requiring them to go through the process of defining a problem and gathering information for themselves. Such writing is not self-initiated in the sense that most academic writing is (in which students must define their own rhetorical problems and gather relevant materials themselves).

Process-centered approaches often focus solely or primarily on personal writing and develop too narrow a repertoire of prewriting strategies; some strategies which are productive for personal and

creative writing may be counterproductive if inappropriately applied to academic writing tasks.

> Some current invention strategies like brainstorming and freewriting encourage the student to generate material without constraint. . . . But . . . the more prescribed the task is, the less effective such freewheeling strategies might be: the student generates a mass of ideas that can lead to more disorder than order, more confusing divergence than clarifying focus. (Rose, 1984, p. 91)

In teaching writing apart from reading and in asking students to write primarily from personal experience, immediate observation, and preselected content, traditional composition courses may help student writers develop strategies for tapping their internal knowledge and attitudes (Skill 2 listed above), but often to the neglect of strategies for collecting, synthesizing, and interpreting new information from external sources (Skills 1, 3-7)—skills basic to the academic learning process.

It has been noted that few academic assignments ask students "to narrate or describe personal experiences, to observe immediate objects like the architecture of campus buildings, to express a general opinion on something not studied closely, to reflect on self" (Rose, 1983, p. 111), that "in most college courses, students are less often asked to do independent thinking than they are required to work with assigned sources—textbooks, lecture notes, and outside readings" (Spatt, 1983, p. v). There is evidence that academic discourse is different, more cognitively demanding, and requiring different skills from personal writing.

> Formal, disciplined writing on academic and impersonal themes teaches skills different from those taught in narrative writing about personal experiences . . . the more difficult type of writing, which the school must teach, is that which requires more abstract thinking and more hierarchic structure, and that which is less immediate to the writer's concrete, everyday experience. (Freedman & Calfee, 1984, pp. 472-473)

Student motivation may be higher when personal writing is de-emphasized and a link to university content courses is made evident, as the relevance of composition instruction to academic studies can more easily be seen (Irmscher, 1979, p. 75; Rose, 1983, p. 113).

In content-based composition instruction, writing tasks require students to restate and recast information and ideas from readings, lectures, and discussions on a topic and possibly also to report on results of independent or group research on related topics. Thus, students develop strategies for collecting, synthesizing, and interpreting new information from external sources (Skills 1,4, 5,6)

as well as for connecting such new information to previous knowledge and beliefs (Skills 3, 5, 7). As in real academic writing, writing serves to help students consolidate and extend their understanding of the topics under study.

Writing the First Draft

In writing the first draft of a paper, writers take material previously gathered and organized and structure it into a linear piece of discourse; it is "the process of putting ideas into visible language" (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 373). While producing the draft, writers continue to discover what they want to say and alter and refine initial plans. Especially when producing formal, analytical discourse, it is rare that ideas and organization of the piece are fully formulated in a writer's mind before drafting begins (Flower & Hayes, 1981; Murray, 1980, 1985; Taylor, 1981; Zamel, 1982). Since it is difficult to attend to considerations on many levels (essay, paragraph, sentence, word/phrase) all at once, writers typically write multiple drafts—that is, a first draft with revisions—for important papers. Writing the *first* draft of an academic paper requires at least the following skills:

1. Applying an efficient and productive writing process; being able to begin and continue writing; being able to alter initial plans as new ideas are discovered.
2. Monitoring one's own process and progress while drafting, without being excessively diverted by premature editing, which is counterproductive (Rose, 1984, pp. 5, 72-73).
3. Having lexical/semantic knowledge and fluency-conveying intended meaning in words.
4. Having morphological and syntactic knowledge and fluency—communicating in words and sentences that are well formed, sentences that properly express coordinate and subordinate relationships among ideas.
5. Knowing discourse frames, conventions, and techniques; being able to adapt familiar discourse patterns or invent new patterns appropriate to the task.
   a. Providing an appropriate overall design, using a standard format if necessary, for example, problem/purpose statement; review of research; methods, materials, and apparatus; results; discussion; conclusion.
   b. Providing a clear statement of thesis or purpose at the beginning and adhering to this unifying idea/focus throughout

the paper: "decenteredness: the ability to maintain all parts of a piece of writing under the control of a unified purpose" (Mellon, 1978, p. 264).

c. Giving credit to secondary sources, in text and final reference list, in an appropriate format.

6. Knowing mechanical conventions: orthography, spelling, capitalization, punctuation, manuscript form.

In content-based approaches to developing academic writing skills, writing tasks require student writers to produce first drafts under the same or similar conditions as those faced in tackling assignments for subject-matter courses. Students must develop an efficient and productive writing process (Skills 1, 2) and apply knowledge of conventions of English discourse, lexicon / semantics, morphology, syntax, and mechanics (Skills 3, 4, 5, 6) to produce a draft in a format well suited to the specific assignment and under strict time constraints in the case of essay tests. Writers need to be able to adapt and combine familiar discourse patterns (e.g., comparison / contrast, cause / effect analysis).

Traditional pattern-centered approaches have often required students to produce essays in strict organizational molds—for example, a series of five-paragraph essays, each according to a given method of organization (process analysis, comparison / contrast). Certainly, student writers need to become thoroughly familiar with the basic schemata, or "superframes," for processing and communicating information in academic writing—for example, listing, definition, seriation, classification, summary, comparison / contrast, analysis, and academic argument (Kiniry & Strenski, 1985, pp. 192-195). However, more important, they need to be able to apply such schemata to content studied in course-related readings and lectures and to analyze the wording of course writing assignments and determine appropriate organizational formats. Longer papers require an ability to combine different schemata in primary and secondary organizational plans.

Revising

Revising refers to reviewing and reworking a text. Two kinds of revision have been distinguished in research on composing processes. In "internal revision" (Murray, 1978, p. 91), or "revising to fit intentions" (Nold, 1982, p. 19), writers reread their drafts, discover what they said, match this message with what they intended to say, and rework (expand, delete, rearrange, alter) the content and structure of the written piece to make it congruent with

their intentions. In "external revision" (Murray, 1978, p. 91), or "revising to fit conventions" (Nold, 1982, p. 18), writers edit and proofread their text to detect and correct any violations of conventions of grammar, diction, style, and mechanics. In revising, a writer transforms writer-based prose (common in first drafts) into reader-based prose (Flower, 1979). Skills exercised during revising include the following:

1. Evaluating and revising content—testing what the paper says and the reader's probable response against what the writer intends to say and how the writer intends the reader to react; adding, deleting, reordering, and altering material to make all parts of the discussion relevant, substantive, and informed.
2. Evaluating and revising organization—making any changes needed to create a reader-based (rather than a writer-based) organization.
3. Editing grammar-applying awareness of one's own grammatical weaknesses and knowledge of English grammatical forms and rules to identify and correct grammatical errors.
4. Editing vocabulary and style—using knowledge of lexical and stylistic conventions and reference works (dictionary, thesaurus, handbook) to identify and correct problems and improve style.
5. Editing mechanics—applying knowledge of mechanical rules of English and using reference works to identify and correct errors in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, word division, abbreviations, manuscript form.
6. Checking documentation of sources.

When university faculty read student papers, they respond primarily to content: Does the paper discuss a topic accurately, thoroughly, logically, and creatively, with responsible acknowledgment of sources? Student writers receive feedback on how well their writing demonstrates understanding of the subject matter and original thinking.

In content-based approaches to teaching academic writing, student writers receive this type of feedback to use in subsequent revision (helping to develop Skills 1, 2). In contrast, in traditional composition classes, instructor feedback has often been largely aimed at matters of form and style rather than of substance and organization (e. g., Sommers, 1982; Zamel, 1985). If students write about topics in their own academic specializations, composition instructors often lack background knowledge to respond meaningfully to the content, reasoning, and organization of the paper.

When writing complex academic essays, student writers need to be able to edit their own papers for grammatical, lexical, stylistic, mechanical, and documentation errors (Skills 3, 4, 5, 6). The ability to produce highly accurate prose in controlled compositions and personal writing does not necessarily transfer across discourse types.

> We have evidence to suggest that while a writer might eventually produce grammatically correct prose for one kind of assignment, that correctness might not hold when she faces other kinds of tasks. Brooke Nielson, for example, found that when her sample of traditional writers shifted registers from the informal (writing to peers) to the formal (writing to an academic audience), their proficiency fell apart. . . . So we might guide a student to the point where she writes with few errors about her dorm, but when she is asked, say, to compare and contrast two opinions on dormitory housing, not to mention two economic theories, the organizational demands of comparing and contrasting and the more syntactically complicated sentences often attending more complex exposition or argument put such a strain on her cognitive resources and linguistic repertoire that error might well reemerge. . . . we cannot assume a simple transfer of skills across broadly different discourse demands. (Rose, 1983, pp. 113-114)

FIVE INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACHES

Content-based academic writing instruction can be structured in a number of ways. For ESL students who are beyond an elementary proficiency level in English, at least five approaches can be distinguished:

1. Topic-centered "modules" or "minicourses" (attention to all four language skills)—in practice, most commonly used with students in the upper levels of preacademic (intensive) ESL programs
2. Content-based academic writing courses, that is, composition courses organized around sets of readings on selected topics (reading and writing skills emphasized)—appropriate for newly matriculated undergraduate ESL students, to prepare them to handle writing tasks across disciplines
3. Content-centered English-for-special-purposes (ESP) courses, that is, field-specific, "sheltered" subject-matter courses (multiskill)—workable with students at any level beyond elementary proficiency, since complexity of material is adjusted to suit student level; at any stage of university study, since course is designed around students' backgrounds, needs, and interests; whenever students share an interest in a particular subject

4. Composition or multiskill English-for-academic-purposes (EAP) courses/tutorials as adjuncts to designated university content courses—feasible for students in the upper level(s) of an intensive ESL program and for matriculated ESL students
5. Individualized help with course-related writing at times of need (through faculty in writing-across-the-curriculum programs, tutors, and writing center staff)—for matriculated ESL students

Krashen (1985, pp. 69-74) has proposed a four-stage plan as a general schema for acquisition-based second language teaching programs. In Stage 1, General Language Teaching, second language input comprehensible to beginners is provided in a low-anxiety situation and in an organized way. In Stage 2, Sheltered Language Teaching, sheltered subject-matter courses (in which native speakers of the language of instruction are excluded, helping to ensure that instructor input is adjusted to student level) serve to ease students into learning academic subject matter in the second language. In Stage 3, Partial Mainstream, students further develop second language competence through exposure to unmodified input on selected topics ("narrow input") which they have the best chance of understanding and strong motivation to study. ESL students who only take courses in their majors may never leave the early part of this stage (p. 76). In Stage 4, Full Mainstream, second language competence is expanded to a greater number of subject areas.

If Krashen's four-stage plan is used as a framework, Approaches 1 and 3 (cited above) for teaching academic writing fit into Stage 2 (sheltered classes, modified input), Approach 2 (and possibly Approach 3) fits into Stage 3 (partial mainstream, narrow but unmodified input), and Approaches 4 and 5 fit into Stages 3 and 4 (partial/full mainstream).

The five approaches are described below; examples are given from programs for native and nonnative students.

Topic-Centered Modules or Minicourses

In one content-based approach to teaching writing (as well as other language skills), instructional units, or modules (Baker, Baldwin, Fein, Gaskill, & Walsleben, 1984), or minithematic units (Dubin, 1985) simulate actual university courses through intensive reading, live or videotaped lectures, films, discussions, writing tasks, quizzes, tests, and other activities. The units may be independent modules or minicourses—as in the UCLA Extension American Language Center's 3-week modules on topics such as

"The Brain," "Marketing and Advertising," "Rich and Poor Nations," and "The Roles of Men and Women" (Baker et al., 1984), or the University of Wisconsin-Madison Summer Language Institute's 3-week minicourses on topics such as "The United Nations," "NASA Space Programs," "American Music," or "Current Events."

Alternatively, thematically related units may be tied together in an extended, content-based course (same length as a real academic course). Examples of such extended courses are the American culture courses offered by many intensive ESL programs (readings, lectures, films, discussions, oral skills activities, and writing about a series of cultural topics) and the ecology course offered in *Critical Thinking, Critical Choices* (Aebersold, Kowitz, Schwarte, & Smith, 1985), which draws information from natural sciences, politics, economics, anthropology, and engineering.

Thematic units may be part of an orientation to American universities or part of an academic skills course (Eskey, Kraft, & Alvin, 1984; Eskey, Kraft, Shaw, & Alvin, 1981), as in the University of Southern California American Language Institute's EAP courses (Dubin, 1985, pp. 11-15). In the Institute's EAP-Regular course ("Acculturation to Academic Life"), students first work through a diagnostic miniunit using the theme of "Levels of Language," then a thematic unit on "American Education" to orient themselves to university organization, requirements, services, and academic skills, and finally other thematic units on topics such as "Nature vs. Nurture," "Issues in American Media," "Crime and Punishment," and "Corporate Responsibility." In the EAP Science and Technology course, the last segment of the course consists of three 3-week science units based on material from the fields of astronomy, geology, and biology.

In these minicourses, the focus is on comprehending and learning new content. The classroom is a place where second language acquisition takes place, as well as learning. Writing practice is integrated with practice of other language skills (reading, listening, speaking) as in actual academic situations, and in similar proportion, so writing may *not* be stressed (writing and speaking being secondary to reading and listening, as noted by A.M. Johns, 1981).

Reading and discussion of core material could be followed by individualized reading, research, and writing tasks. For example, Cortese (1985) describes an experimental course (University of Turin) on the topic of American Indians; in the latter part of the course, students selected a book on the topic to read independently,

made an oral report to class, wrote the report, and participated in a debate.

Possible difficulties in implementing the minicourse or thematic-modules approach include instructor hesitation about teaching in certain content areas and the need for staff time and expertise to select, adapt, and/or develop readings, minilectures, and study materials appropriate to student level. Topics with the greatest potential to hold student interest may not also be areas in which ESL instructors are knowledgeable. Thus, this approach requires that instructors be open to acquiring new knowledge along with their students and willing to exert effort on curriculum development. As the approach has, in practice, been aimed at upper level, preacademic ESL students interested in diverse academic disciplines, the materials selected should not assume any specialized background knowledge on a topic; thus, language instructors should easily be able to understand the materials and lead discussions on them.

Content-Based Academic Writing Courses (Reading and Writing Intensive)

Content-based academic writing courses prepare students who are at the beginning of undergraduate study to handle writing tasks across disciplines. Typically, a course may be organized around sets of readings on selected topics—narrow input, in Krashen's sense (1985, p. 73). In recent years, a number of texts of this nature have been published—generally aimed at academic writing courses for native English writers.

For example, *Writing and Reading Across the Curriculum* (Behrens & Rosen, 1985) uses sets of readings on topics such as artificial intelligence, obedience to authority, fairy tales, death and dying, nuclear war, morality and the movies, and the business of college sports. *Making Connections Across the Curriculum* (Chittenden & Kiniry, 1986) clusters readings around such topics as power, the origins of the nuclear arms race, the urban experience, the working world, the nature of learning, the treatment of cancer, and the impact of animals. *The Course of Ideas* (Gunner& Frankel, 1986) offers readings in Western civilization from Greek antiquity to the 20th century. Integrated sets of readings are also offered in Zimbardo and Stevens (1985), Bean and Ramage (1986), and Anselmo, Bernstein, and Schoen (1986).

Students are guided to practice reading skills, study skills, and forms of writing common to many academic writing assignments, such as summary, personal response, synthesis, and critique/

evaluation (Behrens & Rosen, 1985; Spatt, 1983), and basic expository schemata such as listing, definition, seriation, classification, and comparison/contrast (Kiniry & Strenski, 1985, pp. 192-195). This type of content-based course also serves to introduce students to the nature of inquiry, techniques and standards for gathering and evaluating evidence, and writing formats characteristic of different academic fields (Bazerman, 1985; Bizzell, 1982; Faigley & Hansen, 1985; Maimon et al., 1981).

Later in the course, individual writing tasks may be given, using material from students' academic courses, ideally with the help of cooperating teachers. Clark (1984), who describes formalized procedures for enlisting such help, asks students to write a 10-page paper investigating both sides of a controversial issue in a chosen discipline. Examples of such issues are, "Is the formation of memory a chemical or electrical process?" (psychology) and "Should the British have used large aircraft formations against the Germans in World War II?" (history) (p. 186). Cooperating professors in students' concurrent academic courses are asked to assist by (a) helping the student to focus on a controversial issue that can be handled in 10 pages and (b) critiquing a draft of the student's paper, "commenting on accuracy in reporting the data and clarity of the summary and resolution of the arguments" (p. 189). This arrangement helps solve the problem of a composition instructor lacking the knowledge about a student's topic to comment substantively. In addition, "students have the opportunity . . . to engage in the process of collaborative learning characteristic of the work of professional scholars and writers" (p. 188).

A content-based academic writing course is attractive because it can be incorporated into an existing composition program without necessitating the cooperation of instructors in other academic disciplines (although limited cooperation may be desirable, e.g., to facilitate the individualized research papers just described).

For ESL composition programs, this approach requires instructors to be resourceful in assembling sets of readings which will be comprehensible, suitable, and interesting for members of a particular class. Published ESL texts with sets of closely related readings are scarce; as noted earlier, most currently available anthologies are aimed at native English writers. ESL instructors can selectively use native-speaker texts but should recognize that the topics in such texts may not appeal to a certain class or that selections can be discouragingly difficult for a particular group.

Instructors should be prepared to conduct an initial needs assessment to guide materials selection, and they should be knowledgeable about places to turn for course readings. Possible

sources for readings on a topic include textbook anthologies in specific fields, periodicals, and reference tools. Examples of the latter are *The Reference Shelf* series (H. W. Wilson Company), which reprints from the year's periodicals articles and speeches on current topics (e.g., arms control, the world food crisis, crime and society, ethnic America, the issue of gun control), and the *Opposing Viewpoints* series (Greenhaven Press), which reprints articles on issues with opposing viewpoints (e. g., male/female roles, the arms race, American values).

Instructors must also be willing to spend time constructing reading, discussion, and study questions (serving as prewriting materials, to prompt students to think through a topic), essay tests, and good academic writing assignments:

> Good assignments can help students remember information and master general concepts through writing about them; they can help students master through writing the skills and the ways of thinking of a particular discipline; they can engage students, through writing, in the process of discovering connections between themselves and their subject, of understanding the world they live in; and they can evoke, instead of bloodless responses or mere regurgitation of information, independent, even creative, thought. (Brostoff, 1979, p. 184)

For assistance, instructors can turn to the writing-across-the-curriculum literature, much of which seeks to clarify how writing tasks can be formulated and sequenced so as to engage students and stimulate thinking on a topic, how students can be prepared for writing, and how to respond to the content of student writing. (See, for example, Bean, 1981-1982; Bean, Drenk, & Lee, 1982; Beyer, 1979; Brostoff, 1979; Fulwiler & Jones, 1982; Giroux, 1979; and articles in Fulwiler & Young, 1982; Gere, 1985; and Griffin, 1982.)

Content-Centered ESP Courses

Content-based composition instruction may also be tied to the content of a specific academic discipline. Any or all language skills may be emphasized in ESP courses. In "sheltered" subject-matter courses, native speakers of the language of instruction are excluded. This helps to ensure that instructors will speak to students in comprehensible language and that texts and other materials will be explained as needed (Krashen, 1985, p. 17). Thus, sheltered ESP courses can be offered to students at any level beyond elementary, whenever a group of students at a given level share an interest in a particular subject and instructors have, or are willing to acquire, content knowledge.

Examples of such courses are the sheltered psychology classes offered to English and French immersion students at the University of Ottawa (Edwards, Wesche, Krashen, Clément, & Kruidenier, 1984; Krashen, 1985; Wesche, 1985), a course in English for business and economics offered at Oregon State University's English Language Institute (McDougal & Dowling, 1980), and ESP courses offered at Western Illinois University's WESL Institute—courses in English for business/economics (Proulx, 1984), English for agriculture and biology (Smith, 1984), and English for computer science (McKee, 1984).

Team teaching by a subject teacher and a language teacher may be desirable when a single teacher does not possess both the subject knowledge and the language teaching expertise. For example, the English for Overseas Students Unit at the University of Birmingham has implemented team teaching to meet student needs in lecture comprehension and the writing of examination questions in such fields as transportation and plant biology (Dudley-Evans, 1984; T.F. Johns & Dudley-Evans, 1980). The subject teacher and language teacher divide the work of recording lectures and preparing comprehension checks (including exam questions), and during class time, both help students with problems that arise.

A similar team-teaching arrangement is reported at the English Language Unit at Ngee Ann Polytechnic in Singapore (Dudley-Evans, 1984). An English-for-occupational-purposes writing course was designed to prepare students for writing tasks they might have to carry out in future jobs in building maintenance and management (e.g., writing of specifications, memos, accident reports, progress reports, and meeting reports). The subject teacher finds authentic or realistic situations that are the basis for report assignments. As students work on these assignments, both teachers act as consultants. Models written by the subject teacher or based on the best student work are later presented and discussed.

As in the minicourse or thematic-modules approach, a major potential difficulty in implementing content-centered ESP courses is the subject-matter knowledge required of the language instructor. In practice, this problem has been handled in various ways: (a) asking subject-area instructors to teach the course (as in Edwards et al., 1984; Wesche, 1985) —and perhaps provide guidance on strategies to use with the nonnative students; (b) employing language instructors who happen also to have the necessary expertise in the chosen subject (e. g., assigning an ESL instructor who is knowledgeable about microcomputers to teach a course on microcomputer programming/applications); (c) using team teaching (as in Dudley-Evans, 1984; T.F. Johns & Dudley-Evans,

1980); or (d) choosing materials aimed at a general audience (i.e., that assume minimal previous specialized knowledge). In the latter case, the instructor learns alongside the students (as in Proulx, 1984; Smith, 1984) and uses additional supports such as guest speakers, films, and field trips.

Composition or Multiskill EAP Courses/Tutorials as Adjuncts to Designated University Courses

A fourth approach for connecting composition instruction to the study of academic subject matter is to link composition or multiskill EAP courses (or tutorials) to selected university content courses. Students enroll in both courses; writing assignments center on the material of the content course. In this "interdependent method" (Press, 1979), responsibility for guiding student thinking and writing is shared between academic content instructors and composition/EAP instructors.

The university content course is typically an introductory course, often a survey course. Composition-section adjuncts to such courses have become popular in programs for native students. For example, Wilkinson (1985) describes a freshman composition course at Cornell University which is taught in parallel with an elementary biology course. Griffin (1985, pp. 401-402) gives additional examples.

The content course could be an interdisciplinary course. For example, composition courses have been linked to the Freshman Interdisciplinary Studies Program at Temple University (Scheffler, 1980). Freshmen (all levels—remedial to honors) join four to six faculty members in a year-long interdisciplinary study of a broad topic such as "The Environment," "The Human Condition," "Law and Disorder," and "Creativity."

The content course could also be an upper division or graduate course. Examples are a composition adjunct course to a University of Michigan History Department colloquium on the Indochina conflict (Reiff, 1980) and a joint composition and metallurgical engineering class given at Ohio State University (Andrews, 1976). In such upper division writing adjunct courses, students can be taught to write according to conventions within a particular discipline.

Tutorial adjuncts are another possible arrangement; then students would not be limited to selecting among only a few designated university courses. For example, individualized writing adjunct courses have been offered at all levels (freshman through graduate) at California State University campuses (Sutton, 1978).

While the adjunct model has spread to many university composition programs for native students, it has been slower in getting established in ESL programs. ESL adjunct courses tend to be multiskill EAP courses, rather than focusing on composition, as in the courses described for native students. At UCLA and the University of Southern California, ESL courses have been linked with introductory courses in the liberal arts and sciences (Snow & Brinton, 1985). At Macalester College, ESL students may elect a "bridge course" in which an ESL academic study skills course immediately follows a subject course such as geography (Peterson, 1985; Peterson & Guyer, 1986). "Pre" and "post" ESL classes "sandwiched" around content courses have been used at the English Language Institute at Oregon State University (Longenecker, 1982; Polensek, 1980).

The potential contributions and possible limitations of the adjunct-course approach for ESL programs in general, and for preparing ESL students to handle university writing tasks in particular, remain to be evaluated. What is needed, minimally, is cooperation from subject-area instructors and ESL faculty willingness to step into subject-area classrooms and keep up with class events. For ESL instructors seeking to set up adjunct courses, the experiences of composition adjunct programs already in place for native students are a rich source of information.

Individualized Help With Course-Related Writing at Times of Need

A final content-based approach for helping students develop academic writing skills is to provide assistance with course-related writing at times of need. Such assistance might be given by subject-area faculty, tutors, and/or writing center staff.

Many writing-across-the-curriculum programs now in existence place some responsibility for writing instruction with instructors in all academic disciplines. A basic premise is that "writing skills must be practiced and reinforced throughout the curriculum, otherwise they will atrophy, no matter how well they were taught in the beginning" (Griffin, 1985, p. 402). In addition, faculty have discovered that writing helps students to analyze and synthesize course material—that writing is learning and that faculty need to be actively involved in stimulating students' thinking and writing.

Through channels such as collaboration with writing center staff and faculty workshops and seminars on writing, subject-area instructors learn more about writing—what it is; how it can be done; how it can promote learning; and how it can be effectively assigned,

guided, and evaluated. Published discussions of such programs and faculty development seminars include Connelly and Irving (1976), Maimon (1979), Rose (1979b), Raimes (1980), Fulwiler (1981), Herrington (1981), Thaiss (1982), Abraham (1983), and Young and Fulwiler (1986). Guidance for instructors in all disciplines is provided by Anderson, Eisenberg, Holland, Wiener, and Rivera-Kron (1983), Moss and Holder (1982), Walvoord (1982), and Griffin (1982).

ESL staff should establish ongoing communication with content instructors when the latter guide student writing in courses enrolling ESL students. Different forms of contact can be explored, for example, contact through writing center tutors, ESL program-sponsored faculty development seminars, or participation in established faculty seminars.

Finally, ESL students might receive guidance for course-related writing through ESL tutors and campus writing centers. TESL/TEFL programs can help to train tutors who have not worked extensively with ESL students.

A potential problem with relying on tutors and writing center staff may be lack of sufficient trained personnel. Effective procedures must be established for student referral, writing diagnosis, tutor recruitment and matching, and staff development. Another limitation can be a tutor's lack of knowledge about the topics on which students write; in such cases, feedback can be given on a paper's form, but not on substance. Ideally, students who are writing papers in specific fields would be matched with peer tutors majoring in these fields.

CONCLUSION

Instructors who choose to use a content-based approach to teach academic writing skills recognize that in the academic community, writing is a tool for assessing and promoting student understanding and independent thinking on specific subject matter; they seek to give developing student writers the same experience of "writing to learn."

For all academically oriented ESL students who are beyond an elementary proficiency level in English, there are ways to structure academic content-based instruction. ESL instructors can draw ideas from a variety of established native and nonnative programs.

To determine the most suitable approach for a particular group of students, a number of factors must be considered: student status (where students are at in their studies–their knowledge base), academic interests shared by class members, English proficiency

level, need / desire for intensive work on all skills versus emphasis on reading and writing, types of cooperative arrangements with subject-area instructors which are feasible, and subject-matter knowledge and interests of language instructors.

At present, content-based ESL curricula are still relatively new at the university level. On a practical level, there is a need for faculty to develop, evaluate, refine, and share materials and pedagogical strategies for each of the five frameworks discussed in this article. On an empirical level, there is a need for research of all types—needs assessment studies to guide syllabus design and materials selection, curriculum evaluation studies, and controlled evaluation studies on the effects of receiving specific types of content-based instruction. Student and teacher reactions need to be documented systematically. Empirical data are needed to support the belief held by many that content-based instruction can help ESL students to become more confident and competent when they tackle academic writing.

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Functional Competencies in the U.S. Refugee Program: Theoretical and Practical Problems

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In the past decade, the functional, competency-based approach has come to dominate ESL curriculum development. Though the approach is widely praised, some ESL specialists have recently criticized competency-based "survival ESL." This article examines theoretical and practical deficiencies in how curricular objectives are selected for the functional approach, the central role of values in functional curricula, and limitations in validating tests of functional competence. It is argued that these problems seriously undermine efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of ESL programs using functional curricula. These issues are illustrated through an analysis of the functional curricula of the U.S. Refugee Processing Centers, the largest survival ESL program ever created to prepare immigrants for resettlement in America.

In the past decade, functional, competency-based curricula have become the dominant approach to language curriculum development. The focus of wide praise (e.g., Chamot, 1983; Findley & Nathan, 1980; Munby, 1978; Widdowson, 1978; Wilkins, 1976), competency-based curricula have been called "the most important breakthrough in adult ESL" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1983b, p. 1), and they are used in many language programs as well as in adult basic education (ABE). In Europe, functional competencies are the basis for the Council of Europe syllabus (van Ek, 1977). The most important ABE program in the United States, the heavily promoted Adult Performance Level (APL) project (see Northrup, 1977) of the U.S. Office of Education and the University of Texas, employs a functional approach. In ESL, refugee programs in Southeast Asia and in the United States also have adopted functional curricula.

While there has been controversy about the theory of language underlying a functional approach for almost a decade (see Munby, 1978), only recently have some ESL specialists begun to raise problems with the theoretical assumptions and the social implications of functional ESL curricula (e.g., Richards, 1984). In an important review of competency-based ESL, Auerbach (1986) outlines the major criticisms of the approach, noting in particular that it is "part of a tradition of socializing immigrants for specific roles in the existing socioeconomic order" (p. 411). Because the approach plays a central role in the education of today's immigrants, Auerbach calls for "informed debate" and "critical thinking" about the theory and practice of functional, competency-based ESL.

Within that context, this article examines the functional curricula developed for the U.S. Refugee Processing Centers (RPCS) in Southeast Asia. The major focus of this analysis is the historical precedents of the functional approach, theoretical and practical deficiencies in the procedure for establishing curricular objectives, the central role of values in functional curricula, and limitations in attempts to assess functional competence. The fact that such an important and heavily funded effort to implement a functional curriculum has had serious difficulties suggests that theoretical and practical problems will continue to confront supporters of the functional, competency-based approach.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS OF FUNCTIONAL CURRICULA

Functional curricula differ considerably, since the meaning and use of the terms *competency based* and *functional* vary. Nevertheless, there is general agreement in ABE that the approach emphasizes observable behaviors (competencies) which are necessary for living in society (e.g., filling out forms, writing checks). In ESL, the approach emphasizes language competencies for achieving communicative aims, such as giving and receiving information, expressing likes and dislikes, and asking for and giving clarification. Furthermore, the approach requires actual use (performance) of language in "real" situations. The most widely used definition of functional, competency-based ESL is that of Grognet and Crandall (1982): "A competency-based curriculum is a performance-outline of language tasks that lead to a demonstrated mastery of the language associated with specific skills that are necessary for individuals to function proficiently in the society in which they live" (p. 3). In ABE and ESL programs for refugees, the competencies are those "considered essential for the survival of

Indochinese refugees newly arrived in the United States" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1983a, p. 5).

Though it is often claimed (e.g., Chamot, 1983) that functional curricula have their foundation in the 1970s, particularly in the work of the Council of Europe (van Ek, 1977), functional curricula in adult education can in fact be traced to the mid-19th century. Griffith and Cervero (1977) show that Spencer, in the 1860s, outlined the major areas of human activity which he believed should be the basis for curricular objectives. These areas, they point out, bear great similarity to the APL project (see Northrup, 1977).

Bobbitt (1926) developed curricular objectives according to his analysis of the functional competencies required for adult living in America. Bobbitt's work also closely resembles the APL project, which is the culmination of the functional approach to curriculum development begun over 100 years earlier and which was used as one of the main resources for RPC curriculum development. Thus, there is a direct historical and conceptual link between educational innovation in the mid-19th century and present-day functional curricula.

THE U.S. REFUGEE PROGRAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Coordinated and funded by the Bureau for Refugee Programs of the Department of State, the U.S. Refugee Program in Southeast Asia is designed to prepare Indochinese refugees for resettlement in the United States. The program operates at three RPCS: Phanat Nikhom in Thailand, Galang in Indonesia, and Bataan in the Philippines. Since late 1980, approximately 150,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea have completed the intensive program in ESL, cultural orientation (CO), and preemployment training (PET) at the RPCS. The Philippine RPC is by far the largest, enrolling up to 8,000 refugees at a time.

The foundation for this unprecedented effort to prepare immigrants for resettlement in America is a series of curricula for separate ESL, CO, and PET components, as well as for the new (late 1985) Preparation for American Secondary Schools program for adolescents. Each RPC develops its own functional, competency-based curriculum for each component, based on a regional curriculum adopted for each component in meetings held once or twice a year. Because many locally hired teachers are inexperienced and without previous training in ESL or in education, the curricula are extremely detailed and are used by many teachers as actual lesson plans.

Selection of Curricular Objectives

The task for developers of a functional curriculum is to select curricular objectives "that are necessary for individuals to function proficiently in the society in which they live" (Grognet & Crandall, 1982, p. 3). This task of selection presents serious difficulties, primarily because there is no scientific procedure available to validate competency lists for most programs. For this reason, many ABE curriculum specialists have abandoned the approach in recent years (see Griffith & Cervero, 1977). The essential problem is that there is no known universe of competencies for "functioning proficiently," for "adult living," or for "survival," nor is there a methodology for systematically selecting competencies for inclusion in a curriculum. (An additional difficulty is that terms such as *adult living, survival,* and *functioning proficiently* apparently are not meant to be understood literally. What is important is the operational definition of these terms. In the RPCS, *survival* is operationally defined for adults as "having a job.")

The goal of the APL project, for example, is to develop learners' competence in areas needed for "meeting the requirements of adult living" (Northrup, 1977, p. 2), yet there is no universally acknowledged set of these competencies and no known methodology for discovering them. Similarly, within the refugee program there is no validated list of the competencies "considered essential for the survival of Indochinese refugees" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1983a, p. 5), nor can they be discovered by any known research technique. The competencies may indeed be "*considered* [italics added] essential," but they have not been *proven* to be essential.

Despite this problem, curriculum developers must decide which specific competencies will be included. The procedure by which objectives are included in the RPC curricula illustrates a further problem with the functional approach. Regional curricula for each component of the RPC program are established and reviewed in region-wide meetings attended by program managers, supervisors, teachers, and curriculum developers, as well as by representatives of the U.S. State Department and the Center for Applied Linguistics, which operates a regional support office in Manila. The procedure for the ESL curriculum, which is typical, is described as follows:

> Consensus was used as much as possible to determine which language items would be included. In many cases, consensus either could not be reached or was not truly possible, given that there is often more than one common and appropriate choice of language for any survival situation.

> The product of these meetings was a Standardized ESL Curriculum Guide which was to be used as the basis for curriculum development in all sites. (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1983a, pp. 5-6)

Curriculum development in the three sites, then, follows a similar procedure: Staff decide which competencies are to be included. This procedure illustrates Ammons's (1969) observation that "methodology for the determination of objectives relies upon the consensus of some group or groups. The differences among approaches lie in the identification of the groups and the questions asked of these groups" (p. 911). The validity of RPC competencies thus depends upon (a) the experience and judgment of the individuals who carry out the analysis and (b) their criteria for selecting competencies.

Because assessing individuals' experience and judgment is complex and open to interpretation, this is not a strong basis for validation of a curriculum. In the RPCS, some crucial instructional managers and supervisors do not have graduate degrees in ESL, and most teachers, who are hired locally and have not visited the United States, cannot be expected to know what might be needed to adapt successfully to American life. As RPC personnel change, competency lists are changed as well, indicating that the central criterion for including competencies is individuals' opinions or beliefs about the language, cultural adaptation, and preemployment skills refugees may require.

Yet supporters of functional curricula usually claim that criteria for selecting competencies are "objective," grounded in an analysis of learners' needs, and free from the values and biases of individual curriculum developers (see Kasworm, 1980). The procedure for selecting RPC competencies, however, illustrates that the functional approach fundamentally depends upon the opinions and beliefs of individuals and that the criterion for including competencies is the (changing) consensus of a (changing) group of individuals.

MacDonald and Clark (1973) note that

> curriculum development is a continuous process of making human value judgments about what to include and exclude, what to aim for and avoid, and how to go about it—difficult judgments, even when aided by technical and scientific data and processes. (p. 408)

Because functional curricula are not based upon "scientific data and processes," they are especially subject to the value judgments of curricular staff. However, the values underlying curriculum decisions are rarely stated explicitly; therefore, it is important to examine functional curricula in order to discover the values implicit in them.

Objectives and Values in Functional Curricula

Objectives are included in a functional curriculum when, in the opinion of curriculum developers, they will help to achieve program goals such as "functioning proficiently" or "surviving" in American society. Because such goals involve implicit conceptions both of social organization and of appropriate individual behavior in society, it is not surprising that competency-based programs implicitly express value judgments in these areas. The RPC program, designed to prepare refugees for a place in American society, illustrates the central role of values in a functional curriculum.

The declared goal of the RPCS is to prepare refugees for self-sufficiency as soon as possible after their arrival in the United States. Within the RPCS, self-sufficiency is interpreted to mean employment. The Philippine CO curriculum, for example, states that "a broad objective of our classes is to prepare our students for the American job market so that they will more quickly become self-sufficient" (International Catholic Migration Commission, 1985, Day 27). According to the former Deputy Coordinator for Refugee Programs of the U.S. Embassy in Manila, the goal of PET classes is "keeping refugees on a track into employment rather than onto welfare rolls or other government assistance" (International Catholic Migration Commission, 1984). The introduction to the regional PET curriculum states that "this component is designed to enable refugees to better function in any entry-level job in the U. S." (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1984, p. 5).

Because there is no validated set of functional competencies that will enable Indochinese refugees to find and retain jobs, several possible approaches to curriculum development may be imagined, including occupational skills training for specific jobs, long-term language education, or adult basic education.

Although it is usually claimed that the functional approach is performance centered or behavior centered (at the Philippine RPC, curricula are expected to include measurable behavioral objectives [Findley & Nathan, 1980]), ESL, CO, and PET objectives in the RPCS reflect the programmatic assumption that changing refugees' values and attitudes is crucial to achieving program goals. Occasionally, this assumption is made explicit. For instance, the regional PET curriculum (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1984) states that "values of the American workplace should be taught. . , . Every effort should be made to help students internalize the values discussed and to practice the behavior which demonstrates that they are understood" (p. 8). The former Deputy Coordinator for

Refugee Programs argued that refugees "have to understand that there is a philosophy of employment embodied in the language, and I think that's the basic reason that the preemployment curriculum came about" (International Catholic Migration Commission, 1984). Similarly, the former Deputy Project Director of the Philippines RPC, documenting the shift in CO classes away from information giving, argued that changes in attitudes and values are crucial for successful resettlement (Redding, 1985).

Such statements are exceptions, however, as the values contained in functional curricula are generally implicit rather than explicit. The following sample of curricular objectives from the RPCs illustrates important values implicit in RPC curricula. Due to frequent revisions, a component may use two or three curricula simultaneously, as in the Philippine ESL component during 1984-1985. The sample ESL and PET competencies listed here are selected primarily from the regional list. The CO competencies are from the Philippine curriculum revised in September, 1985; earlier regional lists do not reflect the shift away from information giving that took place in 1983-1985.

CO Component (International Catholic Migration Commission, 1985)

1. To provide language exercises that emphasize "careful listening (taking directions)" and "confirming orders (asking for clarification) when needed" (Day 29)
2. To develop the belief "that self-sufficiency is highly regarded in American society, that upward mobility is possible by hard work and perseverance . . . and that men and women have equal access to employment opportunities" (Day 22)
3. To discourage attending school while receiving welfare (Day 54)
4. To "promote the attitude that it is reasonable for couples to consciously determine the number of children they wish to have and the timing of having them" (Day 45)
5. To "foster the attitude that American police are held accountable by the community for their actions and can be viewed as helpers of the individual and family" (Day 66)
6. To develop "the attitude that . . . the purchasing and use of second-hand items is appropriate" (Day 38)

PET Component (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1984)

1. To accept "the crucial stress on time in the American workplace" (p. 8)

2. To be conscious of safety standards on the job "since American employers expect employees to be safety conscious" (p. 9)
3. To "state how severe the unemployment situation is in the U.S. and why it will probably be necessary to take an entry level job" (p. 265)
4. To measure one's success in resettlement in terms of one's job (pp. 266-267)

ESL Component (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1963a)

1. To "identify common entry level jobs which can be held by those with limited English ability" (pp. 31-32)
2. To "answer basic direct questions about pay, work availability, and hours. (Is $4.00 an hour OK? Yes. When can you start? Tomorrow. Can you work nights? Yes.)" (pp. 31-32)
3. To "respond appropriately to an employer's decision about a job. . . ([I'm sorry. We cannot hire you.] Do you have any other opening?)" (pp. 31-32)
4. To "ask if a task was done correctly. (Is this right?)" (pp. 33-34)
5. To "respond appropriately to supervisor's comments about quality of work on the job including mistakes, working too slowly, and incomplete work. (I'm sorry. I won't do it again.)" (pp. 33-34)
6. To "ask about appropriateness of actions according to customs/culture in the U.S. (Is it all right to wear my shoes in the house?)" (pp. 46-47)
7. To "ask permission to use or do something. (Can I smoke here? Can I use the phone?)" (pp. 46-47)
8. To "rephrase instructions to verify comprehension" (p. 2$)
9. To "identify which part of instructions or explanations was not understood. (I don't understand what to do after I put these away.)" (p. 26)
10. To "read and respond appropriately to written communication from a school (e.g., permission forms)" (p. 29)
11. To "report and describe a crime/emergency to police/proper authorities. Write a note or call to explain an absence from school" (p. 29)

These competencies, as well as many others in the RPC curricula, encourage refugees to consider themselves fortunate to find minimum-wage employment, regardless of their previous education. Moreover, the competencies attempt to inculcate attitudes and

values that will make refugees passive citizens who comply rather than complain, accept rather than resist, and apologize rather than disagree.

For example, refugees are taught to respond properly to all notes from their children's teachers, but not how to complain when their children's English language education is inadequate. Refugees are taught to accommodate employers' needs and to feel fortunate when offered a night job paying minimum wage, but not what to do when an employer violates employee protection laws. Refugees are taught to care for their apartment in order not to anger the landlord or other tenants, but not what to do when the landlord violates housing, safety, or health regulations or laws barring discrimination in housing. Auerbach and Burgess (1985) describe similar limitations in many "survival ESL" texts, though some programs (e.g., ESL Core Group, 1983) have developed curricula that express different attitudes and values and that aim to provide refugees with a different set of skills.

It should be mentioned that although RPC curricula emphasize values, curricular objectives also have other aims. For instance, several lessons are designed to orient refugees to the RPCS, focusing on information about agencies and procedures. Some objectives seem to contradict the general implicit emphasis on passivity evident in the sample objectives listed here. In the Philippine CO curriculum, for example, lessons encourage refugees to join a Mutual Assistance Association (MAA) in the United States. Materials for this lesson, however, focus solely on the role of MAAs in organizing social gatherings and New Year's celebrations.

Even objectives which are apparently value-free may become value-laden in the classroom. One objective of the CO curriculum is to develop the strategy of observing other workers on the job in order to understand appropriate work behavior. Materials commonly used for this lesson, however, include the advice that "your supervisor will always like to see you work hard and work well. If you're a good worker you have a better chance of keeping your job or of moving up to a higher level job" (International Catholic Migration Commission, 1985, Unit 11, p. 1).

Curricular objectives are also mediated by teachers' values and attitudes. As a result, determining the proportion of RPC objectives which encourage refugees to be passive or to play a particular social role in American society cannot be done with precision, though I would estimate that one third of the objectives in the Philippine CO curriculum fall into this category, while one third are primarily informational. Most other objectives (e. g., to familiarize students with the resettlement process) normally become value-laden when

taught, with the teachers' values rather than the objectives themselves being the central variable.

Like most competency-based programs (see Kasworm, 1980), the RPC program claims that refugees' needs form the basis for decisions about competency lists, yet this merely shifts values from curriculum development to needs assessment. For example, it is well known that refugees employed in the underground economy lack certain legal protections (North, 1984, pp. 16-18) and that refugees often receive inadequate ESL training, yet RPC curricula do not include competencies to prepare refugees for these problems. Most important, there is no evidence that adoption of any particular set of values or attitudes aids refugees' resettlement in any way. The values and attitudes emphasized in RPC curricula are believed by RPC staff to be essential for refugees in the United States, but there is no empirical evidence for this belief.

In sum, the RPC curricula illustrate the current inadequacy of the theoretical basis for functional curriculum development. Because the only procedure for determining the specific competencies to be included in a curriculum involves asking individuals for their views, functional curricula easily reflect the values and attitudes of individuals making curricular decisions. Despite this problem, the test of the functional approach is whether learners become functionally competent and program goals are achieved. This question involves the issue of assessment of functional competence.

Assessment of Functional Competence

Functional competency tests have been developed for many programs, including refugee programs in the United States, which use the Mainstream English Language Training system, and the RPCS, which use tests developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL). The theoretical problems which underlie curriculum development also have serious consequences for efforts to validate tests of functional competence. The RPC testing program illustrates these difficulties.

The RPC testing program is designed to assess "proficiency on skills that are essential to survival in the U. S." (Oxford-Carpenter, 1985, p. Al). These skills consist of four broad types: ESL listening and speaking, ESL reading and writing, cultural adaptation, and preemployment. The four skill areas are assessed by the following tests: the intensive ESL Core Test for Listening and Speaking (known as the Core Test), the Reading and Writing Test, the CO Test, and the PET Test. All tests assess functional competence, also called survival competencies (Oxford-Carpenter, 1985, p. Al).

The content validity of functional tests depends upon the process by which test items are developed. The process for developing RPC tests involved asking staff in the RPCS and in refugee programs in the United States for their recommendations. Job developers, job counselors, and employers of refugees were also consulted for the PET test. In addition, items from the Basic English Skills Test (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1982) were adapted for the RPC tests, and the latter have been revised several times, most recently in 1985. This process for deciding test content closely resembles the curriculum development process. In short, the content validity of the tests rests upon the judgment and beliefs of the individuals consulted.

The construct being assessed is functional competence, the logical basis for which is as follows: (a) Refugees who have greater functional competence do better at surviving in the United States; (b) refugees who do better at surviving perform better on the RPC tests than those who do worse at surviving; (c) therefore, refugees who are more functionally competent perform better on RPC tests than those who are less competent. Thus, to prove that RPC tests assess functional competence, it is necessary to demonstrate that performance on the tests is positively correlated with "survival" (i.e., with successful resettlement).

Though several measures of resettlement success are possible, such as physical and mental health, family reunification, or maintenance of native language and culture, the appropriate measures for the RPC program are its stated criteria: refugees' rates of employment and need for public assistance. CAL reports on RPC tests do not, however, include correlations between test results and any measure of resettlement success. Thus, the construct validity of RPC functional tests has not been established. In fact, the latest CAL testing report (Oxford-Carpenter, 1985) suggests the difficulties involved in establishing test scores that will predict the probability of successful resettlement:

> There is no "standard of acceptable proficiency" (i.e., passing score) established across ethnic groups on any of the tests. . . . Setting such a score would take a very large study involving validation of the score in a variety of U.S. situations with arriving refugees from all ethnic groups. Such a study might, in fact, indicate the need for many different passing scores, depending on the varying English language requirements of individual refugees and groups of refugees in their new land. In short, this type of effort does not appear to be a useful one. (p. A3)

Furthermore, because it cannot be claimed that performance on the tests correlates with any measure of resettlement success, there is no basis for establishing the empirical validity of the tests.

As the CAL report suggests, establishing construct and empirical validity for any realistic set of functional competencies often requires a complex (and expensive) validation study. Again, the RPC program illustrates this problem. Refugees' unemployment and public assistance rates are affected by many factors, only one of which is refugees' functional competence. To measure the effect of RPC instruction on employment and public assistance rates, two questions must be answered: (a) Has there been any change in refugees' employment/public assistance rates since the RPC program began in late 1980? and (b) What other factors can account for changes in employment/public assistance rates besides refugees' functional competence?

The data base for generalizations about refugees' employment and use of public assistance is generally inadequate, due to incomplete data and periodic changes in data-collection procedures (see North, 1984, pp. B1-B2). Nevertheless, general trends suggest that no reduction in these rates can be traced to the RPC program. There appears to be no difference between employment rates of refugees who have completed RPC classes and those who have not (RMC Research Corporation, 1984, p. 142), and the proportion of Indochinese refugees requiring public assistance has remained high since the late 1970s (Bach, 1984, p. 1; North, 1984, pp. 28, 33). Moreover, there is some evidence that refugees who have completed RPC classes participate in cash assistance programs at the same rate as those who have not taken classes (RMC Research Corporation, 1984, p. 75).

These findings do not necessarily mean, however, that refugees have failed to become competent in the areas covered by RPC curricula. Rather, unemployment and public assistance rates may be better explained by other factors. The most important analysis of refugee employment to date (Bach, 1984) rejects the "mythology" in which "refugees' problems in achieving self-sufficiency [are] interpreted as refugees' lack of, or poor progress toward, learning American values, including its work ethic" (p. 36). This study argues that refugees occupy "a position in the U.S. labor market comparable to other ethnic minorities and recent immigrant groups" whose employment difficulties "belong to the general nature of the U.S. labor market. We probably should not expect the refugees to overcome these broader structural problems" (pp. 87-88).

Taken together, these findings point to a serious difficulty with the functional, competency-based approach: Without a validated list of the functional competencies required for "proficient adult living" or for "successful resettlement" and without a validated test to assess progress in those functional competencies, it is impossible to assess the effectiveness of functional programs in terms of stated goals such as employment and public assistance rates.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of curricula in the RPCS outlines theoretical deficiencies in curriculum development that lead to a central role for values, technical problems in demonstrating an association between curricular objectives and explicit criteria for selecting competencies, and theoretical and practical difficulties in validating tests of functional competence. Specifically, four problems with the functional, competency-based approach have been identified:

1. Functional curricula are intended to achieve specified goals, such as success in resettlement, in graduate school, or in finding and keeping a job. Yet the only methodology for determining the specific competencies required for these purposes involves asking individuals to *decide* which competencies seem essential. There is no methodology to *discover* essential competencies through systematic application of theory or scientific data and processes.
2. As a result, functional curricula often reflect the values and attitudes of individuals making curricular decisions, even when there is no empirical evidence that their values and attitudes are associated with "success," however it is defined.
3. Assessment of functional competence requires validation of tests of functional competence, yet the methodology for selecting test items involves asking individuals for their recommendations. In short, functional tests and functional competency lists share the same weak foundation.
4. In addition, validation of tests requires demonstrating empirically that performance on tests is associated with stated criteria, such as employment rates or grades in school. Yet such criteria are normally affected by factors other than learners' competence, and thus validation of tests may require a highly complex factor analysis. Even the well-funded U.S. Refugee Program, recognizing this difficulty, has not attempted such a project.

The U.S. Refugee Program has expended unprecedented funds for overseas refugee education, yet these crucial problems persist with its functional approach. To some extent, these difficulties become greater in large programs with inexperienced instructional and curricular managers, but they are primarily a result of difficulties inherent in functional, competency-based curricula. Nor can these problems be solved easily by analysis of learners' needs. In the United States, there are nearly 1 million resettled refugees whose differing educational, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, as well as resettlement experiences, make needs analysis unfeasible. Moreover, the central, though implicit, role of values is also present in needs analysis.

One alternative approach offering a solid theoretical basis for determining curricular objectives is a grammar-based curriculum, but it has well-known disadvantages (Wilkins, 1976). Nevertheless, a grammar-based curriculum is advocated by curriculum managers in the Philippine RPC (see Walsh, 1985). A second, promising alternative, a task-based approach (Long, 1983), requires additional study to clarify the basis for selecting tasks. Though some staff at the Philippine RPC have made efforts to adopt a task-based curriculum, opposition to this approach is intense among instructional managers, who expect curricula to include measurable behavorial objectives. Thus, a proposed task-based PET curriculum was criticized because

> it is not clear what the learner will be able to do by the end of the lesson. . . . Rarely are the objectives specific enough . . . to know exactly what the purpose of the lesson is and how its success might be measured. (Opel, 1985)

Efforts to adopt task-based curricula have been more successful in the smaller RPCS in Thailand and Indonesia.

Thus, the current state of ESL curriculum development does not suggest that functional curricula should be replaced by an alternative approach. Rather, what is needed is an examination of (a) the criteria for establishing curricular objectives in current programs, (b) the values implicit in curricula, (c) the adequacy of current tests of functional competence, and (d) the social implications of value-based competency lists. Only critical analysis of these issues will lead to theoretically sound and socially responsible approaches to curriculum development.

■

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Tense, Aspect, and Time in the English Modality System

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A major problem in ESL instruction on the English modality system is that grammar texts do not adequately clarify past time relationships. Without this clarification, students presented with hypothetical past or past conditional forms (modal+ *have*+ past participle) are likely to infer (from the form) the past time frame associated with present perfect aspect (i.e., *I have seen that movie* = unspecified past, with current relevance; see Moy, 1977). This article argues that unless a clear distinction is made between the semantic time reference of the modal "perfect" and that of the present perfect aspect, these forms will remain a major source of confusion for ESL students. The article includes a brief suggested sequence for teaching modals which incorporates and clarifies these time relationships and thus simplifies the teaching of the entire modality system.

Modern ESL grammar texts generally present fairly clear explanations of present and future time relationships in modal contexts. Several of the more recent texts also initially stress function over form, and since modal concepts are apparently universal (see Horn, 1972, and Steele, 1975, on the universal nature of modal concepts), students begin with concepts they already know and then proceed to learn the forms used to express them in English. These include epistemic modals of logical possibility, such as *may, might, could,* and *must,* and deontic (i.e., "root") modals, such as *should, ought to, be able to,* and so on.

However, ESL texts do not generally provide adequate explanations of past time relationships in modal contexts, that is, the hypothetical past or past conditional, as in *I would have helped you, but I was busy* or *If you had asked me, I would have helped you.* In the view of many ESL teachers, these cases present the most difficulty for students, including those who are able to gain full mastery of the semantics, functions, and forms of modals used in present tense, such as *I would help you, but I am busy* or *It might*

rain today. (The semantics of modals is not a major concern in this discussion; for a detailed analysis of the semantics of modal expressions, see Perkins, 1983.)

To illustrate, consider incorrect past time sentences like the following, written by advanced ESL students: *I would had gone to a special school for boys; It's not possible for me to tell how many changes I would had in my way of growing up;* or even (in a past time context), *Sometimes, my mother might tell me to help cook the dinner.* The students' in-class writing assignment had been to tell how their lives as children would have been different if they had been born of the opposite sex. Most of the students had similar kinds of difficulties with the assignment, even though in their grammar courses they had studied modals at some length, both present tense and hypothetical past, and had earlier been successful in mastering the present tense forms.

It is my contention that a major source of this difficulty results from presenting the hypothetical past forms, that is, the modal + *have* + past participle, without clarifying the precise nature of the past in terms of the actual time frame. For example, in Fingado, Freeman, Jerome, and Summers (1981), the present perfect aspect is introduced first, with the explanation that "the word *perfect* means a completed action" and that "when we want to ask if something has happened at any time between a time in the past [italics added] and the present, we use the simple present perfect" (p. 260). Later, the hypothetical past forms, referred to as the "modal perfects," are introduced as the forms of modals to use "when you talk about the *past* [italics added]" (p. 312).

Similarly, Davis (1977) presents the simple present perfect as "used for an action which has been completed at some *indefinite moment before now* [italics added]" (p. 89) and in a later lesson presents "the modal perfect auxiliaries with past [italics added] meaning" as "modal perfect verb phrases [which] refer to past time *whenever the context is not clearly future* [italics added]'" (p. 130). The problem is that this leaves students to infer from the form *(have* + past participle) that the hypothetical past form is the past time frame associated with the present perfect aspect, namely, the unspecified (or "unstated"), indefinite past meaning of present perfect sentences such as *I have seen that movie.* A further question to consider is why this confusion of indefinite past time versus definite past time causes such serious difficulty.

The purpose of this article is to show that these so-called modal perfects (the form of modal+ *have*+ past participle) normally bear no relation to the past time of present perfect aspect; rather, they indicate simple past time. That is, they indicate a definite time in the

past. A further argument is that confusion on this point is a major stumbling block for students attempting to master the modal perfect functions.

TENSE AND ASPECT VERSUS TIME

The first problem to be considered, then, is that of tense and aspect versus actual time. Unfortunately, ESL texts and other source material sometimes use these terms in different ways. Many texts refer to tense and aspect (or alternatively, refer to both as tense) and to time without clearly defining them. Fingado et al. (1981), for instance, introduce present perfect by stating that "this tense is called the simple present perfect tense because it expresses a connection between the present and the past" (p. 260), but they do not clarify that tense refers to form, whereas present and past refer to actual time.

A rare exception is Marquez and Bowen (1983), who do make a clear distinction between tense and time, stating that "tense is a grammatical term referring to the form of the verb in relation to the meaning of the sentence and/or the other parts of the sentence, like adverbs of time," while "time refers to clock time in our physical world" (p. 68). Bull (1960) also makes a careful distinction between time and tense in the sense intended here. He refers to time in terms of calendar systems and points out that the content element is a time interval, which is also defined by its position in the series. That is, it is modified by a disguised scalar. However, in terms of tense systems, the content element is an event, which is not position bound and not defined by a scalar.

In the interest of clarity, then, in this article *tense* and *aspect* are taken to mean the *forms* that verbs take; *time* is taken to mean the *semantics* of a particular time frame, or in other words, the meaning of the conceptual time frame. This time frame indicates clock time, in the sense of Marquez and Bowen (1983), as measured by clocks, calendars, or other such devices. So, for example, a verb like *visited,* as in *Bill visited London in 1920,* is past tense by virtue of its *-ed* suffix. And a verb phrase like *has visited,* as in *Bill has visited London,* is the aspect of present perfect, by virtue of a paraphrastic device, the present tense form of the have auxiliary, combined with the inflected form of the verb (see Chomsky, 1965, for detailed syntactic definitions of tense and aspect).

With respect to present perfect, Moy (1977) maintains that the tense of the present perfect is the present, whereas the *perfect* part refers to an aspect. Thus, present perfect would be considered a tense-aspect form. However, ESL texts commonly refer to it as

present perfect *tense,* as for instance in Fingado et al. (1981). While Moy's distinction is an important one–and one with which I concur—in the interest of brevity, this form is simply referred to here as present perfect aspect, following Chomsky (1965).

Notice that these definitions are strictly formal. For clarity, semantics must also be considered. In the sentence *Bill visited London in 1920,* the actual or conceptual time frame is a specific time in the past, namely the year 1920. In the sentence, *Bill has visited London,* the actual time is also past, although now a specific date is not mentioned. Therefore, the semantics of the time frame is something closer to "sometime or other in the past," up to the moment of speaking.

A crucial difference, however, is that although both sentences are in some sense past, the sentence *Bill visited London in 1920* will be true at any given time, even in the future, regardless of the speaker or the moment of speaking. Conversely, the sentence *Bill has visited London* will only be true if uttered during Bill's lifetime and if it happened sometime before the moment of speaking. It will not be true 100 years from now. So, for instance, it would not make any sense in 1986 to say *Abraham Lincoln has visited London.* For tense and aspect versus actual time, definitions can be given in similar ways for the past perfect aspect and for progressive aspects.

To return to the main point, the basic problem seems to be that in ESL grammar texts, the systematic nature of the forms and of the *semantics* with respect to time relationships is either not explained adequately or is simply left vague. For instance, hypothetical past is normally introduced after lessons on simple past and present perfect. The modals for hypothetical past are then presented as "modal perfects," as in the references cited above, or alternatively, are simply presented as "past forms." For example, Azar (1981, p. 154), presents modal+ *have*+ past participle as the past form of modals like *should,* and Praninskas (1975) refers to past forms as those like *should, would,* or *might,* adding the cautionary note that "the form of the modal does not necessarily indicate the time reference of the sentence in which it is used (p. 234).

Even Marquez and Bowen (1983), who make careful distinctions between time and tense for other forms, do not clarify this distinction with respect to the hypothetical past. Instead, they revert to the rather vague explanation that "there is only a weak correspondence between time and tense of modal forms" and that "past tense forms *(should, would, could, might)* often refer to present or future time," although "sometimes they refer to past time, but not regularly, like other past tense verb forms" (p. 69). In the typical case, then, students first learn forms like those in

Examples 1 and 2 below, the simple past and present perfect, respectively, and then forms like the one in Example 3, the hypothetical past.

1. I *visited* London in 1980.
2. I *have visited* London.
3. I *would have visited* London, but I was too busy.

Similar instructions are usually given for past conditionals. In some texts, the past conditional explanation adds even more to the confusion, as in Praninskas (1975), whose description reads that "past conditions are stated in the past perfect tense" and that "the result clause includes *would, could,* or *might,* and is expressed in the present perfect tense [italics added]" (p. 327). Such instructions are not only confusing, but misleading as well. The reason is that the actual time frames of the modal perfect and the present perfect are in no way similar.

The Modal Simple Past

In past time frames, modals rarely occur in perfect aspect contexts, with respect to the *semantics* of actual time, but instead are normally restricted to *simple past* contexts, that is, those which indicate a definite past time. So, for instance, the sentence in Example 3 clearly indicates a simple past context and could occur quite naturally in a conversation in which I had just been talking about, say, my disappointment that I was not able to travel *last year.* The implied time frame in Example 3 would then be *at that time.* Yet, unless instructed otherwise, students may well infer, incorrectly, that the time frame for a sentence like Example 3 is the same as that for Example 2—the present perfect.

Furthermore, modals like the one in Example 3 also occur with definite past time expressions like *yesterday* or *ago.* The sentences below illustrate this point.

4. John and Mary *went* to the lecture { yesterday. / 2 days ago. }

5. *John and Mary *have gone* to the lecture { yesterday. / 2 days ago. }

6. John and Mary *should have gone* to the lecture { yesterday. / 2 days ago. }

Examples 4 and 5 show that time expressions like *yesterday* and *ago* can occur only with the simple past and can never occur with the

present perfect. The reason is that the semantics of definite time expressions like these fit only with the semantics of the simple past and are incompatible with the semantics of the unstated, indefinite past of the present perfect aspect. Thus, Example 5 is ungrammatical (which is indicated here and in subsequent examples with an asterisk).

On the other hand, Example 6 shows that these past time expressions are entirely compatible with the modal context, the hypothetical past. Small wonder, then, that students often become confused at this point: In one chapter they are instructed to use such time expressions only with simple past, and in a later chapter—without further explanation—they are presented with examples of them being used with the "perfect" modals.

For example, in Fingado et al. (1981), the use of present perfect to express the "unstated past" is presented in chapter 16. After giving examples like "Marriage patterns in the United States have changed a great deal" (p. 266), the authors state that "we cannot use the term simple present perfect when we use a past tense time expression such as *a week ago, yesterdaq, last year, in 1965,"* but instead, "we must use the simple past tense," as for instance in "In 1968 the divorce laws changed radically in New York" (p. 266). Then in chapter 19 the first example to introduce the modal perfects occurs in a dialogue (about skydiving) as follows: "He made his first and last jump *yesterday* [italics added]. He *must have been terrified"* (p. 311). Although the time expression *yesterday* does not occur in the same sentence with the modal expression, its occurrence in the previous sentence clearly establishes a context such that the modal expression can only be interpreted as meaning *at that time,* that is, *yesterday*.

Other texts, like Frank (1972), do give illustrations in which hypothetical modal expressions and past time expressions occur in the same sentence, as in "Mr. Johnson *should have gone* to the dentist yesterday" (p. 98), or as in the example from Praninskas (1975), "I should have read my assignment yesterday" (p. 237). Again, however, no explanation is given. Thus, students are left to infer from the form that these perfect modals indicate a present perfect time frame but with the confusing difference that, unlike other present perfect forms, for some reason these perfect forms seem to co-occur with definite past time expressions. It is not surprising that some students simply give up on learning to use modals and instead try to learn ways to avoid using them altogether.

It is well known that these perfect modals indicate some type of past time (see, for instance, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983; Fingado et al., 1981; Pence & Emery, 1963). However, sentences like those in Examples 4-6 show that this time frame, illustrated in

Example 6, bears no relation semantically to the past time frame of present perfect, the meaning of the indefinite past in Example 5. In other words, although *have gone* is similar in form to *should have gone,* it is not similar in meaning, with respect to the actual time frame.

A much simpler, and a much more accurate, explanation is that modals in past contexts are normally restricted to one time frame, in terms of actual time. That time frame is the definite, or simple, past time. Further, the single formula of modal + *have*+ past participle is the invariant form used for this simple past frame, hereafter referred to as the modal simple past. And this is so whether it is the hypothetical past, as in Example 6, or the past conditional (with very few exceptions, to be discussed shortly).

It is important to point out the place of these modal forms in a well-known, larger generalization about English, namely, that all nonfinite clauses use *have* . . . EN to signal past time, including gerunds, infinitives, and participial clauses. For example, past time in the participial clause reading that book would be expressed as having read in a sentence like *Having read that book, I now want to see the movie.* However, this generalization in no way detracts from the present argument concerning the semantics of *have . . . EN* in a particular type of expression, namely, a modal expression, with respect to the actual time frame involved. (While the theoretical issue—whether modal perfect is to be considered a part of the modal system or a part of the larger context of tenseless expressions of past time—is indeed an interesting one, further discussion of this issue is well beyond the scope of this article.)

So far my argument, based on Examples 4-6, has been that modal past contexts are in fact the modal simple past. It is easy to demonstrate that the expressions *yesterday* and *ago* are semantically compatible not only with the modal simple past but also with the full range of simple past time expressions. Noting that "because of a different time perspective the simple past and the present perfect correlate with different sets of time expressions," Wohl (1978, p. 14) lists (in addition to *yesterday* and *ago)* the simple past expressions given in Example 7.

7. I went there { last week. / in 1972. / on Tuesday. / in May. / then. / at that time. / last time. }

Like Examples 5 and 6 above, Example 8 shows that all of these expressions are incompatible with the present perfect but entirely compatible with the modal simple past. (Azar, 1981, is the only text I know of which explicitly states that the "past form" of modals can be used with definite time expressions like *last night, yesterday,* etc. However, once again no explanation is given as to why these expressions can be used with the perfect form *have + EN.)*

8. a. *I have gone there
   b. I should have gone there

{last week. / in 1972. / on Tuesday. / in May. / then. / at that time. / last time.}

In addition, notice that expressions beginning with *since*, which, as Wohl notes, cannot occur with the simple past, also cannot occur with the modal simple past, although they typically occur with the present perfect.

9. a. *I lived in the dorm
   b. I have lived in the dorm
   c. *I should have lived in the dorm

{since last year. / since 1972. / since then. / since that time.}

Finally, as further evidence that in the past, modal contexts normally indicate simple past time frames, consider the sentences in Examples 10-12.

10. After he *had read* the book, he *went* to see the movie.
11. *After he *had read* the book, he *has gone* to see the movie.
12. If he *had read* the book, he *would have* gone to see the movie.

Past perfect clauses, as in the first clause of Example 10, are another type of construction that can occur only with the simple past, and not with the present perfect. The contrast of Examples 10 and 11 illustrates this point. But again, Example 12 shows that the past perfect clause can occur quite naturally with the modal past context.

Past Conditionals

Before leaving the general problem of actual time frames, one more important difficulty should be pointed out. If we do not accept the hypothetical past and modal perfect forms as the forms for the modal simple past meaning, that leaves us with no clear

explanation as to why past perfect occurs in a past conditional clause when a modal occurs in the main clause.

For example, look again at Examples 10-12. Recall that Example 11 illustrates the incompatibility of the past perfect and the unstated past time frame of the present perfect. Now consider again the past conditional in Example 12. If we assume that the formula of modal + have+ past participle in the main clause merely indicates simple past time, then we have a perfectly natural and systematic explanation for why the past perfect occurs in the *if*-clause. That is, the past perfect, together with the simple past, is what is *normally* used when two events occur in the past, one of which occurs before the other.

In Example 10 the event in the adverbial clause precedes in time the event in the main clause. Similarly, in conditionals like Example 12, the event or state in the condition normally precedes in time the event or state in the main clause. In other words, the condition must be satisfied first. (Although strictly speaking this may not always be the case, such sentences are normally interpreted in this way.) As further illustration, consider the sentence below, the "real" conditional of future time.

13. If you buy a turkey for Thanksgiving, I will cook it.

In this case the buying must precede the cooking; otherwise you will not get the dinner.

This is similar to the following sentence in the hypothetical past.

14. If you had mowed my lawn for me, I would have paid you $5.

The normal interpretation is that the event of mowing must precede in time the event of paying. The difference in this case, of course, is that the mowing did not occur, and therefore neither did the paying. The point, however, is simply that the actual time frames of the clauses in Examples 12 and 14 are exactly the same as in the past perfect/simple past time of Example 10, *After he had read the book, he went to see the movie,* with the time frame of the adverbial clause preceding that of the main clause. On the assumption that the form of modal + *have* + past participle indicates a simple past time frame, the past perfect in the *if*-clause is exactly what would be predicted in Examples 12 and 14. Incidentally, with this explanation we can tell ESL students that they have nothing new to learn here in past conditionals (assuming of course, that they have already learned the past perfect aspect). With the modal simple past in the main clause, the past perfect occurs in the other clause, as usual.

It should be noted that in certain contexts, present perfect meaning can be pragmatically forced, as in *He should have been here by now.* (Compare *He should have been at the lecture,* in which the normal modal simple past is the only possible interpretation with no time expression at all.) There appear to be very few cases like this, however, and this has no real bearing on the general argument, since other simple past forms, too, can have a present perfect time frame imposed by the context. For example, *I shot the cat* is simple past in both form and meaning, but the same form can have a present perfect meaning of "recently" forced if *just*— a time expression associated with present perfect—is added as special context. Therefore, *I just shot the cat* can be an informal version of *I have shot the cat* or, alternatively, *I have just shot the cat.*

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH MODALITY

The preceding discussion has certain implications for approaches to teaching modals—approaches which can take advantage of what is systematic and predictable about English modality. Modality in English is relatively simple and orderly with respect to the overall system of time relationships, and teaching techniques should stress this fairly straightforward system.

To see how this might be done, let us consider first the framework proposed by Bull (1960) and some later modifications of his framework as applied to English. Bull developed a system based on what he terms universal axes of orientation. The act of speaking is viewed as the prime point of orientation for all tense systems, and it "can be used to classify all other events in terms of three possible order relations . . . that is, either anterior to, simultaneous with, or posterior to the axis of orientation" (p. 13). While Bull worked mainly with specific applications to Spanish, others, like Tregidgo (1974) and Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983), have shown that his system can be modified and adapted to apply to English.

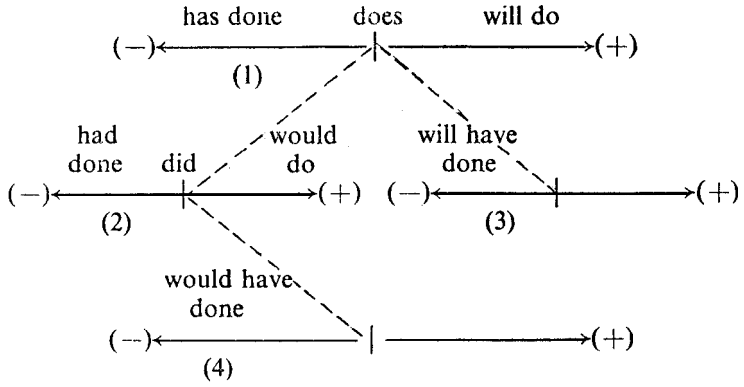
Tregidgo (1974) suggests the following modification of Bull's diagram, as applied to English (see Figure 1). According to Tregidgo,

> The four horizontal lines in this diagram represent four main times (in Bull's terminology four "axes of orientation") corresponding to what we might call (1) present, (2) past, (3) future, and (4) future-in-the-past. Each of these times has three aspects: a negative backward-looking aspect, a positive forward-looking one (i.e. a "before" and an "after" aspect), and a main neutral aspect in the middle. There are thus twelve "slots" altogether, eight of which are here occupied by appropriate

forms of the verb *do*. The remaining four slots have no real formal realisation in English. (p. 98)

FIGURE 1
Tregidgo's Adaptation of Bull's (1960) Diagram of Time, Tense, and the English Verb System

Reproduced with permission from P. S. Tregidgo, *ELT Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 2. Published by Oxford University Press.



Note: (1)= present; (2) = past; (3) = future; (4) = future-in-the-past.

Tregidgo's adaptation contributes significant insights concerning time relationships in English. Following Bull, he argues, for example, that the English present perfect is not a sort of past tense looking forward into the present but is instead, as Bull stated, a present tense looking backward into the past. Despite these important insights, however, his arguments concerning the fourth horizontal line, labeled future-in-the-past, are quite misleading, as Examples 4-12 show. He includes this form when he states that "all these forms with *have* are backward-looking or retrospective" (p. 99). He later notes that the past tense in English

> always refers to the *definite* past, i.e. the speaker chooses it only when he is referring to a wholly past time which he either defines himself, e.g. by an expression such as *yesterday* or *last year*, or which is somehow defined for him by the context. (p. 100)

The present perfect, on the other hand, "refers either to a period of time extending up to the present . . . or to a wholly past moment or period which . . . is *undefined*" (p. 100).

But by Tregidgo's own definition, Examples 6 and 8b, *John and*

Mary should have gone to the lecture yesterday and *I should have gone there last week* (and so on), are then past tense forms referring to the *definite past.* This suggests that for English, the fourth horizontal line in Figure 1 should be eliminated, simplifying the diagram to three lines. That is, the example form *would have done,* similar semantically to did with respect to the expression of definite past time, can simply be included in the same place in the second line as did, as an alternative definite past time form—the modal definite or modal simple past.

This point may be easier to see if we look at the version of the Bull framework adapted by Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983). Their version, intended for use as a teaching device, illustrates, in a slightly different form, this relationship of past, present, and future to a basic time axis. Figure 2 presents a simplified version of their diagram. (The line for hypothetical past time, which I have added to my adaptation of their diagram, is discussed shortly.)

FIGURE 2
The Bull Framework (Adapted)

Adapted from *The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course* (p. *67)* by M. Celce-Murcia and D. Larsen-Freeman, 1963, Rowley, MA: Newbury House. Copyright@ 1963 by Newbury House Publishers, Inc. Adapted by permission of Harper& Row, Publishers, Inc.

Axis of orientation	A time before the basic axis time	Basic axis time corresponding to the moment of reference	A time after the basic axis time
Future time	*He will have done it.* (future perfect)	*He will do it.* (simple future)	No distinct form
Present time	*He has done it.* (present perfect)	*He does it.* (simple present)	*He will do it.* (future of the present)
⇢ Past time	*He had mowed my lawn* (past perfect)	*before I got home Saturday.* (simple past)	No distinct form
Hypothetical past time	*If you had mowed my lawn for me,*	*I would have paid you $5.*	

Again, the real key to this framework is the basic time axis, here presented in the center column. In this configuration, for the present time axis of orientation, the time before that basic time is the present perfect, or the unstated, indefinite past time frame. This

line, like Tregidgo's line (l), demonstrates that in all of its uses the present perfect has a meaning in actual time of something like "up to now," or "up to the moment of speaking," and in this sense is dependent on the present moment—the basic axis—for its meaning (or in Tregidgo's terms, a looking backward to an indefinite past time, sometime before the moment of speaking).

For the past time line, the time before the past time is the past perfect. This line shows that the past perfect indicates an event or state occurring at a time earlier than a second event or state in a given past time. It is in this sense dependent on the time frame of the second event for its own time frame, which is relative to the specific time set by the basic time axis, the simple past.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman do not attempt to fit the hypothetical past or past conditional into this framework, nor is the framework mentioned again in their later chapter on past conditionals. However, on the basis of the assumptions presented in this article, the conditional sentence in Example 14 fits into this symmetrical system perfectly and can be placed on the same line as the past time axis (see Figure 2). We have simple past for the basic axis, that is, the modal simple past *(I would have paid you $5),* and past perfect *(If you had mowed my lawn for me)* as the time before that time, as usual. And of course the same applies to Example 12 or to any other past conditional or past hypothetical. For instance, for the hypothetical in Example 15, both clauses would simply fit on the past time line in the basic axis time column, thus indicating simultaneous events.

15. I *would have helped* him, but I *was* busy (at that time).

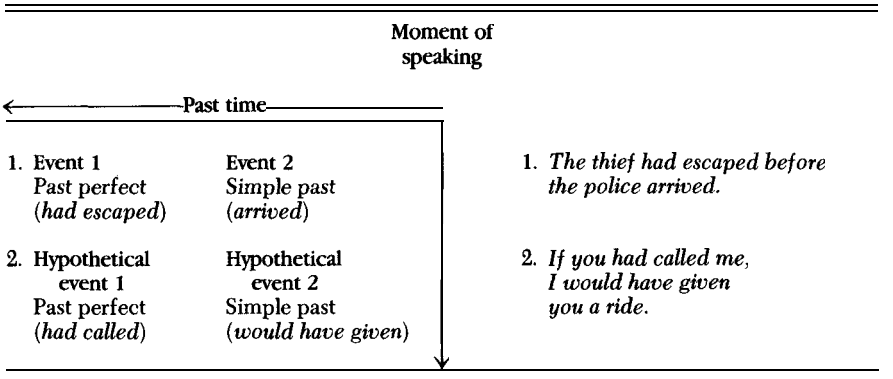
The conceptual time frame in this case is analogous to the simple past used for two simultaneous events or states, as illustrated in Example 16.

16. I *helped* him, but I *didn't* enjoy it.

One further advantage of the Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman adaptation of the Bull framework is that it can be greatly simplified for individual lessons in which only one particular construction is being taught or in which two constructions are being compared for the purpose of showing their similarities or differences, as in Figure 3.

1 It should be noted that these remarks apply only to sentences containing modal expressions. In past conditionals like If *Sally said "sing," Bill sang* or *If you had fun, you had fun!,* containing no modal expressions, the above conclusions concerning tense sequence in past conditionals do not necessarily apply.

FIGURE 3
The Past Perfect/Past Conditional Parallel



A SUGGESTED SEQUENCE FOR TEACHING THE ENGLISH MODALITY SYSTEM

The following five-step sequence for teaching the English modality system reflects the system described above.

1. Teach modals in meaning groups, stressing the function and the universal meanings conveyed by each group.
2. As each group is taught, give only the present forms of all regular modals, based on the formula of modal + V (base form), but include the past form for the irregular ones, one at a time as they are taught.
3. Teach the present conditional.
4. Teach the hypothetical past, stressing that the actual time frame is the modal simple past and that the pattern of modal + *have* + past participle indicates modal simple past for all regular modals.
5. Teach past conditionals, stressing that nothing new needs to be learned about time relationships or about modal forms. The time relationships and the formula are the same as for the hypothetical past, but the past perfect occurs in the conditional clause, just as in any other past perfect context.

In Step 1, for example, the functional category for expressing possibility should include *may, might,* and *could,* since, for example, *Mary may be in the library, Mary might be in the library,* or *Mary could be in the library* are roughly synonymous. (See Fingado et al., 1981, for an approach that stresses such functional categories in presenting tense modality.)

Bowen and McCreary's (1977) techniques for engaging a class in communicative exercises could be adapted for teaching each category. Students could be told, for example, that sometimes we make guesses about present events when we are not at all sure what the facts are. When we make such guesses, we say something *may* be the case, it *might* be the case, or it *could* be the case. Drawing a stick figure of Mary on the blackboard, the teacher could tell the class that Mary often studies in the library, visits with friends in the cafeteria, or practices in the language lab but that it is not known where Mary is at the moment. Next, using simple illustrations of the location, the teacher could write on the blackboard under the illustrations, *Mary may be in the library, Mary might be in the cafeteria, Mary could be in the language lab.* Finally, the teacher could ask the students to think of a friend or family member and to make guesses about where that person *may, might,* or *could be* at the moment (see Bowen & McCreary, p. 294).

In Step 2 (and Step 4), the term *regular modals* is used to mean those modals which form their simple past in the regular way with the formula of modal + *have*+ past participle. In this way, teachers can point out to students that the majority of modals behave in a systematic and predictable way and that only a few exceptions must be learned individually. Incidentally, with respect to past time, most modals which are sometimes considered irregular can be included in the regular group. The reason is simply that their past is formed in the usual way. This is illustrated in Figure 4. Furthermore, the two- and three-word modals are in any case no more irregular than the thousands of two-word verbs in English. For instance, *ought to* or *would like to* are no more irregular than, say, *listen to* or *put up with.*

Notice also that any modal that has two meanings is listed separately as (1) and (2), thus stressing that they are to be considered two separate lexical items, just as with any other homonyms. So, for example, *must* (1) is listed in the category of probability, and *must* (2) is listed in the category of necessity, along with *have to.* However, this list is not exhaustive; its purpose is to illustrate the formal categories of the groups of modals usually included in ESL grammar texts.

Modals like those for permission or warning—*may, can, had better,* and the like—are not listed for the obvious reason that we do not give permission or warnings in the past. Furthermore, those modals listed as irregular should probably be pared down somewhat, since *could* (2), the past form for *can,* is simply a vestige of historical past forms and has a somewhat restricted usage. Likewise, *would* in its meaning of habitual past is highly restricted

FIGURE 4
Modals With Regular and Irregular Past Time Forms

Meaning category	Modal	Modal past form
	Regular	
Possibility	may might could (1)	may have gone might have gone could have gone
Probability	must (1)	must have rained
Advisability, obligation	should ought to	should have gone ought to have gone
Preference	would rather	would rather have stayed
Desire	would like to	would like to have stayed
Hypothesis	would (1)	would have studied
	Irregular	
Necessity	must (2) have to	_____ had to speak
Ability	can be able to	could (2) speak was able to speak
Habitual past	_____	would (2) play tennis

Note: Modals with two meanings are listed separately as (1) and (2).

in usage. (See Bowen & McCreary, 1977, for a detailed discussion of the simple present modal forms which do not have semantic analogues in the past forms.)

With this classification of regular and irregular modals in mind, Step 2 in the sequence would simply be a matter of including these few irregular past forms as the categories of necessity and ability are presented in Step 1. For example, as *must* (2) and *have to* are taught for the function of expressing necessity—again assuming the type of communicative exercises discussed above—contexts requiring the past form *had to* can be added, with additional practice exercises contrasting the two contexts.

After teaching the present conditional in Step 3, teachers can move to Step 4, teaching the hypothetical past for all of the regular modals. Here they should stress that the actual time frame is (modal) simple past and that all of the regular modals have exactly the same form—modal + *have* + past participle—to indicate this simple past time. It would be helpful to use time expressions like *yesterday* and *ago* to help students recognize the conceptual time frame of modal simple past. Bowen and McCreary (1977) offer

especially good examples of techniques for teaching hypothetical past. For *must* in the meaning of probability, for instance, students can be given situations to speculate about, like "Geoffrey won the lottery two years ago''(p. 292), and can then be asked to tell how he *must have felt.*[2]

In Step 5, the past conditional can be taught very simply as the past time form for the conditional covered in Step 3. The past conditionals require modals, but no new forms need be learned: The modal simple past occurs in the main clause and the past perfect occurs in the *if-* clause. The reason, as mentioned earlier, is that this time relationship is parallel to that of any other past perfect sentences: The event or state in the condition normally precedes in time the event or state in the main clause. Again utilizing Bowen and McCreary-type exercises, the functions that require this form can be illustrated and practiced, as with sentences like those in Example 14, *If you had mowed my lawn for me, I would have paid you $5.* After initial illustrations and practice in context, the chart in Figure 2 can be used as further illustration and as a summary or overview.

From the beginning of this five-step sequence, it should be stressed that the basic function of modal forms in English is simply to stress modal concepts, which are present in all languages (albeit expressed in very different forms, such as subjunctive forms of verbs, logical adjectives or adverbs, particles, sentential modifiers, etc.). The function of English modals—with the exception of *will,* the future maker—is to change the *meaning* of the verb from factual statement, as in *He is there,* to possibility, probability, advisability, obligation, and the like, as in *He might be there.* Their basic function is not to express some aspect of time relationship.

The preceding discussion emphasizes the need to distinguish clearly between tense and aspect as opposed to actual time. It is hoped that this discussion, together with the suggested teaching sequence in Steps 1-5, may serve to help students avoid this kind of confusion and to learn to express themselves with confidence in situations requiring modal concepts.

■

2 Although Bowen and McCreary's (1977) article is cited several times here as an excellent source of information and practical teaching techniques, some aspects of it are open to the same kind of criticism mentioned earlier with respect to most ESL texts, namely, that past time relationships in modal contexts are not adequately explained.

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Alternatives in Second Language Research: Three Articles on the State of the Art

Introduction

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Research is just a set of conventions—the most rigorous way to ask a question and look for answers. . . . Research is people-run. And it can be as flexible as the people who run it.

(Hatch & Farhady, 1982, p. xv)

The publication of Kuhn's book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) reflected and inspired our interest in the explicit and implicit assumptions that characterize research. In the area of second language acquisition, a variety of approaches for data gathering and analysis have contributed to our knowledge, our questions, and our understanding. In this developing field, researchers have been examining the strengths and weaknesses of different models. To what extent can research alternatives be exploited in a positive sense? How can we avoid straying beyond the limitations and possibilities inherent in a particular research design?

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative research has been the subject of considerable attention. Patton (1978) characterizes the alternatives as follows:

> [One] paradigm assures quantitative measurement, experimental design and multivariate, parametric statistical analysis. . . . The alternative paradigm relies on qualitative data, holistic analysis and detailed description derived from close contact with the targets of study. . . . These paradigms represent alternatives from which the active-reactive researcher can choose. (p. 187)

Sanders and Pinhey (1983, p. 355) stress that a main difference between quantitative and qualitative methods is that most decisions in quantitative research are made at the outset of the research project, whereas in qualitative research, these decisions are made during and after the data have been collected.

Clearly, the question of whether observed phenomena should be assigned numerical or categorical values (quantitative) or can be more appropriately described in an intuitive fashion (qualitative) is only one of a series of choices which the researcher must make in seeking to investigate language acquisition or language use. Experimental, quasi-experimental, descriptive, and ethnographic designs may be used for data gathering (Campbell& Stanley, 1966; Sanday, 1979). And overlapping approaches that incorporate elements of two or more viewpoints are possible and often desirable.

Language data may come from observation with or without the knowledge of the participant (or informant or subject) or can be purposefully elicited from speakers. Elicitation situations may range from the production or manipulation of a phrase or sentence to naturalistic language use in particular social/psychological contexts (Berko, 1958; Fraser, Rintell, & Walters, 1980). Linguistic judgments of accuracy or appropriateness may be made by researchers or native informants. While generative grammarians have considered native-speaker intuitions to be reliable, others view any judgment to be questionable when it requires a speaker/hearer to respond to language outside of its natural context and thus to make a conscious decision about what is naturally a subconscious process.

Labov (1972), in his discussion of "the observer's paradox," noted that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed, yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (p. 209). In spite of the difficulty, Labov goes on to suggest strategies which will help investigators overcome this limitation.

Since Labov's observation, variation in second language data has become an important issue for research and theory (see Krashen, 1981). Fluctuations in data have been attributed to variables such as first language transfer (Gass & Selinker, 1983), register and task (Tarone, 1979, 1985), investment in topic (Lantolf & Khanji, 1982), and target language variety (Eisenstein, 1982; Eisenstein & Verdi, 1985; Kachru, 1982; Smith, 1981). The importance of individual differences and separate paths for learning, cogently discussed by Huebner (1985), raises questions regarding the relative advantages

of longitudinal and cross-sectional research designs as well as of alternate forms of analysis such as implicational scales (Hyltenstam, 1977).

There is evidence for the effectiveness of many alternative approaches. In an insightful article, d'Anglejan and Renaud (1985) illustrate the potential of multivariate analysis to assess the relative contribution of a group of variables to individual differences in L2 performance and warn that researchers cannot infer causal relationships on the basis of univariate analyses. Carrasco (1981) reveals the power of ethnographic monitoring applied to the classroom setting. His study illustrates how insight from an ethnographic approach was crucial to the teacher's and researcher's understanding of a particular bilingual child. This caused the teacher's behavior toward the child to change and contributed, happily, to the learner's success.

Recognizing the potential inherent in differing research perspectives, Patton (1980) advocates a new paradigm, "a paradigm of choices," which considers the appropriateness of different methods for particular situations. Phillips (1976) discusses the advantages of "triangulating" or integrating a number of different data techniques.

In an attempt to shed light on some of the questions raised regarding research design and analysis, the TESOL Research Interest Section invited three experts to address issues they considered important from their own perspectives. Nessa Wolfson (University of Pennsylvania) focuses on the contribution of ethnomethodology to language research and considers its potential for use in addition to other research paradigms. Grant Henning (University of California, Los Angeles) describes trends in the use of quantitative and nonquantitative methods in applied linguistics and suggests useful paradigms and procedures for future research in the field. Finally, Craig Chaudron (University of Hawaii) shows how quantitative and qualitative approaches can be and have been used in a complementary manner to provide insights into acquisition in classroom settings.

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Research Methodology and the Question of Validity

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The analysis of the rules of speaking for a specific speech community is the first step in understanding what it means to be communicatively competent among that group. We must have reliable descriptions of these rules and patterns in order to improve second language instruction and assessment. However, there are serious questions as to the best methods of gathering and analyzing the very data upon which such descriptions must rest. This article discusses the advantages and disadvantages of different research approaches to the study of everyday speech behavior and hence to our understanding of communicative competence.

Methodology is one of the most basic questions for any discipline dealing with human interaction. Language learning and the acquisition of the rules for appropriate speech behavior are no exception. The questions of what constitutes data and how we treat data are fundamental to the entire enterprise of explaining and describing the acquisition of a second language, both from the point of view of linguistic and of sociolinguistic rules (or, recognizing that the two are inextricably interwoven, research into the acquisition of what has come to be known as communicative competence). No matter what else we do, we must remember that if data are inadequate, there is always the danger that the theory and conclusions drawn from them could be unreliable and misleading. For this reason, the question of data source must be kept open to constant examination and reexamination regarding its validity.

The approaches toward the gathering of data for linguistic analysis are roughly of two types: observation and elicitation. Within the category of elicitation, we can include all techniques in which subjects are aware that what they say (or in some cases, what they say they say) is being studied by an investigator. This category would include such widely differing techniques as the elicitation of

linguistic data from a single informant during many months or even years of work sessions, from numerous subjects during one or more work sessions, or, as in the sociolinguistic studies of the 1960s and 1970s, from a large number of subjects in single interviews. Sociolinguistic data are also elicited through the use of carefully designed questionnaires, both oral and written, and through the use of role plays.

There are many important differences among the techniques just mentioned, both with respect to the role of the subjects and with regard to the researcher's assumptions about the subjects' consciousness of their role. All of these techniques, however, are subject to the linguistic truism that awareness of oneself as an object of study may endanger the validity of the data. This problem has been recognized from the first in descriptive linguistics and has been mentioned in numerous handbooks on linguistic fieldwork. What is not usually mentioned, however, is that the traditional method of descriptive linguists who gather their data by eliciting linguistic material and judgments from native-speaking informants is, in principle, not much different from introspection. The use of an informant (or even of several informants) must, by definition, involve the use of native-speaker intuition. Even though the intuitions being elicited are those of someone other than the linguist, what is being collected is still intuitive data, not speech as it actually occurs in everyday use.

Under the second heading, that of observation, we have fieldwork which may or may not involve participant observation. This approach toward the collection of data has its origins in anthropology, and many of the scholars who collect data in this way are anthropologists concerned with describing the speech behavior of groups of which they themselves are not members. Ethnographic fieldwork is not, however, limited to the study of groups foreign to the researcher. Increasingly, anthropologists and sociolinguists have been investigating speech behavior among speakers of their own languages and, very often, among groups of which they are members. This focus gives participant observation new meaning, since the researcher is often not distinguishable from the group being studied and can observe everyday behavior without causing self-consciousness on the part of those being observed.

Each methodological approach has its advantages and disadvantages, and the collection of data from everyday interaction is no exception. The great disadvantages of collecting "naturalistic" data are that examples of a particular feature of speech behavior may occur so rarely or so unpredictably that large samples are difficult to come by. Even if a large body of data is collected and analyzed,

there really is no way to be certain how generalizable the findings are. Human behavior is not neat, and the factors that condition the patterns of everyday interaction are complex and dynamic. When one observes without intervening, then there is no real way of controlling for one variable or another.

This problem of not being able to control variables is not as difficult as it might appear, however. While it is true that much good qualitative research is characterized by nonintervention of the researcher, the researcher/analyst is expected to be very careful in examining the data, once it is collected, to see which of the possible variables might be conditioning the speech production. Thus, for example, factors in the everyday settings and in the relationships among speakers should be compared during the analysis to discover whether such differences may be having an effect on interlanguage production, on foreigner talk, or on the speech used among native speakers in a particular group or society.

As Labov (1966) and many others after him have demonstrated, no one is a single-style speaker. Everyone has a range of styles and speech behaviors which vary with the interview task or with the circumstances in which naturalistic data are obtained. If this is true for native speakers, then it stands to reason, as Tarone (1979) has so clearly pointed out, that it is likely to be just as true for nonnative speakers. Thus, we can expect that the same nonnative speaker would produce different interlanguage, depending on the situation. Is the subject speaking to a teacher in a classroom full of other nonnative speakers? Is the subject speaking outside of class to a native speaker? Are the participants in the speech event status-equals, or is the speaker of lower or higher status than the addressee? Are there other people involved in the interaction, either as an audience or as members of a social group? Is the context formal or informal? What is the purpose of the interaction? Is it a doctor's appointment or a social gathering? What other sociolinguistic variables might be conditioning the interlanguage production?

In analyzing examples of interlanguage which have been collected in a variety of everyday settings, the researcher/analyst would need to determine carefully if different patterns emerge in different settings. To ignore such differences and to lump together all observed interlanguage would be to run the risk of losing important insights. Further, in comparing the interlanguage production of different nonnative speakers, it is extremely important to allow for different social attributes of the speakers themselves, as well as to avoid merging the various settings in which the speech took place. Beebe (1977, 1980, 1985) has made a point of looking at how performance varies with different interlocutors

when the setting and tasks are controlled. Using Accommodation Theory (see Beebe & Zuengler, 1983) to explain how speakers adjust their speech behavior to the social or ethnic identity of their addressee, Beebe has demonstrated that social factors are one of the most important sources of variation in second language performance.

Too often there is a tendency to forget the context in which speech was produced and to collapse data from studies in which the speech events were quite different. One of the most important insights of sociolinguistics is that people speak very differently in different situations. This is true for native speakers and must therefore be taken into account when examining the interlanguage of nonnative speakers. As T. Pica (personal communication) has remarked, there are many speech situations in which grammatically uninvested questions are produced by native speakers. To properly evaluate the uninvested questions found in interlanguage, we must first know what the context was. It is altogether possible that at least some of the utterances classified as errors of subject/auxiliary inversion are in fact target-like.

If there is variation in the production of interlanguage, then we must assume that foreigner talk is just as likely to vary with situation and interlocutor. Although the quality and quantity of input to nonnative speakers have long been recognized as having major implications in the study of second language acquisition, the phenomenon of sociolinguistic variation within foreigner talk has not yet become a focus of investigation. With respect to methodology, this is a clear case for an observational study of one or more native speakers interacting with a variety of nonnative speakers in a range of speech situations.

In a study which I have recently begun, a single native speaker of American English is being observed and recorded as he interacts spontaneously with the nonnative speakers with whom he comes into contact. Already, considerable variation has been noted in the foreigner talk of this single individual. Some of the more clear-cut factors conditioning variation have to do with context (at home or abroad, business negotiations or social conversation); with the age, sex, similarity of background and/or interests, and relative status of the nonnative-speaking interlocutor; with the length of acquaintance; and, most obviously perhaps, with the degree of proficiency in English of the nonnative speaker. This study will be expanded to observe other native speakers in a similar way and will then be followed by elicited self-report through interviews and discourse-completion tests for comparison.

With respect to the study of variation in the speech patterns of native speakers interacting with one another, a large body of sociolinguistic literature has been emerging over the last 20 years. Because they are interested in finding out how people speak in different situations, sociolinguists have been especially conscious of the methodological problems inherent in their work. Labov (1966, 1972), one of the first to emphasize the need for empirical data on everyday speech, writes of the "observer's paradox." What he means is that we, as sociolinguists, need to have data on how people speak when we are not present.

In addition to the difficulty of collecting data on unself-conscious speech behavior, we must also confront the fact that the speaker's intuitions are of limited reliability in our attempts to understand the patterns and conventions which condition speech behavior. This is because rules of speaking and, more generally, norms of interaction are not only culture-specific, they are also largely unconscious. What this means is that native speakers, although perfectly competent in using and interpreting the patterns of speech behavior which prevail in their own communities, are, with the exception of a few explicitly taught formulas, unaware of the patterned nature of their own speech behavior.

Native speakers are very well able to judge correctness and appropriateness of speech behavior in the everyday settings in which it occurs. When a rule is broken, when a nonnative speaker or a child says something which is incorrect or inappropriate, the native speaker recognizes the deviation. What native speakers are not able to do, however, is to describe their own rules of speaking. It has been demonstrated many times that when native speakers are asked to explain or to identify forms which they or others in their community use in a given speech situation, their responses do not necessarily coincide with observed speech behavior.

One of the enormous advantages of an ethnographic approach is that the hypotheses come out of the process of collecting and analyzing the data. After looking at a particular speech setting, event, or act and gathering as much data about it as possible, one looks to see what the patterns and rules of interaction are. Sometimes what is found is counterintuitive—if the researchers had had to identify the factors that condition the speech behavior before having actually studied the behavior, their native-speaker intuitions could easily have misled them.

A case in point occurs in my own recent work. Since 1974, I have been observing, recording, and analyzing the spontaneous forms and patterns of various speech acts and events in my own mainstream, middle-class, native English-speaking community. I

have been interested in what can be learned about the forms of these chunks of discourse and, more important, what sorts of insights can be gained about the underlying assumptions and values of a given speech community and even about how people use their linguistic resources to negotiate within the social structure of which they are a part.

One very unexpected and very consistent finding has been that there is a qualitative difference between the speech behavior which middle-class Americans use to intimates, status-unequals, and strangers, on the one hand, and with nonintimates, status-equal friends, co-workers, and acquaintances, on the other. I call this my bulge theory because of the way the frequencies of certain types of speech behavior look on a chart.

For all of the speech acts I have studied so far, the pattern is very similar in this respect. In regard to frequency, elaboration, and negotiation, the two extremes show very similar patterns on the diagrams, as opposed to the middle section, which displays a characteristic bulge. When these behaviors are compared in terms of the social context, and especially in terms of the social relationships of the interlocutors, the two extremes of social distance—minimum and maximum—seem to call forth very similar behavior, while relationships which are more toward the center show marked differences. This is not something that I would have been able to hypothesize. From a native speaker's point of view, the findings were counterintuitive.

What do these two groups at the extremes of social distance have in common? Why the bulge? It appears that social relationships at the two extremes—intimates, on the one hand, and status-unequals or strangers, on the other, share one very important factor: Those relationships are relatively certain. In other words, the more that status and social distance are seen as fixed, the easier it is for speakers to know what to expect of one another. Elaboration and negotiation are relatively unnecessary. In a complex urban society in which speakers may belong to a variety of nonoverlapping networks, the situations in which status and social distance are *not* fixed are those that require the most work, the most negotiation.

For example, although compliments are exchanged between intimates and between total strangers, the great majority (the bulge) occur in interactions between speakers who are neither but who, because they are of similar status to each other, may see one another as a potential friend. This is not to suggest that compliments do not occur between status-unequals. In fact, compliments on performance are often very important in the relationship of boss to employee or teacher to pupil (Wolfson, 1983). When the

compliment has to do with appearance, sex is the major variable, overriding status in virtually all cases. This in itself is an interesting finding, since it relates directly to the position of women in American society and touches on sociocultural expectations of a very different sort (Wolfson, 1984, in press). However, the great majority of all compliments, no matter what their topic, occur between status-equals who are potential friends.

The data on invitations are even more striking in this regard. The data collected from spontaneous interactions fell into two categories for this speech act (Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson, D'Amico-Reisner, & Huber, 1983). The first consisted of unambiguous, complete invitations including time, place, activity, and a request for response. These unambiguous invitations occurred most frequently between intimates and between status-unequals—the two sets of interlocutors with whom speakers can be relatively sure of their standing.

The second category of invitations consisted of ambiguous or incomplete references to the possibility of future social commitments. Once a large body of data had been collected, these so-called invitations were recognized as "leads." Utterances such as *We really must get together sometime* or *Let's have lunch together soon* are typical examples. For a social commitment to result from a lead, both parties to the interaction nearly always had to take part in negotiating the arrangement. What was particularly interesting about these leads was that they occurred between status-equal nonintimates—that is, between speakers who recognized their relationships as open to redefinition.

The findings of work on partings done by Kipers (1984) and Williams (1984) provide additional evidence that speakers behave in markedly different ways with those who occupy fixed positions in their social world and those with whom their relationships are less settled. As Kipers put it,

> Where there is no framework of social contact in place to assure casual friends and acquaintances that a future meeting will take place, partings reflect concern over the survival of the relationship. Mean number of turns in these partings was the highest of any group in this study. Individual utterances were notably longer too . . . the lengthy negotiations over future meeting time reassure both participants that even though they may not designate a definite time when they will see one another again, they both value the relationship enough to want it to continue. (p. 6)

While all partings share certain basic features, analysis indicates that shared knowledge of social distance and mutual certainty of future meeting are the important conditioning factors. As Williams says,

> Where one or another or both of these factors is *[sic]* shared by the participants, interactions will exhibit certain predictable characteristics. Pre-partings will be absent as will lengthy negotiations as to when the parties will meet again. Parting signals and "goodbye" and its variants will occur in only a minority of cases. Conversely, when knowledge of both social distance and time of future meeting are *[sic]* absent, partings diverge from this pattern. (p. 8)

My most recent work, on nonformulaic compliments and nonformulaic greetings, shows strong evidence of repeating the patterns so far found.

In her recent work on the speech act of refusals, Beebe (1985) has uncovered the very same pattern in operation. The least elaborated refusals were those to intimates or to status-unequals and strangers. The greatest amount of elaboration and negotiation, the greatest number of turns, and the most lengthy and complicated refusals were in the speech of nonintimate status-equals. To quote Beebe,

> Strangers are brief. If they want to say no, they do so. Real intimates are also brief. It is friends and other acquaintances who are most likely to get involved in long negotiations with multiple repetitions, extensive elaborations, and a wide variety of semantic formulas. (p. 10)

Eisenstein and Bodman (1986), in their studies of expressions of gratitude, are finding convergence along the same lines as well.

On the basis of these and other examples of convergence, I theorize that this elaboration of speech patterns among nonintimates is reflective of the dynamics of our social structure. If it were not for the great potential for social mobility in our society, there would be very little reason for people to negotiate in the way they do. We know from the anthropological literature that traditional societies contrast sharply with the bulge pattern just described. In more traditional societies, all relationships are much more fixed; people know where they stand with everyone. On the other hand, there is much less potential for social mobility. My findings on speech-act behavior may provide insight into the way speech reflects and perpetuates differences in social structure.

Many studies could be cited which purposely or inadvertently demonstrate that native-speaker intuitions include only the ability to judge accuracy and appropriateness and not the ability to describe or even to recall with any degree of reliability the actual patterns of behavior. Thus, if it is useful for us to know and describe

objectively the rules of speaking for any language, including our own, then we must learn what they are, not by examining our own intuitions or by depending entirely on the elicitation of intuitive responses from other native speakers, but by an iterative procedure which makes use of both elicitation and the investigation of actual speech in use.

This is not to suggest that techniques of data collection which depend on elicitation should be avoided, but as researchers, we must be aware of the potential pitfalls. Most important, we need to recognize that elicited data draw on native-speaker perceptions and cannot be presumed to be the same as the speech which would actually be produced by a given set of speakers. Analysts who rely entirely on elicitation instruments run the serious risk of gathering data which may obscure important variables or which may even completely misinterpret interfactional patterns. No amount of statistical manipulation can compensate for the lack of basic information to be gained by rigorous qualitative study of speech in use. As Erickson (1977) puts it,

> What "qualitative" researchers have to offer others is potentially valid insight into functionally relevant definitions of social facts. What "quantitative" researchers have to offer the "qualitatives" is ways of determining the generalizability of qualitative insights, ways of escaping from that tyranny of the single case. (p. 66)

For this reason, I am convinced that a two-pronged approach toward data collection and analysis is necessary. Because the design of an experiment or an elicitation instrument forces the researcher to decide in advance what variables will be tested and because native-speaker intuitions about the factors which condition speech behavior are so unreliable, it is safer to begin by systematic observation and to allow hypotheses to emerge from the data themselves. Then, an elicitation instrument can be developed which is sensitive to what has been found to occur in actuality, and the hypotheses which have emerged can be tested for generalizability and validity.

It seems reasonable, given all we know about the complexity of human speech behavior, that this moving back and forth between observation and elicitation or experiment will need to be repeated a number of times, always refining as we learn. The important point is that if we are to arrive at valid analyses of speech behavior, observation and elicitation will have to be used as necessary complements to one another.

■

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Quantitative Methods in Language Acquisition Research

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This article attempts to clarify and define quantitative research as it is applied in the study of language acquisition. Trends in the use of quantitative and nonquantitative methods in applied linguistics are reported, and suggestions are made concerning useful paradigms and procedures for further research in language acquisition.

In recent years considerable concern has arisen over the misapplication or avoidance of appropriate quantitative methods in language acquisition research. Brown (1986) expressed concern that established conventions in quantitative research methodology were not consistently adhered to by quantitative researchers in applied linguistics. His primary data source was articles appearing in the major professional journals of applied linguistics, such as the TESOL Quarterly and Language Learning.

Similarly, Ediger, Lazaraton, and Riggenbach (1986) noted that there is a paucity of formal statistical preparation on the part of the majority of educators responsible for guiding graduate research in applied linguistics in general. Their survey of a large cross section of university graduate thesis and dissertation advisers in applied linguistics revealed that respondents had completed, on an average, fewer than two formal courses in research design or statistics and that the majority reported no formal preparation at all.

Henning (1985) reported on common problems in quantitative language acquisition research, including unreliability and invalidity of data-elicitation techniques, failure of experimental studies to state a formal hypothesis for testing, failure to report frequencies with percentages or standard deviations with means, and insufficient use of appropriate inferential statistics.

In light of these concerns, this article has three purposes: (a) to provide a definition of quantitative research, as opposed to qualitative or anecdotal research; (b) to report on trends in

published research in the major journals of applied linguistics, in general, and second language acquisition, in particular; and (c) to recommend promising quantitative research paradigms and associated statistical methods for the study of language acquisition.

At the outset it must be acknowledged that quantitative research is not the only way to study language acquisition, nor is it necessarily the best procedure in every instance. There are, however, certain profound advantages to the appropriate application of quantitative methodology. For example, quantitative methods allow us to go beyond the identification and linear description of language acquisition phenomena and to draw formal inferences from the data about expected frequencies of occurrence, to assess the likelihood that phenomena are generalizable beyond a given instance, or to compare adequacies of existing theories and models to account for the phenomena in question. Without some recourse to quantitative methods, some marriage of words and numbers, it is inconceivable that the investigation of language acquisition will ever be said to belong to the realm of scientific inquiry.

DEFINITIONS

What is quantitative research? For purposes of communication, quantitative research may be said to be the kind of research that involves the tallying, manipulation, or systematic aggregation of quantities of data. Quantitative research may involve the use of descriptive statistics such as means, percentages, standard deviations, and proportions; or it may require use of inferential statistics such as analysis of variance, Student's *t*, analysis of covariance, and varieties of correlational statistics. Quantitative research may or may not involve formal hypothesis testing, as in a classical experimental design.

Since this definition is so broad and encompasses such a variety of research endeavors, it may be useful to consider what kinds of research might be labeled nonquantitative. Qualitative studies such as journal keeping, library research, anecdotal summaries, and certain kinds of discourse analysis fall into this category. Formulation of theoretical positions unaccompanied by aggregated data, as well as metaresearch studies that report on the findings of a group of studies without attempting to tally results or make quantitative generalizations, might also qualify. Any attempt to cite authorities or report observations, introspections, or descriptions of language or its use without in some sense quantifying the results would belong here. Also, in some cases, critiques or rebuttals

regarding studies conducted, positions held, or methods employed may be termed nonquantitative research. It should be obvious that there is room for both qualitative and quantitative research in fields of language acquisition.

TRENDS

Nevertheless, there appears to be a distinct trend toward the quantitative in language acquisition research. Not only are more quantitative studies being published in applied linguistics journals today than was the case 5, 10, or 15 years ago, but there is also a distinct trend toward greater use of inferential as opposed to mere descriptive statistics.

Consider the information reported in Tables 1 and 2. Articles published in the *TESOL Quarterly and Language Learning* were analyzed and tabulated for 5-year intervals beginning with 1970. An initial decision was made concerning whether an article was quantitative or nonquantitative, according to the criteria discussed above. Then, for all quantitative studies, a closer look was taken to determine whether the studies had an experimental or nonexperimental design, tested a hypothesis or did not, employed inferential or descriptive statistics, and used multivariate or bivariate statistics.

Experimental studies, irrespective of author's claims, were considered to be those with a classical experimental design involving random assignment to a treatment and/or a control condition. Hypothesis testing was considered to have occurred when an explicit hypothesis was stated and tested. Inferential statistics were those used for probabilistic generalization from a sample to some population of interest. Multivariate statistics referred to those sophisticated statistical techniques involving the use of multiple dependent variables, such as MANOVA and factor analysis, or multiple-combined independent variables, such as multiple correlation and regression techniques.

Note in Table 1, which presents statistics for the *TESOL Quarterly,* the increase in the percentage of quantitative versus qualitative articles published from 1970 (12% versus 88%) to 1985 (61% versus 39%). While the amount of experimental research increased over the same period, it appears to have declined as a proportion of all quantitative research. Formal hypothesis testing shows no appreciable gain. The use of inferential statistics appears to have increased in relation to mere descriptive statistics, and there is a slight tendency for multivariate statistics to appear in place of bivariate or univariate statistics.

TABLE 1
***TESOL Quarterly* Quantitative and Nonquantitative Research Articles at 5-Year Intervals, 1970-1985 (*N* = 121)**

	Quantitative		Experimental		Hypothesis		Inferential/		Multivariate	
Year	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	descriptive		Yes	No
1970										
n	4	30	2	2	1	3	3	1	0	4
%	12	88	6	6	3	9	9	3	0	12
1975										
n	7	21	1	6	0	7	2	5	0	7
%	25	75	4	21	0	25	7	18	0	25
1980										
n	16	15	3	13	4	12	10	6	0	16
%	52	48	10	42	14	39	19	32	0	52
1985										
n	17	11	4	13	1	16	14	3	4	13
%	61	39	14	46	4	57	50	11	14	46

Note: Minor arithmetic discrepancies in this table are due to rounding.

The picture is similar, although the gains appear more dramatic, in Table 2. Note that in this example quantitative research has increased from 24% to 92% of the total of all published research. The two nonquantitative articles appearing in 1985 were rebuttals to critiques of quantitative research. If they are excluded, the percentage of quantitative research becomes 100%. This researcher views this as a positive development—a kind of coming of age of a discipline.

TABLE 2
Language Learning Quantitative and Nonquantitative Research Articles at 5-Year Intervals, 1970-1985 (*N* = 82)

	Quantitative		Experimental		Hypothesis		Inferential/		Multivariate	
Year	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	descriptive		Yes	No
1970										
n	4	13	2	2	2	2	3	1	0	4
%	24	76	12	12	12	12	18	6	0	24
1975										
n	10	10	1	9	3	7	8	2	3	7
%	50	50	5	45	15	35	40	10	15	35
1980										
n	14	7	4	10	7	7	12	2	6	8
%	67	33	19	48	33	33	57	10	29	38
1985										
n	22	2	8	14	5	17	17	5	2	20
%	92	8	33	58	21	71	71	21	8	83

Note: Minor arithmetic discrepancies in this table are due to rounding.

Note that while hypothesis testing has increased, it has declined as a proportion of all quantitative research. This is puzzling in view of the fact that more inferential statistics are being employed. The explanation indicates one of the most prevalent deficiencies of quantitative research in applied linguistics. Many researchers adopt a hypothesis-testing mode without ever formally stating the hypothesis. It is not enough in this instance to provide research questions or purposes; the experimental design calls for an explicit hypothesis. Beyond this it is desirable to state a null hypothesis and possible alternative hypotheses. Furthermore, it is best to state in advance a level of confidence at which the null hypothesis may be rejected. No one is forcing us to test hypotheses, but if that is what we claim to be doing, let us do it in the appropriate manner.

The second most common flaw, in my opinion, is the tendency for quantitative research studies in applied linguistics to be labeled experiments when they are not. Many of these studies do not describe sample-selection procedures nor assign subjects to treatments randomly; thus, they are not replicable. Moreover, parametric inferential statistics, while commonly used, are usually inappropriate, since they normally require random assignment of subjects to treatments or treatments to subjects.

While considering common defects of language acquisition research or applied linguistics research in general, let us also reflect on the fact that the majority of these studies which involved measurement of linguistics phenomena made no effort to provide some estimate of the reliability or validity of the instrumentation and procedures used to elicit data. This is a serious problem.

It is not at all discouraging that multivariate statistics do not yet dominate the field, since much of the research in language acquisition must necessarily use small samples. There are some procedures, however, that can help us with quantitative research in the field of language acquisition when small samples are involved.

SUGGESTED RESEARCH PARADIGMS

1. In correlational studies in which randomization is not possible and it is not known whether there was a normal distribution in the population from which the sample was drawn, it is usually appropriate to use a nonparametric statistic such as Spearman's Rho. Thus, it is quite acceptable to report rank correlations to

compare orders of morpheme acquisition. Several of the studies surveyed for inclusion in Tables 1 and 2 did this.

2. Although none was encountered, studies seeking to test hypotheses in a true experimental design might take advantage of single-subject-per-cell ANOVA designs, such as the Latin Square design. There was an attempt to use repeated measures of ANOVA, which is also an appropriate experimental method to overcome the disadvantages of a small sample.
3. Chi-square methodology was used appropriately by several researchers seeking to test independence or goodness of fit with small samples. Chi-square is a particularly appropriate test of fit to the predictions of linguistic models when the sample is small (i.e., as few as 5 persons or observations per cell) and when the data consist of frequency tabulations of categorical data, rather than test scores.
4. In addition to chi-square, path-analytic methods should also help the language acquisition researcher to test competing theories. Unfortunately, however, path analysis usually calls for larger samples than does chi-square. But since several of the studies investigated relied on multiple correlation and regression and since path analysis is derived from those procedures, it seems likely that its use could be greatly expanded in language acquisition research.
5. In the articles reviewed, there was one example of the use of a latent trait model to investigate parameters of reading. Since these models involve the construction of probabilistic latent continua, it seems that their potential for investigating language acquisition onset phenomena has hardly begun to be explored (see Henning, 1984).
6. It was encouraging to see that only one article employed multiple *t* tests when factorial ANOVA would have been more appropriate. Since many researchers made appropriate use of factorial ANOVA designs, there may be situations in which discriminant analysis could also be applied as an appropriate research paradigm. This would be the case, for example, when the researcher wished to determine which of an array of linguistic phenomena elicited were most effective in differentiating between two or more groups of individuals.
7. Factor-analytic techniques were employed—not always appropriately. When the sample is large enough (usually in the hundreds), this can be an effective technique for aggregating data into mutually exclusive or correlated variables called factors. Use of confirmatory rather than exploratory methods of factor analysis can allow the researcher to test hypotheses and to

construct causal models which can enhance our knowledge of theoretical frameworks of language use.

8. This section would not be complete without reference to appropriate means of data elicitation in the study of language acquisition. There is an understandable desire on the part of researchers to elicit language phenomena in authentic contexts. If, however, the linguistic feature of interest is uncommon, it is unlikely that attaching a tape recorder to a subject and turning him or her loose is going to be a successful means of elicitation. Therefore, it is often necessary to construct contexts in which language phenomena are obligatory.

   To do this, it may be necessary to rely on structured interviews and paper-and-pencil tests. Repeated elicitation in a variety of contexts are usually necessary to ensure reliability of measurement. Validity of measurement must also be considered, but validity as a measurement construct cannot exist apart from the preexistence of reliable measurement. Establishment of content validity may require reference to a panel of subject-matter experts. Establishment of construct validity may require the elicitation of similar data using a variety of methods, as in multitrait/multimethod validation. Criterion-related validity estimation will require correlation with acceptable referent data-elicitation results.

9. Finally, the teacher/researcher will need reference material to serve as a guide in conducting quantitative research. Several important resources span a broad cross section of experimental and quasi-experimental methods, including but not limited to multivariate techniques and nonparametric methods. These include Tuckman (1978), Campbell and Stanley (1963), Ferguson (1981), Guilford and Fruchter (1973), Magnusson (1967), Kirk (1968), Hambleton and Swaminathan (1985), Hatch and Farhady (1982), Henning (in press), Namboodiri, Carter, and Blalock (1975), and Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973).

■

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The Interaction of Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Research: A View of the Second Language Classroom

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Both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research on second language learning are considered, with the special case of second language classroom research being used for illustration. It is evident that both approaches are relevant to determining (a) the important variables to investigate and (b) the relationships those variables have to second language learning outcomes.

In an article on evaluation research, Reichardt and Cook (1979) argue cogently that quantitative and qualitative research paradigms are in many respects indistinguishable (see also Miller, Poison, & Kintsch, 1984, for discussion concerning the cognitive sciences). They assert that researchers in no way follow the principles of a supposed paradigm without simultaneously assuming methods and values of the alternative paradigm. A researcher's initial qualitative or quantitative approach amounts to a preference in initial perspective.

Initially considering qualitative and quantitative approaches as paradigms for research,[1] Reichardt and Cook (1979) distinguish between them with typical contrasting attributes: The qualitative paradigm involves naturalistic, uncontrolled, subjective, and process-oriented observation, while the quantitative paradigm is obtrusive, controlled, objective, and product oriented. They point out, however, that qualitative participant observation is not necessarily completely naturalistic or unobtrusive and that experimental, controlled procedures do not necessarily elicit non-natural

1 L. van Lier (personal communication) has emphasized that these approaches do not represent paradigms in the sense established by Kuhn (1970) and elaborated on in L2-oriented research by Ochsner (1979).

behaviors for measurement. The qualitative paradigm can be pursued with objectivity in the form of interobserver agreement, while the theoretical underpinnings of a quantitative approach invariably bias observations in some possibly unrecognized, subjective way.

In other words, when we proceed in a quantitative paradigm to test hypotheses and estimate the magnitude of variables, we have derived the hypothetical relations and variables from qualitative, conceptual considerations. And even our determination of a level of significance is partly dependent on what sort of qualitative effect we expect. That is, the "power" of the statistical test depends on the degree of difference that we consider meaningful in the effects of the treatment. On the other hand, if we argue that qualitative research serves to generate hypotheses, we must be concerned about the replicability and generalizability of the results (McCutcheon, 1981). Single case studies are rarely sufficient to validate the categories and aspects of behavior that are the target of qualitative-oriented research.

Research in the field of applied linguistics has only very gradually adopted the more powerful quantitative methods used in related disciplines like psychology and sociology. The source of our research methods has been linguistics, which has maintained a very qualitative approach to description and analysis. The impetus for using more quantitative methods has probably come most from the need in the past 40 years for precise language proficiency assessment and, more recently, from the expanding experimental investigation of L2 learning behavior. However, because language teaching and learning involve so many previously unrecognized or inadequately described variables and phenomena, qualitative methods (as illustrated in Wolfson, 1986) continue to play a great role in applied linguistics research.

Research in and about L2 classrooms illustrates the interdependence, in fact the virtually inseparable application, of qualitative and quantitative approaches (for more extensive reviews of classroom research, see Chaudron, in press; Gaies, 1983; Long, 1980; Mitchell, 1985). Whether the classroom research is qualitative or quantitative in orientation, the goal of researchers has been much the same: (a) to determine *which* classroom processes are most conducive to learning outcomes, or L2 products, and (b) to discover *why* these relationships exist.

What has been needed in the past 25 years of L2 classroom research, however, is a conceptually coherent and descriptively adequate set of categories of processes that can serve as the basis for observational, correlational, and causally focused experimental

research. Despite many years of qualitative observational studies that should have generated hypotheses about effective teaching and learning behaviors, we have today only a small selection of classroom process variables that can be agreed upon as potentially influential for learning. As Chaudron (1983) illustrated, less than 7% of the articles published in two major applied linguistics journals during a 7-year period involved either qualitative or quantitative measures of classroom learning. Moreover, the lack of consistency in descriptive categories makes the quantitative and experimental studies that exist difficult to compare with one another.

THE INTERACTION OF THE APPROACHES IN CLASSROOM RESEARCH

Several important methods comparison studies in the 1960s (Scherer & Wertheimer, 1964; Smith, 1970) were primarily product oriented and quantitative in approach. Their results, however, were limited by the weakness of the qualitative analysis of the distinctions between the methods that were compared.

But, then, the influence of interaction analysis (Bales, 1950; Flanders, 1970) stimulated interest in foreign language classroom processes (Jarvis, 1968; Moskowitz, 1971). Nevertheless, this interest resulted in quantitative measurements of certain supposedly interfactional events. For instance, at this time an attempt was made to evaluate classroom process variables quantitatively by means of zero-order correlations between criterion tests and time spent on various types of drills or other categories of classroom activity (Politzer, 1970). The weakness of these early approaches rests in their adoption of highly inferential categories, not derived from systematic qualitative observation with tests of interobserver reliability.

More careful observational studies gradually revealed which process variables were of interest. For this purpose, discourse-analytic schemes arose (e. g., Fanselow, 1977; Naiman, Frohlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978). Development and validation of these descriptive models of classroom processes have progressed but are still far from complete.

Researchers have been content to employ these schemes for quantitative purposes without fully establishing their descriptive adequacy. The process categories employed by Naiman et al. (1978) were merely associated by intercorrelation with independent measures of students' proficiency. Thus, no clear causal relationship could be inferred. While Politzer (1977) and Ramírez and Stromquist (1979) attempted more powerful tests of association

between a refined set of process variables and student achievement, their categorization of the relevant variables was not descriptively adequate in the sense that it (a) had a mutually exclusive and exhaustive set of classroom behaviors and (b) was shown to be applied reliably.

Still, it is important that such quantitative research has revealed relationships between classroom processes and student learning outcomes. Ramírez and Stromquist (1979) found that several such process variables were significantly correlated with adjusted posttest scores on lesson-specific measures. This is the closest such research has come to establishing a process-product correlation, results that should lead to qualitative refinement of the important variables to be investigated in the future.

Another approach to establishing the descriptive adequacy of qualitative analysis was used in a study by Fröhlich, Spada, and Allen (1985), whose observational instrument revealed differences among four different second language programs. The researchers considered this to be "preliminary evidence" of the descriptive adequacy of the categories (for describing communicative language learning activities and behaviors). This sort of correlational validation (whether, as in this case, with independent judgments of program differences, or with student learning outcomes, or merely by means of interobserver, reliability) is the first stage in developing further tests of *explanatory adequacy*, in the sense that other phenomena related to language learning can be consistently predicted by the presence or absence of the processes observed.

Although the quantitative aspects of such research may still be inadequate to reveal causal relationships, the categories of analysis have continued to be refined qualitatively. A large number of classroom-oriented studies in recent years have been conducted in simulated classroom situations, that is, dyadic or group language games and other controlled tasks (for examples, see Day, 1986). These studies, in addition to observational classroom research and other such qualitative research as introspective diary studies (see Bailey & Ochsner, 1983), have established an ever widening variety of variables that are plausibly associated with L2 learning. Instead of simple measures of time spent on activities, number of hand raises, or syntactic complexity of teacher and student talk, recent research has suggested that interfactional variables such as turn taking, communicative negotiation (comprehension checks, clarification requests, repetitions), and feedback may be causally associated with L2 development (see Allwright, 1980; Crookes & Rulon, 1985; Gaies, 1983; Gass & Varonis, 1985; Long, 1983; Pica & Doughty, 1985; Porter, 1986).

AN EXAMPLE: THE CASE OF TEACHER QUESTIONING

An illustration of such research is the development of one variable, teacher questioning. The quantitative findings in this case would mean little, were it not for the conceptual, qualitative elaboration of the feature under study. On the other hand, questioning would not be of great interest unless we believed that it contributed in a causal, quantitatively verifiable way to L2 production and development.

Whereas Politzer's (1970) study of good and bad language teaching behaviors omitted questions as an observational category, later work (Politzer, 1977; Ramírez & Stromquist, 1979) included several types of "guided" questions. Of the variables studied, these (closed-response) types had the strongest positive correlation with pupil achievement, presumably since the practice in responding to the closed questions improved students' performance on similar points on the achievement tests.

Other observational studies have compared the amount of general questioning behavior in classroom speech with that in free conversation (Long & Sato, 1983; Pica & Long, 1986). The proportion of interrogatives to declarative in teachers' classroom speech was found to be much lower than the normal ratio in native speaker-nonnative speaker conversations. This quantitative finding led to the conclusion that questioning might be a variable representing greater negotiation of meaning and exchange of information.

Further qualitative distinctions were made by Long and Sato (1983), who, following L1 research, believed that learners' responses would differ not only quantitatively, but also in terms of their quality (i.e., the level of cognitive operations required), depending on the type of question. Referential questions, which seek information unknown to the speaker, were thought more likely to elicit longer, more communicatively authentic responses than display questions, for which responses are predetermined by lesson content. This hypothesized effect of a process variable (actually, a process-process relationship) was tested both in a simulated classroom situation (Brock, 1986) and in a natural classroom experiment (Long et al., 1984). The results suggest that referential questions elicit slightly longer and more student utterances.

Another proposed qualitative distinction is that closed and open referential questions (for the former, a unique, short answer is expected, and for the latter, an indeterminately long one) have differential effects. Related research (Duff, 1986) shows that certain

classroom activities generate a greater total number of referential and other questions. Clearly, a continued program of qualitative refinement and quantitative testing is needed to determine what aspects of learning tasks are relevant to differences in amount or type of questions and what final learning effect these types might lead to.

CONCLUSION

The consistent pattern of development in research is thus: qualitative refinement of the relevant categories and quantitative analysis of the *extent* of relevance. Another area of classroom research, learner strategies, presents a clear example of this process. Chesterfield and Chesterfield's (1985) longitudinal observations of children's classroom behaviors were analyzed by means of scaling, with the result being a stronger basis for hypotheses about the qualitative relationships, that is, developmental sequences and contextual applications, among the strategies observed.

It is encouraging that the variety of recent approaches to L2 classroom research has expanded to include detailed ethnographic observation (Trueba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981), simulated classroom activities and experiments (Brock, 1986), and more complex multivariate analyses (McDonald, Stone, & Yates, 1977). However, these studies will be of little benefit if we fail to recognize the value of both qualitative and quantitative research. ■

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REVIEW ARTICLE

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites review articles which critically evaluate recently published work and its relationship to issues, trends, and practices in our field.

Orality and Literacy: From The Savage Mind to Ways With Words

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It is now a common claim that there is a "literacy crisis" in the United States (Gee, 1986; Gumperz, 1986; Kozol, 1985). This claim is based on two social facts: (a) An unacceptably large number of children, a disproportionate number of whom are from low-income and minority homes, fail to gain functional literacy in school; and (b) partly as a result, an unacceptably large number of adults are functionally illiterate or only marginally literate (about one third of the nation). At first sight, it seems obvious what this has to do with the English teacher; after all, literacy is what English teachers teach. But what is literacy? Once we answer this question, the English teacher's role becomes even more crucial and yet at the same time much more problematic.

This article demonstrates how in anthropological studies the term *literate* in the dichotomy *literate/nonliterate* came to replace the term *civilized* in the older dichotomy *civilized/primitive* and then how a distinction between different cultures (nonliterate versus literate ones) came to be applied to different social groups within modern, technological societies like ours, characterizing some as having "restricted literacy" and others as having "full literacy." The importance of these developments is the link often assumed to exist between literacy and higher order mental skills, such as analytic, logical, or abstract thinking.

But a contrary current has developed, a current which sees literacy as necessarily plural: Different societies and social subgroups have different types of literacy, and literacy has different social and mental effects in different social and cultural contexts. Literacy is seen as a set of discourse practices, that is, as ways of using language and making sense both in speech and writing. These

discourse practices are tied to the particular world views (beliefs and values) of particular social or cultural groups. Such discourse practices are integrally connected with the identity or sense of self of the people who practice them; a change of discourse practices is a change of identity.

The discourse practices associated with our schools represent the world view of mainstream and powerful institutions in our society; these discourse practices and their concomitant world view are necessary for social and economic success in our society. But they are also tied to the failure of nonmainstream children in our schools and are rapidly destroying alternative practices and world views in less technologically advanced cultures throughout the world. The English teacher is not teaching grammar or even literacy, but rather these mainstream discourse practices, practices which may be at variance with the practices and values, with the identity and sense of self, of nonmainstream students, practices which are related to global political issues and to the literacy crisis in the United States, which is construed as a social crisis. If all this makes the English teacher sound central, that is all to the good—for that is my point.

This article surveys recent work on orality (nonliteracy) and literacy, not by dealing in depth with this now massive literature, but rather by discussing a few key works. These are treated as forming a particular progression, leading to a point of view I advocate. The major texts to be dealt with are Levi-Strauss's *The Savage Mind* (1966), Havelock's *Preface to Plato* (1963), Goody's *The Domestication' of the Savage Mind* (1977), Ong's *Orality and Literacy* (1982), Scribner and Cole's *The Psychology of Literacy* (1981), Street's *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1984), Scollon and Scollon's *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication* (1981), and finally Heath's *Ways With Words* (1983).

THE PRIMITIVE AND THE CIVILIZED

Humans tend to think in dichotomies, and no dichotomy has played on the popular and the academic mind more insidiously than the contrast between "the primitive" ("the savage") and "the civilized." This contrast has often been used to trace an evolutionary process with modern man at its pinnacle or to romanticize the primitive as an Eden from which Civilization represents a Fall.

Societies labeled primitive were usually small, homogeneous, nonliterate, highly personal, regulated by face-to-face encounters rather than by abstract rules, and had a strong sense of group solidarity (Douglas, 1973; Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Musgrove, 1982). They were sometimes said to be "mystical and prelogical"

(Levi-Bruhl, 1910), incapable of abstract thought, irrational, child-like ("half-devil and half-child" in Kipling's phrase), and inferior to modern man. *(Man* is used advisedly—modern women were often seen as intermediate between savages/children and modern man; see Gould, 1977, pp. 126-135.)

On the other hand, modern urban societies—our best current exemplars of "civilization''—are typified by their large and diverse groupings of people, widespread literacy and technology, and a supposed sense of science and history. Cities are places where many social relations tend to be impersonal and life is lived within "grids of impersonal forces and rules" (Douglas, 1973, p. 88; see also Musgrove, 1982).

The primitive/civilized dichotomy has broken down nearly completely at the hands of modern social anthropology (Street, 1984). So-called primitive societies are not primitive in thought, word, or deed, or in any evolutionary sense. A large amount of anthropological and linguistic work has shown that such cultures often had classification systems as complex as that of the modern biologist (Levi-Strauss, 1966); that once we accepted their initial premises, their thought processes about such matters as witchcraft were the same as those involved in scientific thought (Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Horton, 1967); and that their languages were often among the worlds most complex (Sapir, 1921).

Where there had been a tendency to carry over something like the primitive/civilized contrast to the distinction between lower status socioeconomic groups and mainstream groups in modern urban societies, this was put to rest by the work of Labov (1972). He showed that working-class black youths speak a rule-governed and elegant dialect of English and that their speech has all of the qualities generally associated with logical thought. At the same time Labov showed that much middle-class speech is overly verbose and disorganized.

Levi-Strauss and *The Savage Mind*

The primitive/civilized distinction has repeatedly resurfaced in other guises, even in work that ostensibly put it to rest. Levi-Strauss, the founder of Structuralism in anthropology, demonstrated that there was nothing primitive about thought in so-called primitive cultures; he showed that for primitive humankind, as well as modern, the natural world is good not just to eat, but good to know and admire. (Citations below are from *The Savage Mind,* 1966; see also Levi-Strauss, 1963.) Nonetheless, he reintroduced a dichotomy between primitive and modern cultures in terms of two distinct

ways of knowing, "two distinct modes of scientific thought." These were not a function of different stages of development, but rather two different levels at which nature is accessible to scientific inquiry:

> Certainly the properties to which the savage mind has access are not the same as those which have commanded the attention of scientists. The physical world is approached from opposite ends in the two cases: one is supremely concrete, the other supremely abstract; one proceeds from the angle of sensible qualities and the other from that of formal properties. (p. 269)

Primitive cultures use events from the natural world, ordered in myths and totem systems, for instance, to create structures by means of which they can think about and explain the world of experience. For example, in a "pure totemic structure" (p. 115), a certain clan associated with a particular species, such as the bear, may be viewed to differ from another clan associated with a different species, such as the eagle, as the bear differs from the eagle in the natural world, thus creating a type of homology between culture and nature. Modem science, on the other hand, manipulates not objects and images from the natural world, but abstract systems, whether numerical, logical, or linguistic, and through these systems seeks to change the world.

In an influential insight, Levi-Strauss characterized the systems of stories that make up mythical thought as a kind of intellectual "bricolage." The *bricoleur* (a term which has no real English equivalent, but translates roughly as a "handyman") is adept at performing a large number of tasks. Unlike the modern engineer, he does not design tools for the specific task at hand; rather, his universe of instruments is closed, and the rules of the game are always to make do with "whatever is at hand." What is at hand is always a contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions (p. 17). Mythical thought is "imprisoned in the events and experiences which it never tires of ordering and reordering in its search to find meaning" (p. 22).

Havelock and the *Preface to Plato*

Levi-Strauss's work raises, without answering, the question as to how cultures move from the science of the concrete to the science of the abstract, and through which stages. Two influential pieces of work have suggested that the answer is literacy: Havelock's *Preface to Plato* (1963) and Goody's *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*

(1977). Havelock argues that Homeric Greek culture was an oral (nonliterate) culture. (Citations below are from *Preface to Plato;* see also Havelock, 1982.) His characterization of that culture has been taken to typify oral cultures generally and used as a cornerstone in the argument that it is literacy that makes for a "great divide" between human cultures and their ways of thinking.

The oral epic—such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their original forms—was a form of contrived and memorized speech through which the culture passed down its values and knowledge. Havelock argues that the form and functioning of the epic were determined by the demands of human memory in the absence of writing. It was a dramatic story recited with a heavy, metrical rhythm and constructed out of a large set of memorized formulas (short phrases that fit the meter), as well as a large set of memorized motifs (stereotypical characters, actions, and events) and wider themes which recurred throughout the epic (see also Lord, 1960; Parry, 1971). The creativity of the reciter lay in how he arranged and ordered these pre-given building blocks on any given occasion of recitation. This characterization reminds one of Levi-Strauss's view of bricolage in mythic thought (which indeed is what the Homeric epics were).

The values and knowledge which the epic story encapsulated could only be preserved from generation to generation if the teller of tales and his audience fully identified with the story. In fact, Havelock argues, as did Plato, that the teller and his audience were under a "spell" cast by the epic rhythm (created by the meter and recurrent themes, much like dance or music); the hearer acted out and identified with the values and beliefs of the society in actively participating in the telling of the tale. Under such conditions, innovation in values and ideas was difficult.

Plato, the first great writer of Greek civilization, sought to reorder Greek society, to relocate power. To do so, he had to break the power of the epic poet (Homer) because in his care resided the moral and intellectual heritage of the society. What woke the Greeks from the epic spell? Havelock's answer is "alphabetic-script literacy," a changed technology of communication. Refreshment of memory through written signs enabled a reader to dispense with most of that emotional identification by which alone the acoustic record was sure of recall. What had been written could be seen as an object (a "text") and not just heard and felt. You cannot stop and review what you are listening to, especially if you are "caught up" in its rhythm, but writing allows one to take a second look and thereby to notice contradictions and inconsistencies. Knowledge

need no longer be dramatic and compelling (a story) to ensure its preservation; it can now be encoded in abstract language.

Goody and *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*

Goody's *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (1977) moves beyond ancient Greek culture to modern nonliterate and semiliterate societies. He sees the development and spread of literacy as a crucial factor in explaining how modes of thought and cultural organization change over time. Goody and Watt (1963) laid out some of the outcomes that they saw as linked to the advent of writing and in particular to the invention of the alphabetic system that made widespread literacy possible. They suggested that logic, in the restricted sense of an instrument of analytic procedures, seemed to be a function of writing, since the setting down of speech enabled humans clearly to separate words, to manipulate their order, to develop syllogistic forms of reasoning, and to perceive contradictions. (With writing, one could arrest the flow of speech and compare, side by side, utterances that had been made at different times and places.)

Essentially, Goody takes certain characteristics regarded by Levi-Strauss and others as marking the distinction between primitive and advanced cultures and suggests that many of the valid aspects of these somewhat vague dichotomies can be related to changes in the mode of communication, especially to the introduction of various forms of writing. Goody relates the development of writing to the growth of individualism, the growth of bureaucracy and of more depersonalized and more abstract systems of government, as well as the development of abstract thought and syllogistic reasoning, culminating in modern science. When characteristics which he attributes to orality persist in a society with literacy—and would thus seem to undermine the case for the intrinsic effects of literacy—Goody appeals to a notion of "restricted literacy" as against "full literacy." In fact, Goody comes close to suggesting that restricted literacy is the norm in almost all nontechnological societies and perhaps in large pockets of modern technological societies as well.

Ong and *Orality and Literacy*

The work of Havelock and of Goody is translated into a sweeping statement about orality and literacy as a great divide in human culture, thought, and history in Ong's influential book *Orality and Literacy* (1982). He argues that work on oral and literate cultures

calls for a revision of our understanding of human identity. Commitment of the word to space through writing enlarges the potentiality of language "almost beyond measure" and "restructures thought." While oral cultures produce powerful verbal performances which may in fact no longer be possible once writing has become entrenched in a culture, human consciousness cannot achieve its full potential without writing. Literacy is necessary for the development of science, history, and philosophy and for the explicative understanding of literature, art, and language, including speech itself.

Ong offers a set of features that characterize thought and expression in a primary oral culture. The first of these (expanding on Havelock, 1963) is "formulaic thought and expression," defined as "more or less exactly repeated set phrases *or* set expressions (such as proverbs)" (p. 26). Beyond formulaicness, Ong argues that thought and expression in oral cultures are (a) *additive* (strung together by additive relations like simple adjunction or terms/concepts like *and)* rather than subordinative; (b) *aggregative* (clustered elements of thought or expression, e.g., not *the princess* but *the beautiful princess)* rather than analytic; (c) *redundant* or "copious"; (d) *conservative* or traditionalist, inhibiting experimentation; (e) *close to the human life world;* (f) *agonistically toned;* (g) *empathetic* and participatory rather than objectively distanced; (h) *situational* rather than abstract.

The relevance of this characterization is greatly expanded, however, when Ong argues that "to varying degrees many cultures and subcultures, even in a high-technology ambience, preserve much of the mind-set of primary orality" (p. 11). He refers to these groups as having "residual orality," using as examples Arabic and certain other Mediterranean cultures. He also points out that oral habits of thought and expression, including massive use of formulaic elements of a type similar to those in Homer, still marked prose style of almost every sort in Tudor England some 2,000 years after Plato's campaign against Homer.

Furthermore, Ong is aware that many of the features he cites have also been claimed to characterize lower socioeconomic levels of black culture, a culture that has historic ties to a rich oral culture, both from the days of slavery in the United States and from African cultures, and one that arguably is less influenced than mainstream middle-class culture by school-based literacy (Abrahams, 1964, 1970, 1976; Erickson, 1984; Gee, 1985; Kochman, 1981; Labov, 1972; Smitherman, 1977). More generally, it is striking how similar Ong's features are to characterizations that linguists have offered of the differences between speech and writing, educators of the

differences between "good" and "bad" writers, and sociolinguists of the differences between the way black children of lower socioeconomic status and white middle-class children tell stories (these analogies are discussed in the next section).

Thus, we get to one of the main implications of the Havelock-Goody-Ong line of work: In modern technological societies like the United States, something akin to the oral/literate distinction may apply to groups (usually of lower socioeconomic status) with "residual orality" or "restricted literacy" and groups (usually middle and upper middle class) with full access to the literacy taught in the schools. Levi-Strauss's recasting of the primitive/civilized distinction in terms of a contrast between concrete and abstract thought, now explained by literacy, comes then to roost in our "modern" society.

THE ORAL/LITERATE DISTINCTION WITHIN MODERN "LITERATE" SOCIETIES

Chafe (1982), in contrasting writing (essays) and speech (spontaneous conversation), suggests that differences in the processes of speaking and writing have led to specific differences in the products. The fact that writing is much slower than speech, while reading is much faster, allows written language to be less fragmented, more syntactically integrated, than speech. The writer has the time to mold ideas into a more complex, coherent, integrated whole, making use of complicated lexical and syntactic devices seldom used in speech (such as heavy use of nominalizations, participles, attributive adjectives, and various subordinating devices). In addition to its integrated quality, Chafe calls attention to the fact that written language fosters more detachment than speech, which is face-to-face and usually more highly socially involved than writing. Thus, writing is integrated and detached, while speech is fragmented and involved.

Chafe is aware that these are in reality poles of a continuum and that there are uses of spoken and written language that do not fit these characterizations (e.g., lectures as a form of integrated and detached speech; letters as a form of fragmented and involved writing; literature, in which involvement features are used for aesthetic effects). However, integration and detachment are part of the potential that writing offers, thanks to the processes by which it is produced. (It is interesting that Richardson, Risk, & Okun, 1983, argue that in many U.S. junior colleges, where there is a prevalence of multiple-choice tests, note taking, and forms to fill out, but a lack of essay writing or discursive exams, literacy has become

fragmented and socially detached, thus partaking of features of both writing and speech in Chafe's terms.)

The distinction between writing and speech that Chafe draws bears some similarity to Michaels's (1981) distinction between different ways that black and white children tell "sharing time" stories in the early years of school. Many black children of lower socioeconomic status told what Michaels calls "topic-associating" stories, while white and black middle-class children tended to tell "topic-centered" stories. Topic-centered stories are tightly structured around a single topic and lexically explicit, have a high degree of thematic coherence and a clear thematic progression, and feature intonational cues used by the child to mark out syntactically complete, independent clauses. The stories tend to be short and concise. Topic-associating stories associate a series of segments through an implicit link to a particular topical event or theme, rely heavily on inferences to be drawn by the listener on the basis of shared knowledge, and use intonational cues to mark "out episodic shifts in the story rather than to make syntactic structure clear.

Gee (1985, in press) has shown that the black children in Michaels's study also used a number of devices reminiscent of Havelock's and Ong's characterizations of orality, for example, the creation of a rhythmical structure through formulaic devices, repetition, and syntactic parallelism. These differences, which are ultimately founded on practices in the home, lead eventually to the middle-class children having control over forms of speech that in their integration and detachment resemble essay-text writing, while the black children retain speech that in its fragmentation and social involvement contrasts with the canons of essay-text literacy.

There has, however, been confusion in much of the linguistics and educational literature about what *orality* actually means. Chafe's work (and much of that of Hymes, e.g., 1981) can set us on the right track here. Chafe points out that in many oral cultures the formal ritual-traditional language or forms of language often referred to as "high rhetoric" are analogous to the integration and detachment of essayist writing. These forms of language, used on sacred, ritual, or otherwise socially important occasions, involve some degree (often a great deal) of memorization or sorts of special learning. They very often involve the formulaic, rhythmical, patterned use of language Havelock and Ong call attention to in Homer, but they may also involve a good deal of lexical and syntactic complexity and explicit reference that relies little on hearer inference.

Thus, the formulaic and rhythmic features of orality are by no means in opposition to the linguistic formality, explicitness, and complexity we associate with writing. Looked at in this way, the

speech/writing, or orality/literacy, distinction begins to become problematic: What seems to be involved are different cultural practices that in certain contexts call for certain uses of language, language patterned in certain ways and trading on features like fragmentation and involvement to various degrees.

LITERACY AND HIGHER ORDER COGNITIVE SKILLS

The previous section suggests the need for a new approach to the oral/literate divide, one that would study different uses of language, spoken and written, in their cultural contexts. But one major factor keeps literacy, apart from any cultural context, in focus: the claim that literacy leads to higher order cognitive skills. This claim is founded on a large number of empirical studies that go back to the famous work of Vygotsky (see Wertsch, 1985) and Luria (1976) in Soviet Central Asia in the 1930s, when this area was in the midst of collectivization. Many previously nonliterate populations were rapidly introduced to literacy and other practices of modern technological society. Vygotsky and Luria compared nonliterate and recently literate subjects on a series of reasoning tasks.

The tasks consisted of categorizing familiar objects or deducing the conclusion that follows from the premises of a syllogism. For example, in one task subjects were given pictures of a hammer, a saw, a log, and a hatchet and asked to say which three went together. Literate subjects were generally willing to say that the hammer, hatchet, and saw went together because they were all tools, thus grouping the objects on the basis of abstract word meanings. In contrast, the answers of nonliterate subjects indicated a strong tendency to group items on the basis of concrete settings with which they were familiar. Thus, they said things like "the log has to be here too" and resisted the experimenter's suggestions, based on decontextualized word meanings, that the hammer, hatchet, and saw could be grouped together. Performance on syllogistic reasoning tasks yielded analogous results.

It was concluded that major differences exist between literate and nonliterate subjects in their use of abstract reasoning processes. The responses of nonliterates were dominated by their immediate practical experience, and they resisted using language in a decontextualized manner. These results, of course, fit well with the claims of Havelock, Goody, and Ong, as well as with claims made about semiliterate groups in the United States and Britain.

However, there is a major empirical problem in the Vygotsky-Luria work. It is unclear whether the results were caused by literacy, by schooling, or even by the new social institutions that the

Russian Revolution exposed these subjects to. It is extremely difficult to separate the influence of literacy from that of formal schooling, since in most parts of the world the two go together. But school involves much more than becoming literate: "A student is involved in learning a set of complex role relationships, general cognitive techniques, ways of approaching problems, different genres of talk and interaction, and an intricate set of values concerned with communication, interaction, and society as a whole" (Wertsch, 1985, pp. 35-36).

Scribner and Cole and *The Psychology of Literucy*

The whole question of the cognitive effects of literacy was redefined by the groundbreaking work on the Vai in Liberia by Scribner and Cole in *The Psychology of Literacy* (1981). (All citations below are from this work.) They examine two crucial questions, Is it literacy or formal schooling that affects mental functioning? and, Can one distinguish among the effects of different forms of literacy used for different functions in the life of an individual or a society?

Among the Vai, literacy and schooling are not always coterminous. In addition to literacy in English acquired in formal school settings, the Vai have an indigenous (syllabic, not alphabetic) script transmitted outside an institutional setting and with no connection with Western-style schooling, as well as a form of literacy in Arabic. Each of these literacies is tied to a particular set of uses: English literacy is associated with government and education; Vai literacy is used primarily for keeping records and for letters, many of them involving commercial matters; Arabic literacy is used for reading, writing, and memorizing the Koran (many Arabic literates do not know Arabic but have memorized and can recite large sections of the Koran). Since some Vai are versed in only one of these forms of literacy, others in two or more, and still others are nonliterate altogether, Scribner and Cole could disentangle various effects of literacy from effects of formal schooling (which affected only the English literates).

Scribner and Cole examined subjects' performance on categorization and syllogistic reasoning tasks similar to those used by Vygotsky (see Wertsch, 1985) and Luria (1976). Their results call into question much work on the cognitive consequences of literacy. Neither syllabic Vai script nor Arabic alphabetic literacy was associated with what have been considered higher order intellectual skills. Neither form of literacy enhanced the use of taxonomic skills, nor did either contribute to a shift toward syllogistic reasoning. In

contrast, literacy in English, the only form associated with formal schooling, was associated with some types of decontextualization and abstract reasoning. However, all the tasks on which schooling was the highest ranking determinant of performance were "talking about" tasks. Schooled subjects showed no such superiority on tasks which did not involve verbal exposition, leading Scribner and Cole to conclude that "school fosters abilities in expository talk in contrived situations" (pp. 242-243; see also Scribner & Cole, 1973).

Furthermore, Scribner and Cole did not find that schooled, English-literate subjects, many of whom had been out of school a number of years, differed from other groups in their actual performance on categorization and abstract reasoning tasks. They simply talked about them better, providing informative verbal descriptions and justifications of their task activity. However, those who had recently been in school actually did do better on the tasks, suggesting that both task performance and verbal description of task performance improved as a result of schooled literacy but that the former was transient, unless practiced in the years following school.

Another very important finding in the Scribner and Cole work is that each form of literacy was associated with some quite specific skills. For example, Vai script literacy was associated with specific skills in synthesizing spoken Vai in an auditory integration task (repeating back Vai sentences decomposed, by pauses between syllables, into their constituent syllables), in using graphic symbols to represent language, in using language as a means of instruction, and in talking about correct Vai speech.

All of these skills are closely related to everyday practices involved in Vai script literacy. For instance, the ability to synthesize spoken Vai appears to follow from the large amount of practice in synthesizing language that one gets in trying to decode a syllabic script that does not mark word divisions. (To construct meaning out of a chain of syllables, the Vai script reader must often hold a sequence of syllables in working memory until the unit of meaning, what words they belong to, is determined.) Or, to take another example, the Vai, in writing letters, often discuss the quality of the letters and whether they are written in "good Vai." This practice appears to enhance their ability to talk about correct speech on a grammar task.

Scribner and Cole, on the basis of such evidence, opt for what they call "a practice account of literacy." A type of literacy enhances quite specific skills that are practiced in carrying out that literacy. Grandiose claims for large and global cognitive skills resulting from literacy are not, in fact, indicated. One can also point

out that the effect of formal schooling—being able to engage in expository talk in contrived situations—is itself a fairly specific skill practiced a good deal in school. Thus, we might extend Scribner and Cole's practice account to schooling as well as literacy.

Street and *Literacy in Theory and Practice*

The work of Scribner and Cole (1981) calls into question what Street, in his book *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1984), calls "the autonomous model" of literacy: the claim that literacy (or schooling for that matter) has cognitive effects apart from the context in which it exists and the uses to which it is put in a given culture. Street criticizes this model through a discussion of Olson's (1977) work, some recent work by Hildyard and Olson (1978), as well as Greenfield's (1972) study of the Wolof of Senegal.

Olson's (1977) claims for the cognitive effects of literacy—that, for example, it "unambiguously represents meanings" (p. 264)–refer only to one type of literacy, the essay-text form of writing prevalent in Western culture and supported by our schools. In fact, his claims rest on descriptions of the "British essayists" of the 17th and 18th centuries, who were

> among the first to exploit writing for the purpose of formulating original theoretical knowledge. . . . Knowledge was taken to be the product of an extended logical essay—the output of the repeated application in a single coherent text of the technique of examining an assertion to determine all of its implications. (pp. 268-269)

This form of literacy is the basis, ideologically, if not always in practice, of our schools and universities. Claims for literacy per se are often in fact tacit claims for essay-text literacy, a form of literacy that is neither natural nor universal, but one cultural way of making sense among many others. Of course, this way of making sense is associated with mainstream middle-class and upper middle-class groups and is, in fact, best represented by the ideology and sometimes the practice of academics, the people who most often make claims for it.

One can go further in showing how claims for literacy are often tacit ways to privilege one social group's ways of doing things as if they were natural and universal. Many of the tasks used to measure such things as cognitive flexibility, logical reasoning, or abstractness, tasks like those used by Vygotsky (see Wertsch, 1985) and Luria (1976), Greenfield (1972), Scribner and Cole (1981), and many others, are, in fact, tests of the ability to use language in a

certain way. In particular, they are tests of what we might call explicitness.

Explicitness in language use can be placed on a continuum between two poles that we might label, following Given (1979), "the pragmatic mode" and "the syntactic mode." At the syntactic-mode end of the continuum, speakers encode what they want to say using precise and varied lexical items and explicit syntactic structures (e.g., subordinating devices), leaving as little as possible to be signaled by prosody or inferred by the listener. The grammar takes on most of the burden for communication, and social interaction is downplayed. At the pragmatic-mode end of the continuum, speakers chain strings of clauses together fairly loosely through adjunction or coordination, use prosodic devices to signal meaning, and rely on the hearer to draw inferences on the basis of mutual knowledge. Social interaction and the participation of the hearer in a mutual negotiation of meaning are paramount.

Given's distinction is, in fact, a recoding of Ong's (1982) distinction between features characteristic of oral and literate cultures and Chafe's (1982) distinction between speech (conversation) and writing (essays). All speakers of all languages have control over the pragmatic mode and some portion of the continuum toward the syntactic-mode end. Which mode or mixture of modes is appropriate in a given context varies across cultures; how far a speaker can go toward an extreme use of the syntactic mode (in speech or writing) varies with uses a culture has for this sort of language and with access speakers have to the institutions (schools) where it is fostered and practiced. How explicit one is in using language is a matter of convention.

For example, in our culture there is a convention that in certain contrived situations, one does not take it for granted that the listener or audience can see or is aware, through shared knowledge, of what is being referred to (even when they indeed are); thus, one is explicit in referring to it (as children are encouraged to do, for instance, at sharing time). Certain other cultures, as well as unschooled people in our culture, simply do not have, and thus do not use, this convention. In fact, such explicitness may be seen as rude because it is either distancing, blunt, or condescending to the hearer's intelligence or relation to the speaker.

Claims for literacy, in particular for essay-text literacy values, whether in speech or writing, are thus "ideological." They are part of "an armoury of concepts, conventions and practices" (Street, 1984, p. 38) that privilege one social formation as if it were natural, universal, or, at least, the end point of a normal developmental

progression of cognitive skills (achieved only by some cultures, thanks either to their intelligence or their technology).

Street proposes, in opposition to the autonomous model of literacy, an "ideological model," in which literacy is viewed in terms of concrete social practices and the various ideologies in which different cultural expressions of literacies are embedded. Literacy—of whatever type—only has consequences as it acts together with a large number of other social factors, including a culture's or a social group's political and economic conditions, social structure, and local ideologies. Any technology, including writing, is a cultural form, a social product whose shape and influence depend upon prior political and ideological factors.

Despite Havelock's (1963, 1982) brilliant characterization of the transition from orality to literacy in ancient Greece, it now appears that the Greek situation has rarely if ever been replicated. The particular social, political, economic, and ideological circumstances in which literacy (of a particular sort) was embedded in Greece explain what happened there—the flowering of Greek classical civilization. Abstracting literacy from its social setting in order to make claims for literacy as an autonomous force in shaping the mind or a culture simply leads to a dead end.

There is, however, a last refuge for someone who wants to see literacy as an autonomous force. One could claim that essay-text literacy and the uses of language connected with it, such as explicitness and the syntactic mode, lead, if not to general cognitive consequences, then to social mobility and success in the society. While this argument may be true, there is precious little evidence that literacy in history or across cultures has had this effect either. Street discusses, in some detail, Graff's (1979) study of the role of literacy in 19th century Canada.

While some individuals did gain through the acquisition of literacy, Graff demonstrates that this effect was not statistically significant and that deprived classes and ethnic groups as a whole were, if anything, further oppressed through literacy. Greater literacy did not correlate with increased equality and democracy nor with better conditions for the working class, but in fact with continuing social stratification. The teaching of literacy involved a contradiction: Illiterates were considered dangerous to the social order; thus, they must be made literate; yet the potentialities of reading and writing for an underclass could well be radical and inflammatory. So the framework for the teaching of literacy had to be severely controlled, and this involved specific forms of control of the pedagogic process and specific ideological associations of the literacy being purveyed.

Although the workers were led to believe that acquiring literacy was to their benefit, Graff produces statistics that show that in reality this literacy was not advantageous to the poorer groups in terms of either income or power. The extent to which literacy was an advantage or not in relation to job opportunities depended on ethnicity. It was not because you were "illiterate" that you finished up in the worst jobs but because of your background (e.g., being black or an Irish Catholic rendered literacy much less efficacious than it was for English Protestants).

The story Graff tells can be repeated for many other societies, including Britain and the United States (see Street, 1984, as well as Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Donald, 1983; Gilmore, 1985). In all these societies literacy served as a socializing tool for the poor, was seen as a possible threat if misused by the poor (for an analysis of their oppression and to make demands for power), and served as a means for maintaining the continued selection of members of one class for the best positions in the society.

Scollon and Scollon and *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interetthnic Communication*

Literacy has no effects—indeed, no meaning—apart from particular cultural contexts in which it is used, and it has different effects in different contexts. Two recent works make an excellent beginning at the process of looking at orality and literacy in the context of the social practices and world views of particular social groups: Scollon and Scollon's *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication* (1981) and Heath's *Ways With Words* (1983). Both of these works realize that what is at issue in the use of language is different ways of knowing, different ways of making sense of the world of human experience, that is, different social epistemologies.

Scollon and Scollon believe that discourse patterns (ways of using language to communicate, whether in speech or writing) in different cultures reflect a particular reality set or world view and are among the strongest expressions of personal and cultural identity. They argue that changes in a person's discourse patterns—for example, in acquiring a new form of literacy—may involve change in identity. Scollon and Scollon provide a detailed study of the discourse practices and world view of Athabaskans in Alaska and northern Canada and contrast these with the discourse patterns and world view in much of Anglo-Canadian and Anglo-American society.

Literacy as it is practiced in European-based education—essay-text literacy in the phrase used above—is connected to a reality set or world view that Scollon and Scollon term "modern consciousness." This reality set is consonant with particular discourse patterns, ones quite different from the discourse patterns used by the Athabaskans. As a result, the acquisition of this sort of literacy is not simply a matter of learning a new technology, it also involves association with values, social practices, and ways of knowing that conflict with those of the Athabaskans. Thus, Scollon and Scollon argue, literacy of the essay-text sort may be experienced by Athabaskans as a form of interethnic communication. And much of their book is devoted to an analysis of the problems and misunderstandings involved in interethnic communication.

As the following three examples reveal, Athabaskans differ at various points from mainstream Canadian and American English speakers in how they engage in discourse. First, Athabaskans have a high degree of respect for the individuality of others and carefully guard their own individuality. Thus, they prefer to avoid conversation except when the point of view of all participants is well known. On the other hand, English speakers feel that the main way to get to know other people's point of view is through conversation with them.

Second, for Athabaskans, persons in subordinate positions do not display, or show off; rather, they observe the person in the superordinate position. For instance, adults, as either parents or teachers, are supposed to display abilities and qualities for the child to learn. However, in mainstream American society, children are supposed to show off their abilities for teachers and other adults.

Third, the English idea of "putting your best foot forward" conflicts directly with an Athabaskan taboo. In situations of unequal status relations, English speakers normally try to display themselves in the best light possible. They also tend to speak highly of the future and try to present a career or life trajectory of success and planning. This English system is very different from the Athabaskan system, in which it is considered inappropriate and bad luck to anticipate good luck, to display oneself in a good light, to predict the future, or to speak unfavorably of another's luck.

Scollon and Scollon list many other differences, including differences in systems of pausing that ensure that English speakers in an interethnic encounter select most of the topics and do most of the talking. The net result of these communication problems is that each group ethnically stereotypes the other. English speakers come to believe that Athabaskans are unsure, aimless, incompetent, and withdrawn. Athabaskans come to believe that English speakers are

boastful of their abilities, sure they can predict the future, careless with luck, and far too talkative.

Scollon and Scollon characterize the different discourse practices of Athabaskans and English speakers in terms of two different world views, or "forms of consciousness": bush consciousness (connected with survival values in the bush) and modern consciousness (this latter taken partly from Berger, Berger, & Kellner, 1973). These forms of consciousness are "reality sets" in the sense that they are cognitive orientations toward the everyday world, including the learning of that world. Anglo-Canadian and American mainstream culture has adopted a model of literacy, based on the values of essayist prose style, that is highly compatible with modern consciousness.

In essayist prose, the important relationships to be signaled are those between sentence and sentence, not those between speakers nor those between sentence and speaker. For a reader this requires a constant monitoring of grammatical and lexical information. With the heightened emphasis on truth value, rather than social or rhetorical conditions, comes the necessity to be explicit about logical implications. A significant aspect of essayist prose style is the fictionalization of both the audience and the author. The reader of an essayist text is not an ordinary human being, but an idealization, a rational mind formed by the rational body of knowledge of which the essay is a part. By the same token the author is a fiction, since the process of writing and editing essayist texts leads to an effacement of individual and idiosyncratic identity. Scollon and Scollon show the relation of these essayist values of modern consciousness by demonstrating that they are variants of the defining properties of the modern consciousness as given by Berger, Berger, and Kellner (1973).

For the Athabaskan, writing in this essayist mode can constitute a crisis in ethnic identity. To produce an essay would require the Athabaskan to produce a major display, which would be appropriate only if the Athabaskan was in a position of dominance in relation to the audience. Both the audience and the author are fictionalized in essayist prose, and the text becomes decontextualized. This means that a contextualized, social relationship of dominance is obscured. When the relationship of the communicants is unknown, the Athabaskan prefers silence. The paradox of prose for the Athabaskan, then, is that contextualized communication between known author and audience is compatible with Athabaskan values, but not good essayist prose. To the extent that prose becomes decontextualized and thus good essayist prose, it becomes uncharacteristic of Athabaskans to seek to communicate. The

Athabaskan set of discourse patterns is to a large extent mutually exclusive of the discourse patterns of essayist prose.

Scollon and Scollon go on to detail a number of narrative and nonnarrative uses of language in Athabaskan culture, showing how each of these is in turn shaped by the Athabaskan reality set, especially respect for the individual and care about intervention in others' affairs (including their knowledge and beliefs). For example, riddles, which are an important genre in Athabaskan culture, are seen as schooling in guessing meanings, in reading between the lines, in anticipating outcomes, and in indirectness. In short, riddles provide a schooling in nonintervention. And in the best telling of a narrative "little more than the themes are suggested and the audience is able to interpret those themes as highly contextualized in his own experiences" (p.127). This is, of course, just the reverse of the decontextualization valued by essayist prose.

Heath and *Ways With Words*

Heath's already classic Ways *With Words* (1983) is an ethnographic study of how literacy is embedded in the cultural context of three communities in the Piedmont Carolinas in the United States: Roadville, a white working-class community that has been part of mill life for four generations; Trackton, a working-class black community whose older generation was brought up on the land but which now is also connected to mill life and other light industry; and mainstream, middle-class, urban-oriented blacks and whites.

Heath analyzes the ways these different social groups "take" knowledge from the environment, with particular concern for how "types of literacy events" are involved in this taking. *Literacy events* are any event involving print, such as group negotiation of meaning in written texts (e. g., an ad), individuals "looking things up" in reference books or writing family records in the Bible, and the dozens of other types of occasions when books or other written materials are integral to interpretation in an interaction. Heath interprets these literacy events in relation to the *larger sociocultural patterns* which they may exemplify or reflect, such as patterns of care-giving roles, uses of space and time, age and sex segregation, and so forth.

The oral/literate contrast makes little sense because in fact many social groups, even in high-technology societies, fall into such mixed categories as residual orality (Ong, 1982) or restricted literacy (Goody, 1977). The members of many U.S. communities, though they may write and read at basic levels, have little occasion to use these skills as taught in school. Much of their daily lives is filled with

literacy events in which they must know how to respond orally to written materials. Different social groups do this in different ways. How the members of a community use print to take meaning from the environment and how they use knowledge gained from print are interdependent with the ways children learn language and are socialized in interaction with peers and care givers. Language learning and socialization are two sides of the same coin (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Thus, Heath concentrates on how children in each community acquire language and literacy in the process of becoming socialized into the norms and values of their communities.

As school-oriented, middle-class parents and their children interact in the preschool years, adults give their children, through modeling and specific instruction, ways of using language and of taking knowledge from books which seem natural in school and in numerous other institutional settings such as banks, post offices, businesses, or government offices.

To illustrate this point, Heath (1982) analyzes the bedtime story as an example of a major literacy event in mainstream homes. (All citations below are to this article, which contains much of the same material as *Ways With Words.)* The bedtime story sets patterns of behavior that recur repeatedly through the life of mainstream children and adults at school and in other institutions. In the bedtime story routine, the parent sets up a "scaffolding" dialogue (see Cazden, 1979) with the child by asking questions like *What is X?* and then supplying verbal feedback and a label after the child has vocalized or given a nonverbal response. Before the age of 2, the child is thus socialized into the "initiation-reply-evaluation" sequences so typical of classroom lessons (e.g., Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

In addition, reading with comprehension involves an internal replaying of the same types of questions adults ask children about bedtime stories, and what-explanations are replayed in the school setting in learning to pick out topic sentences, write outlines, and answer standardized tests. Through the bedtime story routine and many similar practices in which children learn not only how to take meaning from books but also how to talk about it, they repeatedly practice routines which parallel those of classroom interaction: "Thus, there is a deep continuity between patterns of socialization and language learning in the home culture and what goes on at school" (p. 56).

Children in both Roadville and Trackton were unsuccessful in school, despite the fact that both communities placed a high value on success in school. Roadville adults did read books to their

children, but they did not extend the habits of literacy events beyond book reading, For instance, they did not, upon seeing an event in the real world, remind children of similar events in a book or comment on such similarities and differences between a book and real events.

The strong Fundamentalist bent of Roadville tended to make the members of this community view any fictionalized account of a real event as a *lie.* Since they regarded reality as being better than fiction, they did not encourage the shifting of the context of items and events characteristic of fictionalization and abstraction. They tended to choose books which emphasized nursery rhymes, alphabet learning, and simplified Bible stories. Even the oral stories that Roadville adults told, and that children modeled, were grounded in the actual. These stories, which were drawn from personal experience, were tales of transgression which made the point of reiterating the expected norms of behavior.

Thus, Roadville children were not practiced in decontextualizing their knowledge or in fictionalizing events known to them and shifting them about into other frames. In school, they were rarely able to take knowledge learned in one context and shift it to another; they did not compare two items or events and point out similarities and differences.

Trackton presents a quite different language and social environment. Babies in Trackton, who were almost always held during their waking hours, were constantly in the midst of a rich stream of verbal and nonverbal communication. Aside from Sunday school materials, there were no reading materials in the home just for children; adults did not sit and read to children. Children did, however, constantly interact verbally with peers and adults.

Adults did not ask children *What is X?* questions, but rather analogical questions calling for nonspecific comparisons of one item, event, or person with another (e.g., *What's that like?).* Though children could answer such questions, they could rarely name the specific feature or features which made two items or events alike. Parents did not believe they had a tutoring role and did not simplify their language for children, as mainstream parents do, nor did they label items or features of objects in either books or the environment at large. They believed children learned when they were provided with experiences from which they could draw global, rather than analytically specific, knowledge.

Children seemed to develop connections between situations or items by gestalt patterns, analogues, or general configuration links, not by specification of labels and discrete features in the situation. They did not decontextualize; rather, they heavily contextualized

nonverbal and verbal language. Trackton children learned to tell stories by rendering a context and calling on the audience's participation to join in the imaginative creation of the story. In an environment rich with imaginative talk and verbal play, they had to be aggressive in inserting their stories into an ongoing stream of discourse. Fictionalization, imagination, and verbal dexterity were encouraged.

Indeed, group negotiation and participation were prevalent features of the social group as a whole. Adults read not alone but in a group. For example, someone might read from a brochure on a new car while listeners related the text's meaning to their experiences, asking questions and expressing opinions. The group as a whole would synthesize the written text and the associated oral discourse to construct a meaning for the brochure.

At school, most Trackton children failed not only to learn the content of lessons but also to adopt the social interfactional rules for school literacy events. Print in isolation carried little authority in their world, and the kinds of questions asked about reading books were unfamiliar (for example, what-explanations). The children's abilities to link two events or situations metaphorically and to recreate scenes were not tapped in school. In fact, these abilities often caused difficulties because they enabled children to see parallels teachers did not intend and, indeed, might not have recognized until the children pointed them out. By the time in their education when their imaginative skills and verbal dexterity could really pay off (usually after the elementary years), they had failed to gain the necessary written composition skills they would need to translate their analogical skills into a channel teachers could accept.

Heaths characterization of Trackton, Roadville, and mainstreamers leads us to see not a binary (oral/literate) contrast, but a set of features that cross-classifies the three groups in various ways. Each group shares various features with the other groups but differs from them in other ways: The mainstream group and Trackton both valued imagination and fictionalization, while Roadville did not; Roadville and Trackton both shared a disregard for decontextualization not shared by mainstreamers. Both mainstreamers and Roadville, but not Trackton, believed parents have a tutoring role in language and literacy acquisition (they read to their children and asked questions that required labels). However, Roadville shared with Trackton, not the mainstream, an experiential, nonanalytic view of learning (children learn by doing and watching, not by having the process broken down into its smallest parts). As we add more groups to the comparison, for example, the Athabaskans (who share with Trackton parents a regard for gestalt learning and

storage of knowledge but differ from them in the degree of self-display they allow), we will get more complex cross-classifications.

In Ways *With Words*, Heath has suggested that in order for a nonmainstream social group to acquire mainstream, school-based literacy practices, with all the oral and written language skills this implies, individuals, whether children or adults, must "recapitulate," at an appropriate level for their age of course, the sorts of literacy experiences the mainstream child has had at home. Unfortunately, schools as currently constituted tend to be good places to practice mainstream literacy once you have its foundations, but they are not good places to acquire those foundations.

Heath suggests that this foundation, when it has not been set at home, can be acquired by apprenticing the individual to a school-based literate person (the teacher in a new and expanded role), who must break down essay-text literacy into its myriad component skills and allow the student to practice them repeatedly. Such skills involve the ability to give *what*-explanations; to break down verbal information into small bits of information; to notice the analytic features of items and events and to be able to recombine them in new contexts, eventually to offer *reason*-explanations; and finally to take meaning from books and be able to talk about it.

Heath has actually had students, at a variety of ages, engage in ethnographic research with the teacher (e.g., studying the use of language or languages or of writing and reading in their communities) as a way of learning and practicing the various subskills of essay-text literacy (e.g., asking questions; taking notes; discussing various points of view, often with people with whom the student does not share a lot of mutual knowledge; writing discursive prose and revising it with feedback, often from nonpresent readers).

As pointed out earlier, essay-text values are in fact best exemplified in the ideology and practice, ideally, of academic work. Heath's approach obviously fits perfectly with Scribner and Cole's (1981) practice account of literacy. And, in line with Street's (1984) ideological approach to literacy, it claims that individuals who have not been socialized into the discourse practices that constitute mainstream, school-based literacy must eventually be socialized into them if they are ever to acquire them. The component skills of this form of literacy must be practiced, and one cannot practice a skill one has not been exposed to or engage in a social practice one has not been socialized into (which is what most nonmainstream children are expected to do in school).

At the same time, however, we must remember Scollon and Scollon's (1981) warning that for many social groups this practice will mean a change of identity and the adoption of a reality set at odds with their own at various points. There is a deep paradox here—and there is no facile way of removing it, short of changing our hierarchical social structure and the school systems that by and large perpetuate it.

CONCLUSION: LITERACY AND THE ENGLISH TEACHER

The literature on orality and literacy is rife with implications for teachers of English, most of which I hope are readily apparent from the preceding discussion. Let me conclude, however, by touching on some major themes. Teachers of English are not, in fact, teaching English, and certainly not English grammar, or even "language." Rather, they are teaching a set of discourse practices, oral and written, connected with the standard dialect of English.

Language and literacy acquisition are forms of socialization, in this case socialization into mainstream ways of using language in speech and print, mainstream ways of taking meaning, of making sense of experience. Discourse practices are always embedded in the particular world view of a particular social group; they are tied to a set of values and norms. In learning new discourse practices, a student partakes of this set of values and norms, this world view. Furthermore, in acquiring a new set of discourse practices, a student may be acquiring a new identity, one that at various points may conflict with the student's initial acculturation and socialization.

Different literacy practices allow the student to practice different, quite specific skills, and the student indeed gets better at these. Literacy in and of itself leads to no higher order, global cognitive skills; all humans who are acculturated and socialized are already in possession of higher order cognitive skills, though their expression and the practices they are embedded in will differ across cultures.

Essay-text literacy, with its attendant emphasis on the syntactic mode and explicitness, while only one cultural expression of literacy among many, is connected with the form of consciousness and the interests of the powerful in our society. As Western technology and literacy spread across the globe, this form of consciousness is influencing, interacting with, and often replacing indigenous forms all over the world; hence such remarks as "Western yardsticks are relevant everywhere because all men must become Western or perish" (Musgrove, 1982, p. 42).

We should not fool ourselves into thinking that access to essay-text literacy automatically ensures equality and social success or erases racism or minority disenfranchisement. But, nonetheless, English teachers are gatekeepers: Short of radical social change, there is no access to power in the society without control over the discourse practices in thought, speech, and writing of essay-text literacy and its attendant world view.

English teachers can cooperate in their own marginalization by seeing themselves as "language teachers" with no connection to such social and political issues. Or they can accept the paradox of literacy as a form of interethnic communication which often involves conflicts of values and identities, and accept their role as persons who socialize students into a world view that, given its power here and abroad, must be looked at critically, comparatively, and with a constant sense of the possibilities for change. Like it or not, English teachers stand at the very heart of the most crucial educational, cultural, and political issues of our time. ■

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REVIEWS

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

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Reading in a Foreign Language

J.C. Alderson and A.H. Urquhart (Eds.). London: Longman, 1984. Pp. xxviii + 324.

■ All those who teach reading, teach about the teaching of reading, or conduct research on reading will welcome the Alderson and Urquhart volume, with its emphasis on "relevant research evidence" (p, xxvii). The book is wide-ranging in its coverage and stimulates thought in all the areas that it covers.

Both the preface by Candlin and the editors' joint article, "What Is Reading?" provide a most provocative introduction to the book. Candlin describes the importance of viewing the reading process in terms of the reader, the text, and the interaction of the two—as the reader negotiates for meaning. He stresses the need for both large-scale quantitative research as well as for more qualitative and exploratory case studies. In their introductory article, the editors raise a number of important issues, such as the distinction between L1 and L2 reading, the view of reading as a series of separate subskills, and the nature of reading as process and product, issues which are later addressed by other authors.

The volume addresses the shared aspects of L1 and L2 reading, with one third of the book (chapters 2-5, 13) directly addressing only L1 reading but clearly speaking to L2 reading as well. From the outset, researchers are challenged to validate or refute time-honored models of reading comprehension. The editors note, for example, that researchers have failed to prove that reading comprehension questions intended to probe different subskills actually tap these subskills. And throughout the volume, the reader is invited to consider not just the product of reading comprehension, but the process as well.

The editors suggest that the first five chapters deal mainly with the reader, the next five with the text, and the last four with the

interaction between the two. They note that such a division is somewhat arbitrary, since texts must have readers, readers must have something to read, and reading is necessarily an interaction. As I refer to articles in this volume, I will adhere to Alderson and Urquhart's groupings in most instances.

The reader. The Alderson chapter on whether reading in a foreign language is a language problem or a reading problem is the "think piece" of the volume and is most effective. Alderson's tentative finding is that reading in a foreign language is both a reading and a language problem, but more a language problem for readers with lower language proficiency. The article by Elley (which appears at the end of the volume) also treats, among other topics, the issue of similarity between L1 and L2 reading. It is interesting to note that Elley rests his case heavily upon research using the cloze procedure, an instrument that has received considerable criticism of late, with Alderson being among its staunchest critics (see Alderson, 1983; Klein-Bradley, 1981; Markham, 1985).

Articles by Bransford, Stein, and Shelton and by Steffensen and Joag-Dev both deal with background knowledge that the reader possesses, the latter dealing with the emphasis on culturally specific knowledge. Both articles offer empirical evidence to demonstrate how readers make assumptions, based on activated background knowledge, to fill in gaps in what they read. These articles are precursors to the more recent L2 research in schema theory (e.g., Carrell, 1983, 1986).

In a somewhat technical piece, Fransson considers the type of motivation the reader needs in order to read a given piece and links this motivation to surface processing versus deep-level processing. It is shown that certain reading tasks call up extrinsic motivation (i.e., performing to achieve an end result), while others depend on intrinsic motivation (i.e., performing out of interest or relevance to the reader). For example, in answering reading comprehension items (a task which is extrinsically motivated), the reader may just focus on the specific questions to be answered, no longer proceeding via the text but going around it. This may explain why so many tests intended to assess reading comprehension do not seem to be tapping this skill.

The text. At a time when the importance of syntax in understanding texts is being challenged (e.g., Ulijn, 1981), Berman's article on syntax in foreign language texts may seem anomalous. Yet the message is timely: Nonnative readers might get the gist of the meaning through comprehension of the core syntax of complicated sentences, but they may be deficient in their understanding of specific detail. Urquhart adds the dimension of rhetorical

organization to the issue of text characteristics—specifically, time order (e. g., sequence of steps in making something) and space order (e.g., description of the parts of something). He reports empirical studies that demonstrate that natives read faster and recall texts more easily if the texts are time ordered and space ordered and that nonnatives find it easier to recall time-ordered texts as well.

Williams and Dallas consider problems of vocabulary and focus on textbooks for teaching social studies in Hong Kong. Among other things, they criticize textbook definitions that are too broad or abstract and that fail to provide exemplification. Their message to the textbook writer is to cater more to the student who is weak in vocabulary—by being sensitive to the form of definitions, to idiomatic expressions, and to homonyms and by including chapter-initial key words, a glossary or translation of new words, writing exercises requiring the use of newly introduced vocabulary, and vocabulary revision checks.

Royer, Bates, and Konold also appear to have the curriculum writer and teacher in mind. While the level of detail learned from text is in part dependent on what the reader wants to learn, the authors contend that memory of details can be enhanced. They review research which supports the importance of explicitly stated learning objectives, the use of questions preceding and following the reading of texts, and the use of high-order as opposed to low-order questioning.

Davies treats the issues of text simplification and text authenticity at a broad level of abstraction. In an article that is not always easy to follow, he notes that there is no clear-cut way of determining linguistically whether a text is simple. Sentences can be constructed in terms of word frequency, number of sentence embedding, mean length of utterances, or simply total length, and they can be constructed in terms of cohesion markers, marked thematization, or quantity of new information. However, the extent to which any of these measures leads to greater simplicity is unclear unless measured in terms of readers' comprehension. With reference to authenticity, Davies asserts that a text is authentic for a given readership if it is understood. His claim points to the problematic nature of the term *authentic.*

The interaction. The article by Widdowson sets the stage for consideration of reader-text interaction by contrasting the characteristics of spoken discourse with those of written discourse. He draws a basic distinction between viewing readers either as submitting to the text (i.e., adjusting their own frames of reference to accommodate the writer) at any given moment or as asserting themselves over the text (i.e., disregarding the schemata of the

writer and projecting their own schemata onto what they read). The implication is that readers are not under social pressure, as are speakers, to key their reactions into the structure of an actually occurring interaction, but rather are free to take up whatever position they wish on a dominance/dependence scale, asserting their own schemata at one point, submitting to those of the writer at another.

The remaining three articles in the book all deal with reading strategies. Hosenfeld describes her interview technique of having readers provide think-aloud and introspective/retrospective verbal reports in order to obtain insights into the strategies that they use. She summarizes findings from interviews with two ninth graders reading in a foreign language and focuses primarily on the students' treatment of unknown words. Her findings indicate that these students relied primarily on the glossary or on a dictionary, rather than on guessing the meaning from context.

In a study contrasting Malayan university students with and without previous schooling in English, Cooper corroborates Hosenfeld's case-study findings on a large scale (although the precise number of subjects is not given). Cooper also found that the foreign language readers were not using effective word-attack strategies.

Finally, Harri-Augstein and Thomas describe—though not always coherently—a total system for mapping, monitoring, and reviewing the reading process, through the use of a "reading recorder" to chart the flow of reading over time. This system distinguishes "smooth reading" (rapid) from "item reading" (slow with detailed hesitations), "search reading" (considerable searching backward and forward), "think sessions" (pause from reading), and "check reading" (rapid with a few hesitations). Readers also create a flow diagram of the structure of the text. Such a system appears to provide a rigorous means for introspection into the reading process.

As noted at the outset, the book covers a lot of ground: different theoretical models of reading, the relationship between L1 and L2 reading, features of text (such as syntax, vocabulary, and rhetoric), approaches to reading (e.g., skimming, search reading), reading strategies, and research methods in reading. In my opinion, it does so quite successfully, even though an anthology of papers is always less unified than an authored volume.

The editors' use of lengthy postscripts after each article also helps to unify the book; by means of these postscripts, the editors take an active role in guiding the reader through the volume, calling attention to key issues as they come up. This device also enables the editors to provide a detailed review of the article, well beyond what

is provided in the more typical prechapter introductions. This approach to editing also steals the thunder from a reviewer (such as myself), since my review becomes, in effect, a review of a review. One problem I found with regard to the postscripts, however, was the frequent use of cataphoric reference—that is, frequent reference to articles that come later in the volume. In effect, the reader would have to read the entire book first to get maximum benefit from the cross-references in the postscripts.

It is important to point out that this is not really a textbook for beginning teachers and researchers, such as the new Dubin, Eskey, and Grabe (1986) volume may be. *Reading in a Foreign Language* is probably best suited for the professional in the field who has some background in reading, reading research, and applied linguistics in general. For example, it helps to be aware of the controversy surrounding the use of mentalistic measures in reading research in order to understand better Candlin's cautions regarding the use of readers' accounts, as well as Alderson and Urquhart's repeated reservations on this score. Nevertheless, it is my view that an "advanced volume such as this one has a real contribution to make to the field.

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The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism

Kenji Hakuta. New York: Basic Books, 1986. Pp. xi+ 258.

What does it mean for an individual to be bilingual in America? What does it mean for America to have individuals who are bilingual? These are the two broad questions which Hakuta poses in *The Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*. And they are the right questions to ask about bilingualism because, as Hakuta amply demonstrates, issues related to this topic arouse debate at both the individual and societal levels.

At the individual level, Hakuta begins his discussion with the question of whether or not bilingualism is good or bad for an individual in terms of what he calls "an elusive psychological construct called 'intelligence'" (p. 15). In other words, if given a choice (and many people do not have this choice), is it better, cognitively, to be bilingual or not to be bilingual? Further, if bilingualism is unavoidable, can it be expected to have good or bad effects on learning?

Hakuta first reviews the unsavory history of intelligence testing in America (also available in more detail in Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man,* 1981) and the role of the nature/nurture debate in shaping research findings on bilingualism in the first half of the 20th century. He then discusses more recent research, some of which seems to indicate that bilingualism has detrimental cognitive consequences and some of which seems to indicate just the opposite. Carefully, Hakuta picks his way through this mine field, showing us where the methodological and researcher-motivated mines are buried. And then he makes the entire question essentially moot:

> In the end, all this research notwithstanding, the question of bilingualism and intelligence, of whether they are linked positively or negatively, will evaporate in the face of deeper issues surrounding both bilingualism and intelligence. The fundamental question is misguided, for it entails two key simplifying assumptions. The first assumption is that the effect of bilingualism—indeed, the human mind—can be reduced to a single dimension (ranging from "good" to "bad"), and that the treatment (bilingualism) moves the individual child's standing up or down the dimension. The second assumption is that choosing whether the child is to be raised bilingually or not is like choosing a brand of diaper, that it is relatively free of the social circumstances surrounding the choice. (pp. 43-44)

Hakuta recommends that we should, therefore, look more closely at the deeper issues, rather than get hung up on the question of whether it is good or bad to be bilingual.

But the question of what goes on inside the bilingual brain is one that Hakuta cannot stay away from for long. First, Hakuta presents a nicely researched and written comparison of the pioneering and extensively contrasting studies of Leopold (a linguistic case study of his daughter's development simultaneously in German and English) and Smith (a heavily quantified study of 1,000 Hawaiian-American preschool children) to illustrate where the study of second language acquisition has come from. Then, he returns to an explication of "the complex efforts to construct a map of the bilingual mind" (p. 72) which have occurred in research in this century. In this chapter, Hakuta divides the major task into three subsections: questions concerning the relationship between language and thought, questions concerning how the two languages of the bilingual are related to each other, and questions about whether or not different bilingual experiences produce different kinds of bilingual.

In the section on language and thought, Hakuta describes the theories of Whorf, Vygotsky, Chomsky, and Piaget and how these theories relate to different views of the impact of language on thought. In his usual careful style, Hakuta explains the areas of agreement and disagreement between these theorists concerning some central questions: the extent to which individual functions of the mind have independent structures and the location of those structures, the nature of human development, and the nature of external reality. Hakuta's personal conclusion does not resolve these tensions between the theorists but merely notes what kinds of views on bilingualism one will have if one orientation or another seems most reasonable:

> In general, if one's orientation is toward the view that bilingualism influences thought, one will tend to believe that there are general capacities common to language and thought that are structured and influenced in the course of development, and that development is influenced by external contingencies in the form of culture acting as a midwife. On the other hand, if one believes that language and thought are autonomously structured and that these structures are biologically determined and that they actively (and selectively) absorb environmental factors, then one will find the influence of bilingualism on thought trivial. (pp. 84-85)

In terms of how the two languages of a bilingual are organized in the brain, Hakuta looks at the research which has been generated on the neurological level, the information-processing level, and the

educational psychology level. On the neurological level, he concludes that although evidence from the aphasia literature indicates some right-hemisphere involvement in processing one of the languages of a bilingual, in most cases, both languages are more left-hemisphere dominant. On the information-processing level, Hakuta concludes that the question of how separately the two languages are kept in the bilingual brain is far from being answered due to lack of research which would test situation-specific and meaning-specific recall regardless of which language the material might be presented in. On the educational psychology level, Hakuta concludes that although there is evidence of the transfer of school skills learned in one language to school tasks required in another language, we do not yet know exactly which skills might be more easily transferred and which might be more difficult. (For recent work in this domain, see Davidson, Kline, & Snow, in press.)

In his discussion of whether or not bilingual can be differentiated by the situations in which they become bilingual (i.e., "compound" bilingual who learn both languages at once or "coordinate" bilingual who learn their languages in separate environments), Hakuta again looks at research dealing with the neurological level, the cognitive-processing level, and the educational psychology level. His conclusion this time is that "this area of research is very messy" (p. 96) and that although he would not claim that there is "no such thing as a useful typology of bilingual based on their learning history . . . the evidence at this point is thin" (p. 101). This does not mean, however, that this is not a fruitful field for future research. Hakuta believes that research on the workings of the bilingual brain in general might best be conducted in educational settings where

> the context is relevant, and experimental manipulations can be made in teaching curricula to test for specific theories about interdependence [of the bilinguals' languages] and about topologies of bilingual. . . . The best of all possible worlds could be achieved by conducting information-processing experiments in the context of bilingual schooling. (p. 103)

In fact, Hakuta has taken his own advice and is presently conducting research on transfer of content acquired in L1 to L2 among Puerto Rican bilingual in New Haven under the auspices of the Center for Language Education and Research.

Hakuta completes his discussion of factors related to bilingualism at the individual level by reviewing research on both child and adult second language acquisition. In the chapter on child acquisition, Hakuta shows what part research on second language acquisition among children has played in expanding the whole field of

developmental psycholinguistics; researchers have needed to account for such phenomena as differences in morpheme development in different languages, the possibility of transfer between L1 and L2, and the use of prefabricated language chunks by young second language learners. In his discussion of adult acquisition, Hakuta explores the issues of psychological distance, age of learner, intelligence and language aptitude, and personality and situational factors as determiners of second language proficiency. Although reviews of the research on child and adult learning of second languages have appeared elsewhere (Grosjean, 1982; McLaughlin, 1984), Hakuta's account does a good job of selecting the most important studies and providing an integrative point of view on the issues of dispute.

But what of the implications of bilingualism at the societal level? What does it mean in a country like the United States, with its particular history, to deal with an increasing number of limited English proficient residents? How is the U.S. now coping with this situation, and how is it likely to cope with it in the future?

Hakuta first provides a discussion of the historical background to present-day issues of bilingualism in American society. Ironically, he points out, "the United States has probably been host to more bilingual people than any other country in the world" (p. 166). And yet, the survival of bilingualism among subsequent generations of Americans is short lived. Due to a combination of linguistic oppression and economic motivation, the adoption of English and the concomitant loss of the native language have been a typical pattern among immigrant populations in this country.

Hakuta points out that this is not the way it has to be. In fact, there are many places in the world (and he details several case studies from places as diverse as the Amazon, Austria, and Canada) where bilingualism or even multilingualism is supported by the sociolinguistic needs of the communities. In other words, the choice to be monolingual is not only made on an individual level, but is also influenced by societal demands. Historically, societal demands in the United States have pressured non-English speaking immigrants to seek the fastest route possible to integration into American society; the credo reads: Speak English and all else will follow.

This brings Hakuta to the domain where societal pressures and individual needs always meet and often clash: the field, or battlefield, of education—in this specific case, bilingual education. Beginning with a background look at the origins of recent bilingual programs and the federal government's role in fashioning present-day bilingual programs, Hakuta lays out the issues which have been raised on this topic by using the opposing congressional testimony

of two representative organizations: the National Association for Bilingual Education (pro) and U.S. English (con). His concise rendering of these two positions provides a particularly clear view of the issues in the debate on bilingual education.

Then Hakuta constructs a list of the charges against bilingual education and uses research findings to rebut these charges. For instance, to the charge that bilingual education lacks popular support (certainly the view that any reader of the Letters to the Editor column would tend to hold), Hakuta cites a telephone survey which his students at Yale conducted. Of those persons contacted, 70% thought that bilingual education was the best way for Spanish-speaking children to learn English, and 58% thought bilingual programs should maintain the Spanish language and culture of the children (p. 212). Those who had negative views about bilingual education were predominantly male rather than female, aged 50 or older, and raised in a non-English speaking home. In other words, the strongest voices (but not necessarily the majority voices) that are being heard on this subject publicly are the negative ones.

And yet none of this—the research, the best intentions of educators, the reasoned arguments concerning transfer of skills from one language to another—seems to have much impact on the debate because, as Hakuta points out, "bilingual education openly acknowledges the legitimacy of non-English languages in a centrally important public institution, and it appears to threaten the status of English" (p. 226). As long as this is the case, the debate about bilingual education is likely to rage on.

So what can be done? Hakuta projects for us a picture of the ideal which America might hope to aspire to in relation to bilingualism and bilingual education:

> Perhaps the rosiest future for bilingual education in the United States can be attained by dissolving the paradoxical attitude of admiration and pride for school-attained bilingualism on the one hand and scorn and shame for home-brewed immigrant bilingualism on the other. The goals of the educational system could be seen as the development of all students as functional bilingual, including monolingual English-speakers. The motive is linguistic, cognitive, and cultural enrichment—the creation of citizens of the world. In this ideal society, speakers of immigrant languages would be seen as holders of a valuable natural resource to be developed, and they in turn would help in the efforts of monolingual English-speakers to learn their language. At the same time, the English-speakers would be seen as resources for the non-English-speakers. School programs based on such an "interlocking" concept for creating functional bilingual from both language groups are currently being piloted in several American school districts. . . . In many ways, considering the rate of shift in mother tongue toward English in the

> United States, it would be only modest hyperbole to say that the linguistic and cultural pluralism of the country depends on the success of such programs. (pp. 229-230)

How realistic is this ideal America? Unfortunately, much of what Hakuta has said previously in the book about the sociolinguistics of language makes the realization of such an ideal an unlikely event unless there is an extensive change of attitude on a societal level.

All in all, however, Hakuta has provided the reader with a comprehensive and comprehensible road map to the entire body of information which is relevant to an understanding of bilingualism, particularly as practiced in the United States. His stated intention is to give information about bilingualism in a way that "parents, students, professionals, politicians and people who are simply curious about language" can understand, information which is "at once scientifically nontechnical and intellectually sophisticated" (p. ix). In this accessible, well-written, and thoughtful book, I believe he has done exactly that. Perhaps with more time and continued research efforts, the question of what can be done will be better answered as well, and societal commitment to cultural pluralism will be more fully established.

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

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Edited by D. SCOTT ENRIGHT
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Listening for Reduced Forms

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■ One element of the English language that seems to be consistently forgotten in the teaching of ESL/EFL is what we will call here reduced forms. We use this term to refer collectively to the processes of contraction, elision, liaison, assimilation, and reduction (e.g., *howarya, wanna, coulda, isn't,* and *there's* for *how are you, want to, could have, is not,* and *there is,* respectively). The literature on pronunciation during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s contains only a handful of advocates of teaching these forms (Bowen, 1975; Kingdon, 1950; Madsen & Bowen, 1978; Odlin, 1978). In recent years, however, a few ESL textbooks have included activities on reduced forms.

Morley (1979) includes, along with many other exercises in the first unit, lessons dealing with reduced syllables and words, two-word contractions, elisions, and assimilations. Trager (1982) devotes an entire section to what she calls "relaxed pronunciation patterns." Designed to emphasize recognition rather than pronunciation, the book provides some exercises in broad areas of listening to and reproducing in writing the full forms of three broad areas of relaxed pronunciation patterns: "contracted forms," "the dropping of sounds," and "sound changes."

Weinstein (1982) gives a simpler treatment. The goal is to help students understand the relationship between carefully articulated English and the English of quick, relaxed, informal speech. Using language patterns which include fewer than three dozen words, Weinstein provides exercises in listening, following and listening, and "translating" into carefully articulated speech, as well as listening, identifying, and filling in the full forms. However, she does not point out differences

among the kinds of reduced forms and provides little information about phonetic, syntactic, and social constraints on their use.

Gilbert (1984) has only one chapter on reduced forms. It covers the disappearance of the /h/ sound in the environment before a vowel, for example, *Did (h)e go?,* and those forms of *be* and *have* which are normally contracted in writing, for example, *he's* and *I've.* A related chapter explains briefly some of the linking of words in spoken English. None of these sources can be said to provide full treatments of reduced forms.

The literature thus indicates a clear need for further work on reduced forms from every perspective. The purpose of this article is to describe a classroom-based study in which limited resources were used to teach reduced forms. The specific aim was to investigate the degree to which teaching reduced forms was effective for a group of students enrolled in the Guangzhou English Language Center (GELC), which was founded jointly by the University of California, Los Angeles/China Exchange Program and Zhongshan University in the People's Republic of China. To this end, the following research questions were posed:

1. Does formal instruction in reduced forms significantly increase students' abilities in integrative grammar, as measured by the Integrative Grammar Test (Bowen, 1976)?
2. Does such instruction increase students' overall English listening ability, as measured by a norm-referenced, multiple-choice listening test?
3. Does such instruction increase the ability to understand reduced forms, as measured by reduced forms dictations?

METHOD

The participants in this study were all Chinese graduate students, most of whom were bound for further study in English-speaking universities. The 29 males and 3 females in the sample were randomly selected from the population of all intermediate students at GELC. Their majors included engineering (18 subjects), biology (4), English (3), agriculture (2), mathematics (2), physics (2), and chemistry (1). The subjects, whose mean age was 38.5 years *(SD* = 5.3), were randomly assigned to either a treatment group or a control group.

Selected reduced forms from American English, collected and categorized by the researchers, were allocated to 4 weeks of daily lessons (5-10 reduced forms each). Each lesson, of approximately 10 minutes' duration, included presentation of that day's reduced forms and practice, which consisted of having students respond individually or collectively to questions and statements full of reduced forms. In addition, seven dictations, each consisting of 20 to 46 reduced forms, were administered. Students were required to write the full forms of what they were hearing; for example, if they heard *whenaryagonnaged-ouda here,* a completely correct answer would have been *when are you going to get out of here,* with each of the eight underlined words

counted as one point. The purpose of these dictations was to encourage the students to review periodically the reduced forms and to give them further practice.

Both the lessons and class-time dictations were presented to the treatment group only. The control group received daily 10-minute drills in discriminating minimal pairs. The assumption was that such drills on individual phoneme contrasts for only 4 weeks would have little, if any, effect on any aspect of the students' listening comprehension abilities. Thus, the drills were viewed as a placebo given to the control group.

Three measures were used in this study, and each measure had two forms: Bowen's (1976) Integrative Grammar Test (IGT), divided into two forms of 50 items each; a version of the UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) listening comprehension subtest, recombined and divided into two approximately equivalent subtests of 25 items each; and two reduced forms dictations, each including 45 reduced forms presented in the daily lessons. The three tests were administered to both the treatment and control groups at the beginning and end of the experiment. To minimize any practice effect, the tests were counterbalanced in the administrations such that no students took exactly the same form of any test twice but half of each group took each form at each administration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The mean differences for the two groups on the three pretests were not found to be significant (using Fisher's *t),* even at the liberal $p < .25$ level and even though we were making multiple *t* comparisons, which would have favored our finding unwarranted significant differences (see Table 1). Thus, we felt fairly sure that our two groups were very similar at the outset of the study.

TABLE 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Treatment and Control Groups

	Pretest				Posttest			
	Treatment group		Control group		Treatment group		Control group	
Measure	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
IGT	3.19	2.43	3.06	1.28	3.56	1.99	2.25	1.57
ESLPE listening	12.63	3.79	11.94	3.13	17.25	3.53	14.81	4.09
Reduced forms dictation	16.38	4.66	14.19	5.18	30.56	7.76	15.87	4.62

An overall two-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated significant results *(p* < .05) for the main effects of groups and tests, as well as for the Group x Test interaction: *F* (1, 30) = 32.70; *F (2, 60)* = 219.87; *F (2,* 60) = 28.52. Hence, tests for simple main effects on each test were justified. The results of these indicate that the means on the IGT and reduced forms dictation were significantly different for the two groups (the *F* ratios were 4.27 and 42.31, respectively). There was no significant difference between the groups' means on the ESLPE listening subtest.

In response to the first research question, statistical significance and the magnitude of the difference in the groups' means on the Bowen IGT indicate that the observed difference is due to factors other than chance and is relatively large. It should be noted that the means (even when doubled to approximate Bowen's 100-item version) reported here are considerably lower than those reported by Bowen (1976). This may be due to tape quality or to our students' unfamiliarity / frustration with this type of test.

In response to the second research question, there was no significant difference found between the groups on the UCLA ESLPE listening subtest. Since reduced forms make up only a very small part of this subtest, it seems logical that learning about these forms would have little effect on the magnitude of variation of students' scores.

In answer to the third question, a significant difference was found between the group means for the reduced forms dictation. After 4 weeks of training, the treatment group was able to identify correctly and write down 68% of the words involved in reduced forms, while the corresponding figure for the control group was 35%. Even though this difference may be due in part to the treatment group's "practicing" the type of dictation and the material in question, the magnitude of the difference seems to indicate that the treatment group was understanding reduced forms considerably better and was able to demonstrate that understanding through reduced forms dictations. This interpretation is supported by the fact that there was also a significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups on the IGT (which also tests the ability to comprehend and write down reduced forms).

Not surprisingly, this investigation raises additional questions. For instance, would similar results be obtained at other institutions—especially in ESL settings, where reduced forms might be more commonly encountered by students? What is the relationship of reduced forms dictations to more traditional forms of dictations and to other types of language tests? To what degree do standardized listening subtests involve reduced forms? How can reduced forms be logically systematized, and what rules govern their use? These and other questions may prove to be of interest to other researchers in future investigations.

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The Relationship of Pleasure Reading and Second Language Writing Proficiency

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■ Research results supporting a strong correlation between amount of pleasure reading and writing proficiency are often cited to demonstrate the importance of reading in developing other language skills. Such evidence includes Fader and McNeil's (1968) study of pleasure reading done within the framework of "sustained silent reading" (SSR), as well as Thorndike's (1973) investigation of the lifelong reading habits of 17- and 18-year-old high school students around the world. In both instances, subjects who were reported to have read more in their first language were identified as generally superior in overall L1 language proficiency, including writing proficiency, to those who read less.

However, as Krashen (1984) points out, there is little evidence to support the assumption that a similar relationship exists in the second language. The main source of data concerning the link between L2 reading and writing proficiency is provided by Elley and Mangubhai (1983), who investigated the effect of systematic exposure to L2 pleasure reading upon the general L2 language proficiency of Fiji Island elementary school children. They concluded that L2 composition was positively influenced by pleasure reading in the second language, but

since the main emphasis of their study was upon general language proficiency rather than writing proficiency per se, they make little more than passing reference to L2 writing proficiency.

The purpose of the study reported here was to determine if a positive correlation exists between L1 and/or L2 pleasure reading and L2 writing proficiency in adult subjects.

THE STUDY

Subjects

The 79 subjects, all foreign graduate students admitted to Ohio State University (OSU) for the Fall 1985 term, included speakers of Chinese (27); Korean (15); Indian–that is, Hindi, Maradhi, Telugu, and Tamil (9); other Asian languages (7); Spanish (6); other European languages (9); and Middle Eastern languages–that is, Arabic, Hebrew, Farsi, and Turkish (6).

All incoming foreign students at OSU are obliged to produce a l-hour writing sample for analysis by the ESL Department. This is generally done at the beginning of the orientation session, but makeup sessions are provided for latecomers. Of the 372 foreign graduate students who enrolled that quarter, the 79 who participated in makeup sessions comprised the subjects used in this study.

Procedures

After subjects in each makeup session had provided a written response to one of three open-ended composition topics, they were given a questionnaire asking them to estimate the amount of time they spent each week reading for pleasure in their native language and in English. Pleasure reading was defined as reading done solely for one's enjoyment and did not include reading done in conjunction with school or work. No restrictions were imposed as to type of material read, be it fiction or nonfiction, in magazine, newspaper, or book form. Pleasure reading was operationalized in this way so as to be consistent with the guidelines laid down for SSR by McCracken (1971).

The questionnaire, developed by the researcher, also solicited information concerning subject age, sex, native language, and years spent studying English, but only data on pleasure reading were used for this study.

Writing samples were evaluated holistically on a 4-point scale by a pair of trained raters. Compositions upon which agreement could not be reached were submitted to a third rater for evaluation. If a consensus could not be reached, the final decision regarding placement in the ESL composition sequence was made by the Program Director. Writing samples and questionnaires were both coded by student identification numbers. After the writing samples had been evaluated, they were matched with the appropriate questionnaires.

Design and Statistical Analysis

A 3 x 3 x 2 correlation matrix was utilized to accommodate a three-variable, hierarchical arrangement. Both Variable A (amount of L1 pleasure reading) and Variable B (amount of L2 pleasure reading) consisted of three levels, high, moderate, and low, in which high equaled more than 5 hours, moderate equaled 1-5 hours, and low equaled less than 1 hour per week. Variable C, English writing proficiency, was comprised of two levels: yes (placed directly into the regular university curriculum) and no (placed into the ESL composition course sequence).

Since the data obtained were qualitative in nature, they were subjected to loglinear contingency table analysis. Loglinear is a relatively new system of analysis that permits simultaneous consideration of two or more categorical variables (Kennedy, 1983). With this technique, it is now possible to sort out such interactions in qualitative data, in much the same way that main effects and interactions of quantitative data can be determined by means of three-factor analysis of variance. Loglinear analyses were performed using subprogram 4F contained within the BMDP statistical package.

RESULTS

The research question asked if a correlation exists between L1 and/or L2 pleasure reading and L2 writing proficiency. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics in the form of a contingency table containing observed frequencies.

TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics

L2 writing proficiency	Amount of pleasure reading: L2	L1: High	L1: Moderate	L1: Low	Total
Yes	High	4	2	4	10
	Moderate	1	5	2	8
	Low	1	1	0	2
	Total	6	8	6	20
No	High	4	3	0	7
	Moderate	16	18	4	38
	Low	8	5	1	14
	Total	28	26	5	59
	TOTAL				79

Examination of both residual and component chi-square values points to the AB, AC, BC model as being the most acceptable in that it provides the best fit between the observed and expected values (see Table 2). Acceptance of this model indicates the presence of a positive correlation between Variables B and C. Moreover, even after the effects of Variable A are taken into account, Variables B and C are associated.

TABLE 2

Summary of Symmetrical Analysis of L2 Writing Proficiency by Amount of Pleasure Reading in LI and L2

		Residual			Component		
Source	Model	χ^2	*df*	*p*	χ^2	*df*	*p*
Total/null	AB, C	16.95	8	.03			
L1 reading	AB, AC	11.65	6	.07	5.30	2	.07
L2 reading	AB, AC, BC	1.96	4	.74	9.69	2	.008*
L1 reading x L2 reading	ABC	0			1.96	4	.74

Note: A = amount of L1 pleasure reading; B = amount of L2 pleasure reading; C = English writing proficiency.

* $p < .05$.

Following the recommendations of Kennedy (1983), post-hoc follow-up procedures were executed to measure the strength of the relationship between L2 reading and writing. The results of these measures of association add weight to the argument that a significant positive correlation exists between reading and writing in the second language. In Table 3, which focuses on this association, values obtained for odds ratios indicate that the heavy L2 pleasure readers in this study were much more likely to be proficient in L2 writing than subjects who were not heavy L2 readers. Similarly, examination of the Yule's Q statistic reveals a strong (.76) positive correlation between amount of L2 pleasure reading and level of L2 writing proficiency.

TABLE 3

Odds Ratios/Yule's Q for Amount of Pleasure Reading and Writing Proficiency in L2

	Writing proficiency			
Amount of reading	Yes	No	Odds ratios	Yule's *Q*
> 5 hours/week	10	7	1.43	.76
≤ 5 hours/week	10	52	.19	

DISCUSSION

In brief, those subjects who reported being heavy pleasure readers in English tended to be more proficient writers in English, while subjects who reported being heavy pleasure readers in their native language showed no such tendency. No significant correlation was found between total pleasure reading (Ll plus L2) and L2 writing proficiency.

These data provide evidence that proficiency levels for L2 reading and writing are closely associated. However, the question of whether this can be interpreted to mean that exposure to L2 print features through reading facilitates the acquisition of L2 writing proficiency cannot be answered by this study. A symmetrical research design was purposely chosen because it was felt that the data base was insufficient to warrant stating a directional hypothesis. Hence, results must be stated in terms of correlation instead of causation.

It is plausible that L2 reading satisfies the same learning conditions of demonstration, engagement, and sensitivity in the second language that Smith (1982) posits as being necessary for developing L1 writing proficiency. Nevertheless, the L2 reading-writing association was so pronounced that the hypothesis that exposure to L2 print features through reading facilitates the acquisition of L2 writing proficiency should be tested in future research.

That L2 reading was found to be positively correlated with L2 writing is not surprising. What is striking, however, is both the strength of the association *(p* = .008) and the fact that L1 writing apparently played no significant role in the L2 writing process, either as a main effect or in interaction with L2 reading. The apparent absence of L1 reading influence is more difficult to explain, especially because some L1 reading impact was expected on the basis of the Elley & Mangubhai (1983) findings. Their subjects who engaged in SSR or "shared book experience" not only scored higher on measures of English proficiency, but also did significantly better on those parts of a test battery designed to measure language proficiency in Fiji.

Perhaps the degree of similarity between L1 and L2 plays a part in this equation. A majority of the subjects in this study were Asian *(n* = 58). It is conceivable that in a sample of foreign students whose languages were mostly Indo-European, the amount of L1 reading would indeed show a significant positive correlation with English writing proficiency. More research in these areas is needed before we can do more than speculate.

Practical implications of this research can be seen on both the evaluative and instructional levels. Results indicate that the amount of pleasure reading a foreign student does in English may be used as a reliable predictor of his/her English writing proficiency. For purposes of placement within an ESL composition sequence, the amount of English pleasure reading might well be a factor to consider in deciding at which instructional level to place borderline students.

Finally, efforts should be made to explore the effectiveness of such pleasure reading programs as SSR in developing the English writing proficiency of foreign students of all ages. If SSR proves to be as effective in L2 as it seems to be in Ll, it could become an integral part of ESL classes in general and ESL composition classes in particular.

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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 Elsa R. Auerbach and Denise Burgess's "The Hidden Curriculum of Survival ESL"

A Reader Reacts. . .

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In their recent article in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 19, No. 3, September 1985), Elsa Auerbach and Denise Burgess correctly point out the need for reflection upon the cultural values, both explicit and implied, promoted in curricula and other materials used in "survival" ESL courses. Their concerns about the idealization of reality, patronizing attitudes toward students, and "one-way street" approaches to teaching U.S. culture are shared by thoughtful program and curriculum developers who seek to empower students to take control of their own lives.

However, some additional information may correct any mistaken impressions that programs such as the Intensive Indochinese Refugee Training Program at Phanat Nikhom, Thailand—where *Opening Lines* (Ligon, 1983) was developed and is currently in use—are seeking to perpetuate the existence of a subservient underclass.

Opening Lines is a handbook for teachers, not a textbook for students. It is intended for use as part of a teacher training program preparing nonnative speakers of English—primarily Thai nationals—who are for the most part inexperienced as teachers, to work in an intensive language instruction program. Critical readers will be better prepared to render useful comments as to the effectiveness of *Opening Lines* when the handbook is placed in the context of a teacher training program that includes aspects such as

unit preparation focusing on U.S. culture, classroom observations, and presentations of a variety of teaching methodologies and techniques, a training program that has as its purpose the preparation of teachers who can make informed decisions about their work.

ESL instruction is but one part of an intensive effort to prepare refugee students for their initial resettlement. The cultural orientation (CO) component addresses many of the issues Auerbach and Burgess discuss. For example, the authors take texts to task for their apparent lack of "reference to students' experience or exploration of cultural differences" (p. 486). A brief perusal of the teachers' handbooks *Settling In 1* and *Settling In 2* (Shapiro, 1985)[1] used in the CO component reveals "Cultural Exploration" activities specified for each unit. Consider some of the subheadings:

Chapter 1: Expectations. Students describe their experiences with and/or expectations of teacher-student relationships in their native country and in the refugee camp. *(Settling In 1,* p. 19)

Chapter 11: Comparing Housing. Students describe the functions of rooms in typical housing in their native country and in the U.S. *(Settling In 1,* p. 125)

Chapter 20: A Day's Menu. Students design and present a menu of a "typical" day's meals in their native country. *(Settling In 1,* p. 219)

Chapter 27: Role Plays. Students clarify and explain their attitudes and customs regarding marriage. *(Settling In 1,* p. *288)*

Chapter 49: Discussion. Students define "skill" and discuss how they learned skills in their homeland. *(Settling In* 2, p. 203)

Chapter 56: Comparison. Students describe and compare at least three work habits for successful employment in their native country, in the camp and in the U.S. *(Settling In 2,* p. 278)

I agree with Auerbach and Burgess when they assert the need for "contributions from students about their own experience" (p. 487) in order to build a foundation for informed decision making in the new culture; this is an integral part of students' instruction in the Intensive Indochinese Refugee Training Program. Furthermore, the integration of ESL, CO, and work orientation (WO) components of the students' training provides enormous opportunities for just the kind of problem posing and examination of underlying cultural values that the authors espouse. ESL and WO address the students' need to communicate in the workplace. Expectations of the American workplace such as punctuality and consistency are

1 *Settling In 1* and *Settling In 2* are available, at a cost of $13 per volume (plus 10% of the total order, to cover the cost of postage and handling), from The Experiment in International Living, Kipling Road, Brattleboro, VT 05301-0676. Checks should be made payable to The Experiment Press.

brought into practice in WO; they are processed in CO as values underlying American culture, within the context of the students' own value systems. Language instruction in ESL is thus supported and enhanced through its integration with the other components.

By exhibiting a less than rigorous reading of *Opening Lines*, Auerbach and Burgess do a disservice to their readers. They point out that "what is *excluded* from curricula is as important in shaping students' perceptions of reality as what is *included*" (p. 480) and go on to list exclusions such as high costs of medical care. They do this after citing from *Opening Lines* (p. 52) an example of a doctor's advice that could save a working person time and money. (What would Auerbach and Burgess have a person do? Develop pneumonia and take a month off work, or take 2 days off and get well?) The authors need only have turned the page to see notes such as "Care in a doctor's office, clinic, or hospital can be very expensive" (p. 54). Auerbach and Burgess, after citing another example from *Opening Lines*, state that "teachers are instructed to ask students, 'Why do refugees have to start their jobs at the bottom?' " (p. 484). A more careful reading of the appendix from which this question was taken (No. 4, pp. 375-388) would reveal that these are "Student Questions About American Culture"; thus, the focus changes considerably.

Auerbach and Burgess make a point when acknowledging the need for students to "enter into the process of thinking critically about their reality" (p. 491). Some creative thinking regarding the promotion of such critical thinking in this age of accountability would be far more useful than a slap at materials taken out of the context of their use.

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The Authors Respond. . .

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Christopher Reznich's comments on "The Hidden Curriculum of Survival ESL" raise important questions concerning curriculum goals, the role of the teacher, approaches to cultural comparison in adult ESL curricula, and the contextualization of "reality." We welcome the opportunity to clarify our analysis, particularly since one of the primary purposes of the article was to invite debate and critical reexamination of approaches to survival ESL. Since publication of the article, we have heard from many authors and teachers who, like Reznich, share the view that it is necessary to find ways to "empower students to take control of their own lives"; we have been moved by how openly and willingly they have undertaken the process of reevaluating their own materials and practice.

Reznich certainly speaks for many adult-level ESL educators when he says that programs like the Intensive Indochinese Refugee Training Program are not "seeking to perpetuate the existence of a subservient underclass." We fully recognize that the impetus for most survival curricula is to enable immigrants and refugees to become independent and self-sufficient in their new country. However, a necessary distinction must be made between *intent* and *impact*, between the expressed goals and the actual effect of curricula. Our argument is that despite good intentions, the content and forms of many survival curricula may result in perpetuating passive and subservient roles for students. If the underlying messages of materials are not explicitly analyzed, the expressed goals may be undermined.

In our analysis, the discrepancy between intentions and impact often results from a lack of clarity about educational philosophy or an unwitting espousal of what Freire (1981) calls a problem-solving approach. According to this view, teachers/curriculum writers set out to provide students with "solutions''—in this case, information about language forms and culture that they will need for coping in a variety of situations. The role of the teacher is to assist the student by transmitting relevant knowledge. An alternative, problem-posing approach posits that students can only be empowered if they internalize strategies for utilizing their own resources and critical-

thinking capacities to address problems (in conjunction with new information).

Reznich's comments provide an opportunity to examine in more detail how these two approaches differ in practice. Reznich argues that we have taken *Opening Lines* (Ligon, 1983) out of context: First, it is a teacher handbook rather than a student text; second, it is but one component of a broader program which includes cultural orientation (CO) and work orientation (WO). In fact, we feel that our comments are relevant, since *Opening Lines* has the dual character of being a curriculum for students within a teacher text. It is subtitled *A Competency-Based Curriculum in English as a Second Language* and, according to its author, contains "an organized curriculum of lessons" (p. 1); minimally, the lessons are meant as models for student materials. Moreover, given the added dimension of being a teacher-training text for "inexperienced" teachers who have little familiarity with American culture, it is particularly important that a clear approach be articulated.

In problem-solving approaches, teachers are expected to have answers to student questions; in problem-posing approaches, teachers work out answers collaboratively with students. While the text deserves to be commended for providing teachers with a wealth of resources, it seems to lean toward problem solving by giving teachers-in-training as much information as possible about American life so that they in turn can transmit this information to students. The text includes an appendix, "Student Questions About American Culture," which provides 13 pages of suggested answers to commonly asked questions, in addition to the cultural notes in each unit.

In fact, as Reznich points out, we misrepresented the text by portraying the question, "Why do refugees have to start their jobs at the bottom?" as a teacher question rather than a student question. We apologize for this error. Seeing this as a student question for which the teacher provides an answer does, as Reznich says, considerably change the focus: The format reinforces the role of the teacher as the source of knowledge even in cases in which the "answer" is debatable.

How can this role be minimized? Teachers can be taught to distinguish between factual questions and interpretive questions, with correspondingly different types of responses. While it may be entirely appropriate for teachers to present certain types of factual information (e.g., "Are stamps in one state good in another?"—Ligon, 1983, p. 381), other questions can be turned back to students for dialogue, Teachers can be encouraged to respond to questions with questions, inviting students to examine presuppositions, pool

collective knowledge, and analyze causes. For example, to the question, "Why do refugees have to start their jobs at the bottom?" teachers might respond, "Do all refugees have to start at the bottom? Which ones do? What function do you think refugees perform in the economy? Do you think all refugees who speak English get better jobs?" Understanding that it is not necessary to have answers to every student question can be a liberating experience for teachers-in-training (and all teachers).

Reznich goes on to note that although we criticize the lack of cultural comparison in survival texts, the *Settling In* series (Shapiro, 1985), which accompanies *Opening Lines,* does in fact include "Cultural Exploration" in each unit. We are pleased to learn about these materials (although we could find no reference to them in *Opening Lines).* We would go one step further than Reznich by noting the failure of our article to discuss *how* these cultural comparisons can be integrated into a curriculum.

The real value of cultural comparison may lie in going beyond the description of differences. While eliciting student experience serves to validate that experience, it may also be necessary to explore the contradictions that arise from cultural differences. Talking about marriage customs is interesting, but it may only be useful in conjunction with a discussion of what happens when the old and new ways come into conflict. What are typical attitudes toward women's roles in the homeland? What values and economic necessities may challenge those attitudes in the United States? How might these value differences affect families? What can refugees do when these issues arise in the family? What we are suggesting here is that in problem posing, eliciting experience is only one part of a larger process, not an end in itself (see Wallerstein, 1983, for a fuller discussion of one approach to integrating cultural comparison). "The important thing is to place [people] in consciously critical confrontation with their problems" (Freire, 1981, p. 16).

A further point which requires clarification concerns the presentation of negative aspects of reality. Reznich argues that we displayed a less than careful reading by neglecting to mention that *Opening Lines* talks about the high cost of medical care in its cultural notes (which follow a lesson presenting a doctor's instructions to get some rest and take time off from work). We would argue that it is not enough to communicate or reflect the difficulties immigrants face; this reality must be problematized in such a way that students have the opportunity to explore their options.

The shortcoming of the *Opening Lines* selection is precisely that the two aspects of the dilemma (the doctor's advice and the issue of

cost) are presented separately, as discrete and unrelated bits of information. When taken together, they present a dilemma: What can you do if you need to feed your children, if you know that the doctor's visit is expensive, and if, moreover, the doctor may tell you to stay home from work? How can you get enough rest if you need to pay the bills, take care of your children, and so on? By obscuring this dilemma, the text may only heighten the student's sense of powerlessness.

Reznich goes onto ask, "What would Auerbach and Burgess have a person do? Develop pneumonia and take a month off work?" The point here is that what *we* would have students do does not matter; it is not up to us to make decisions for students. A problem-posing approach would make the dilemma explicit, so that what counts as knowledge is not just the transmission of information/advice but the negotiation that takes place in trying to resolve the dilemma. The students (not the authors) are the ones who analyze the problematized reality, pose alternatives, and select their own solutions (Wallerstein, 1983). If students arrive at their own positions as a result of a critical evaluation of alternatives and their consequences, the likelihood is greater that (a) students will be more effective in the particular situation and (b) they will feel less overwhelmed or impotent when faced with a problematic reality. In problem posing, the process of analyzing difficulties is more important than the particular solution.

We should go on to say that there is a danger in blanket acceptance of any characterization of reality—no matter how realistic it seems. No single text can correspond exactly to the experience of all students. In our view, reality itself is a social construct, built out of an interaction between external phenomena and the subjective interpretation of these phenomena (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

> To accept others' definitions of our world is to accept that world as it is. To work at putting our own words to the reality of our experience is to begin to have some measure of control over the nature of our reality. (Sauve, 1986, p. 23)

What is important, therefore, is that curricula establish a framework for the critical analysis of text that allows students to relate the text to their own experience, the social context, and their potential to affect that reality. Again, what this means is that we need to go further than just presenting immigrants' problems in America; we need to teach students to look at *all* materials critically so that in the end *they* are the judges of how texts correspond to their lived reality (Sauve, 1986, p. 53). Teachers can ask students,

"Does this seem real to you?" and if not, students and teachers together can "rewrite" text. This rewriting is, in a sense, a metaphor for the rewriting of reality that problem posing invites.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that our article was in no way intended as a "slap" at materials taken out of context. The most important aspect of Reznichs comments was the fact that he reconfirmed the need to find ways to promote critical thinking. The main purpose of our article was to suggest that this task requires developing an explicit, guiding approach to survival ESL which takes into account the social implications of curricular decisions. Comments like Reznichs move this process forward.
■

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Comments on Carol Chapelle and Joan Jamieson's "Computer-Assisted Language Learning as a Predictor of Success in Acquiring English as a Second Language"

A Reader Reacts. . .

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Carol Chapelle and Joan Jamieson, in their recent article in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 1, March 1986), report the results of an experiment to determine the desirability of using ESL lessons in the PLATO system with field-dependent (FD) and field-independent (FI) learners. One of their main findings in regard to these computer-assisted language learning (CALL) lessons was "a significant negative correlation between field independence and both time [spent on the CALL lessons] and attitude [toward the CALL lessons], indicating that highly field independent students tended not to like to work on CALL" (p. 36). The second major finding was a lack of any significant correlation between time spent using CALL and "end-of-semester performance on the language measures after other relevant variables had been entered (p. 40). These comments are intended to extend Chapelle and Jamieson's discussion of these results by making certain implications of the article more explicit and by bringing some related points into the discussion of CALL and its potential relationship to learning style.

Much courseware in CALL is designed on the pattern of programmed instruction (PI), which involves breaking a body of information down into components and sequences of components so that a learner can work at a desired individual pace with little or no assistance. The ESL lessons in the PLATO system are of this type; they are essentially a set of highly structured drill-and-practice lessons on discrete points of language (Stevens, 1983).

Considering the nature of these lessons, one might have expected the FI learners, rather than the FD learners, to be the ones who would like the PLATO lessons. The systematicness of these lessons would seem to fit very well with the learning style of the FI individual, who "tends to approach problem solving analytically" (p. 32), in contrast with that of the FD individual, who "tends to

approach problem solving in a more global way" (p. 32). However, only the FD students in the study chose to use CALL to any great extent.

The counterintuitive nature of this first finding may in fact be entirely predictable from a characteristic of FI learners described by Witkin, Goodenough, and Oltman (1979) as an ability or propensity to "cognitively restructure" experience, that is,

> to restructure percepts or symbolic representations to meet the requirements of the task. Field-independent people are better able to accomplish such restructuring, in contrast to field-dependent people who are more likely to follow the prevailing organization of a stimulus array as given. (p. 1129)

Witkin et al. go on to speculate that these superior cognitive restructuring skills are fostered by the "more autonomous functioning of field-independent people" (p. 1139).

Thus, it may be that what most clearly differentiates FI from FD learners—at least as far as their preference for these CALL lessons is concerned—is an active tendency on the part of the former not only to analyze, but also to reorganize experience, to resynthesize analyzed parts into a new structure. This is essentially the conclusion which Chapelle and Jamieson reach:

> It is likely that the FI students, who are capable of and accustomed to using their own internal referents, found the structured approach of the lessons in the ESL PLATO series to be inconsistent with their learning styles. They may have found it irritating to have information and exercises structured in a way different from how they would have done it for themselves. Lacking the stimulation of using their own capabilities to select and organize relevant language details, they may have been bored. Perhaps these qualities of the ESL PLATO lessons were unattractive to FI students. (pp. 38-39)

In contrast, students with little field independence may have liked being provided with a fixed set of exercises to work through. Such students, Chapelle and Jamieson point out, tend to rely on others to formulate objectives and point out important points, a role played by the PLATO lessons.

Chapelle and Jamieson attempted no direct explanation for the second main finding of their study, that time spent using CALL was not a significant predictor of variance in language performance measures for either the FI or FD students. However, they seem to imply that the reason lies in the nature of the PLATO ESL lessons and possibly in the "mismatch" of these lessons with the FI learners. But then, why would the FD learners not show any effect of these lessons? Perhaps the fact that the FD students liked the lessons and

chose to use them is irrelevant, just as students enjoy using many other kinds of classroom materials which have no demonstrable effect on their achievement. Or perhaps the reason is simply that the lessons are not well designed. It has often been noted (see, for example, LeMon, 1986, p. 333) that language learning courseware tends to be some of the poorest quality instructional software.

Both PI and computer-assisted instruction (CAI) have often been criticized for artificially segmenting learning into discrete components and for presenting information in an oversimplified, excessively routine, and noncreative format. However, substantial decreases in the time needed for mastery of course material *have* been achieved through the PI approach, which has been tested in a wide array of subject areas (Kulik, Kulik, & Cohen, 1979). Similar achievement gains, in addition to positive motivational effects, have been found for CAI in a variety of subject areas and formats, including ordinary drill and practice (Kulik, Kulik, & Cohen, 1980).

Because positive effects have been produced by quite "ordinary" CAI (PI-oriented, drill-and-practice format) and because the FD learners in Chapelle and Jamieson's sample were in fact motivated to use the CALL lessons, it seems worthwhile to consider alternatives to the authors' explanation of their second finding, that is, that it resulted from the poor quality of the lessons or the unsuitability of these lessons for the FD students. Studies (e.g., Bialystok & Frohlich, 1978; Naiman, Frohlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978) have found that FD learners tend to be poor classroom achievers in language learning. Language teaching practitioners have therefore been encouraged to develop activities to change the learning approach to improve the prognosis for such learners (Birckbichler & Omaggio, 1980). From this perspective, one might think that use of PI-oriented CAI such as the PLATO ESL lessons might help FD learners to structure their experience systematically and even perhaps to reorient their learning styles toward a more effective (FI) approach.

If this argument is correct, the fact that time spent using the PLATO lessons had no significant effect on the FD subjects' performance on the criterion measures may have been due to inadequate exposure to the materials. It might be argued that the exposure to CALL was insufficient to produce any significant "reorienting" effect on the FD students' basic learning approach or cognitive orientation. Pennington and Richards (1986, p. 216), for example, have argued that through appropriately structured experience, adults may be able to retrieve and reestablish dormant learning capabilities which were present at earlier stages of development. However, the revival of such abilities may be

difficult to achieve once language-processing strategies have become firmly established and habitual.

The limited possibilities for reorienting the learning approach, or cognitive style, of learners may be as much the result of early experience in learning the second language as of processing strategies developed in childhood, including strategies in acquiring the first language and in undertaking other kinds of problem-solving and learning activities in school. Evidence for the intractability of cognitive orientation, once acquired, and for the lack of effect of learning experience gained after childhood comes from the characterization by Higgs and Clifford (1982) of adult second language students who have "fossilized." Higgs and Clifford attribute these "terminal" language development profiles to the prior establishment of certain nonproductive strategies for language use. They claim that to prevent this in adult learners, early experiences with the second language must be structured in a certain way—for example, by a focus on accuracy rather than fluency (p. 74), or on the development of

> both receptive and productive competence at a pace that allows for reasonable internalization—albeit under heavy monitoring at first—then ultimately it will be easier for [the learners] to activate skills that are measurably present, though passively, than it will be for them to dismantle reinforced or fossilized skills and replace them with different ones. (p. 78)

Higgs and Clifford thus see early learning experiences with the second language, rather than the existence of a "critical period or any innate cognitive properties, as determining the approach for processing later linguistic input—that is, the language learning style. If successful language learning is associated with field independence, we should indeed try to encourage the development of a field-independent orientation in beginning second language learners. Conventional PI-influenced CAI, including CALL, might have a role to play in this development or at least in the reinforcement or inhibition of possibly latent tendencies toward one cognitive orientation rather than another. Thus, I think it is important to conduct research on the possible beneficial (or negative) effects of CAI and especially of CALL, and I applaud Chapelle and Jamieson for getting us started in what could be a very useful direction of inquiry.

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The Authors Respond. . .

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In response to Martha Pennington's comments on our article, we would like to clarify our interpretations of the results and to comment on one of the points she raised, that is, the idea of using the PLATO lessons to change students' learning styles.

First, this empirical investigation of whether CALL use contributed to improvement in ESL beyond what was accounted for by other variables allowed us to illustrate a point that we make

anecdotally when teachers ask whether CALL works: Successful language acquisition occurs in the presence of a number of variables—many of which are student variables rather than instructional ones. To suggest that one instructional variable will have measurable effects on overall proficiency is attempting a simple answer to a complex question. An examination of studies dealing with the effectiveness of computer-assisted instruction (e.g., Clark, 1985) points this out very clearly. Consequently, we felt that we adequately explained why CALL had no significant effects: Factors other than CALL were more important in accounting for variance in overall proficiency.

As an alternative to addressing the question so globally, we suggested that "effectiveness must be analyzed in terms of the effects of defined types of lessons on students with particular cognitive/affective characteristics and needs" (p. 42). To investigate effective instruction for particular types of learners, it would be necessary to carry out experiments such as the one reported by Abraham (1985), in which the variables of cognitive style, lesson type, and material to be learned were controlled.

The design of our study made it inappropriate to describe the lack of effects in terms of features of the learning environment (e.g., poorly designed lessons or "inadequate exposure"). Accordingly, we did not mean to imply that the lack of learning effects resulted from a mismatch of the PLATO ESL lessons with the field-independent (FI) learners. (What we did wish to suggest was that the negative attitudes of the FI students might be explained by their perception of the lessons as inappropriate or boring.)

Second, with respect to using CALL materials to help students "reorient their learning styles," Pennington's suggestion is an interesting one; however, several issues need to be clarified. Can we change cognitive style? And if we could, would we want to, or would it be more appropriate to try to match learning materials to cognitive style (as Abraham did)? Perhaps we should accept cognitive style as stable and try to help particular students develop more effective strategies.

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, the materials used in our study were not suitable to address them. Pennington suggests that "the PLATO ESL lessons might help [field-dependent] learners to structure their experience systematically, and even perhaps to reorient their learning styles toward a more effective (FI) approach." Our assessment of these lessons is that they should not be expected to contribute to this kind of change; these materials were not intended to teach learning strategies explicitly. They represent a structural view of language and a

perspective of learning which recognizes the need for practice. We did not expect the manner of presentation to alter students' learning styles.

To discuss using CALL to help students develop effective learning strategies, we need first to define what effective learning strategies are and then to design lessons that teach those strategies to students who might benefit from their use. By observing students' work in carefully designed individual learning environments, we may be in a position to explore these issues, which are relevant to second language acquisition theory in general. ■

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Two Commentaries on Daniel M. Horowitz's "Process, Not Product: Less Than Meets the Eye"

In Defnse of Teaching Process in ESL Composition

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As an ESL and native English composition teacher whose background is in the theory and teaching of reading and writing to native speakers of English, I have been pleased to see ESL teachers become interested in native composition theory and research, particularly that having to do with the process of writing. But at the recent TESOL conference in Anaheim, I sensed a battle emerging between those who espouse what I call the academic approach and those who espouse the process approach.

Daniel Horowitz's recent Forum piece in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 1, March 1986) stands as a battle cry for this academic approach. He attacks the process approach for, among other things,

not preparing students for the kind of "real" writing ESL students will be expected to do once they leave the language classroom and enter the university. Specifically, he claims that the process approach does not prepare students to take essay exams, write highly structured assignments, write about impersonal topics, and receive low grades.

I must admit this criticism disturbs me, with its blame directed at process teachers for not fulfilling our responsibilities in preparing students for the writing to come. It is not the charge, however, that most disturbs, for in fact I accept the charge that process teachers do not prepare students for all academic writing tasks; what I cannot accept is the underlying assumption that they ought to. I will return to this point later, but for now, let me say that anyone who has become involved in a writing-across-the-curriculum program will recognize this as a familiar dilemma—a dilemma, fortunately, that writing across the curriculum helps us resolve.

Let me start by saying straight out that I do not think this dichotomy between process and academic approaches is a productive one. I do not even think it is a real one. Opposing the academic writing approach to the process approach is like opposing the teaching of calculus to education in general. Moreover, such a dichotomy leads those who are concerned with teaching writing to university students to reject prematurely some valuable insights and methods.

Several reasons make this dichotomy false and unproductive, one of which is that academia is changing as a result of an awareness of process. This assertion is probably not very amenable to those who already distrust process approaches; they may see these changes as evidence of an insidious plot created by process fanatics. Whether people accept this assertion may also depend on where they teach: *Their* school may be different.

At my school—as at many other schools across the country where writing-across-the-curriculum projects have included workshops for faculty to explore how to incorporate writing into their classrooms—written assignments are indeed changing to incorporate the writing process. Among other things, academic teachers are asking students to write multiple drafts, use journals, get peer feedback, work in groups, use writing to help them learn, and write to audiences other than the teacher.

Obviously, not *every* content-area teacher at my university has been "converted" to process methods, but in a few years, we have seen a steady increase in the numbers and the excitement of faculty and students who have been turned on by them. Each year a few more faculty get involved in using writing in their classes. And

according to a recent report, my school is not alone: "The WAC movement is a success [that] . . . has now spread to institutions of higher education across the country" (Griffin, 1985, p. 403).

Another reason the dichotomy between academic and process approaches is false is that it depends on an extremely limited view of the process approach. People who criticize the process approach seem to treat it as some sort of monolithic entity, complete with canon and commandments. Horowitz says it has been "miscast as a complete theory of writing" (p. 141). If so, the casting agents are not the advocates of process, but its detractors. The process approach is not *an* approach; it is many approaches. There will never be a process approach because writing—the process of writing—is such a complicated and rich process, involving many facets of being: cognition, emotion, sense of self, sense of others, situation, background, experience, development.

To think of writing as a process instead of a product is simply a perspective, a way of looking at writing, an orientation that has led to hundreds of different approaches for researching and teaching and theorizing about writing. *Process* is not dogma, but a concept that enables people to see writing in a new way and thereby ask questions that were not asked as long as people saw writing simply as finished products.

The process perspective will inevitably encompass many different approaches, for a key assumption of all process theory, research, and pedagogy is of difference: Writers have different processes. They differ from each other, they do different things at different points during writing, and different sorts of writing tasks require different writing strategies. Murray (1972) argues that real writers differ from the processes imposed upon them by English teachers, and Emig's (1971) point is that each student has a unique composing process. The process "revolution" began when writing researchers like Murray and Emig began to examine how people compose, to look at the processes they experience in producing written products. What they found was that no single description would ever be adequate to describe writing processes, nor would any prescription be adequate to create good writing.

Given this emphasis on difference, I am often surprised at how "the process approach" is characterized. In Anaheim, I heard people (critics, mainly) describe process teaching as consisting solely of having students use journals, or of asking students to write about personal topics, or of ignoring the issue of organization. Moreover, I heard these critics treat these approaches—journals, personal topics, and disorganization—as though they were rules engraved in stone and taught by all process teachers. In other

words, the process critics seemed to feel that the process advocates had simply exchanged one set of prescriptions for another. Instead of "thou shalt outline, " they now said "thou shalt not outline"; instead of "thou shalt support your thesis, stated in the first paragraph, in three supporting paragraphs," they now said "thou shalt not worry about support."

Luckily, I have never met a process teacher who believed or stated such things; I hope I never do. I myself usually do some outlining before writing, as I did for this paper, for example; it is part of my writing process. And though I do not force all my students to write outlines before every paper, I do suggest to most of them that they try outlining a few times to see whether it is helpful for them, at what points in their writing processes it is helpful, and in what sorts of situations it is helpful (essay exams, perhaps). I also usually suggest to some students with some assignments that they try "free writing''—just writing without planning, to see what happens. For some writers this works, for some assignments. The point is that process teachers I have known do not espouse a lot of "thou shalts." Instead, what they believe, and what they design their classes to reflect, is that different writers, different tasks, and different situations demand different strategies, which the teacher must help the students develop.

Some of these strategies are indeed journals, personal topics, and disregard of a paper's organization at first. But process teaching may also involve writing to and with others, writing from gathered data, writing essay exams, and thinking about the best way to design and use a format to meet a document's purpose.

There are some—Daniel Horowitz?—who would say that the second list exemplifies the academic approach, not the process approach. But we can see at this point just how false the dichotomy is. The process approach subsumes the academic approach, for the process approach assumes that the process of writing involves thinking about ideas, self, audience, situation, and purpose. These elements function in any writing task as enabling constraints that help a writer invent, organize, and revise.

In every context—academic or otherwise—these constraints differ, and part of what a writer must do is determine how best to solve the problems posed by these constraints. Those constraints might include a very prescriptive assignment by a teacher, or they might include the demand to produce a particular format, a lab report, for example. Alternately, they might include a very open assignment by a teacher in which the writer is also the audience and the purpose is to come to some sort of understanding of a concept.

The point is that every writing experience involves an interaction between the individual writer and the particular writing situation. That is what the writing process is, and academic writing is no different—it too has a process. To teach, in a writing class, how to handle these different demands is to teach the process of writing.

In a more essential way the process approach subsumes the academic approach. The two approaches seem to disagree about the purposes of a language class. The process approach assumes that writing is valuable for writers. Since most process teachers see this value as cognitive and developmental, the purpose of the language class is to get the most out of this writing–not simply to learn how to write, but to learn how to learn by writing. The academic approach, on the other hand, assumes that writing is valuable to teachers. Since writing shows what you already know, the purpose of the language class is to prepare students for the demands of later classes, to prepare them to perform the writing tasks imposed on them. The process approach views writing as learning; the academic approach views writing as display.

The writing-across-the-curriculum movement has encouraged us to see the falseness of this split between writing to learn and academic writing. Behind academic writing tasks is usually the assumption that such tasks promote learning. Academic writing *is* "writing to learn." And "writing to learn" *is* a particular type of academic writing task.

I began by mentioning the blame cast on the process approach for not fulfilling its responsibilities in preparing students for what they will be asked to do later. Although I agree that process teachers do not prepare their students for all academic writing tasks, I do not agree with the assumption that writing teachers *ought* to prepare their students for every academic writing task.

Writing is not the sole responsibility of writing teachers. We cannot inoculate for good writing. A 15-week course will *never* prepare students—native speakers of English or not—to perform all university writing tasks asked of them. For one thing, to improve, writing must be continually reinforced and practiced. In a way, every time I write, I have to relearn what writing is. So do students—in biology, in political science, in accounting. For another thing, writing tasks are so diverse that there is simply no way to prepare students for every sort they will face. We can only give them strategies and then help them, over and over, to figure out how to find a process that will enable them to handle the current writing task and situation. And by *we* I do not mean only English teachers.

Everyone, throughout the university, has a stake in this issue. All of us together, with our many different approaches, can work to

help our students find their own writing processes and, in so doing, make writing achieve what we—and they—hope it will achieve: learning and the ability to function in a community that values literacy.
■

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The Author Responds to Liebman-Kleine. . .

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JoAnne Liebman-Kleine's comments exemplify both the strong points and the weak points of the process approach. On the positive side, she notes that process teachers focus more on how writing is produced than on what the finished product looks like, that they recognize individual differences among students and in the ways they write, and that they use a wide range of writing activities to help students develop different strategies for different writing situations.

Reading this defense of teaching process, however, I wondered whether anyone needs to be convinced of these oft-repeated (to say the least) points. I can really speak only for myself, but I doubt that many of the detractors of the process approach would disagree with any of them: They are not what the debate is about. Rather, the growing disillusionment with and criticism of the process approach stem from its almost total obsession with "the cognitive relationship between the writer and his or her internal world" (Swales, 1986, p.8) and its consequent failure to provide any clear perspective on the social nature of writing: the conventions, regularities, genres, requirements, typical task types, and so on.

What Liebman-Kleine calls the academic approach, I would call

English for academic purposes, a branch of English for special purposes (ESP). As with any ESP approach, syllabus design evolves from analyses of the initial skill levels of the learners and the situation (s) in which the language will eventually be used. There is no place here for overly vague abstractions such as "ideas, self, audience, situation, and purpose." What is needed are pedagogically useful formulations of the demands of specific audiences (university instructors, for example) of the type I presented in "What Professors Actually Require: Academic Tasks for the ESL Classroom" (Horowitz, 1986), Liebman-Kleine's despair of ever finding such formulations only highlights the poverty of process theory. In their place she offers "strategies," but of what use are strategies developed in the absence of any clear idea of the struggle they will be used in? It is simply not good enough to give students abstractions and general strategies without realistic simulations of the demands they will face.

This may sound too prescriptive for those who follow the process approach, but it is as different from the old prescriptivism (obligatory five-paragraph essays and initial topic sentences) as it is from the new individualism ("each student has a unique composing process"). It sees language teaching as socialization into the academic community—not as humanistic therapy. Yes, individual differences must be taken into account and respected; yes, no single way of accomplishing a goal can be labeled as absolutely correct. There is, however, a specified range of acceptable writing behaviors dictated not by the individual but by the academic community, and it is the primary responsibility of instructors to do everything in their power to ensure that student writing falls within this range.

An awareness of these ideas seems to be totally lacking from the process consciousness. It is telling that even when Liebman-Kleine speaks of academic tasks, she says, "The point is that every writing experience involves an interaction between the individual writer and the particular writing situation. That is what the writing process is." *Individual* and *particular* seem to be the watchwords of the process approach. I am not saying this view is wrong—it is simply inadequate.

The distinction between the process approach and the academic approach may someday disappear, but surely not until Liebman-Kleine and those who share her views stop treating the rest of the world as the unconverted. Then, exchanges such as these will become a thing of the past, and we will be able to sit down together and share ideas about what we all love to do. ■

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No New Lamps for Old Yet, Please

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I share with Daniel Horowitz the feeling that the phrase "process, not product" is starting to evoke less of the excitement of a contribution to our understanding of how writers (LI or L2, novices or sophisticates) write, and more of the disillusionment of, "What, that old bandwagon again?" I would like to explore the reasons for this.

The present paradigm in writing research has had a tremendous impact on the teaching of second language writing, in showing that there is a coherent body of knowledge about how writers write, in making suggestions about how the teaching of writing can take into account new insights into the cognitive and psychological processes involved in composing text, and in stimulating research into applications of and developments from this body of work for L2 writing. Although the amount of L1 research in this area still exceeds the amount of L2 research (but see, for example, Heuring, 1984; Raimes, 1985; Zamel, 1983), work such as that of Jacobs (1982) has suggested that the problems are much the same in L1 and L2.

In relating theory and pedagogy, what Raimes (1983) calls the "process approach" to the teaching of L2 writing has demonstrated its superiority over the traditional product-centered approaches in humanistic terms and in the way it informs and is in turn informed by interlanguage studies. Few teachers who have made the conversion in their teaching from a product-centered approach to a process-centered one have failed to see its superiority in terms of student involvement and interaction and therefore of motivation. Similarly, the treatment of error and the approaches to feedback in a process approach are appealing to teachers and learners alike, who have been swimming (or drowning) in a sea of red ink for years. The process approach has, then, undoubtedly provided solutions to some of the most acute problems of the L2 writing classroom.

Why is it, then, that in the field of TESOL, this paradigm for the teaching of writing, though our explorations of it are not half-completed, is already going stale on us? Part of the explanation doubtlessly lies in the fact that we seem to be plagued more than most with a need for the new, for the up-to-date. Perhaps the reason for this is our urge to establish the field of TESOL as a discipline, in the sense that Emig (1980) describes the search for a "discipline" of writing research. Because of the tremendous amount of first language research and polemics in this area, those of us who are involved with second language writing research may have the impression of a paradigm which is older and more developed than is in fact the case. But another part of the explanation is characterized for us by Young (1978), summarizing Kuhn:

> A paradigm acquires wide support by demonstrating its superior ability to solve problems generally acknowledged by those in the discipline to be acute and fundamental; once it is established, research is directed primarily towards its articulation and application. New problems arise, however, which those committed to the paradigm cannot solve adequately, and a crisis develops, accompanied by a sense of uncertainty and insecurity in the profession. The response to the crisis is typically the development of new theories which are able to provide more adequate solutions. A new paradigm emerges from the inquiries and controversies of the crisis state and with it another period of relative stability. (p. 35)

Having rapidly overthrown the product-centered paradigm, the process-centered paradigm has become established; it has become the new "current-traditional" model for many of us. But it has not yet been shown that teaching writing within this paradigm to L2 learners actually leads to better writers: We do not yet have research evidence that emphasis on process leads to a better product in L2 classes, as Horowitz points out, although L1 studies such as those by Clifford (1981) and Carroll (1984) have found significant positive effects for a process approach over a product approach. Clearly, research on this question is needed in regard to L2 learners, and until the results are in, the process approach will remain vulnerable to assault.

Horowitz claims that the inductive orientation of the process approach only suits some writers and some academic writing tasks. However, to characterize a process approach as inductive seems counter to the principles, if not the practice of such an approach- For me, part of the richness of working with writers writing in the classroom is that orientations shift from stage to stage of the lesson, from lesson to lesson, from learner to learner, and from group to

group. Thus, cognitive strategies such as induction and deduction both find their place, as do cognitive/affective preferences, such as those shown by outliners and brainstormers, and affective characteristics, such as social and solitary composing. While it is certainly true that writers and tasks differ, a true process approach would by definition have to take account of such differences.

The fate of a revolutionary paradigm is to lose its flexibility as it becomes traditional. Young (1978) tells us that "training in a paradigm develops particular scholarly and pedagogical capacities, but it also develops particular incapacities" (p. 34), and he quotes Burke: "A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing" (p. 34). Young was talking about the move away from "current-traditional" approaches to teaching composition (i.e., a product approach) and toward a "rhetoric-invention" (i.e., process) approach, but the principle holds at the next stage of development. Indeed, in first language composition, Bizzell (1982) has already criticized the new process-centered paradigm on these grounds.

If Horowitz's claim that the process approach only allows for certain ways of seeing, thinking, and writing is true, then the process paradigm is falling into the same traps as the product paradigm it has superseded. If the process approach is becoming dogma, rather than development, and cannot or will not account for differences in learning/writing strategy, context, or task type, then we are approaching a crisis, in Kuhnian terms, and we can expect a new paradigm to emerge—but only after a period of uncertainty.

What, then, are the problems for which the process approach must start developing solutions, if it is not to be overtaken by a new paradigm? The key problem is that identified by Horowitz: essay examinations. Horowitz is absolutely right that it is untrue to say that essay examination writing is not "real." But this is a common view at present, one I find dangerously smug and symptomatic of a loss of contact with reality. For all college-level students, writing examination answers is probably the most authentic use of writing there is or is ever likely to be. Restricted and restricting it may be, but so is life.

Writing essay examination answers is just as much a process as any prewriting —> drafting —> discussing —> rewriting —> counseling —> editing sequence that goes on in a writing classroom, and it has two authentic features which teachers of writing struggle to simulate in the writing classroom: content and audience. An essay examination is real language in use; it is an interactive discourse exchange between question setter, writer, and answer grader (Hamp-Lyons, 1985); it involves the commitment of the writer as a whole person to an extent that few classroom activities can, however humanistic;

and it provides learners with their own motivation. Horowitz's characterization of the academic writing tasks required at Western Illinois University coincide with my findings (Hamp-Lyons & Lyons, 1982) when I was Curriculum Coordinator of the WESL Institute at the same university and with findings at other universities in the United States (Bridgeman & Carlson, 1984; Johns, 1985) and in Britain (Hamp-Lyons, 1986a; Weir, 1983).

However, I take issue with Horowitz's conclusion that a process approach is unsuited to the teaching of L2 academic writing, in exam-oriented contexts or otherwise. L1 researchers such as Emig (1971), Perl (1979), and Jacobs (1982) and L2 researchers such as Zamel (1983) and Raimes (1985) describe the process approach as one which helps developing writers to understand their own strategies, how to use them effectively, and how to relate their experience to that of their peers. According to these researchers, the process approach enables teachers to understand their learners as the learners themselves do.

If there is any validity to these descriptions, then the process approach can only be beneficial in any classroom, however instrumental the context. And if the purpose of the writer's processes is a product, then a better understanding of the processes can hardly have a negative effect on the product. Moreover, because of the time constraints which make it difficult for the writer to edit away all evidence of the self and the self's creative processes, the essay examination answer offers the writing researcher rich opportunities to investigate the composing processes through an authentic composed product (Hamp-Lyons, 1986b).

Bizzell (1982) suggests that in first language composition the old and the new paradigms are beginning to move toward integration. She describes the first phase of the new developments in first language composition teaching as stressing the "authentic voice" (see, for example, Elbow, 1973) and as directed to discovering and describing the nature of "good" writing. She then states that "college writing teachers frequently have found themselves at odds with the institutional goal of initiation into academic discourse . . . [but now we] seem to be reaffirming the traditional academic discourse values" (p. 191).

I suggest that we are approaching a crisis in the teaching of academic writing to second/foreign language learners. But this crisis can be averted if the proponents of the process approach will only open themselves to the realities of the pressures of academic life and their learners' instrumental needs, just as they have opened themselves to the realities of their learners' affective and developmental needs.

It will be our great loss if the process approach comes to be seen as an outmoded paradigm before we have been able to integrate its new insights into our L2 teaching and to explore the specific L2 implications and applications fully. This will happen if the process approach becomes identified in our minds with rigid rules and inflexible attitudes. As Hairston (1982) reminds us, Kuhn pointed out that new paradigms are crude and unformed and that since they seldom possess all the capabilities of their predecessors, we must preserve the best parts of the earlier paradigm.

Whether we see the teaching of writing as a service to the learner as a human being (in Freire's [1973] terms) or whether we see it in purely pragmatic terms, we would all agree that helping our L2 students succeed as learners on the larger scale is the primary justification of our work. I would like to argue, with Horowitz, that attention to writing as product is essential if we are to offer our students the kinds of knowledge and skills they will need to function effectively within the academic discourse community. However, I do not agree with him that to achieve this we have to reject the process paradigm. I prefer to believe, with Kuhn (1970), that "if its supporters are competent, they will improve it, explore its possibilities, and show what it would be like to belong to the community guided by it" (p. x).

There is still time for the majority of teachers of second/foreign language writing to be convinced of the benefits of the process approach, if they can be shown that belonging to its community offers a broadening of their understanding and an increase in the options available to them as teachers working with the problems of learners. I would argue against competing paradigms for L2 composition teaching and in favor of the search for a descriptive model which will allow us to reconcile the "product approach" (as characterized in the descriptions of current-traditional rhetoric) and the "process approach." Such a reconciliation would be to the support of teachers and the benefit of learners. ■

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The Author Responds to Hamp-Lyons. . .

DANIEL M. HOROWITZ
International Christian University, Japan

I wrote my original Forum article out of anger—at the arrogance I had encountered among the process advocates at TESOL '85 and at the blind "bandwagon" mentality that periodically warps the critical judgment of so many members of our profession. Liz Hamp-Lyons's comments, written as they are in the spirit of openness and dialogue, make me feel now that my anger served a useful purpose.

I take exception only to her characterizing my position as one which "reject [s] the process paradigm." A careful reading of my original article shows that I do indeed accept much of what the process approach has to offer; I did, however, advise against its "uncritical acceptance" (p. 141), urging teachers to be "extremely cautious about embracing an overall approach" (p. 144) which, in the hands of many of its practitioners, creates a learning situation of doubtful authenticity.

Again, in "What Professors Actually Require: Academic Tasks for the ESL Classroom" (Horowitz, 1986), I claimed that "the process approach, in its almost exclusive concern with psycholinguistic, cognitive, and affective variables, has failed to take into account the many forces outside of an individual writer's control which define, shape, and ultimately judge a piece of writing" (p. 446). To me, the process approach is half an approach, and I daresay that Hamp-Lyons (who of course had not seen my later article when she wrote her comments) makes the same point in hoping that "the proponents of the process approach will . . . open themselves to the realities of the pressures of academic life and their learners' instrumental needs, just as they have opened themselves to the realities of their learners' affective and developmental needs."

In short, I appreciate Hamp-Lyons's comments because they strike a balance between seeing writing as a thinking process and seeing it as action in a social context. By now it should be clear to everyone that neither view subsumes the other and that neither view can stand alone.
■

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Horowitz, D. (1986). What professors actually require: Academic tasks for the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 445-462.

ERRATUM

In the September 1986 issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 3), a minus sign was omitted from the statistical information reported on page 561 of "Preliminary Evidence for the Reliability and Validity of a Foreign Language Anxiety Scale," by Elaine K. Horwitz. The correlation between the FLCAS and expected grade in the foreign language class should have been reported as $r = -.52$, $p = .001$, $n = 108$. The *Quarterly* apologizes for this error.

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TESOL gratefully acknowledges receipt of the following publications.

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English Language and Orientation Programs in the United States. A directory of programs and courses in English as a second or foreign language at U.S. institutions of higher education and nongovernmental agencies, for students from abroad. Institute of International Education, 1984.
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1985 TESOL Membership Directory. TESOL, 1985. 263 pp.
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A Memo: Educating Children with Limited English. Virginia F. Allen, Carolyn W. Ebel, and Eleanor L. Sandstrom. Addressed especially to school superintendents. TESOL, 1979.
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The Teaching of English as a Second Language and U.S. Foreign Policy. Harold B. Allen. TESOL, 1979.
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English as a Second Language: What Research Says to the Teacher. A discussion of what is known today about learning and teaching English as a second language, dealing with *practical* matters *in and out of the classroom.* National Education Association, 1980. 40 pp.
$1.25

Adapting and Writing Language Lessons. Earl W. Stevick. Foreign Service Institute, 1971. 431 pp.
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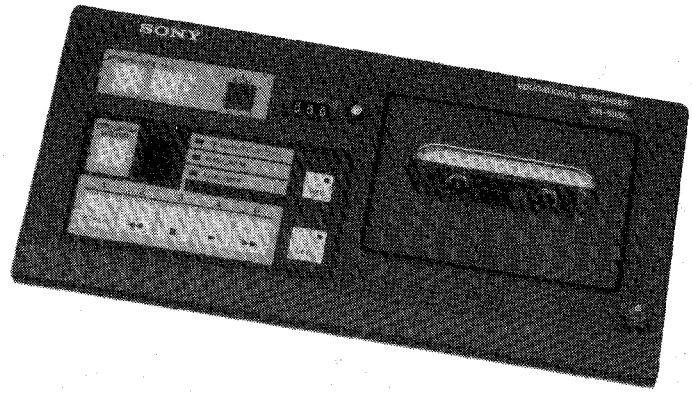

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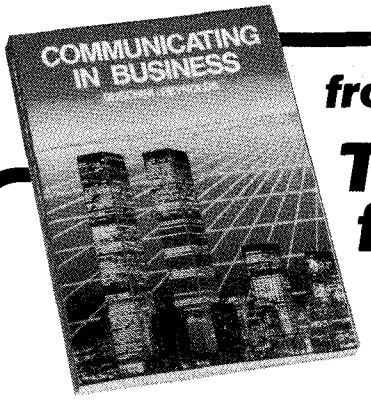

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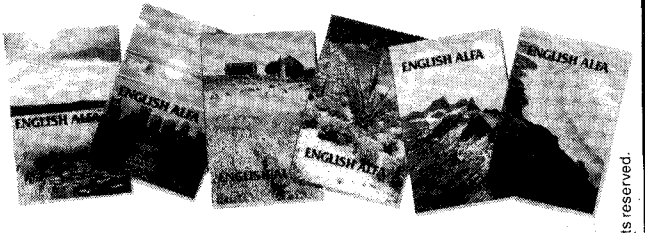

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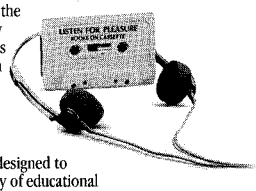

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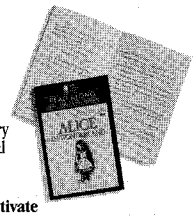

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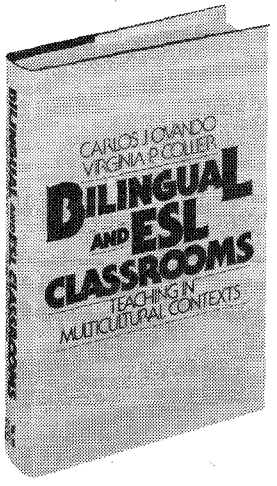

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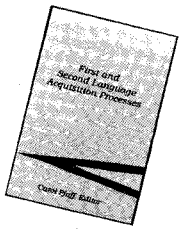

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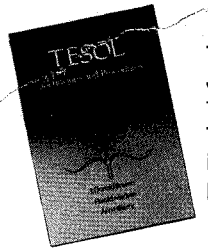

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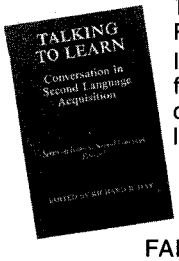

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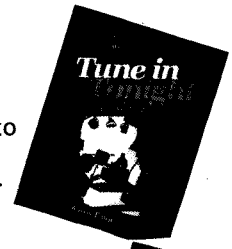

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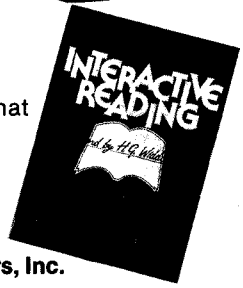

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