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A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English as a Second Dialect

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TESOL QUARTERLY



Editor's Note

■Vivian Zamel, Review Editor of the *TESOL Quarterly*, recently indicated her wish to step down from her editorial duties with the completion of the September 1987 issue of the *Quarterly*. It has been extremely rewarding for me to work with Vivian for the past 3 years, and I have the greatest respect for her efforts to ensure that the reviews published in the *Quarterly* meet a high standard of excellence. I would like to express my gratitude to Vivian for her service as Review Editor for the past 3½ years; she has served the *Quarterly* generously and well.

The Executive Board of TESOL has approved the appointment of Polly Ulichny as Review Editor, beginning with the December 1987 issue. Polly, a faculty member in the Bilingual/ESL Graduate Studies Program in the Department of English, University of Massachusetts at Boston, brings impressive and varied experience to her new position. On behalf of the *Quarterly's* staff and readership, I welcome her as our new Review Editor.

Effective immediately, all submissions to the Reviews section of the *TESOL Quarterly* should be sent directly to Polly Ulichny at the address listed in the Information for Contributors section of this issue.

In This Issue

- This issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* includes articles on a variety of topics: ESOL teacher education; English language instruction for limited English proficient children in public schools in the United States; knowledge of and attitudes toward research methodology and statistics; the relationship between TOEFL scores and academic performance; the acquisition of composing skills by children acquiring English as a second language; the teaching of reported speech in English; and business letter writing across cultures.
 - Jack Richards describes the dilemma of teacher education in TESOL the fact that while there is evidence to suggest that teaching can be changed through training in directly observable instructional

behaviors, "studies of effective instruction have shown that good teaching cannot be identified solely with these low-inference, discrete, and trainable behaviors." Richards contrasts the micro- and macroapproaches to teacher education and describes the concept of active teaching, which views classroom management, structuring, tasks, and grouping as the critical dimensions by which effective and ineffective instruction can be distinguished. The implications of micro- and macro perspectives for ESOL teacher preparation programs are discussed; in Richards's words, such programs must "provide opportunities for the novice to acquire the skills and competencies of effective teachers and to discover the working rules that effective teachers use."

- Anna Chamot and J. Michael O'Malley describe the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA), which is intended as a bridge between special language programs and mainstream education for upper elementary and secondary school students at intermediate and advanced levels of English language proficiency. CALLA, which introduces vocabulary, structures, and functions in English through the use of concepts drawn from the content areas of science, mathematics, and social studies, has three basic components: a curriculum correlated with mainstream content subjects, academic language development activities, and learning strategy instruction. Chamot and O'Malley outline a five-phase lesson plan which, by incorporating language and content objectives, allows for full integration of these components. The authors stress that CALLA is designed to orient the English language development of limited English proficient students toward academic competence and that it "is not a replacement for experience in mainstream classes."
- Richard Light, Ming Xu, and Jonathan Mossop report the findings of a study of the relationship, for 376 international graduate students at the State University of New York at Albany, between the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) score, grade point average, graduate credit hours earned, and academic major. The study was motivated by a recent call by the Educational Testing Service, the producer of the TOEFL, for institution-specific research to clarify the role of the TOEFL in predicting academic success. The authors concluded that for their subjects, "TOEFL score was not an effective predictor of academic success, as measured by CPA." In particular, no empirical justification was found for the use of a cutoff score in making admissions decisions. However, the relationship the authors found between TOEFL score and number of credits earned during the first semester of graduate study suggests that the predictive value of TOEFL scores can be increased by using graduate credits earned as a criterion measure.
- Anne Lazaraton, Heidi Riggenbach, and Anne Ediger report the findings of a survey of 121 professionals in applied linguistics about

their knowledge of and attitudes toward statistics and empirical research. The responses of the subjects, the majority of whom were university professors and researchers, indicated that "there is a considerable range in the degree of familiarity with the concepts and procedures associated with empirical research." Responses to statements intended to gauge attitudes about the importance and usefulness of quantitative approaches to data analysis revealed a similar diversity. Finally, the survey responses indicated areas of agreement and disagreement about the "appropriateness" of selected statistical and research procedures. While the authors acknowledge the limitations of their study, they argue that it is a first step "toward understanding what the goals and standards are for our field."

- Carole Urzúa reports the findings of "a 6-month observational study of 4 Southeast Asian children as they wrote and revised various pieces in English, their second language." One goal of the instructional setting in which the data were collected was to discover "what the children might do to help each other and what effect an audience for their written work might have on their own reading and writing." On the basis of her analysis of the children's weekly compositions, transcripts of peer response sessions, and teacher-student dialogue journals, Urzúa found evidence that, like native English-speaking children developing literacy in their first language, these children "seemed to be learning how to take audience into account when they were writing and were developing a sense of their voice and how to manipulate language for the best effect."
- According to Elizabeth Goodell, "many nonnative speakers of English, even at advanced levels, exhibit great difficulty in learning English reported speech." Goodell proposes a characterization of reported speech in English in which direct and indirect speech are differentiated according to prosodic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic criteria and in which internal syntactic features are explained in terms of the concept of deixis. The author points out weaknesses in the treatment of reported speech in grammars and ESL textbooks; a recurrent problem, Goodell notes, is the tendency to explain reported speech as essentially a syntactic phenomenon. The article concludes with a description of a four-cycle classroom presentation of English reported speech.
- Susan Jenkins and John Hinds examine how prescriptive handbooks specify the form and content of business letters of request in American English, French, and Japanese. The authors' analysis of cross-cultural variation in business letter writing, a form of writing in which there must be "a close match between the intentions of the writer and the expectations of the reader," indicates that despite strikingly similar surface characteristics, business communications have a very different rhetorical orientation in each of the three cultures. Jenkins and Hinds argue that because business letter writing involves cross-cultural rhetorical differences which closely reflect the values which permeate

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much of interpersonal communication in a culture, "models are essential in the ESP genre to which business letters clearly belong."

Also in this issue:

- Reviews: Robert De Keyser reviews Jack Richards, John Platt, and Heidi Weber's Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics; Charles Meyer reviews M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan's Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective.
- Brief Reports and Summaries: David Freeman, Yvonne Freeman, and Roseann Gonzalez describe the Sunnyside Sheltered English Program, a pilot summer program for limited English proficient children in Tucson; Patricia Dunkel reviews meta-analyses of the effectiveness literature on computer technology and discusses implications of this research for ESL; and David Nunan reports a preliminary study of the effect of instruction on the acquisition of communication skills by adult learners with minimal proficiency in English enrolled in a language program for newly arrived immigrants to Australia.
- The Forum: Eric Nelson's comments on Janet DeCarrico's recent *TESOL Quarterly article, "Tense, Aspect, and Time in the English Modality System,"* are followed by DeCarrico's response, "Modals, Meaning, and Context."

Stephen J. Gaies

The Dilemma of Teacher Education in TESOL

JACK C. RICHARDS

University of Hawaii at Manoa

This article discusses a dilemma in teacher education. On the one hand, there is evidence that changes in teachers' behavior can be brought about through the use of relatively simple training procedures (e.g., minicourses, microteaching). These procedures typically focus on directly observable, low-inference categories, such as wait-time and question patterns. On the other hand, studies of effective instruction have shown that good teaching cannot be identified solely with these low-inference, discrete, and trainable behaviors. Rather, good teaching is a more complex and abstract phenomenon that has to do more with inferred qualities and abilities, such as classroom management, lesson structuring, and an "active teaching" style. It is not possible to train teachers directly in these high-inference categories. A solution to this dilemma is discussed by considering approaches to teacher education which attempt to bring about the gradual development and understanding of the process of effective teaching.

One indication of the degree of professionalization of a field is the extent to which "the methods and procedures employed by members of a profession are based on a body of theoretical knowledge and research" (Carr & Kemmis, 1983, p. 12). In the field of TESOL, teacher education programs typically include a knowledge base, drawn from linguistics and language learning theory, and a practical component, based on language teaching methodology and opportunity for practice teaching. In principle, knowledge and information from such disciplines as linguistics and second language acquisition provide the theoretical basis for the practical components of TESOL teacher education programs.

One interpretation of the development of TESOL in the last 20 years or so is that a substantial degree of professionalization has taken place. Thus, the theoretical basis of our field has moved from the study of phonetics and grammatical theory—once considered a

necessary (and sometimes sufficient) basis to launch a student into a career as a language teacher—to include the study of pedagogical grammar, discourse analysis, second language acquisition, classroom-based research, interlanguage syntax and phonology, curriculum and syllabus design, and language testing. TESOL has achieved a sense of autonomy, with its own knowledge base, paradigms, and research agenda.

Yet if we see a primary goal of TESOL programs as preparing effective language teachers, this claim to professionalism may be misplaced. While there has been an expansion of the theoretical concepts, research issues, and subject-matter content which constitute much of the field, few who are engaged in developing this knowledge base or research agenda would claim any direct relation between their work and the preparation of language teachers. Research or theory which deals with the nature of second language teaching per se is scant in our professional literature. While there is a body of practice in teacher education in TESOL—based almost exclusively on intuition and common sense—until recently there has been little systematic study of second language teaching processes which could provide a theoretical basis for deriving practices in TESOL teacher education.

To prepare effective language teachers, we need to have a theory of effective language teaching—a statement of the general principles which account for effective teaching, including a specification of the key variables in effective language teaching and how they are interrelated. Such a theory is arrived at through the study of the teaching process itself. This theory should form the basis for the principles and content of TESOL teacher education, which is thus dependent upon the following sequence: (a) Describe effective language teaching processes; (b) develop a theory of the nature of effective language teaching; and (c) develop principles for the preparation of language teachers.

This article examines two approaches to the study of teaching from which theories of teaching as well as principles for teacher preparation programs can be developed. The first, a *microapproach* to the study of teaching, is an analytic approach which looks at teaching in terms of its directly observable characteristics. It involves looking at what the teacher *does* in the classroom. The second, a macroapproach, is holistic (see Britten, 1985a, 1985b) and involves making generalizations and inferences that go beyond what can be directly observed in the way of quantifiable classroom processes. Both approaches can be used to develop theories of effective teaching and to derive principles for teacher education.

However, they lead in different directions, and this is the dilemma of teacher education.

THE MICROAPPROACH TO TEACHING AND TEACHER EDUCATION

The principles of the microapproach to the study of teaching were developed from the study of the teaching of content subjects and were only subsequently applied to the study of second language teaching. In content-matter teaching, there is a long tradition of research into what teacher and teaching variables account for higher levels of learner achievement. This research began by examining teacher characteristics such as the teacher's interests, attitudes, judgment, self-control, enthusiasm, adaptability, personality, or degree of training to see how these factors influenced learning outcomes. Teachers were often evaluated according to how they matched profiles of good teachers derived from the opinions of experts, despite the fact that there was no evidence that teachers having these characteristics were actually successful in bringing about higher levels of learning in their pupils (Ornstein, 1985; Peterson & Walberg, 1979).

In the 1950s, a different dimension was added when research began to examine teaching rather than the teacher. The focus was on what the teacher *does* rather than what the teacher *is.* Systematic analysis of teacher-student interaction in the classroom, as well as other aspects of teacher and learner behavior, led to the development of systems for the coding and analysis of teaching in real time. The focus was on how effective teachers achieved their instructional goals and the kinds of processes they employed. Systematic observation of teachers indicated that

when teachers are visited by observers trained to record their behavior accurately and objectively, appropriate analysis of the records reveals stable differences between the behaviors of teachers who are more effective in helping pupils grow in basic skills, as well as in some affective areas. (Medley, 1979, p. 16)

Effectiveness was generally measured in these studies by higher than predicted gains on measures of achievement in math and reading. The emphasis had thus shifted to the behaviors of effective teachers and the relationship between teacher behavior (what the teacher does) and pupil learning. This became known as *process-product research*.

By the 1970s, after a decade of systematic observation of teachers, a number of aspects of effective teaching had been described and used as the basis for models of effective teaching (Joyce & Weil, 1980). Once identified, effective teaching strategies could be incorporated into various kinds of training packages and pre- and posttraining differences assessed (Mohlman, Kierstead, & Gundlach, 1982).

One characteristic of effective teaching that was soon identified was the teacher's use of questions. Questioning is one of the most commonly employed techniques in the teacher's repertoire. Elementary school teachers may ask as many as 150 questions per hour when teaching science or social studies (Gall, 1970). Researchers were consequently interested in finding out how teachers use questions and what constitutes effective use of questions in the classroom.

Among the aspects of question use that have been investigated are (a) the frequency of low-level and high-level questions (low-level questions require recall of facts; high-level questions require synthesis, analysis, and critical thinking) (Winne, 1979); (b) the degree to which students are encouraged to ask questions (Graesser & Black, 1985); (c) the amount of wait-time teachers allow after a question (i.e., the length of the pause before which a student is called upon to answer a question) (Rowe, 1974); (d) the amount of multiple-response questions used (questions to which at least three or four students may each provide a response) (Gallagher & Aschner, 1963); and (e) the number of times teachers repeat their own or student questions (Orlich et al., 1985).

The quantity and quality of questioning teachers engage in is thought to influence the quality of classroom learning (Orlich et al., 1985). For example, higher level questions are thought to facilitate better learning (Redfield & Rousseau, 1981). The use of student questions rather than teacher questions orients instruction toward students. Increasing the wait-time after questions can lead to increased length of student responses, a greater frequency of student questions, a greater degree of student involvement in lessons, and more participation by slower students (Rowe, 1974). Multiple-response questions encourage student participation in learning, while repetition of questions wastes class time.

The study of teachers' use of questions during instruction and the effects of different patterns of question use on student learning thus enables effective and ineffective question strategies to be distinguished. This information can then be used to teach teachers how to use more effective questioning strategies. A variety of

training formats can be employed to modify a teacher's use of the desired instructional feature.

For example, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development developed a minicourse designed to improve teachers' questioning skills. The components are a film, which explains the concepts, and training, which includes modeling, self-feedback, and microteaching. In field tests with 48 elementary teachers, there was an increase in redirection questions (those requiring multiple student responses) from 26.7% to 40.9%; thought-provoking questions rose from 37.3% to 52.0%; and the use of probing or prompting questions increased from 8.5% to 13.9%. At the same time, teachers' repetition of their own questions decreased from 13.7% to 4.7%, and the answering of the teacher's own questions by the teacher decreased from 4.6% to 0.7% (Borg, Kelley, Langer, & Gall, 1970, p. 82).

Other dimensions of the instructional process which have been found to make a significant contribution to student learning include time-on-task and feedback. Time-on-task, or engaged time, refers to time during a lesson in which learners are actively engaged in instructional tasks (Good & Beckerman, 1978). For example, Teacher A and Teacher B are both teaching the same reading lesson. In Teacher A's class, learners are actively engaged in reading tasks for 75% of the lesson, the remaining time being taken up with noninstructional activities such as taking breaks, lining up, distributing books and homework, and making arrangements for future events. Students in Teacher B's class, however, are actively engaged in reading for only 55% of the lesson. Not surprisingly, studies of time-on-task have found that the more time students spend studying content, the better they learn it. In one study (Stallings & Kaskowitz, 1974), the students with the highest levels of achievement in a reading program were spending about 50% more time actively engaged in reading activities than the children with the lowest achievement gains. Relatively simple procedures can be used to train teachers to monitor their own teaching (e.g., audio recording of their lessons) and to help them increase the ratio of engaged time to classroom time.

How the teacher gives feedback to students has also been examined. Feedback can include praise, picking up an idea suggested by a student and developing it, suggestions that something should be corrected, or criticism. Berliner (1985) suggests that "the first three forms of feedback have been associated with more effective teachers" (p. 147). These kinds of strategies can therefore be used as models in teacher preparation

programs.

While studies of this kind have identified some of the strategies employed by successful teachers in content classes, such information does not necessarily help us identify what it takes to be an effective second language teacher. The goals of instruction in language classes are different from those of content classes, and as a consequence, the strategies adopted by teachers to achieve these goals will vary. Long and Crookes (1986) point out the need for psycholinguistically motivated studies of instruction in second language classrooms, that is, studies which are informed by constructs drawn from second language acquisition theory.

A pioneering project of this kind (Long et al., 1984) focused on ESL teachers' question patterns and wait-time. These were selected as independent variables on the basis of their assumed contribution to the quantity and quality of classroom language use, both of which are essential to second language acquisition. The dependent variable was the kind of input and interaction that resulted from manipulating question patterns and wait-time. A simple training module was developed in which teachers were taught the differences between display questions (those for which answers are known in advance) and referential questions (those for which answers are not known) and the advantages of providing longer wait-time after questions. Teacher question use and wait-time before and after training were measured, and "it was found that the training modules affected teaching behaviors, and that the new behaviors affected student participation patterns in ways believed to be significant for these students' language acquisition" (p. vi).

A basic assumption of process-product approaches to the study of instruction is that teaching can be characterized by recurring patterns of behaviors. The teaching process is viewed in terms of the repertoire of strategies (e.g., control of question patterns and wait-time) employed by the teacher during instruction. The goal of teacher preparation is to impart these strategies as competencies to teachers-in-training. This is sometimes referred to as competency-or performance-based teacher education, which "assumes that the effective teacher differs from the ineffective one primarily in that he has command of a larger repertoire of competencies—skills, abilities, knowledge, and so forth—that contribute to effective teaching" (Medley, 1979, p. 15). Teaching is viewed as a kind of technology, and the teacher educator's task is to get the teacher to perform according to certain rules.

In L2 classrooms with instructional goals in the domain of oral proficiency, the relevant behaviors are verbal phenomena. In order for the researcher to be able to characterize and quantify these behaviors in a microapproach of the kind described here,

phenomena are selected which can be readily operationalized. These are referred to as low-inference categories, that is, "categories whose definitions are clearly enough stated in terms of behavioral characteristics that the observers in a real-time coding situation would reach high levels of agreement, or reliability" (Chaudron, in press). Question types and wait-time, for example, are unambiguous categories which are easy to identify and quantify because they reflect a straightforward form-to-function relation. Recognition of examples of the categories does not depend on making abstract inferences. These low-inference categories can be contrasted with a category such as "indicating a lack of interest in a topic," in which the relationship between form and function is less direct. This is a "high-inference category," the recognition of which depends on more abstract inferences.

The microanalysis of teaching depends on the identification of low-inference categories of teacher behavior which are believed to contribute to student learning (Brown, 1975). While categories of this kind relating to oral language proficiency are fairly readily identifiable (e. g., teachers' questioning patterns, the ratio of teacher talk to pupil talk), it is not clear from current second language acquisition research or other research that these same categories would also be relevant to the study of instruction in L2 reading, writing, or listening comprehension.

However, even if we were able to identify relevant categories of teacher behavior in different kinds or aspects of L2 programs, would we have identified the nature of effective teaching? As many observers have noted, effective teaching cannot be described only in terms of low-inference skills or competencies (Brown, 1975). Higher level categories are also necessary to a theory of teaching.

The notion of time-on-task, for example, is an obvious category for identification and treatment in teacher preparation programs: It is simple to identify and measure, and it is an aspect of teacher performance which should be easy to modify. But time-on-task is closely related to other dimensions of teaching, such as classroom management. A well-managed class is one in which time is well used and in which there are fewer distractions resulting from poor discipline or a poorly structured lesson. Classroom management, however, is not a low-inference category but an aspect of teaching which has to be inferred by observing a teacher for a period of time in a number of different settings. It may take different forms, varying in nature from one teacher to another. Classroom management is not something which can be reduced to a few discrete components that can be imparted to teachers in a short, one-shot training session.

Likewise, even a simple skill such as the use of referential questions versus display questions is dependent upon knowing when one kind of question might be appropriate. As Medley (1979) observes.

the ability to ask higher-order questions is a competency; clarity is not. There are times when higher-order questions are inappropriate, when the teacher who can ask them should not do so; there is no time when clarity is inappropriate. Research in teacher competencies must take account not only of how teachers behave, but when and why they behave as they do. (p. 16)

This essentially is the dilemma of teacher education. While low-inference behaviors can be taught effectively and efficiently to teachers-in-training, these competencies do not in themselves constitute effective teaching. They are linked to more complex aspects of teaching, categories in which it is much more difficult to train teachers but which are essential to a theory of teaching. Let us now consider these aspects of teaching.

THE MACROAPPROACH TO TEACHING AND TEACHER PREPARATION

An alternative approach to the study of teaching and to the development of goals for teacher preparation programs is the examination of the total context of classroom teaching and learning in an attempt to understand how the interactions between and among teacher, learners, and classroom tasks affect learning. This can be called a holistic approach, since it focuses on the nature and significance of classroom events and involves both low-inference and high-inference categories. Such an approach implies different goals for teacher preparation:

Holistic approaches work towards training goals not all of which can be broken down into individually verifiable training objectives, and they stress the development of personal qualities of creativity, judgement and adaptability The formulaic or prescriptivist nature of a mere "vocational training" approach to [teacher training in TESOL] is contrasted by holists with an "education" in more general principles. (Britten, 1985a, p. 113)

This view of teaching is reflected in research on effective instruction. In a comprehensive survey of the research on effective schooling, Blum (1984) summarizes effective classroom practices as follows:

1. Instruction is guided by a preplanned curriculum.

- 2. There are high expectations for student learning.
- 3. Students are carefully oriented to lessons.
- 4. Instruction is clear and focused.
- 5. Learning progress is monitored closely.
- 6. When students don't understand, they are retaught.
- 7. Class time is used for learning.
- 8. There are smooth, efficient classroom routines.
- 9. Instructional groups formed in the classroom fit instructional needs.
- 10. Standards for classroom behavior are high.
- 11. Personal interactions between teachers and students are positive.
- 12. Incentives and rewards for students are used to promote excellence. (pp. 3-6)

This approach to the study of teaching—often termed direct, or active, teaching (the latter term is used in this article, since the term direct teaching has also been used in connection with the DISTAR program [Carnine & Silbert, 1978], which treats only low-inference behaviors)—is based on studies of effective teachers of content subjects, particularly at the elementary level. However, there is also evidence that the notion can be applied to certain kinds of ESL settings as well (Tikunoff, 1983). Rosenshine (1979) describes active teaching as follows:

Direct instruction refers to academically focused, teacher-directed classrooms using sequenced and structured materials. It refers to teaching activities where goals are clear to students, time allocated for instruction is sufficient and continuous, coverage of content is extensive, performance of students is monitored, questions are at a low cognitive level so that students can produce many correct responses, and feedback to students is immediate and academically oriented. In direct instruction the teacher controls instructional goals, chooses materials appropriate for the student's ability, and paces instructional episodes. Interaction is characterized as structured, but not authoritarian. Learning takes place in a convivial academic atmosphere. The goal is to move the students through a sequenced set of materials or tasks. Such materials are common across classrooms and have a relatively strong congruence with the tasks on achievement tests. Thus, we are limiting the term "direct instruction" to didactic ends, that is, towards rational, specific, analytic goals. (p. 38)

According to the theory of active teaching, several dimensions of teaching account for the differences between effective and ineffective instruction (Doyle, 1977; Good, 1979). These include classroom management, structuring, tasks, and grouping.

Classroom management refers to the ways in which student behavior, movement, and interaction during a lesson are organized and controlled by the teacher to enable teaching to take place most effectively. Good managerial skills on the part of the teacher underlie many of the aspects of active teaching in Rosenshine's description. As noted above, a category such as time-on-task is related to the teacher's managerial skills. In a well-managed class, discipline problems are few, and learners are actively engaged in learning tasks and activities; this contributes to the motivational level and expectations for success which the teacher creates in the class. Evertson, Anderson, and Brophy (1978) found that it was possible to identify teachers with managerial problems in the first few days of the school year, that such problems continued throughout the year, and that managerial skills were related to levels of student involvement.

A lesson reflects the concept of *structuring* when the teacher's intentions are clear and instructional activities are sequenced according to a logic and structure which students can perceive. Studies of lesson protocols indicate that sometimes neither the teacher nor the learners understood what the intentions of an activity were, why an activity occurred when it did, what directions they were supposed to follow, or what the relationship between one activity and another was (Tikunoff, Berliner, & Rist, 1975); hence, it may not have been clear what students needed to focus on to complete a task successfully. Fisher et al. (1980) conclude that students "pay attention more when the teacher spends time discussing the goals or structures of the lesson and/or giving directions about what the students are to do" (p. 26). Berliner (1984) likewise suggests that "structuring affects attention and success rate: It is sometimes not done at all, sometimes it is done only minimally, and sometimes it is overdone" (p. 63).

Tasks, or activity structures, refer to activities that teachers assign to attain particular learning objectives. For any given subject at any given level, a teacher uses a limited repertoire of tasks which essentially defines that teacher's methodology of teaching (see Swaffar, Arens, & Morgan, 1982). These might include completing worksheets, reading aloud, dictation, quick writing, and memorizing dialogues. According to Tikunoff (1985), class tasks vary according to three types of demands they make on learners: response mode demands (the kind of skills they demand, such as knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis/synthesis, evaluation); interfactional mode demands (the rules governing how classroom tasks are accomplished, such as individually, in a group,

or with the help of the teacher); and *task complexity demands* (how difficult the learner perceives the task to be).

Teachers have to make decisions not only about the appropriate kinds of tasks to assign to learners, but also about the *order of tasks* (In what sequence should tasks be introduced?); *pacing* (How much time should learners spend on tasks?); *products* (Is the product or result of a task expected to be the same for all students?); *learning strategies* (What learning strategies will be recommended for particular tasks?); *participation* (Should all learners be assigned the same tasks?); and *materials* (What sources and materials are available for completing a task?) (Tikunoff, 1985).

The concept of task has been central to studies of active teaching; as noted above, the amount of time learners are actively engaged in academic tasks is directly related to achievement. Active teaching is thus said to be task oriented. Effective teachers also monitor performance on tasks, providing feedback on how well tasks have been completed.

A related dimension of active instruction is the *grouping* of learners to carry out instructional tasks and the relation between grouping arrangement and achievement. An effective teacher understands how different kinds of groupings (such as seat work, pair work, discussion, reading circle, or lecture) can impede or promote learning. Webb (1980) found that the middle-ability child suffers a loss of achievement, while the low-ability child shows some gains in achievement in mixed-ability groups, compared with what would be expected if both were in uniform-ability groups. Tikunoff (1985) cites Good's findings on groupings.

Good (1982) found that students in low-ability reading groups in the early grades received very little challenge, thus perceiving of themselves as being unable to read. In addition, a long-range result of interacting most frequently with only other students of low-ability in such groups was an inability to respond to the demands of more complex instructional activities. Ironically, Good pointed out that the very strategy used to presumably help low-ability youngsters with their reading problems—pull-out programs in which teachers worked with small groups of these students outside the regular classroom—exacerbated the problem. Demands in the special reading groups were very different from those in the regular classroom and at a much lower level of complexity, so low-ability students were not learning to respond to high level demands that would help them participate competently in their regular classrooms. (p. 56)

According to the theory of active teaching, effective instruction therefore depends on factors such as time-on-task, question patterns, feedback, grouping and task decisions, as well as on factors such as classroom management and structuring. Some of these can be categorized as low-inference and others as high-inference categories.

Although the concept of active teaching evolved from studies of content teaching, Tikunoff's (1983) major study of effective teachers in bilingual education programs has examined the extent to which the model can also be applied to other contexts. Tikunoff suggests that three kinds of competence are needed for the student of limited English proficiency (LEP): participative competence, the ability "to respond appropriately to class demands and to the procedural rules for accomplishing them" (p. 4); interfactional competence, the ability "to respond both to classroom rules of discourse and social rules of discourse, interacting appropriately with peers and adults while accomplishing class tasks" (p. 4); and academic competence, the ability "to acquire new skills, assimilate new information, and construct new concepts" (p. 4). Furthermore, to be functionally proficient in the classroom, the student must be able to utilize these competence to perform three major functions: (a) to decode and understand both task expectations and new information; (b) to engage appropriately in completing tasks, completing them with high accuracy; and (c) to obtain accurate feedback with relation to completing tasks accurately (p. 5).

In the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features descriptive study, Tikunoff (1983) collected data to find out how effective teachers in bilingual education programs organize instruction, structure teaching activities, and enhance student performance on tasks. Teachers were interviewed to determine their instructional philosophies, goals, and the demands they would structure into class tasks. Teachers were clearly able to specify class task demands and intended outcomes and to indicate what LEP students had to do to be functionally proficient. Case studies of teachers were undertaken in which teachers were observed during instruction, with three observers collecting data for the teacher and for four target LEP students. Teachers were interviewed again after instruction.

An analysis of data across the case studies revealed a clear linkage between (1) teachers' ability to clearly specify the intent of instruction, and a belief that students could achieve accuracy in instructional tasks, (2) the organization and delivery of instruction such that tasks and institutional demands reflected this intent, requiring intended student responses, and (3) the fidelity of student consequences with intended outcomes. In other words, teachers were able to describe clearly what

instruction would entail, to operationalize these specifications, and to produce the desired results in terms of student performance. (p. 9)

Tikunoff's (1983) findings confirm that the concept of active teaching can be used to account for effective teaching in bilingual education programs. These findings also suggest the value of extending this approach to the study of effective teaching to other kinds of language programs. What is the equivalent of active teaching in an on-arrival ESL program, an advanced speaking class, or a secondary-level ESL reading class? Once these questions have been answered, the issue arises of the application of the findings to teacher preparation.

APPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER PREPARATION

Although some aspects of effective teaching can be operationalized and presented to teachers-in-training as techniques to be mastered, there is more to teacher preparation than skills training. McIntyre (1980) observes that

both managerial skills and direct instruction are defined only in terms of high-inference variables. . . If this is generally the case, its implication for teacher educators is that we cannot hope to *train* student teachers; whatever one's criteria of effectiveness, the components of effective teaching cannot be spelt out in operational terms, but are crucially dependent on the teacher's qualities. (p. 295)

For the development of these qualities, activities are needed which move beyond "training" and which seek to develop the teacher's awareness and control of the principles underlying the effective planning, organization, management, and delivery of instruction (Elliot, 1980). Both the micro- and macrodimensions of teaching must be addressed (Larsen-Freeman, 1983).

Activities and learning experiences in the first domain—the microperspective—reflect the training view of teacher preparation: Teaching is broken down into discrete and trainable skills such as setting up small-group activities, using strategies for correcting pronunciation errors, using referential questions, monitoring time-on-task, explaining meanings of new words, or organizing practice work. Training experiences which can be provided for the novice teacher include the following:

 Teaching assistantships—assisting an experienced teacher in aspects of a class, such as using classroom aids or administering tests

- 2. Simulations—participating in simulated classroom events, for example, to develop the ability to handle discipline and management problems
- 3. Tutorials—working as a tutor, for example, in a writing laboratory, to gain experience in the use of feedback techniques
- Workshops and minicourses—participating in training sessions focusing on specific instructional techniques, such as use of waittime
- Microteaching—presenting structured minilessons using specific strategies and techniques
- 6. Case studies—observing films or videos in which desired teaching strategies and behaviors are demonstrated

Activities in the second domain—the macroperspective—reflect a view of teacher preparation as *education* and focus on clarifying and elucidating the concepts and thinking processes that guide the effective second language teacher. Activities and experiences are needed which help the novice teacher understand and acquire the means by which the effective teacher arrives at significant instructional decisions. Learning experiences include the following:

- 1. Practice teaching—participating in a variety of practice teaching experiences which are closely supervised by a skilled teacher
- 2. Observation—observing experienced teachers in a focused way and then exploring with the teacher, in a follow-up session, why things happened as they did and attempting to determine the kinds of conscious or unconscious decision making which guided the teacher
- 3. Self- and peer observation—reflecting on self- and peer performance in actual teaching situations, through audio or video recordings, in order to gain a deeper awareness of the processes and principles being employed
- 4. Seminars and discussion activities—reflecting on the degree to which one's own experience as a student teacher relates to theory and to the findings of relevant research

Such an approach to teacher preparation in TESOL requires changes in the role of both student teacher and teacher educator. The student teacher must adopt the role of autonomous learner and researcher, in addition to that of apprentice. The role of the teacher educator is no longer simply that of trainer; he or she must guide the student teacher in the process of generating and testing hypotheses

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and in using the knowledge so acquired as a basis for further development.

This approach rejects the philosophies of "teaching as a craft" or "teaching as common sense," both of which deny the significance of the principles on which good teaching depends. The view of teacher development described here attempts instead to use theory to guide and illuminate the meaning of observation and practical experience. In short, the intent of TESOL teacher education must be to provide opportunities for the novice to acquire the skills and competencies of effective teachers and to discover the working rules that effective teachers use.

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The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach: A Bridge to the Mainstream

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> The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) is designed for limited English proficient students who are being prepared to participate in mainstream content-area instruction. CALLA provides transitional instruction for upper elementary and secondary students at intermediate and advanced ESL levels. This approach furthers academic language development in English through content-area instruction in science, mathematics, and social studies. In CALLA, students are taught to use learning strategies derived from a cognitive model of learning to assist their comprehension and retention of both language skills and concepts in the content areas. This article first discusses the rationale for CALLA and the theoretical background on which the approach is based. This is followed by a description of the three components of CALLA: a curriculum correlated with mainstream content subjects, academic language development activities, and learning strategy instruction. Finally, a lesson plan model integrating these three components is briefly described.

The major objective of ESL programs at the elementary and secondary levels in the United States is to prepare students to function successfully in classrooms where English is the medium of instruction for all subject areas. The approaches used to achieve this objective vary considerably, despite their common intent. A recent national survey (Chamot & Stewner-Manzanares, 1985) of the state of the art in ESL in public schools, for example, found that of 13 different instructional approaches currently in use, the most widely cited by a sample of school districts, Bilingual Education

Multifunctional Support Centers, and teacher trainers in representative universities were the audiolingual method, the Natural Approach, Total Physical Response, communicative approaches, and eclectic or combination approaches. None of these approaches, whatever their other merits or deficiencies, focuses specifically on developing the English language skills used in content-area subjects, such as science, mathematics, and social studies.

Students in ESL programs develop many important skills in English and may become quite proficient in day-to-day survival in English. At the conclusion of 1 or more years of ESL instruction, minority-language students may perform satisfactorily on language proficiency assessment measures and be judged by their teachers as proficient in English communicative skills. They are then mainstreamed into the all-English curriculum, where typically they encounter severe difficulties with the academic program. This problem has been attributed to the increased language demands made by the academic curriculum, particularly as students move beyond the primary grade level. Various researchers have found that the development of these academic language skills lags behind the development of social communicative language skills, often by as much as 5 to 7 years (Cummins, 1983, 1984; Saville-Troike, 1984).

Before entering the mainstream curriculum, minority-language students should be able to use English as a tool for learning subject matter. This ability becomes particularly acute from the middle elementary grades onward because in these upper grades the language of subjects such as social studies, science, and mathematics becomes more academic and less closely related to the language of everyday communication than is the case at the primary grade level. By the middle elementary grades, students are expected to have mastered basic skills in reading, writing, and computation and to understand and use increasingly abstract language. At this level, and increasingly at higher grade levels, the curriculum requires that students listen and read to acquire new information, speak and write to express their understanding of new concepts, use mathematics skills to solve problems, and apply effective strategies for learning to all areas of the curriculum. For the minoritylanguage student, these requirements of the upper elementary and secondary school entail additional language demands. Language proficiency, which may have previously focused on communicative competence, must now focus on academic competence.

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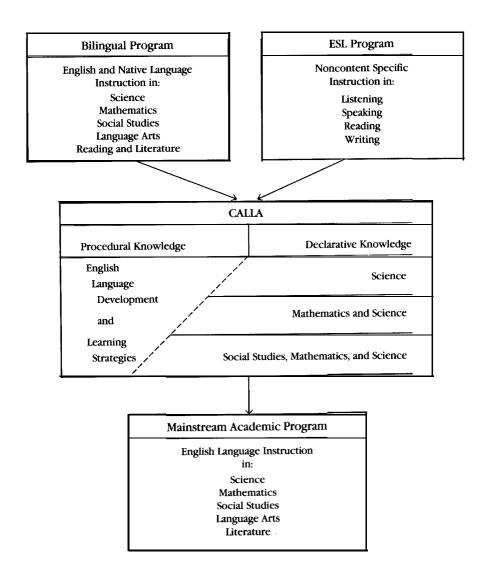
A DESCRIPTION OF THE COGNITIVE ACADEMIC LANGUAGE LEARNING APPROACH

This article describes the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA), an instructional method for limited English proficient (LEP) students who are being prepared to participate in mainstream content instruction. CALLA (pronounced /kalá/) combines English language development with content-based ESL and with instruction in special learner strategies that will help students understand and remember important concepts. Richards (1984) has pointed out that second language methods can be based on a syllabus (or curriculum) or on a theory of learning processes and instructional procedures and that many current methodological approaches reflect one assumption but not the other. CALLA makes these two approaches to language teaching methods interdependent by integrating language learning and teaching theory and the specification of content to be taught.

Richards (1984) has also indicated the importance of addressing the needs of second language learners in program planning. CALLA is designed to meet the educational needs of three types of LEP students: (a) students who have developed social communicative skills through ESL or exposure to an English-speaking environment but who have not developed academic language skills appropriate to their grade level; (b) students exiting from bilingual programs who need assistance in transferring concepts and skills learned in their native language to English; and (c) bilingual, English-dominant students who are even less academically proficient in their native language than in English and need to develop academic English language skills.

The bridge that CALLA provides between special language programs and mainstream education is illustrated in Figure 1. LEP students in ESL and bilingual programs develop initial skills in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in English, and they practice the essentials of communication for mainly social purposes. CALLA is intended for students at the intermediate and advanced levels of English proficiency who need additional experiences in English language development specifically related to three academic areas: science, mathematics, and social studies. The intent is to introduce vocabulary, structures, and functions in English by using concepts drawn from content areas. CALLA is not intended to substitute for mainstream content-area instruction or to teach the basic content expertise required in school district curricula, as is the intention of immersion and "sheltered English" programs.

FIGURE 1 The CALLA Model: A Bridge to the Mainstream



The three content areas addressed by CALLA can be phased into the intermediate-level ESL class one at a time. We recommend beginning with science, since by using a discovery approach to science, teachers can capitalize on experiential learning opportunities which provide both contextual support and language development. The next subject to be introduced is mathematics. which has less contextual support and a more restricted language register than science. Social studies is the third subject introduced in the CALLA model, since of the three, it is the most language- and culture-dependent; in addition, it includes many topics which are not easily amenable to experiential learning activities. A fourth subject area, English language arts, is a planned addition to the model. Because language is the focus of study as well as the medium through which lessons in literature and composition are taught, this subject is the most language-dependent of all, and it is also probably at least as culture-dependent as social studies.

The CALLA model has three components: (a) a curriculum correlated with mainstream content areas, (b) English language development integrated with content subjects, and (c) instruction in the use of learning strategies. Each of these components is examined separately, following a discussion of the theoretical framework underlying CALLA. The final section of this article provides guidelines for integrating these components into a single instructional approach.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A brief examination of the theoretical base for CALLA illustrates the relationship between this instructional approach and current developments in cognitive psychology. Recent efforts to describe both second language acquisition and learning strategies within the cognitive theory proposed by Anderson (1981, 1983, 1985) provide the necessary theoretical foundation (O'Malley, Chamot, & Walker, in press).

In Anderson's view, information is stored in memory in two forms: *declarative knowledge*, or what we know about a given topic, and *procedural knowledge*, or what we know how to do. Examples of declarative knowledge include word definitions, facts, and rules, including our memory for images and sequences of events. This type of knowledge is represented in long-term memory in terms of meaning-based concepts rather than precisely replicated events or specific language. The concepts on which meaning is

based are represented in memory as nodes that are associated with other nodes through connecting associations or links. These interconnected nodes may be organized into propositions, which show the relationships of arguments in sentences; into hierarchies, which show classification relationships with similar concepts in memory; or into larger units of memory called schemata, which reveal a configuration of interrelated features that define a concept. In any of these representations, the strength of associations in the link between nodes is largely due to prior learning experiences.

Procedural knowledge underlies our ability to understand and generate language. According to Anderson's theory, procedural knowledge is represented in memory by production systems, which are the basis for explaining how complex cognitive skills such as language are learned and used. Production systems are rule-based conditional actions (*if-then* relationships) which are initially represented like declarative knowledge but which may become automatic through repeated practice. Production systems have been used to describe procedural knowledge in reading, mathematical problem solving, and chess, as well as language comprehension and production. Production systems have been used by Anderson (1983) to represent linguistic rules and by O'Malley, Chamot, and Walker (in press) to represent sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence.

Whereas declarative knowledge of factual information may be acquired quickly, procedural knowledge such as language skill is acquired gradually and only with extensive opportunities for practice. Anderson indicates that language is a complex cognitive process which requires explicit or implicit knowledge about language as a system and extensive practice in order to reach an autonomous stage. This theoretical distinction is a familiar one to second language teachers, who tend to alternate between teaching language as declarative knowledge (grammar, rules, pronunciation, vocabulary) and language as procedural knowledge (communicative competence, functional proficiency, fluency).

What is most important about Anderson's theory is that an interplay between declarative and procedural knowledge leads to the refinement of language ability. Anderson discusses ways in which new information is processed in working memory and accessed to long-term memory, from which it can be retrieved at a later date. He identifies three empirically derived stages that describe the process by which a complex cognitive skill such as language is acquired: (a) a cognitive stage, in which learning is deliberate, rule based, and often error laden; (b) an associative stage, in which actions are executed more rapidly and errors begin

to diminish; and (c) an autonomous stage, in which actions are performed more fluently and the original rule governing the performance may no longer be retained. Thus, as the same procedure is used repeatedly, access to the rules that originally produced the procedure may be lost.

Although he does not mention learning strategies, Anderson's description of these cognitive processes is congruent with the types of learning strategies which have been identified in research with LEP students (Cohen & Aphek, 1981; Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper, & Russo, 1985; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985). A number of the mental processes Anderson discusses serve to explain how strategies are represented, how they are learned, and how they influence second language acquisition. O'Malley, Chamot, and Walker (in press) have suggested that learning strategies are declarative knowledge which may become procedural knowledge through practice. Learning strategies are conscious and deliberate when they are in the cognitive and associative stages of learning but may no longer be considered strategic in the autonomous stage, since the strategies are applied automatically and often without awareness (Rabinowitz & Chi, 1987). As with other complex cognitive skills, the strategies are acquired only with extensive opportunities for application.

Viewing second or foreign language acquisition as a cognitive skill offers several advantages for research on language learning strategies. Anderson's model provides a comprehensive and well-specified theoretical framework for second language learning and can be adapted to provide a detailed process view of how students acquire and retain a new language. This model can also help to identify and describe the existence and use of specific learning strategies for different types of learners at various stages in second language development. Finally, a cognitive-skill model of second language acquisition can provide guidance in the selection and application of learning strategies in the instruction of second and foreign language students.

We have applied Anderson's theoretical principles to the CALLA model in the following preliminary way:

1. The content component of the CALLA model represents declarative knowledge. This includes the concepts, facts, and skills underlying science, mathematics, and social studies at the student's grade level. An extension of these content areas to include English language arts would add grammatical knowledge, rhetorical knowledge, and knowledge about literary

themes, plots, and story grammars to this store of declarative knowledge.

- 2. The language development component of CALLA aims to teach the procedural knowledge that students need to use language as a tool for learning. In this component, students are given sufficient practice in using language in academic contexts so that language comprehension and production become automatic and students develop the ability to communicate about academic subjects.
- 3. The learning strategies instruction component of the CALLA model builds on Anderson's theory and suggests ways in which teachers can foster autonomy in their students. Many of the learning strategies identified in previous research (O'Malley, Chamot, & Küpper, 1986; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper, & Russo, 1985; O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985; Rubin, 1981; Wenden, 1985) can be used as powerful learning tools.

COMPONENTS OF THE MODEL

The Content-Based Curriculum

The importance of integrating language learning with content learning has been stated by Mohan (1986):

Regarding language as a medium of learning naturally leads to a cross-curriculum perspective. We have seen that reading specialists contrast learning to read with reading to learn. Writing specialists contrast learning to write with writing to learn. Similarly, language education specialists should distinguish between language learning and using language to learn. Helping students use language to learn requires us to look beyond the language domain to all subject areas and to look beyond language learning to education in general. Outside the isolated language classroom students learn language and content at the same time. Therefore we need a broad perspective which integrates language and content learning. (p. 18)

The purpose of CALLA is to provide a broad framework for using language to learn through the integration of language and content.

Content-based English language development is not only important for developing academic language skills, but it is also inherently more interesting to many students than ESL classes which focus on language only. Content areas such as science, mathematics, and social studies present numerous topics related to a variety of personal interests. LEP students can be motivated not only by the topics presented but also by knowing that they are

developing the concepts and skills associated with these subjects—in other words, that they are actually doing "real" school work instead of merely learning a second language for applications that have yet to be revealed.

LEP students making the transition from a special language program such as bilingual education or ESL need systematic and extensive instruction and practice in the types of activities they will encounter in the mainstream class. An occasional, randomly selected ESL lesson on a topic in social studies or science will not adequately prepare students. This is especially true in the middle and upper grade levels, where the curriculum in the content areas becomes progressively more demanding, both in terms of information load and language demands. To be most effective, a content-based ESL curriculum should encompass the sequence and major-scope areas of the mainstream curriculum. The topics incorporated should be authentic and important topics for the grade level of the student.

In a beginning-level ESL class, for example, middle and upper grade (as well as primary grade) students learn to count and do simple arithmetic computation in English. But this is not an appropriate content-based, English language development curriculum for older students because it is not sufficiently challenging. A curriculum that merely reviews concepts and skills already developed in the first language can rapidly become a series of exercises in translation of vocabulary and skills from L1 to L2 and may not stimulate students to begin to use the second language as a tool for learning. Instead, students who already have a background in a content area and who have already developed English proficiency through ESL instruction need a content-based curriculum in which they use English to solve problems and develop additional concepts that are appropriate for their grade and achievement level.

For these reasons, it is important that the content component be based on the mainstream curriculum for the grade level of the students who will participate in the program. This does not mean that it should be identical to the mainstream program (which would make it a submersion model) or that it should replace the mainstream program (as in immersion and "sheltered English" programs). Rather, a CALLA curriculum includes a sample of high-priority content topics that develop academic language skills appropriate to the subject area at the student's grade level. Of course, adjustments will need to be made in the case of students whose previous schooling has been interrupted and who are therefore not at grade level in their native language. As with any

instructional program, teachers should discover what students already know about a subject and then build on this previous knowledge by providing them with experiences that develop new concepts and expand previous ones.

To select content topics for CALLA lessons, ESL teachers can coordinate with classroom teachers and consult subject-area textbooks for the grade level concerned. Classroom teachers can identify the most important concepts and skills taught in the content areas they teach. Science, mathematics, and social studies textbooks can be used as a source of specific information to be presented. Having used these resources to identify lesson topics, the ESL teacher can build language development activities onto the content information selected.

To sum up, the CALLA content-based curriculum is based on authentic subject matter from the mainstream curriculum which has been selected as central to the concepts and skills that are developed at particular grade levels.

English Language Development

The purpose of English language development, the second component of the CALLA model, is to provide students with practice in using English as a tool for learning academic subject matter. Reading and language arts can be taught as part of content-area subjects such as social studies, mathematics, and science. The language demands of the different content subjects, which include the language of curriculum materials and of classroom participation, need to be analyzed so that students can be taught the actual language functions, structures, and subject-specific vocabulary that they will need when they enter the mainstream content class. These language demands, which are different from those of the beginning-level ESL class or the type of language used for social interaction, need to be specifically taught and practiced in the context of actual subject-matter learning.

Cummins (1982, 1983) indicates that two dimensions can be used to describe the language demands encountered by LEP students. The first dimension concerns contextual cues that assist comprehension, and the second concerns the complexity of the task. Language that is most comprehensible is contextualized and rich in nonverbal cues such as concrete objects, gestures, facial expressions, and visual aids. Language that is least comprehensible is language in which context cues have been reduced to such a degree that comprehension depends entirely on the listener's or reader's ability to extract meaning from text without assistance from a nonverbal context.

The second dimension, task complexity, suggests that comprehension is affected by the cognitive demands of the task. Examples of less demanding language tasks are vocabulary, grammar drills, and following directions. More cognitively demanding tasks call on the use of language for higher level reasoning and for integrative language skills (e.g., reading and listening comprehension, speaking or writing about academic topics). By combining these two dimensions, tasks involving language use can be classified into one of four categories: easy and contextualized, difficult but contextualized, context reduced but easy, and context reduced and difficult.

Although context-reduced language is commonly associated with written language, oral language can also vary along the context-embedded to context-reduced continuum. Davidson, Kline, and Snow (1986) define contextualized oral language as conversational, interactive, and supported by shared knowledge and experiences. Decontextualized oral language, on the other hand, is characterized as language that is not interactive and concerns a topic on which no shared knowledge exists. This seems a fair description of much of the content and presentation style in typical subject-area instruction.

Figure 2 is based on Cummins's (1982) model of two intersecting continua for second language tasks. Allen (1985) has pointed out that ESL classes generally stress activities in Quadrant I and that students are then mainstreamed directly into Quadrant IV activities. The sample activities listed in each quadrant can provide the teacher with information about activities appropriate to the English proficiency level and age or grade placement of LEP students. The activities listed in Quadrant I might be used in beginning-level ESL classes. LEP students' first experiences with decontextualized language could be planned around the activities listed in Quadrant II. Some of these activities relate to personal or social communication, and others relate to school activities involving mainly rote learning. Academic content is included in the activities listed in Quadrant III, but context needs to be built into the activities to assist comprehension. Activities in this quadrant require hands-on experiences and concrete referents. Finally, the activities listed in Quadrant IV represent those of the mainstream classroom at the upper elementary and secondary levels. These are the kinds of activities that LEP students have most difficulty with because they are cognitively demanding and because the language associated with them is reduced in context. Although ESL students probably need to begin with Quadrant I activities and must eventually be able to perform Quadrant IV activities, some teachers may prefer

FIGURE 2 Classification of language and Content Activities Within Cummins's (1982) Framework

| | Nonacademic or cognitively undemanding activities | Academic and cognitively demanding activities |
|------------------|--|--|
| 1 | I | Ш |
| | Developing survival vocabulary | Developing academic vocabulary |
| | Following demonstrated directions | Undemanding academic presentations accompanied by visuals, demonstrations of a process, etc. |
| | | Participating in hands-on science activities |
| | Playing simple games | Making models, maps, charts, and graphs in social studies |
| Context-embedded | Participating in art, music, physical education, and some vocational education classes | Solving math computation problems |
| ext-em | education classes | Solving math word problems assisted by manipulative and/or illustrations |
| ont | Engaging in face-to-face interactions | Participating in academic discussions |
| ŭ | Practicing oral language exercises and communicative language functions | Making brief oral presentations |
| | | Using higher level comprehension skills in listening to oral texts |
| | | Understanding written texts through discussion, illustrations, and visuals |
| | | Writing simple science and social studies reports with format provided |
| | Answering lower level questions | Answering higher level questions |
| | II | IV |
| | Engaging in predictable telephone conversations | Understanding academic presentations without visuals or demonstrations |
| | | Making formal oral presentations |
| peor | Developing initial reading skills: decoding and literal comprehen- sion | Using higher level reading comprehen- sion skills: inferential and critical reading |
| rt-red | Reading and writing for personal purposes: notes, lists, recipes, etc. | Reading for information in content subjects |
| Context-reduced | Reading and writing for operational purposes: directions, forms, licenses. etc. | Writing compositions, essays, and re- search reports in content subjects |
| | ncenses. etc. | Solving math word problems without illustrations |
| | Writing answers to lower level questions | Writing answers to higher level questions Taking standardized achievement tests |

that activities in Quadrants II and III take place concurrently rather than sequentially.

An important objective of the English language development component of the CALLA model is to provide students with extensive transitional language activities in Quadrant III and gradually initiate some practice with the context-reduced and cognitively demanding activities of Quadrant IV. Although some language activities may be integrated with mainstream content-area instruction in the typical school curriculum, these may consist primarily of reading for information. LEP students need to develop not only content-area reading skills, but also the listening, speaking, and writing skills associated with each subject. The number and variety of language activities in a content-based curriculum for LEP students should provide many opportunities for the development of academic language proficiency.

The following aspects of language should be included in the language development component of the CALLA model (Chamot, 1985): development of the specialized vocabulary and technical terms of each content area; practice with the language functions used in academic communication, such as explaining, informing, describing, classifying, and evaluating; development of the ability to comprehend and use the language structures and discourse features found in different subject areas; and practice in using the language skills needed in the content classroom, such as listening to explanations, reading for information, participating in academic discussions, and writing reports. By integrating these types of language activities with grade-appropriate content, a curriculum based on the CALLA model can provide LEP students with the conceptual knowledge and language skills they will need to participate successfully in the mainstream classroom.

Learning Strategy Instruction

The CALLA model uses learning strategy instruction as an approach to teaching the content-based language development curriculum described in the preceding sections. Learning strategy instruction is a cognitive approach to teaching that helps students learn conscious processes and techniques that facilitate the comprehension, acquisition, and retention of new skills and concepts. The use of learning strategy instruction in second language learning is based on four main propositions (see Chipman, Sigel, & Glaser, 1985; Derry & Murphy, 1986; Weinstein & Mayer, 1986):

- 1. Mentally active learners are better learners. Students who organize new information and consciously relate it to existing knowledge should have more cognitive linkages to assist comprehension and recall than do students who approach each new task as something to be memorized by rote learning.
- 2. Strategies can be taught. Students who are taught to use strategies and provided with sufficient practice in using them will learn more effectively than students who have had no experience with learning strategies.
- 3. Learning strategies transfer to new tasks. Once students have become accustomed to using learning strategies, they will use them on new tasks that are similar to the learning activities on which they were initially trained.
- 4. Academic language learning is more effective with learning strategies. Academic language learning among students of English as a second language is governed by some of the same principles that govern reading and problem solving among native English speakers.

While research evidence supports the first two propositions, the transfer of strategies to new learning requires extensive instructional support. We have attempted to make learning strategy instruction a pervasive part of the CALLA program in response to this need, not only to encourage use of strategies while the students are in CALLA, but also to encourage strategy use when the students exit to the mainstream curriculum.

The fourth proposition is based in part on our own observation that strategies for language learning are similar to strategies for learning content (O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Küpper, & Russo, 1985) and in part on our positive experiences with the effects of learning strategy instruction on integrative language tasks among ESL students (O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985). While strategies for learning language and content are very similar, LEP students may have difficulty in discovering the application of strategies to content because their attention is focused on figuring out and comprehending the English language. In CALLA, the blending of language and content results in unified learning tasks to which students can apply learning strategies that facilitate the comprehension and retention of both declarative and procedural knowledge.

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Strategy instruction, we believe, is necessary to provide LEP students with extra support in learning language and content, especially when they are in the process of making the transition from the simplified language of the beginning-level ESL class to the more authentic language of the intermediate and advanced level. This is not a new notion. Holleyfield (1977), in arguing against simplification of text after the beginning ESL level, suggests an alternative approach in which we would help intermediate and advanced students to "cope earlier with unsimplified materials by giving training in such skills as *inferring unknown meanings from context, giving selective attention to material in accordance with realistic reading purposes, recognizing communicative structure* [italics added], and others" (p. 440). The italicized skill descriptions are precisely what we understand as conscious learning strategies, as defined in the cognitive psychology literature.

Studies in learning strategy applications indicate that students taught to use new strategies can become more effective learners (O'Malley, 1985). In a recent experimental study, second language learners were taught to use learning strategies for vocabulary, listening comprehension, and formal speaking tasks using academic content (O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985). The results showed that learning strategy instruction was most effective for the more integrative language tasks which involved the use of academic language skills to understand or produce extended text.

Our original list of learning strategies (see O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985) was derived from research on learning strategies in first language reading and problem solving, research in second language learning, and our own initial research. This initial learning strategies list has undergone adaptations based on later research (O'Malley, Chamot, & Küpper, 1986) and on our experiences in training teachers on the CALLA model. The three major categories of learning strategies, however, have continued to be useful in differentiating groups of strategies and in showing teachers how to integrate strategy instruction into their daily lessons. These major categories are as follows:

1. Metacognitive strategies: These involve executive processes in planning for learning, monitoring one's comprehension and production, and evaluating how well one has achieved a learning objective.

- 2. Cognitive strategies: The learner interacts with the material to be learned by manipulating it mentally (as in making mental images or relating new information to previously acquired concepts *or* skills) or physically (as in grouping items to be learned in meaningful categories or taking notes on or making summaries of important information to be remembered).
- Social-affective strategies: The learner either interacts with another person in order to assist learning, as in cooperation or asking questions for clarification, or uses some kind of affective control to assist learning.

We have selected a smaller number of strategies from the original list of those reported by ESL students (see O'Malley, Chamot, Stewner-Manzanares, Russo, & Küpper, 1985) for teachers to use as the principal instructional approach for CALLA. These, we believe, are strategies which are easy to teach, useful for both discrete and integrative language tasks, and applicable to both content and language learning.

Learning strategies for CALLA are listed and defined in the Appendix. Some of these strategies may be known to teachers by the term of *study skills*. Study skills describe overt behavior, such as taking notes, writing summaries, or using reference materials. Learning strategies, on the other hand, generally refer to mental processes which are not observable. Although this distinction between learning strategies and study skills is important theoretically, we do not believe that it is always necessary to differentiate them in practice.

Some learning strategies are particularly powerful because they can be used for many different types of learning activities. For example, metacognitive strategies which can be applied to any type of learning are selective attention, self-monitoring, and self-evaluation. Students can use selective attention to assist comprehension by attending to the linguistic markers that signal the type of information that will follow. Some examples of phrases which serve as linguistic markers are discussed in Chamot and O'Malley (1986b):

"Today we're going to talk about . . . " indicates the main topic of the presentation. Markers such as "The most important thing to remember about . . ." indicate that a main idea is about to be presented. When students hear markers such as "For instance. . ." or "An example of. . . ", they know that they can expect an example or a detail. And when students hear a marker such as "Finally, . . ." or "In conclusion, . . . ", they can expect a concluding summary of the main points. (p. 11)

Self-monitoring is a metacognitive strategy which has been linked to productive language, in which students correct themselves during speaking or writing. We have discovered that effective ESL listeners also use self-monitoring to check on how well they are comprehending an oral text (O'Malley, Chamot, & Küpper, 1986). The consequence of self-monitoring is that students spend more time being actively involved in the comprehension and learning task. Self-evaluation assists learning by helping students decide how well they have accomplished a learning task and whether they need to relearn or review any aspects of it.

A number of cognitive learning strategies can be used by ESL students to assist learning. Elaboration is one of the most powerful strategies and can be applied to all four language skills and to all types of content. When students elaborate, they recall prior knowledge, consciously interrelate parts of what they are learning, and integrate new information to their existing knowledge structure, or schemata. The following example (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986a) illustrates elaboration:

The learner thinks, "Let's see. I have to read some information about the early history of California. What do I already know about California history? Well, the Spanish were there first, and then it belonged to Mexico, then there was a war between Mexico and the U. S., and now it's an important state . . ." The student goes on to read the assigned text, confirms previous knowledge, and also learns some new facts. During or after reading, the student may think, "Well, I didn't know that there were Russians in California too. Let's see, how does this fit in with what I already know about the Spanish in California?" The student uses elaboration in relating new information to previous knowledge and by incorporating it into an existing conceptual framework. (p. 18)

School tasks often require students to learn new information on topics on which they do not possess existing knowledge, so that elaboration may not be possible. It is important for students in this case to organize the new information effectively so that the information can be retrieved and future efforts to use elaboration will be fruitful. Grouping is a strategy which students without prior knowledge on a topic can use to organize or classify new information. In this way, a network, or schema, is established that will make the new knowledge accessible in the future. Grouping is particularly important in science and social studies content areas, where students need to understand classification systems and cause-and-effect relationships. To facilitate comprehension of groups or sets, students may use the strategy of imagery as a way of making mental or actual diagrams of the structure of new information.

Grouping and imagery may be particularly effective in conveying knowledge structures to students whose prior education has been interrupted.

The social-affective learning strategies listed in the Appendix can be helpful for many types of learning activities. Cooperation is a strategy which has been shown to have positive effects on both attitude and learning. It is particularly useful for LEP students because by working cooperatively on a task, they practice using language skills directly related to an academic task. Questioning for clarification is also important because students need to learn how to ask questions when they do not understand. Some LEP students may not know how or when to ask appropriate questions, or even that U.S. teachers expect students to ask questions. Self-talk is an affective strategy in which students allay their anxiety by reassuring themselves about their own abilities. It has been used as a way of helping students overcome test anxiety and could be used in any situation in which students feel anxious about a learning task.

We believe that teachers can help their LEP students become more effective learners in general by showing them how to apply a variety of learning strategies to different activities that they may encounter in learning English as well as other subjects in the curriculum. Suggestions for learning strategy instruction include showing students how to apply the strategies, suggesting a variety of different strategies for the language and content tasks of the curriculum, and providing many examples of learning strategies throughout the curriculum so that students will be able to generalize them to new learning activities in other classes and even outside the classroom (Chamot & O'Malley, 1986a). Effective transfer of strategies to other classes also requires that students be made aware of the strategies they are using and be able to verbalize the conditions under which strategies can be used.

A DESCRIPTION OF A CALLA LESSON PLAN MODEL

To integrate the three components of CALLA, we have developed a lesson plan model that incorporates content-area topics, language development activities, and learning strategy instruction. In this plan, learning strategy instruction is embedded into daily lessons so that it becomes an integral part of the regular class routine, rather than a supplementary activity. In this way, students have opportunities to practice the strategies on actual lessons, and use of the strategies becomes part of the class requirements. At first, the teacher shows the students how to use the strategies and provides reminders and cues so that they will be used.

Later, teachers should diminish the reminders to allow students to use strategies independently.

CALLA lessons identify both language and content objectives, so that teachers can specify both procedural and declarative tasks for their ESL students. The lessons are divided into five phases: Preparation, Presentation, Practice, Evaluation, and Follow-Up Expansion. In the Preparation phase, teachers provide advance organizers about the lesson, and students identify what they already know about a topic, using elaboration as a strategy. In the Presentation phase, teachers provide new information to students, using techniques which make their input comprehensible. Teachers can use advance organizers and encourage the use of selective attention, self-monitoring, inferencing, summarizing, and transfer. In the Practice phase, students engage in activities in which they apply learning strategies, often in cooperative small-group sessions. During this phase, the teacher should encourage the use of strategies such as grouping, imagery, organizational planning, deduction, inferencing, and questioning for clarification. In the Evaluation phase, students reflect on their individual learning and plan to remedy any deficiencies they may have identified. Finally, in the Follow-Up Expansion phase, students are provided with opportunities to relate and apply the new information to their own lives, call on the expertise of their parents and other family members, and compare what they have learned in school with their own cultural experiences.

CONCLUSION

The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach, an instructional method for limited English proficient students at the intermediate and advanced levels of English proficiency, is intended to be a bridge between bilingual or ESL instruction and academic mainstream classes. It focuses on English language development through cognitively based content-area instruction in science, mathematics, and social studies. CALLA teaches students the academic language skills and learning strategies they need to succeed in content areas and can also help the English-dominant but still limited English proficient bilingual student acquire these types of language skills. The approach addresses the need for English language development in the four language skill areas of listening, reading, speaking, and writing. CALLA is designed to supply added support for English language development among LEP students and is not a replacement for experience in mainstream classes.

CALLA is the result of an interdisciplinary effort to improve the education of limited English proficient students in U.S. schools. We plan to continue developing, refining, adapting, and testing our model in the hope that CALLA can make a significant contribution to the present and future needs of our growing minority-language school population.

Programs based on CALLA are being implemented in several school districts. As teachers and program directors work on their own to develop a CALLA-based instructional approach, we hope that they will let us know how CALLA works for them so that we can incorporate their ideas and suggestions as we continue to develop and refine our model.

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APPENDIX Learning Strategy Definitions

| Learning strategy | Definition |
|----------------------------|--|
| | Metacognitive strategies |
| 1. Advance organization | Previewing the main ideas and concepts of the material to be learned, often by skimming the text for the organizing principle |
| 2. Organizational planning | Planning the parts, sequence, main ideas, or language functions to be expressed orally or in writing |
| 3. Selective attention | Deciding in advance to attend to specific aspects of input, often by scanning for key words, concepts, and/or linguistic markers |
| 4. Self-monitoring | Checking one's comprehension during listening or reading or checking the accuracy and/or appropri- ateness of one's oral or written production while it is taking place |
| 5. Self-evaluation | Judging how well one has accomplished a learning activity after it has been completed |

| | Cognitive etretegies |
|----------------------------------|--|
| | Cognitive strategies |
| 1. Resourcing | Using target language reference materials such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, or textbooks |
| 2. Grouping | Classifying words, terminology, or concepts according to their attributes |
| 3. Note taking | Writing down key words and concepts in abbre- viated verbal, graphic, or numerical form during a listening or reading activity |
| 4. Summarizing | Making a mental, oral, or written summary of information gained through listening or reading |
| 5. Deduction/induction | Applying rules to understand or produce the second language or making up rules based on language analysis |
| 6. Imagery | Using visual images (either mental or actual) to understand and remember new information |
| 7. Auditory representation | Playing back in one's mind the sound of a word, phrase, or longer language sequence |
| 8. Elaboration | Relating new information to prior knowledge, relating different parts of new information to each other, or making meaningful personal associations with the new information |
| 9. Transfer | Using previous linguistic knowledge or prior skills to assist comprehension or production |
| 10. Inferencing | Using information in an oral or written text to guess meanings, predict outcomes, or complete missing parts |
| | Social-affective strategies |
| 1. Questioning for clarification | Eliciting from a teacher or peer additional explana- tion, rephrasing, examples, or verification |
| 2. Cooperation | Working together with peers to solve a problem, pool information, check a learning task, model a language activity, or get feedback on oral or written performance |
| 3. Self-talk | Reducing anxiety by using mental techniques that make one feel competent to do the learning task |

English Proficiency and Academic Performance of hternational Students

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The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) is the most widely used measure to determine the extent to which international students have developed the English language skills necessary for successful college-level study in the United States and Canada; a number of studies have examined the relationship between TOEFL score and academic success. In the study reported in this article, the records of 376 international graduate students at the State University of New York at Albany were analyzed for relationships among TOEFL score, grade point average, graduate credits earned, and academic major. TOEFL score was not found to be an effective predictor of academic success, as measured by grade point average, for this group of graduate students. However, there was a significant correlation between TOEFL score and graduate credits earned, and there were substantial differences among academic majors in the correlation between TOEFL score and grade point average. Directions for further research are discussed.

For some time, educators have recognized the importance of adequate English language proficiency for successful academic performance by international learners in U.S. institutions of higher education (Dunnett, 1985; Gibson, 1985). The issue has assumed growing importance as a result of the increased enrollment of international students at campuses across the country. In the 1983-1984 academic year, some 339,000 foreign students were enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, a considerable increase over previous years (Institute of International Education, 1984). At the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA), the population of

international students has increased dramatically, from 346 in the fall of 1980 to nearly 700 in the fall of 1985. System-wide in the State University of New York, international student enrollment in the fall of 1985 was nearly 7,000.

Despite increased international student populations and heightened interest in the topic, there is little unequivocal evidence regarding the relationship between international students' scores on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and their academic success (Hale, Stansfield, & Duran, 1983). This is due at least in part to the complexity of the concept of language proficiency (Canale, 1983) and in part to the difficulty of measuring the variety of English language skills necessary for academic success (Cummins, 1983).

Canale (1983) notes, for example, that the language used for communication involves an ongoing process of negotiation and evaluation which is both subtle and complex. In this view, there are four major components of the communication process. Perhaps the most obvious is grammatical competence, consisting of knowledge of vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling, and word and sentence formation. Sociolinguistic competence consists of rules of appropriateness governing use of forms and meanings in different contexts. The third component is discourse competence, including knowledge required to combine forms and meanings to achieve unified spoken or written discourse. Finally, there is strategic competence, which includes knowledge of verbal and nonverbal communication strategies that may be called upon to compensate for limitations in one or more other areas of communicative competence. It has been suggested that the international learner will have to master important aspects of these systems for successful study at a U.S. university.

In discussing the language skills necessary for academic success, Cummins (1980) distinguishes between basic interpersonal communication skills and cognitive academic language proficiency. Cummins (1983) notes that although face-to-face communication skills are largely mastered by immigrant students within about 2 years of arrival in the host country, it takes from 5 to 7 years for students to approach grade-level norms in second language academic skills. Although most international students at U.S. universities are not "immigrant students," it is clear that mastery of appropriate communication skills for academic success is for them a complex and formidable task.

The most widely used measure to determine the extent to which international students have developed the English language skills necessary for successful college-level study is the TOEFL. Although over 2,500 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada require applicants from non-English-speaking countries to take the TOEFL (Hale et al., 1983), the test has been criticized both as a measure of language proficiency and as a predictor of academic success across the great diversity of campuses at which it is used (American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1971; Traynor, 1985).

Academic success may require different levels of language skills at different campuses and for different academic majors. One way of clarifying the role of the TOEFL in predicting academic success at a given institution is to conduct institution-specific studies at the campuses involved, a practice suggested by the Educational Testing Service (1985), the producer of the TOEFL. This article reports the preliminary findings of such a study at SUNYA.

The broad question addressed in the study was the extent to which TOEFL scores predict academic success for international graduate students at SUNYA. More specifically, we were interested in determining the relationship between the institutional admissions criterion of a TOEFL score of 550 and academic success, defined as grade point average (GPA) during the first semester of graduate study at SUNYA. Although GPA has been criticized as a criterion for graduate school success (Davis, 1964), others have noted that GPA frequently determines whether or not a student remains in graduate school, that it is a "fact of life" for international graduate students, and that there are few other readily accessible criteria for academic success which are clearly more relevant (Sharon, 1972).

Academic major (grouped by college or school) was a moderator variable in the study. Angelis, Swinton, and Cowell (1979) have noted that while quantitative aptitude scores are not greatly affected by English language proficiency, verbal performance on the Graduate Record Examination is highly affected by English proficiency. Their study thus supports our own intuitive assumption that academic achievement in the hard sciences, requiring quantitative skills, is less affected by English language proficiency than is academic achievement in the humanities and social sciences. Course load (credits enrolled/credits earned) was the final variable considered.

METHODOLOGY

Graduate transcripts of 1,095 international students enrolled at SUNYA for the period of fall 1980 through fall 1985 were provided by the University Registrar. These permitted calculations of GPAs and identification of nationality and academic major. To avoid confounding English language proficiency (as measured by TOEFL) prior to beginning graduate study with English proficiency gained during study at SUNYA, GPA was calculated and utilized for the first semester of study only. TOEFL scores, obtained by hand from international students' folders, were available for 387 of the 1,095 international students. Reasons for the lack of scores for the remaining students included the unavailability of the TOEFL (in China, for example), admission on the basis of other language tests (e. g., American Language Institute/Georgetown University Test, the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency), and prior English-medium instruction. Of the 387 students, GPAs were available for 376, and this group became the subjects for the analytic portion of the study.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data for this study. The number of subjects entered in the data base was 387, and this number was used for descriptive statistics involving TOEFL scores only. The 11 subjects for whom we had no GPA were simply treated as "missing data" cases by the SPSS analysis. Thus, for all statistical analyses involving TOEFL score, GPA, and credits earned, the number of subjects is 376.

The mean TOEFL score of the subjects was 561 (SD=46), which is higher than that of the TOEFL reference group of graduate students (M=508, SD=64) reported by the Educational Testing Service (1985). The mean first-semester GPA for the group was 3.40 (SD=0.54). Thus, the subjects can be characterized as a high-achiever group; 50% of the international students in the group were "straight A" students, and only 8% scored below B. Descriptive statistics for TOEFL score and GPA, by major and by language background, are summarized in Table 1. A breakdown of the subjects by academic major and language background is presented in Table 2.

Several points are worth noting. First, the international students in the School of Business appear to have a relatively high mean TOEFL score (586), yet their mean GPA (3.13) is considerably lower than most other majors and lower than the overall mean GPA (3.40). Second, students from the Indian subcontinent (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) have the highest mean TOEFL score (577), but their mean GPA of 3.46 is only slightly

TABLE 1
TOEFL Scores and Grade Point Averages by
Major and by Language Background

| | n | % | TOEFL | GPA ^a |
|--|----------------|------|--------|------------------|
| | Major | | | |
| Humanities/fine arts | 30 | 7.8 | 569.21 | 3.44 |
| Science/mathematics | 105 | 27.1 | 553.10 | 3.53 |
| Social sciences | 81 | 20.9 | 561.30 | 3.44 |
| Education | 51 | 13.2 | 551.69 | 3.41 |
| Business | 43 | 11.1 | 586.19 | 3.13 |
| Public affairs | 60 | 15.5 | 561.83 | 3.34 |
| Library science | 11 | 2.8 | 554.25 | 3.09 |
| Social welfare/criminal justice ^b | 6 | 1.6 | 571.67 | 3.30 |
| I | anguage backgr | ound | | |
| Korean/Japanese | 109 | 28.2 | 561.22 | 3.27 |
| Chinese/Thai | 105 | 27.1 | 555.93 | 3.43 |
| Malay/Indonesian/Filipino | 35 | 9.0 | 555.03 | 3.44 |
| Arabic | 25 | 6.5 | 538.24 | 3.40 |
| European ^c | 62 | 16.0 | 569.34 | 3.51 |
| Indian subcontinent ^d | 51 | 13.2 | 577.35 | 3.46 |

Note: Overall TOEFL mean = 561 (SD = 46). TOEFL score range = 400-677. Overall GPA mean = 3.40 (SD = 0.54). GPA range = 2.25-4.00.

above the total overall mean of 3.40. On the other hand, native Arabic-speaking students, with the lowest mean TOEFL (538), equaled the group mean GPA of 3.40.

RESULTS

Statistically, the overall TOEFL score correlates significantly with GPA (r = .14, p < .05) for the subjects in the study. However, the correlation is too low to have any practical significance. In other words, merely knowing how a student scored on TOEFL will tell us practically nothing we need to know to predict the student's academic performance.

^a The mean GPAs are calculated on a sample size of 376.

b These two separate majors are grouped here because of small numbers and their location within the same academic unit at SUNYA.

^c European = speakers of European languages in Europe, Latin America, and anglophone, francophone, and lusophone Africa.

^d Indian subcontinent = India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

TABLE 2
Language Background by Academic Major

| | Academic major | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Language background | H/FA | S/M | SS | Ed | Bu | PA | LS | SW | Total |
| Indian subcontinent ^a | 2 | 32 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 51 |
| European ^b | 8 | 13 | 20 | 5 | 4 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 62 |
| Arabic | 0 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 25 |
| Malay/Indonesian/Filipino | 0 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 35 |
| Chinese/Thai | 8 | 40 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 105 |
| Korean/Japanese | 12 | 9 | 40 | 11 | 16 | 19 | 1 | 1 | 109 |
| TOTAL | 30 | 105 | 81 | 51 | 43 | 60 | 11 | 6 | 387 |

Note H/FA = humanities/fine arts; S/M = science/mathematics; SS = social sciences; Ed = education; Bu = business; PA = public affairs; LS = library science; SW = social welfare/criminal justice.

In the first stage of analysis, we grouped subjects into the two broad categories of (a) humanities/fine arts/social sciences and (b) science/math/business. We found that the correlation between TOEFL score and GPA was significantly higher for humanities/fine arts/social science students (r = .24, p < .001) than for science/math/business students (r = .04, n.s.). Thus, we can say that there is a stronger relationship between academic performance and language skills for humanities/fine arts/social science students than for science/math/business students.

Then, TOEFL scores were also correlated with GPA for each specific academic major (see Table 3). Again, a higher correlation was found for social science $(r=.22,\ p<.05)$, education $(r=.30,\ p<.05)$, and public affairs $(r=.30,\ p<.05)$ majors than for science/math $(r=.04,\ n.s.)$ and business $(r=.02,\ n.s.)$ majors. No significant correlation was found for humanities, library science, social welfare, and criminal justice majors, partly due to the small size of each of these groups. Library science, social welfare, and criminal justice subjects were grouped together for statistical analysis, since these three professional schools are within the Rockefeller College, a single academic unit at SUNYA, and because the number of subjects majoring in these areas was small (a total of 17 in the three areas).

^aIndian subcontinent= India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

^b European = speakers of European languages in Europe, Latin America, and anglophone, francophone, and lusophone Africa.

TABLE 3

Correlation Between TOEFL Score and GPA According to Major

| Major | n | r |
|---------------------------------------|-----|------|
| Humanities/fine arts | 27 | .13 |
| Science/mathematics | 100 | .04 |
| Social sciences | 81 | .22* |
| Education | 49 | .30* |
| Business | 43 | .02 |
| Public affairs | 59 | .30* |
| Library science/social | | |
| welfare/criminal justice ^a | 17 | .17 |

^{*}These three separate majors are grouped here because of small numbers and their location within the same academic unit at SUNYA.

A t test showed that students with TOEFL scores below 550 (the SUNYA "cutoff" point for admission of international students) did not earn significantly lower grades than students with TOEFL scores above 550. However, when the students were divided into five TOEFL score range groups, an analysis of variance showed significant differences in academic performance among the five groups, F(4, 371) = 3.22, p < 0.01. As Table 4 illustrates, the mean GPA for subjects in the two lowest TOEFL score ranges below 550 (400-529 and 530-549) were 3.38 and 3.39, respectively, very close to the total mean GPA of 3.40. On the other hand, the mean GPA of students in the "recommended" category of 550-569 was lower than those of all other groups.

This suggests that while students with generally adequate academic ability are admitted with TOEFL scores of 550 and above, admission of students with TOEFL scores below 550 is restricted to those with unusually promising academic ability. These "unusual" students with lower TOEFL scores achieve higher GPAs than those with TOEFL scores in the recommended range of 550-569. It appears that the other admissions criteria used for students with TOEFL scores below 550 were effective in selecting international students who would achieve close to the mean GPA of 3.40.

^{*} p < .05.

TABLE 4

Mean GPA According to TOEFL Score Range

| TOEFL score range | n | M |
|-------------------|----|------|
| 400-529 | 93 | 3.38 |
| 530-549 | 51 | 3.39 |
| 550-569 | 72 | 3.24 |
| 570-599 | 81 | 3.41 |
| 600-680 | 79 | 3.55 |

Another area investigated was the relationship between language proficiency and graduate credit hours earned by international students. First, we found that TOEFL scores correlated significantly with the number of credit hours students earned during their first semester of academic work (r= .19, p < .01). Further analysis was done to determine whether students within various TOEFL ranges differed in their ability to earn credits. The results of an analysis of variance (see Table 5) showed a significant difference in the mean number of credit hours earned by students in the five TOEFL range groups, F (4, 371) = 3.76, p < .005. The higher the TOEFL score, the more credit hours a student was able to earn. This pattern is strongest between TOEFL ranges 530-549 and 570-599. The rising pattern starts to level off beyond the TOEFL score of 599.

TABLE 5

Mean Number of Credit Hours Earned According to TOEFL Score Range

| | | Credit hours earne | | |
|------------------|----|--------------------|------|--|
| OEFL score range | n | M | SD | |
| 400-529 | 93 | 9.36 | 3.22 | |
| 530-549 | 51 | 9.45 | 4.13 | |
| 550-569 | 72 | 9.95 | 3.46 | |
| 570-599 | 81 | 10.74 | 2.72 | |
| 600-680 | 79 | 10.90 | 2.95 | |

TOEFL subscores were also correlated with the number of credit hours earned. Results show that the TOEFL Structure and Reading scores correlated significantly with the number of credit hours earned (r = .16, p < .01, and r = .15, p < .01, respectively), while TOEFL Listening scores did not. This result may indicate that the

listening skill is not as essential as the structure and reading subskills for this group of international students in their academic work.

CONCLUSIONS

TOEFL score was not an effective predictor of academic success, as measured by GPA, for this group of international students. This conclusion is congruent with the findings of a number of previous studies of this kind (e.g., Hale et al., 1983). Although the English proficiency of the international students studied at SUNYA varied greatly (TOEFL scores ranged from 400 to 677), these students were generally successful in their academic work. Thus, this study provided no empirical rationale for the TOEFL cutoff point for admission (550), since most of the international students admitted with TOEFL scores below 550 also succeeded in their graduate programs. Indeed, on the average, their GPAs were higher than those of students with TOEFL scores of 550-569.

There are several practical implications for us. First, it is likely that TOEFL does not measure all communicative skills that are important for successful academic functioning at SUNYA. Second, variables other than language proficiency are important for international students' academic success. Therefore, in judging the academic potential of such students, English proficiency should be only one of several criteria examined. Third, GPA may not be the most important criterion of students' academic success.

An additional finding of this study relates to how language proficiency affects the ability to earn graduate credits. (Graduate credits earned by the subjects in the study ranged from 3 to 18.) The results clearly suggest that the higher a student's TOEFL score, the more graduate credits that student is able to earn. If number of graduate credits earned is itself considered a criterion of academic success, TOEFL scores become a more effective predictor of such success.

To determine more effective predictors of international students' academic performance, future research should be pursued in a number of directions. Criteria for academic success other than GPA and credit hours earned should be examined; such criteria might include professors' evaluations and students' perceptions of their own success. In addition, other predictive variables, such as motivation and attitudes, previous knowledge of a field of study, and previous academic performance, should be examined. Furthermore, it would be useful to learn what criteria were used to admit those SUNYA graduate students whose TOEFL scores were below 550 but whose mean GPA was above that of students with

TOEFL scores in the range 550-569. In other words, what nonlanguage factors accounted for the academic success of these students and influenced their admission to SUNYA?

The study of these variables should provide us with a better understanding of what really accounts for international students' academic success. Additional insights in this area will help universities determine international students' academic potential and will help the students themselves by predicting their chances of success on American campuses.

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Forming a Discipline: Applied Linguists' Literacy in Research Methodology and Statistics

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This article reports the results of a survey of 121 professionals in applied linguistics about their knowledge of and attitudes toward statistics and empirical research. Respondents were asked to rate their knowledge of statistical concepts and procedures, to react to statements about the role of statistics and the importance of quantitative methods, and to respond to research situations where statistics are often used. The survey results indicate a range of knowledge of the concepts and procedures associated with empirical research. Respondents also showed differing attitudes about the usefulness of statistics and techniques in research methodology and the need to be informed about such procedures. The results of this study are useful as a "gauge" of literacy in research methodology and statistics in our field and as evidence that a need for such literacy exists.

Many professionals in our field have noted the need for greater cooperation and communication between researchers and educators (e.g., Celce-Murcia & McIntosh, 1979; Hatch, 1981). Clear communication of research findings can be helpful in guiding teachers in their daily decision making (McMillan & Shumacher, 1984). In applied linguistics especially, a practical field which "applies linguistics to materials, teaching, and learning" (Hatch & Farhady, 1982, p. 266), there needs to be some set of conventions for asking questions and seeking answers.

Since the field of applied linguistics is relatively new, the areas of research broad, and the research traditions of a rnultidiscipline faculty varied, there are different attitudes toward and levels of familiarity with the concepts and procedures associated with empirical research. Few attempts have been made to survey professionals in our field regarding these matters. For example, how

important are quantitative approaches to applied linguistics research? How can one characterize the general knowledge and degree of familiarity among professionals regarding statistically based research? How essential is this knowledge? Is there agreement concerning the appropriateness of certain statistical procedures for certain kinds of data bases and research questions asked? Is such agreement, or "standardization," desirable? This study attempted to answer these and related questions.

Although qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis are clearly important for the kinds of questions asked in applied linguistics research, the study reported in this article focused on quantitative methods. As Shavelson (1981) points out, such methods and the use of statistics can play a number of major interrelated roles in research in the behavioral sciences. Furthermore, Henning (1986) believes that it is not only helpful but necessary to incorporate quantitative research methodology in our research endeavors if our field is to be respected as a science.

However, in order for research findings to be useful to teachers in curriculum planning, syllabus design, and teaching methodology, at least a basic literacy in statistics and research methodology may be desirable. Flynn (1985) notes that "those engaged in such [experimental] research and those who want to understand it must have and maintain a basic literacy in research design and statistical concepts" (p. 155). Dunkel (1986) also discusses the importance of and necessity for such knowledge as it plays a role in linguistics and second language research. This study was, in part, initially motivated by such concerns.

METHOD

Instrument

A questionnaire was designed to poll professionals in our field regarding their opinions and attitudes toward quantitative methodology and their background in statistical procedures. This questionnaire consisted of five sections, the first of which was intended to elicit demographic information on the respondents. The second section asked respondents to rate their degree of familiarity with statistical terms, concepts, and procedures. Section 3 focused on attitudes regarding the role of statistically based research, the necessity for familiarity with quantitative procedures, and the current adherence to standards of appropriateness. The fourth section, designed to assess opinions of specific problem areas for which there is no consensus on appropriate procedures, presented

sample research problems and data sets. More open-ended research problems were presented in the fifth section, where respondents were asked how they would go about solving these problems and dealing with these data. Finally, survey respondents were also asked to make general comments on the questionnaire and to make observations about analyses which they believe are frequently done inappropriately and claims which in their judgment are often made without justification.

Procedures

A pilot version of the questionnaire was administered to 35 TESL/applied linguistics graduate students and faculty members at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Based on their reactions and suggestions, the survey was revised.

The initial intention was to select a random sample stratified according to geographical area. However, because one of the primary concerns of this project was to get as large a return as possible, it was decided that it would be more productive to target researchers shown to be "active" in the field rather than the general TESL population. Thus, the sample was drawn from researchers who had recently presented papers at conferences and/or published research. Lists of TESOL and Second Language Research Forum conference participants and the most recent TESOL membership directory were used as sources. A cluster sampling technique was used to randomly select every third person from a larger list.

The revised questionnaire, along with a cover letter ensuring confidentiality, was sent to 300 professionals working in applied linguistics or TESL, including approximately 50 people from Canada or abroad. A reminder note was sent one month after the initial mailing to all 300 people. Thirty-six of these questionnaires were returned as undeliverable, and 143 people did not respond. The final returns used for this study included 121 anonymous responses.

Similar to the survey undertaken by Day (1984), this survey had a return rate of 46% (excluding the 36 questionnaires returned as undeliverable). Since the response rate did not reach the recommended rate of 60% (Fowler, 1983; McMillan & Shumacher, 1984) and since nonresponse can be a major source of error in survey research (Johnson, 1985), it must be emphasized that the results reported in this article do not apply to the entire TESL professional population. Moreover, since the survey was aimed at

professionals in our field, the results primarily represent the views of researchers rather than those of ESL teachers.

RESULTS

This article presents the results of Sections 1-3 of the questionnaire in some detail, with short summaries of the results from Section 4. These first three sections—demographics of respondents, familiarity with statistical concepts and procedures, and attitudes about the role of quantitative procedures in applied linguistics were considered to be of general interest to ESL professionals. Section 5 is not discussed in this article, since its content was thought to be useful only to those highly conversant in research design and methodology.

Demographics of Respondents

The first section of the questionnaire asked respondents to provide information on their current position, educational background, course work in research design/statistics, and methods employed in doing statistical research.

The majority (69%) of the 121 respondents reported their position as university professor, and over one third (34%) considered themselves researchers. (Respondents were instructed to indicate all positions held, not just their primary one.) However, the responses to a separate question show that 62% of those surveyed considered themselves empirical researchers, and 11% said it depends on how *empirical* is defined as well as on the type of research being done at a given time. Similarly, although only 20% listed their position as university adviser, 39% reported they advised others on statistical questions. These responses are not surprising in view of the fact that they reflect only a restricted portion of the ESL field: researchers and professors.

Sixty-eight percent of the 121 respondents had doctoral degrees; 24% had master's degrees. The fields in which respondents held their highest degree were linguistics (34%), education (15%), TESL/TEFL (13%), applied linguistics (9%), psychology (8%), foreign language (7%), and English (3%). (The remaining 10% held their highest degree in another field.) The results indicate that applied linguistics is a new field which is a product of several disciplines, although the number of professionals with a degree in applied linguistics can be expected to grow as more universities offer programs in this specific field and as more students pursue these degrees.

Respondents were asked to estimate the number of statistics or research methods courses they had taken. The number of courses taken ranged from 0 to 12 with a mode of 1, a median of 1.66, and a mean of 2.27 (SD=2.18). Almost half (47%) of the respondents had taken fewer than two classes in statistics or research methods, and only 17% had taken more than four classes.

One of the problems with this question in particular and the survey in general was equating statistics with research methods. Statistics is a small part of the broader area of research methods, the latter including qualitative as well as quantitative methodologies. In accordance with this distinction, some of the respondents reported the number of classes in each of these areas; for those who did not, it is impossible to tell if the actual number of statistics courses (or quantitative research methods courses) taken differs significantly from the number reported on the questionnaire.

Nevertheless, the results are surprising in that the trend over the past 15 years has been toward more statistically based empirical analyses (as opposed to qualitative research) in our journals (Henning, 1986). Perhaps people are self-taught or seek advice from others on statistical questions and quantitative methods. Respondents were also asked if they felt the amount of course work they had taken was adequate. The majority (67%) felt it was not, and 7% of the respondents qualified their answers. Even the 26% who felt their background was adequate said it depended on the type of research work they were doing.

In regard to an item on sources of information used when doing statistical analyses, 34% of the 111 subjects who responded to this item indicated that they consulted other people as well as books; 29% consulted other people; 11% worked alone; 6% consulted books; 6% worked alone and consulted books; 7% responded "all of the above"; and 6% indicated that they used "other" sources.

The final set of questions in this section asked respondents about their methods of doing statistical work. Thirty-two percent used a computer to do statistics, while 25% did computations by hand, and 31% did both. For those who used computers, SPSS was the most popular statistical package, mentioned by 26% of the respondents; microcomputer packages were second in popularity, used by 18% of the respondents. SPSS-X and SAS were each listed by 12% of those polled, followed by BMDP, reported by 6% of those surveyed.

Familiarity With Concepts and Procedures

The second section of the questionnaire asked respondents to rate their knowledge of 23 concepts and procedures according to the following 4-point scale: I am very confident of my ability to . . . (4 points), I am fairly certain of my ability to . . . (3), I am not certain how to . . . (2), I have no idea how to . . . (1). For each concept or procedure, knowledge was rated two ways: respondents' assessment of their ability to (a) *interpret* and (b) *use* or *apply* the term. The terms were chosen from recent journal articles as well as introductory statistics textbooks in applied linguistics, psychology, and education. The 23 terms, in the order in which they appeared on the questionnaire, are presented in Table 1. For each term, the mean, standard deviation, and mean rank (from highest to lowest) are displayed for both ability to interpret and ability to use/apply.

TABLE 1
Statistical Concepts and Procedures: Self-Rating of Knowledge (n = 108)

| | Ability to interpret | | | Ability to use/apply | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------|------|----------------------|------|------|--|
| Term | М | SD | Rank | М | SD | Rank | |
| 1. Mean | 3.75 | 0.62 | 1 | 3.68 | 0.69 | 1 | |
| 2. Median | 3.60 | 0.76 | 2 | 3.55 | 0.86 | 2 | |
| 3. Validity | 3.34 | 0.82 | 3 | 2.86 | 1.09 | 7 | |
| 4. Reliability | 3.32 | 0.89 | 4 | 2.89 | 1.06 | 5 | |
| 5. Standard deviation | 3.31 | 0.94 | 5 | 2.96 | 1.15 | 4 | |
| 6. Variance | 2.93 | 1.14 | 11 | 2.65 | 1.23 | 10 | |
| 7. p value | 2.84 | 1.30 | 13 | 2.62 | 1.32 | 12 | |
| 8. Null hypothesis | 3.27 | 1.09 | 6 | 3.03 | 1.19 | 3 | |
| 9. Standardized score | 3.06 | 1.13 | 8 | 2.76 | 1.17 | 9 | |
| 10. ANOVA | 2.60 | 1.24 | 15 | 2.31 | 1.22 | 16 | |
| 11. Correlation | 3.26 | 0.99 | . 7 | 2.87 | 1.15 | 6 | |
| 12. Regression | 2.50 | 1.20 | 17 | 2.26 | 1.17 | 17 | |
| 13. <i>t</i> test | 2.89 | 1.22 | 12 | 2.62 | 1.29 | 12 | |
| 14. Factor analysis | 2.38 | 1.08 | 18 | 2.03 | 1.04 | 19 | |
| 15. Rasch model | 1.35 | 0.74 | 23 | 1.27 | 0.61 | 23 | |
| 16. Chi-square | 2.78 | 1.21 | 14 | 2.55 | 1.28 | 14 | |
| 17. Confidence interval | 2.34 | 1.30 | 19 | 2.10 | 1.26 | 18 | |
| 18. Implicational scaling | 2.01 | 1.11 | 20 | 1.84 | 1.07 | 21 | |
| 19. Power | 1.95 | 1.13 | 22 | 1.78 | 1.08 | 22 | |
| 20. Degrees of freedom | 2.57 | 1.26 | 16 | 2.42 | 1.25 | 15 | |
| 21. Scheffé | 1.98 | 1.21 | 21 | 1.88 | 1.18 | 20 | |
| 22. Random assignment | 3.03 | 1.27 | 9 | 2.78 | 1.28 | 8 | |
| 23. Item analysis | 2.98 | 1.17 | 10 | 2.63 | 1.20 | 11 | |

TESOL QUARTERLY

The results show that the respondents were comfortable in interpreting and using some of the more familiar concepts and procedures. Three terms—mean, median, and null hypothesis— had a mean higher than 3.00 for ability to interpret and ability to use. Six additional terms had a mean higher than 3.00 for ability to interpret: validity, reliability, standard deviation, standardized score, correlation, and random assignment. This suggests that respondents felt confident in interpreting and using these more common concepts and procedures.

At the other end of the scale, three terms had a mean lower than 2.00 for both ability to interpret and ability to use/apply: *Rasch model, power,* and *Scheffé.* The mean for *implicational scaling* was 2.01 for ability to interpret and below 2.00 for ability to use. These concepts and others with lower means—confidence interval and factor analysis, for example—appear to be less well understood and less common.

One problem in the design of this section of the questionnaire was the arbitrary naming of some of the terms. For example, *Scheffé* is one of several post-hoc comparisons used with analysis of variance (ANOVA). *Implicational scaling* is also known as *Guttman scaling*; *power* is also referred to as *beta*. This problem was not limited to the more difficult concepts. *Probability level* and *alpha* are equally acceptable names for *p value* (which shows a mean of 2.84 for ability to interpret). Whether the use of different names for some of the terms would have significantly altered the results is not known.

The purpose of providing the mean rank for each term is to show a scale of relative familiarity with the concepts and procedures. Although the rank for some of the terms is different for ability to interpret and ability to use/apply, it is still useful in a general way for determining the more common concepts. The median rank, which was also computed for each term (but is not shown in Table 1), was only slightly higher or lower than the mean rank for most terms (due to skewedness) but noticeably different for three terms on ability to interpret. The most dramatic difference was with validity, which had a mean rank of 3 but a median rank of 9. Random assignment had a mean rank of 9 but a median rank of 5, and *null hypothesis* had a mean rank of 6 but a median rank of 3. For these three terms it seems important to point out the differences in central tendency in order to report more accurately the distribution of responses. In other words, the interpretation of these results depends on whether one considers these data as interval or ordinal. Reporting both mean rank and median rank for these three terms illustrates how data interpretation is dependent on assumptions the researcher makes when the data are actually analyzed.

Interpreting a concept was expected to be somewhat easier than using or applying a concept, and the data seem to bear this out: The mean for interpreting each term was higher than the mean for using or applying each term. Both a matched *t* test and a Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test were performed to test this hypothesis statistically. Both tests were used, given the fact that strictly speaking, t tests are only appropriate for data that are normally distributed in the underlying population (parametric) and the Wilcoxon test is designed to be used with nonparametric data.

For 21 of the 23 terms, the interpret mean was significantly higher than the use/apply mean (p<.0005 for the t test and p<.01 for the Wilcoxon test). For two terms, *median* and *Rasch model*, the procedures showed no significant difference between the interpret and use/apply means. The respondents apparently felt that *mediun* was as easy to interpret as it was to apply. On the other hand, *Rasch model* might have been unfamiliar to them and was therefore equally difficult to interpret or apply. The alpha levels were slightly higher for the Wilcoxon test (.11, .07) than for the t test (.07, .06). The differences in p values can be attributed to the fact that means are used to calculate observed t statistics (t test), while less sensitive medians are used to calculate observed t statistics (Wilcoxon test).

One final note on interpreting the results for this section of the questionnaire: Table 1 suggests that there may have been an ordering effect in the responses. Many of the terms with higher means are at the top of the list, while many of those with lower means are at the bottom of the list. No attempt was made to randomize the order of the terms to prevent this effect. Nevertheless, the results do present evidence about the concepts and procedures which are more familiar and better understood by the applied linguists who responded to the survey.

Attitudes

This section of the questionnaire asked respondents to rate their reaction to 18 statements according to a 5-point scale ranging from *srongly agree* (5 points) to *strongly disagree* (1). The topics of the statements ranged from the role of statistics and the need for familiarity with quantitative procedures to opinions regarding the current adherence to standards of appropriateness. Several of the statements were intended to be paired opposites, and the responses to these were correlated. Space was provided on the questionnaire

for short comments after each statement. Table 2 presents all 18 statements, along with the mean, standard deviation, and median for the responses for each.

TABLE 2
Attitudes of Respondents

| | Statement | M | SD | Median |
|-----|---|------|------|--------|
| 1. | I avoid reading the results sections of research reports. | 1.83 | 0.99 | 1.56 |
| 2. | People in applied linguistics are knowledgeable about statistics. | 2.70 | 0.94 | 2.69 |
| 3. | I trust others for advice about statistics more than myself. | 3.48 | 1.19 | 3.68 |
| 4. | It is possible to be well informed about research without knowing anything about statistics. | 2.04 | 1.19 | 1.76 |
| 5. | I feel comfortable working with numbers. | 3.62 | 1.08 | 3.80 |
| 6. | The appropriateness of applying certain statistical procedures is open to interpretation. | 4.17 | 0.74 | 4.19 |
| 7. | Research findings are useful for practical things such as teaching. | 4.19 | 0.80 | 4.26 |
| 8. | It is acceptable to base research claims on intuition as well as statistics. | 2.70 | 1.29 | 2.71 |
| 9. | Numbers intimidate me. | 2.10 | 1.23 | 1.78 |
| 10. | People in applied linguistics misuse statistics. | 3.26 | 0.88 | 3.27 |
| 11. | A course in research design/statistics should he required for students in TESL/applied linguistics. | 4.20 | 1.03 | 4.33 |
| 12. | In research, there is a set of conventions to be followed. | 3.86 | 0.97 | 3.99 |
| 13. | It is important for me to be informed about statistics. | 4.24 | 0.83 | 4.36 |
| 14. | There are definite/clear-cut/strict standards of appropriateness in research design and statistics. | 3.26 | 1.07 | 3.38 |
| 15. | I feel confident giving advice about statistics to others. | 2.51 | 1.28 | 2.28 |
| 16. | It is difficult to apply research findings on a practical level. | 2.42 | 1.06 | 2.26 |
| 17. | Our field should have more rigorous research standards. | 3.63 | 0,97 | 3.63 |
| 18. | There is no need for me to be knowledgeable about statistics. | 1.54 | 0.89 | 1.30 |

Note: The number of responses for each item ranged from 90 to 115.

Several statements were intended to elicit opinions regarding the amount of confidence of respondents. Two of these, Statements 3 and 15 (matched opposites with a -.64 correlation coefficient), concerned respondents' confidence when giving and seeking advice on statistical issues. The means of 3.48 and 2.51 for Statements 3 and 15, respectively, indicate a slight lack of confidence among respondents. This is interesting in light of the information revealed in the demographics section, namely, that 47% of the people surveyed had taken fewer than two courses in research methods and/or statistics and that 67% of the respondents felt that the amount of course work they had done was inadequate. However, the issue of confidence level is not a simple one, since many people did "feel comfortable working with numbers," as indicated by the percentage of respondents (63%) who agreed and strongly agreed with Statement 5. As several people pointed out in their comments, the amount of confidence depended on the type of analysis undertaken and the statistical procedures used.

Related to the theme of amount of confidence is that of the importance of a working knowledge of statistical procedures. Not one respondent strongly disagreed with Statement 13, "It is important for me to be informed about statistics. " As expected, its matched opposite (Statement 18, correlating with a coefficient of -.56) resulted in the lowest mean (1.54) in this section of the questionnaire. This suggests that the applied linguists surveyed did recognize a need for knowledge of quantitative methods and statistical procedures. This is reinforced by responses to Statement 11, which said that TESL/applied linguistics students should be required to take a course in research design/statistics. This statement had the second highest mean of the section (4.20), and almost half of the respondents (54, or 48%) strongly agreed with it. In spite of the strong positive reaction to Statement 11, however, several people remarked that it depended on the students' professional and educational goals—that someone who intended only to teach ESL might not need the same knowledge of statistical procedures as might be necessary for those who planned to do applied linguistics research.

It should be noted that comments about these three statements (13, 18, and 11) indicated some problems in the wording of the questionnaire, similar to those mentioned in the discussion of Section 1. Several people justifiably felt that *statistics* should not be equated with *research design*, since research design is a much broader concern which includes other approaches besides quantitative ones. This is one of the researchers' own major

criticisms of the questionnaire, especially of the wording of statements in the section on attitudes. It would have been helpful to maintain the distinction between these areas—research design and statistics—and to clarify rather vague wording in other cases (e.g., *people* in Statements 2 and 10).

Another theme treated in the attitudes section was the standards of appropriateness and the flexibility allowed in using certain statistical procedures. Sixty-three respondents (55%) agreed and 38 respondents (33%) strongly agreed with Statement 6 that "the appropriateness of applying certain statistical procedures is open to interpretation," and 3 people commented that reputable statisticians often disagree on whether or not certain types of analyses are "correct." However, the mean of 3.86 in Statement 12 indicates general agreement that there is a set of conventions which should be adhered to in research.

Statement 8 elicited some of the most interesting comments. Problems with the wording in this statement led one person to respond, "Research is never based on statistics. It is grounded in data, which statistical procedures help interpret." This wording problem might have contributed to the spread of responses to Statement 8 and the high standard deviation of 1.29. However, some of the responses to this statement were valuable in other ways: Respondents pointed out in their comments the importance of qualitative research in our field and the role that intuition plays in this and most other types of research—especially "as a guide to asking research questions and double-checking results."

"Appropriateness" of Statistical and Research Procedures

Applied linguistics researchers (e.g., Brown, 1986; Henning, 1986) have expressed concern about the inconsistencies in researchers' adherence to conventions of quantitative research methodology. Accordingly, the fourth section of the questionnaire was designed to elicit respondents' judgments on a variety of common issues and problems that they are likely to face in the course of doing research. Because this section of the questionnaire dealt with such a variety of issues, it can only be summarized briefly here. For each question in this section, respondents were asked to indicate, by answering "yes," "no," or "I don't know," whether a particular procedure could be used or claim could be made, given a particular set of circumstances. Space was provided for comments after each question.

The following issues were covered:

- 1. The assumption of linearity in correlations
- 2. ANOVA versus *t* tests in doing multiple comparisons across groups
- 3. The relationship between reliability and validity
- 4. The correlation of 5-point scaled data with interval data
- 5. The use of matched *t* tests in a repeated measures design
- 6. Claims that can be made on the basis of correlations (including cause-effect relationships)
- 7. Claims about main effects in ANOVA when the interaction of variables is significant
- 8. Interpretation of levels of significance (Can some values be "more significant" than others?)
- 9. Minimum acceptable sample sizes for statistical purposes
- 10. The making of claims about data without statistical testing

From the responses to the 13 questions that were asked on these 10 issues, certain patterns emerged. The responses to 5 of the issues (3, 6, 8, 9, and 10) indicated that the professionals polled in this study may agree on certain issues. The first area of agreement (Issue 3) was that reliability does not automatically guarantee validity. In other words, people generally agreed that these two notions are distinct from each other, though related. However, the wording of the question for this item did not adequately elicit the respondents' true understanding of these concepts.

Another issue that people generally agreed on was the notion that correlation does not imply causation (Issue 6). When respondents were queried on the types of claims that can be made based on correlations, they were quick to point out that causation cannot be inferred. Comments to this effect appeared on several questions, suggesting that this is an area of concern.

Two general areas of agreement appeared on the issue of what *significant* means in quantitative analyses (Issues 8 and 10). Respondents generally agreed that given that the effects of two variables are significant, the effect of one of these variables is not "more" or "less" significant than the other. In addition, responses suggested that it is difficult to make claims about significance without performing statistical analyses of data.

Finally, there seemed to be general agreement that there is no hard-and-fast rule about a minimum sample size of 30 (Issue 9). People generally qualified their answers to this question, commenting that it depended on the research question and the type of statistical analysis that was being done on the particular data.

On several issues, there was a lack of agreement or a lack of knowledge concerning the concepts in question. On Issues 1 and 2, for example, the number of respondents choosing each possible answer ("yes," "no," "I don't know") was almost identical. In other words, no single answer was favored by the majority of the respondents. On two other questions (Issues 5 and 8), nearly 40% of the respondents chose the "I don't know" answer to the question. This could be due to the wording of the questions themselves or to a lack of awareness of the issues involved in each question.

Responses to Issues 2 and 7 ran counter to what statistics textbooks recommend. Furthermore, on the question dealing with the issue of claims that can be made about main effects in ANOVA when the interaction of two independent variables is significant (Issue 7), some of the respondents indicated that they were unable to make a correct interpretation of a table that was provided showing the results of an ANOVA. In this particular example, these respondents showed they were unaware of the fact that only very qualified claims can be made about a main effect when the interaction of the two variables is significant.

CONCLUSION

Some of the most valuable data from this questionnaire are those that demonstrate the diversity of the respondents in terms of educational background, training in statistics and research methods, and attitudes about the importance and usefulness of quantitative approaches to data analysis. Recognition of this diversity has been important in interpreting the range of responses to the questions on this survey.

The survey results also indicate that there is a considerable range in the degree of familiarity with the concepts and procedures associated with empirical research. This is useful information—for researchers when considering who their audience is during the preparation of research reports; for administrators, teacher educators, or academic advisers when planning a cohesive program for TESL/applied linguistics students; and for those just entering the field when designing their own programs of study to meet the expectations and "standards" of experienced researchers.

There was general agreement on the need for further education and literacy in quantitative research methodology and statistical analysis. However, it should be emphasized that the respondents recognized that qualitative approaches to research are also important and that many research questions might more appropriately use such approaches.

Concerning specific statistical analyses and research procedures (as addressed in Section 4 of the questionnaire), there was a tendency for respondents to disagree on certain issues. Since questions did not ask respondents to demonstrate their depth of understanding of the issues treated in the questionnaire, it is not clear whether this disagreement indicates a lack of accepted standards or a lack of training in statistics.

As pointed out earlier, the respondents surveyed were primarily university professors and researchers; thus, this survey is not representative of the range of people working in the field of TESL/applied linguistics. For an assessment of this larger population, it would be necessary to survey ESL teachers on their opinions, attitudes, and background in research methodology and statistics. This would be a useful direction for further research. However, the study reported in this article is a step toward understanding what the goals and standards are for our field.

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"You Stopped Too Soon": Second Language Children Composing and Revising

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This article reports a 6-month observational study of 4 Southeast Asian children as they wrote and revised various pieces in English, their second language. Transcripts of peer response sessions, weekly compositions, and twice-weekly dialogue journals show a surprising amount of cognitive, social, and linguistic skill. Through the process of writing and revising with trusted peers, the children appear to have developed three areas of writing skill: (a) a sense of audience, (b) a sense of voice, and (c) a sense of power in language. The means by which development in these areas took place appear to be the same ones which native English-speaking children find effective, including regular and frequent writing, expectation of revision, peer response, and confidence in oneself as a writer.

In the past decade, there has been much interest in the teaching and learning of the composing process. Scholars such as Flower (1979) have transformed our view of the relationship between language and cognition, while others (Emig, 1971; Perl, 1979; Smith, 1982; Taylor, 1981) have encouraged us to re-view revision, seeing it as a "creative discovery procedure" (Taylor, 1981, p. 6). Writing has been recast as not something which only a few "creative" souls can do but is seen as a door which is unlocked, freeing us to "develop what we potentially know" (Smith, 1982, p. 33).

Important work has been done in the past decade in the composing process of children, as well as adults. The best known studies of native English-speaking children learning to write have been done by Graves (1983) and Calkins (1983, 1986). Using hundreds of hours of observations, they have suggested that children are far more capable than has been previously thought. They note that children often come to school with sophisticated

knowledge of the print around them and can write notes, stories, lists, and songs in invented spellings which indicate their particular understanding of the phonetic realizations they hear. If not told they cannot write (a view we often foist on them in the first grade), children are actually able to write long stories, revise in several different drafts, get feedback from other readers in the room, and publish their pieces in books which are taken to the library. It was common with the many children Graves observed to publish 300-400 books per year in the first grade.

Although work in English as a first language has been enthusiastic and many teachers are now writing articles about their own classroom experiences, research on younger learners composing in a second language is just beginning. What studies have been done suggest that even without any literacy instruction in the Ll, children will create hypotheses about the way in which their L2 (in these cases, English) functions. Edelsky (1982) found that children in Spanish bilingual programs wrote personal narratives in English which contained many of the same kinds of invented spellings as those used by native English-speaking children, or they made sophisticated guesses about what the English spelling might be. based on their growing understanding of Spanish correspondences. Hudelson (1984) writes that beginning evidence suggests children are aware of print in English and can write in their second language long before they are orally fluent in that language and that children can actually use their written work to help themselves learn to read.

Although research in this area is at an early stage, educators know from experience that literacy may be an even more important hurdle for children to master in school than their initial oral proficiency. Most L2 children, in North American contexts at least, are given language support in ESL classrooms, which focus on the acquisition of oral English and on a knowledge of the rules of grammar. Often after 2 or so years, however, school districts remove children from the ESL programs, on the basis of oral proficiency examinations, and the children spend their whole day with the mainstream teacher. However, few mainstream teachers have any training in language teaching (O'Malley & Waggoner, 1984). Because the children appear to understand what the teacher says but are not fully functioning members of the classroom, due to only rudimentary reading and writing ability, teachers frequently refer them to special education.

Cummins's (1981) work, corroborated by Wong Fillmore (1982), however, suggests that it actually takes between 5 and 7 years for most learners to become effective users of a language in all of its aspects. Since those aspects increasingly demand skill in the area of

literacy, there are tremendous pressures on the learners to be effective readers and writers. Learners quickly realize how much content information they do not learn because of their rudimentary knowledge of subjects for which they are still building schemata, and schools are economically hard pressed to provide inservice for teachers and programs for children which might make the process more effective.

Thus, to help children succeed in schools, we must help all educators realize the time that learners will require to become competing members in their classrooms. In addition, it is necessary for us to know much more about the acquisition of literacy. Being more knowledgeable about this process will help educators make informed decisions about intervention strategies which will facilitate that acquisition.

THE STUDY

Recently, a school district in a suburban community in the northwestern part of the United States made a decision to learn about children who had been passed out of the ESL program but who were clearly "transitional": Their oral language was strong, but they were reading below grade level on standardized tests. Although 15 children were identified, it was decided to collect systematic data on a small number of children. Thus, I began to study more carefully 4 children, 2 of whom were regarded as having trouble in the mainstream classroom and 2 of whom were not considered at risk. Two sixth grade boys, 1 Cambodian and 1 Laotian, and 2 fourth grade girls, both Cambodian, were chosen, all of whom had been in the United States at least 2 years. None of the children had had any literacy instruction in their native language, nor had they had formal schooling, except for informal language lessons in refugee camps in Thailand. Three of these children attended one school and were thus gathered as one group; the fourth child, one of the girls, met with two other children at another school. My colleague and co-researcher, Sue Braithwaite, was an ESL supervisor who taught the children at both schools.

Our goals were twofold: First of all, we wanted to try aspects of process writing instruction which had been demonstrated by Graves (1983) to be efficacious with children and by Flower (1981) to be effective with adults. Second, we wanted to study the ways in which the children used the processes to write more effectively. We were particularly interested in what the children might do to help each other and what effect having an audience for their written work might have on their own reading and writing.

The groups met once a week for 15 weeks; each 45-minute session was audiotaped and transcribed. It was clear we were not going to perform miracles in those few minutes, but schools were reluctant to take the children from their mainstream classes for any more time. We began with the assumption that many of the successes in children's literacy instruction in the first language could be replicated in a second language; we had faith in the processes we set up for the children to become more proficient in literacy and especially in writing.

When they met together, the children generally brought a writing piece that they had begun at home. Sometimes we began writing in our meeting time, and we wrote along with them. We spent time, both before and during the writing, talking about what the writer wanted to include in the piece. And when all of us met together, our primary goal was to communicate meaning. Thus, we set a tone throughout that revising was necessary and expected. We tried to convey the message that each human being has had experiences that no one else has had and that sharing is valuable to both writer and reader.

The revision process was to be helped through peer response groups. Each person would read a piece to the others in the group, and the group would give feedback to the writer. The kind of feedback varied with different goals and different pieces, but we were following Graves's (1983) suggestion that "revisions that children make as a result of the conference can be at a much higher level than those made when the child is working and reading alone" (p. 153). Revisions, then, were stimulated by the feedback, for "comments create the motive for doing something different in the next draft; thoughtful comments create the motive for revision" (Sommers, 1982, p. 149). Writers would take their drafts home and return the next week with additional drafts; the process would continue until they were tired of the project and it was no longer a "hot topic" (Graves, 1983).

The other kind of writing the children did was dialogue journal writing. In dialogue journals, interactants are free to "discuss" anything that is of interest to them, and topics can be continued or changed at will. Early work by Staton (1982) and her teacher colleague, who studied the ways in which 26 sixth grade students wrote back and forth to their teacher, showed what an efficacious means this was to acquire writing ability. So that the children we were teaching had the potential of writing in their journals twice a week, my co-researcher had them send their journals through the school mail to her office; she would send them back, and then they could write again before they met for their weekly session. (Many

other data were collected in the course of the year: for an explanation of other aspects, $see\ Urz\acute{u}a$, 1986.)

The data presented in this article focus on the journals and the peer response sessions in order to demonstrate the ways in which the children developed their writing. My belief is that given the goal of effective written communication, the children's writing developed as a result of their growing sense of a divergent audience and their conscious awareness of the means by which they could manipulate language as they developed their own voice. The importance of having a reader, as well as a responder, was evident in the children's products, as well as in the group process itself. Therefore, this article explores three areas of growth—a sense of audience, a sense of voice, and a sense of power in language—and how the audience affected each.

AREAS OF GROWTH

Sense of Audience

Recognizing that someone other than yourself must read and understand your message is not an easy task. For example, the audience for a writer is generally not present but is removed in time and space. Also, there is no predictable sharing of exact experiences, although there is some expectation that the reader will be able to understand the general issues raised. Always a difficult task, it is particularly difficult for children who are moving away from egocentrism, Piaget's terminology for a "cognitive state whereby learners center on a very narrow band of thinking and ignore other problems in the surrounding field" (Graves, 1983, p. 239). As learners get feedback in various ways from the environment, they begin to understand how messages must be varied, how to explain things to certain people, and even how to cling to what is important. Graves (1983) and Elbow (1973) have speculated that the group response technique helps writers to improve because they become aware of their own writing as they reflect on someone else's. In addition to these demands, second language children are trying to understand what someone from another culture needs to know.

What, then, appears to be the effect of audience response for these 4 children? Because of the immediacy of audience feedback, peer response groups appear to have had a dramatic influence on writing development. One of the first indications that the children were more cognizant of audience than we had thought came one day when the groups were working on nonfiction writing about army ants. When my co-researcher asked Vuong, a sixth grade boy, what was a really important fact that he could tell somebody, he answered, "Who?" She replied, "Anybody. Mrs. Sagar. What would you tell her?" I am often struck, as I read through these transcripts, with how little attention we paid to the audience the children should be writing for. Yet here is Vuong reminding us that we needed to give him authentic writing purposes which real people would read.

These real people turned out to be principally their friends. The children developed a sense of audience by being with people they trusted who asked them questions and suggested things about their writing. The questions and sometimes the suggestions were taken seriously by the writers, who frequently made notes for themselves so they would not forget what their friends had said. Although direct imperatives from reader to writer (e.g., "tell us where you were going") sometimes affected subsequent drafts, it was largely questions from the peer response group which substantially influenced the revision process. To demonstrate this, let us consider the last piece Vuong wrote in the ESL class.

The task for this piece was to write about a self-chosen topic. Both of the boys chose to write personal narratives about their experiences at Outdoor School, a sixth grade camping experience focusing on science and ecology experiments, interpersonal relations, and traditional camping activities. After writing for a few minutes in class and sharing orally some of the content they might want to include in their paper, they finished writing their papers at home. During our peer response session, I introduced a new format, taken from Elbow (1973) and A.R. Gere (personal communication, April 20, 1984). This process consists of listeners taking notes after the piece has been read and the writer reading the piece a second time, while the audience takes any additional notes. Writers are encouraged to take notes to remind themselves of the questions posed by the audience.

The first part of Vuong's first draft is presented in Appendix A. After hearing Vuong read his paper twice, we all took notes about anything we wanted to remember to tell him. Then we each took turns reading from our notes. As can be seen in Appendix B, much of the input from the other children was in the form of questions about things on which they wanted more information. Vuong's oral responses are given in the second column, and the notes he took during or after we spoke to him appear in the third column.

The impact of this audience input on the second draft, written at home, can be seen in Appendix A. Vuong added more information and clarified and expanded on information he already had, all at the appropriate place and all without any indication from teachers or friends as to where these revisions should take place. The first question, for example, "How was it on the boat when you crossed the river?" stimulated Vuong to respond orally, "It was scared. You know, foggy, deep water. The water is green." Jotting down into his notes only the words "Information cross the river," Vuong nevertheless made a significant revision in his second draft, one which added information similar to what he had answered orally over a week before. And he added the information at the appropriate place in his composition. Other significant revisions resulted from two comments I made (Numbers 5 and 6), neither of which, interestingly, were given any oral response during our discussion time.

Some comments and questions Vuong chose to ignore or change (Numbers 7,8, and 9), while one note he made for himself (Number 10) does not seem to have a referent in the discussion. Perhaps some of the questions helped the writer tell the story he wanted to tell, and others did not. But it certainly is obvious from changes he did incorporate into his second draft that Vuong was eager to show his audience that he respected their opinions and that he was trying to communicate an important event.

It surely can be argued that his second draft is a long way from being an interesting, cohesive account of his experience. But it is, after all, only the second draft, and unfortunately the close of the school year did not allow time to revise. But in all our experiences with the children, this one revision may be the most exciting because it represented an enormous breakthrough for Vuong. He had made few, if any, changes on subsequent drafts of any of his previous pieces; his idea of revision was to copy the piece onto a clean sheet of paper, being careful to avoid cross-throughs or sloppy penmanship. Even after his peers gave him many suggestions, he often returned with exactly the same version. On one such revision, for example, the words were even placed on the page in a similar fashion. His revision of the Outdoor experience, therefore, represented his first real understanding of the purpose for writing: to communicate something important to an audience.

Vuong, himself, told us later how significant this experience was. Although Cham, one of the girls, had left to return to her class, Vuong told us he had to read his paper. His reading was animated and his miscues meaning based. When he was finished, Khamla, the other boy, told us, "It's better than the last time. He changes lots of sentences." This remark led to the following exchange:

Vuong: I add some more in, you know about water and stuff.

Khamla: The water was green?

Vuong You know I say how I feel. More campfire, something

like that.

Braithwaite: How do you feel about the new paper?
Vuong: New one? I feel better. A lot better.
Braithwaite: Did it help you to have the suggestions?

Vuong: Yeah!

Graves (1983) tells us this breakthrough is not unusual: "Conferences have a cumulative effect on the writer. After four or five conferences . . . writers usually display more initiative because they have found their subjects, can speak about them, and assume responsibility for their success" (p. 142).

Vuong, of course, was not the only one to make revisions based on the peer response sessions. The feedback on one piece to Cham, one of the fourth grade girls, was so motivating, she actually revised three different times (see Appendix C). Her original draft of a trip into the future and her second draft were practically identical. Revision from the second to the third draft, however, was more extensive. Cham used more precise description ("kicked something hard" and "shinny red button") and provided more cohesion, such as her use of suddenly to indicate a relationship between her pressing a button and the release of the green pills. Her sense of causes of events was more sophisticated in the third draft than in the second (see, for example, the last four sentences), and she exhibited more complex linguistic forms, such as in the clause, "everything was odder . . . when the chair stopped," which was changed from 'Everything was odder than the flying succer."

An examination of the responses the reader group gave to Cham reveal the impact of feedback on the sense of audience. For example, when I commented that dinosaurs and skeletons are found even today and that I was confused about the exact time she was referring to, she subsequently dropped all references to skeletons and added, "As soon as it stopped I was amazed to see that I was back in 1984." At another time, Cham, who was generally quiet during feedback on her paper, was apparently influenced by a discussion on what the group considered "weak" words and suddenly chimed in, "I could put messy and spooky," because Khamla had suggested ugly was a weak word for him, In another part of the discussion, I questioned how the green pills might have been eaten. Khamla, perhaps understanding that the absence of gravity would make it difficult to eat the pills, wondered if the pills came right out and into her mouth. My co-researcher questioned how Cham assumed it was all right to eat the pills. Cham, in a rare oral response, replied that she was hungry. She subsequently

revised her draft substantially: "I was getting hungry and I decided to prest another button. Suddenly, a bunch of green pills drop from the cieling. I nelt down on my knees and grab some and put it in my mouth."

Although by our standards, the third draft was an improvement over the previous one and the boys liked it a great deal, Cham was still interested in developing her ideas. Toward the end of the response group on the third draft, my co-researcher asked Cham if she liked the story. Cham replied no and suggested that she would really like a friend to go along on her trip. Having observed Cham in the language arts mainstream class, I was also aware of a recent emphasis on the use of quotes. I therefore suggested to her that she might incorporate dialogue into her piece if she did in fact add a second person. Her fourth draft is eloquent testimony to the influence of those two ideas and to the writer's drive to create a story that said what she wanted it to and also pleased her audience.

Besides the sense of audience that the children were developing through their compositions, growth was also evident in their dialogue journals, perhaps because they had an authentic respondent. Dialogue journals, because of their interactive nature, also provide a sense of audience, although a somewhat different one. Whereas in compositions, feedback influences revisions, in dialogue journals feedback may possibly influence only subsequent entries. The ultimate result, however, may be the same for the writer: increased awareness of who is reading the piece.

With these 4 children, accommodation to the audience through dialogue journals appeared to develop through (a) acknowledgment that someone else was interested in what they knew, (b) acknowledgment that they were interested in what someone else knew, and (c) acknowledgment that they were interacting through the written word with a specific person.

The children had varying strategies for acknowledging that someone else was interested in what they knew. As with compositions, it took Vuong the longest to indicate he was aware of the conversational tone of the journals. For many weeks he apparently saw the journal as an assignment to be finished, rather than as an opportunity to explore mutual issues (see Appendix D). In fact, Vuong had been concerned about what he might write in his journal, and my co-researcher had suggested he could write about anything, maybe something that went on during the weekend. Subsequent entries, therefore, simply listed his weekend activities, apparently oblivious to the queries made through questions. In each response, my co-researcher tried to extend a topic initiated by Vuong, on the assumption that if he was interested in the topic once,

he might be willing to discuss it further. Nothing seemed to prod Vuong into recognizing his responsibility in the written conversation. Finally, my co-researcher left the topics which Vuong initiated and suggested a topic in which she knew Vuong was interested, his violin playing. In a breakthrough entry, Vuong finally answered her question, demonstrating his acceptance of the interactive nature of the journal.

Sonkla and Cham had other ways of acknowledging the presence of an audience. At times, they would answer the questions posed on the same line as the question. Sometimes they would answer a series of questions, add a little information, and form a paragraph.

Subsequent to Vuong's acknowledgment that my co-researcher was interested in what he had to say, Vuong also began to develop another aspect of a sense of audience, that of being interested in what the other person knows. A week after he answered the question about the violin piece, Vuong initiated the topic of going fishing, which was extended over three entries. On the third entry he said, "On Saturday we went to fishing at astoria it was fun we didn't catch anything. I catched one fish it to small than I let it go. How is your weekend what did you do." Although there was no question mark, this showed obvious interest in his partner. My coresearcher responded with a long entry on how her daughter and she had played soccer games and invited his thinking on a bunch of women playing soccer. Vuong ignored the question and the topic, returning to his weekend routine, but then ended the entry with "How about your week." He "asks" about his partner's weekend in one other entry, but no other questions occur. Perhaps in Vuong's case, form was preceding function.

Although most of the children eventually developed the ability to answer and ask questions, it was not always clear that they were writing something for a specific audience, that is, their teacher. The person who seemed to come closest was Sonkla. Nearly all of her entries began with "Dear Mrs. Braithwaite," and sometimes even in the body of the entry, the name would be added. In one entry, for example, my co-researcher had asked if she might see something that Sonkla had made, to which she replied, "I can't show it to you because it was gone. I'm sorry, Mrs. Braithwaite." Asking for forgiveness occurred several times, reflecting, perhaps, a certain personality trait and/or a comfort with self-expressive language.

After my co-researcher had delivered invitations to a party at her house, Sonkla said, "I'm afraid that I can't go to your party. . . . Thanks for invited me." Braithwaite responded that several of the kids wanted to see her and that she hoped Sonkla would reconsider. Apparently Sonkla did reconsider, for the next entry said, "I asked

my mother about the party. She said 'It would be nice to meet your old friends.' I think my mother is right. So I'll go to your party." She even went on to suggest the kind of movies that could be shown during the party.

A particularly poignant entry revealed the extent to which Sonkla understood not just that she was interacting with her teacher but that she was writing to a trusted friend (see Appendix E). To such a personal entry, my co-researcher responded with a salutation, a form she rarely used.

Sense of Voice

A second area of development was in the children's growing sense of that driving force in the writing process called voice. According to Graves (1983),

voice is the imprint of ourselves on our writing. It is that part of the self that pushes the writing ahead, the dynamo in the process. Take the voice away and the writing collapses of its own weight. There is no writing, just words following words. (p. 227)

Voice is always an elusive concept; professional writers no less than first graders struggle with the right way to say something. It may be even more difficult, however, for younger second language learners: They not only have the mechanical and conceptual difficulties of writing which all children have, but they also are struggling to know how something must be said to an audience of another culture.

Although it took a while, we finally realized that the children had to be in control if their writing was going to develop. Whereas earlier in the year, we tried to assign topics for papers, toward midyear it became clear the children were more effective when they chose their own topics. As with the children Graves (1983) studied, when this control occurred, the children's voice "boomed through" (p. 229).

In numerous instances, we encouraged the children to write about their own topics and only appropriate into their writing those ideas which they thought advanced their own pieces. In one response session, for example, Cham complained we were doing boring things in writing. When questioned, she admitted that she did not like the topic; she thought she had to write about something that was true. We assured her she could write about anything she wanted. During another response session, my co-researcher encouraged Vuong to write down some of the ideas the group had given him for the revision of his piece. Khamla asked whether he

had to accept the ideas, to which Braithwaite replied, "You don't have to use these ideas, but if you hear one that you like, write it down."

Although it was not always obvious at the time the writing groups were in action, it is possible to see in retrospect a developing sense of honesty and openness in the children's writing, suggesting perhaps that they were feeling more confident about their audience and could let their true feelings shine through. Sonkla's poignant journal entry about the dirty folders is such an example, as is another piece by her written in class. In the latter case, she complained that the substitute teacher told her to work more on a piece Sonkla obviously felt was finished. It seemed to be a personal affront to her, and she angrily stated she wished she could have stuck her tongue out at the teacher.

Voice is often reflected in the amount of space a writer devotes to a subject, and it is interesting to observe that even when a similar task is given, individual differences do occur. It was possible, for example, to compare what the children did on an assignment to write about going into the future by some means, describe what was there, and tell about returning to the present. All of Cham's four drafts (Appendix C) are mostly devoted to a description of the time machine and the journey she took, with relatively little attention to what the future was like and how she returned. Even when she wrote a fifth draft in the next year in school, three of the four pages of text were about the machine. Vuong, by contrast, spent most of his time describing the future "place," devoting 9 of the 15 sentences to what it was like and how he felt. These differences appear to be part of the emerging voices of each of these authors.

How much of a topic to include and whether to add other information are always cognitive issues for a writer. Through the peer response sessions, we can once again see these decisions being made. On several occasions, group members would suggest ways to handle certain problem areas. For example, in a discussion on Vuong's piece on traveling to the future, the group was confused about what time period Vuong was discussing. Khamla had several suggestions: "When he went up he can say that he saw a sign on the wall like I did"; "He could see a theatre movie. It could have a light coming up and it could be the year 2084." Interesting ideas, but apparently not consistent with Vuong's voice; he did not add any information about the year his time machine visited.

Cham had a similar problem in her piece on the future (Appendix C), and again Khamla had a suggestion: She could just say she was in 2084. Later on, my co-researcher wondered if a little clock or calendar could be present, and Khamla excitedly shouted, "When

she pushed the button she could say there's a clock coming down and tell the time. . . . The clock moved the years." Cham, however, evaluated the suggestions and chose not to make a change in her next draft. However, in her fourth and final draft, she found a way of meeting the needs of her audience to know the information and did it in her own way. In the dialogue between the two friends who went into the future together, Cham's friend said to her, "Hey Cham, look at this. It says Happy 2084 and it's printed out of green pills."

What is revised and what is not may be testimony to an emerging sense of voice and decision making. When revisions are made, it certainly reflects a sense of audience, but it also reflects a decision that the suggested change, in fact, advances the individual piece and tells the story effectively.

As was seen in Vuong's Outdoor School piece (Appendix A), several suggestions were not heeded, and some revisions were made which apparently were not influenced by the peer responses. I use the term *apparently* because there are many reasons why authors choose to revise or not. Sometimes the suggested change sounds like an effective one, but the second language writer does not know how to phrase it. Sometimes an author thinks the change is not significant enough or even forgets to do it. The information suggested may be too radical a change from the original, and the author may not have a rich enough schema to build coherently onto the present paper. Or perhaps the author regards the input of trusted friends as an interest in the information for its own sake, rather than as an interest in helping to tell the story. (Researchers have learned more about this decision-making revision process through protocol analysis, in which learners speak aloud as they revise. This technique was not used in the present study because I was not certain the children possessed enough oral language proficiency or had the cognitive flexibility both to write and reflect on the writing.)

There was eloquent testimony, however, that suggested revisions did help the author tell the story in the emerging voice. Vuong's Outdoor School piece showed how the amount of attention paid to one aspect of the topic may have been influenced by the peer input.

Nowhere, however, did the voice of the author boom as loudly as in Cham's fourth draft of her piece on the future (Appendix C). Although the added dialogue could perhaps be attributed to my suggestion and might therefore more properly represent a response to the audience, it also seems apparent that when Cham broke into this new format, she freed her own voice. The interactants exclaimed, yelled, suggested, and laughed, not just "said." Action and dialogue were woven together; sometimes the story line was

carried through the prose itself, as in "'Nat, there's a big chair over by the corner. Let's go and sit down." Other times the action was carried through the prose itself, as in "Then I accidently hit the biggest button." The relationship between the two interactants was believable and very typical of fourth grade girls: They were curious, they took turns, they looked to each other for solace, they were aware of a possibility of having defied authority, and they giggled. Even the events which were carried over from the third draft were reanalyzed: The house in the third draft fell down as a result of stepping on the stair, but in perhaps a more logical event, the house in the fourth draft began to crack as a result of the weight. Many words were replaced with ones which were more vivid: "raced" instead of "ran," "cute little thing" instead of "small," "millions of green pills" instead of a "bunch," "creepy house" instead of "house." Cham was finding her booming voice.

The children also expressed their emerging voices through appropriating words, phrases, sentences, and format from the peer discussion or even from someone else's paper. Although it may appear that using someone else's work would be simply an act of copying, my sense of the writing process in children suggests that only when the language or idea truly fits or "sounds right" to an individual will that writer actually incorporate the changes. (Samway, 1987, in preliminary data analysis, reaches the same conclusion.)

Prewriting discussions often gave the children ideas. In our discussion before writing the nonfiction piece on Outdoor School, Vuong said he liked the food, and in his original and revised drafts he focused on many aspects of eating. Khamla, perhaps stimulated by this discussion, included four lines about food and eating everything on your plate. Sometimes comments by one member of the group would influence another member, as when Vuong, two drafts after a discussion, added the word *suddenly* to his piece subsequent to my telling Khamla I liked the way he used the word. In another interchange, Cham asked Khamla where he went to eat when he attended Outdoor School, and he answered "at a cafeteria." Khamla made no subsequent change to his piece, but Vuong wrote a note to himself and added in his subsequent draft that he went to the cafeteria.

Frequently, the appropriation was complex. In his first draft of the piece on the future, for example, Khamla included a friend on the trip with whom he talked, although he did not use quotation marks. As we have seen, Cham picked up the idea of incorporating a friend on her trip and used quotation marks effectively. In a subsequent piece written as a postevaluation for school district purposes, Khamla used extensive dialogue, much of which was accompanied by quotation marks. Sometimes as a duet and sometimes as a solo, the children's voices became increasingly clear.

Sense of Power in Language

A third area of growth in the children's writing which was influenced by their peers was in their sense of power in language. Specifically, they were recognizing, largely through revision, that language can be manipulated and rearranged, that sections of a composition can be deleted or added. They realized they were masters, not slaves. They began to develop flexibility in language use and ask about things they did not know, so they could add to their repertoire. Graves (1983) suggests there is a major breakthrough in children's writing when they see "the words as temporary, the information as manipulable. . . . Until the children see information as primary and the details as essential to good communication, they are unable to see information, words or syntax as manipulable" (p. 159). These four children, then, seemed to be developing a repertoire of possibilities which would help them feel more secure in using new language forms.

This third area of growth became more obvious to us toward the end of the year. But even early in the year, the children knew that they could add information into their pieces, a process which is shown by Graves (1983, p. 156) to be the easiest and the earliest kind of revision. We often posed problems to the children about where they could insert information, as my co-researcher did in an interchange with Cham in March. While discussing what events should be included in a piece on the future, Braithwaite asked Cham if she wanted to return to 1984 after her time in the future. When Cham said yes, my co-researcher asked, "Where would you say that? Would you put that in your story?" Cham replied, "I could add it."

One of the most obvious examples of the children's growing sense of power came through their questions to each other about words they did not understand. "What is *jaw*?" "I don't know what a laser is." "What is *first food*?" (The author had said "fresh food.") Using their more proficient oral language as a tool with which to master the written word, they frequently engaged in animated discussion about aspects of language which they may not have understood at first. A good example of this occurred in May, after Cham had read her piece on a field trip to a restored fort. During the response session, Khamla said, "Almost at the end I like when she said, 'Some kids ride on the merry-go-round and got dizzy.' I like that sentence." This remark led to the following exchange:

Vuong: [looking at Urzúa] Dizzy? What's that? Tired?

Urzúa: Dizzy? When you go around in a circle—your head gets

very light.

Vuong: Oh, yeah. It gets hard to stand up.

Urzúa: That's right—you feel yourself spin around.

Vuong: And you can't see everything. Everything is moving.

Urzúa: That's right.

It is interesting that this conversation continued for so many turns when, in theory, the problem of what was meant by *dizzy* was solved after I defined it as your head getting very light. The relationship of trust and risk taking, however, encouraged Vuong to go on, each turn in our interaction giving him a confidence about his new language. Cham retained the use of *dizzy* in her piece, but more important, Vuong would probably use the word in a subsequent piece.

Although in the earlier sessions much of the influence for changing language in their pieces came from the adults, the children themselves soon began taking this responsibility. In a May session, for example, when they were discussing Vuong's reading of his paper on the future, the following exchange took place:

Cham: In the beginning of the third paragraph, it can be put

together.

Vuong: Oh, you mean, "I went to school. Nobody was there"?

Cham: You stopped too soon.

Vuong: Yeah. Make that one sentence.

The idea that language can be changed to meet the desires of the author was thus suggested by a friend.

Evidence that the children began to sense they had power in language was also seen in the dialogue journals. Frequently this took the form of using difficult language which represented risk taking on their part. Risking difficult constructions and words may be a way in which children can tell us that they feel confident about their developing abilities.

The person who exhibited the most confidence in language was Khamla. Both orally and in writing, he threw himself into linguistic situations with energy and enthusiasm, though he was, of all the children we had contact with, the one who consistently used the most inventive spelling. His journal entry in Appendix F demonstrates his confidence. What meaning does Khamla attach to "to tell you the thouth [truth]"? It is difficult to say, but perhaps it

is enough for us to admire his confidence in using expressions like *secret admirer* instead of safe, easy words, like *boyfriend*.

CONCLUSION

The data presented in this article are encouraging. They suggest that both cognitive and social aspects of literacy develop for ESL children in ways which are similar to those for English-speaking children developing literacy in their first language. These 4 children seemed to be learning how to take audience into account when they were writing and were developing a sense of their voice and how to manipulate language for the best effect. The means by which these developments took place were the same ones which native English-speaking children find effective as well: frequent writing to communicate real and unique "stories," with an expectation of revision to help make more sense; reading and responding by peers and adults who value the author's perspective and who want to know what the author knows; personal, interactive writing, approximating oral conversation; and building confidence and trust in oneself as a writer who is trying to find a voice.

It is hard work to tell what you know and even harder to help others tell what they know. It is hard work for children in peer response sessions; the concept of cooperating and contributing to someone else's benefit is difficult for them to accept and somewhat antithetical to the ways in which schools in the United States operate.

It is also hard for the teacher—to "let go" and trust other students of the language to give effective feedback; to become a listener and find that fine line between telling children what should be done in their pieces and giving "movies of the mind" about one's response (Elbow, 1973); and to ask the right questions, ones which will help the authors tell their own stories, rather than an interpretation of their stories.

The data reported here are only modest beginnings, even though Samway (1987), studying more children from different language backgrounds, has begun to substantiate the incredible power of the audience on children's writing. The findings of the present study ultimately raise more questions than they answer: What is the relationship of writing to overall linguistic proficiency? Do revisions, whether stimulated by self, peers, or teacher, contribute to better writing and/or better overall language use? How are revisions influenced by an audience of a different culture? an audience of mixed cultural backgrounds?

Classroom-centered questions are also raised by these data. As students learn to ask questions about information in a peer's paper that they need clarified or expanded, how do they begin to recognize those needs in their own writing? How do learners develop the ability to ask questions about others' papers which are truly helpful to the author, not just comments to keep the conversation moving? How can learners best be taught to be effective responders? How can teachers learn to confer with children?

Although the questions are complex, the resulting answers may contain some of the most important information we could have about second language children and their instruction in schools. As we spend more time observing children in peer response sessions and in revising their pieces, we will ultimately learn more about what helps them to tell their own stories. Or, as Murray (1979) puts it.

I hear voices from my students they have never heard from themselves. I find they are authorities on subjects they think are ordinary. . . . It is a matter of faith. Faith that my students have something to say and a language in which to say it. $(p\ 16)$

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APPENDIX A

Vuong's First and Second Drafts

First Draft

First we got to the river we have to cross the river. On boat and we got to the camp and we pickup our stuff after that and we have to carry our stuff up to the cabin. Then we take our clothes out of the bags and get ready for dinner. After that it was campfire.

Everyday we went hiking and we have to take notes. I went cascade hike we saw a woodpecker it was fun hike finally we on top of the mountain it was so scared. We saw some plants on the road it was tired hike finally we get to eat lunchs. I made my self four sandwiches boy it was good. It was a beautiful day we can see everywhere.

Second Draft

When we arrive to outdoor school and all of us cross the river. The water was deep it was green water it has plants in it. When we arrive to other side we have to wait for peoples to cross the river. And then we walk to cafeteria and get our bags and we to the cabin and take our clothes out of the bag and put it on my feet. And we went down to eat lunchs after lunchs we have to sing a song so we can dismiss.

Then we went to hiking it was a long hike we were so tired finally it was lanchs time on the top of mountain. And we come back form the mountain. It was dinner time after that it was campfire each cabin have to make up a skit to show each other. When I get there I felt happy when you have to live I felt say. On the last day we had breakfast in bed we had coffee cakes eggs and oranges.

APPENDIX B Peer Response Group Session Transcript of Tape and Writer's Notes

| | Peer Response | Writer's Response | Notes |
|----|---|--|--|
| 1. | How was it on the boat when you crossed the river? | It was scared. You know, foggy, deep water. The water is green. | Information cross the river. |
| 2. | Was it a little boat or a big boat? If it was a little boat, did it take some people and then come back and get some other people? | Oh. 10 people at a time. | 10 people at a time. |
| 3. | Where do you put the clothes? "What clothes?" The clothes that you wear. | Oh, under our bed. No in the bag. In your bag, you know, you can put below your foot, feet. Put below your feet when you are sleeping, you know, put on your feet. | [Nothing] |
| 4. | He didn't tell us what you do in campfire. | [Nothing] | [I tell him to put that down.] More on campfire. |
| 5. | The first part seemed to be the first impression that you had of the camp. But I didn't know it was camp. So what you need to say is, "When I arrived at Camp Westwind " and then go on and say what you did. | [Nothing] | When we arrive |
| 6. | [Talking about whether crossing the river was scary.] It would have made me a little more involved in your story, I think, if you had said how you felt. | [Nothing] | How I felt |

| Peer Response | Writer's Response | Notes |
|--------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| 7. Who was your counselor? | Shark. That's not real name. It's kind of play name, you know? His real name is David. | His name David |
| 8. What was the woodpecker doing? | The woodpecker was eating something, maybe, you know, it tries to make a house or something. | woodpecker |
| 9. I like the word <i>sandwich</i> . | [Nothing] | [Nothing] |
| 10. [Reference unknown] | [Nothing] | All of US |

APPENDIX C

Cham's Four Drafts

First Draft

One day I was studing in the library. Then I kicked something under the table. I crawled under the table and saw a time machine. It was small and then I saw a red button said "Push." I pushed the button and the time machine grew bigger. It was almost as big as the table. There were two bars on each side of the time machine. I took hold of the bars and climb in. There were buttons everywhere and there was a chair. I sat in the chair and start pushing buttons. There was a sign said "Flying Succer." The Flying Succer zoomed up into the sky. I was getting hungry and I pushed another button. Green pills came and I swallow it. After awhile my chair was spining and the machine was running by itself. Finally the flying succer land. I got up and went to the door to push the button. I stepp out of the flying succer. Everything was odder than the flying succer. There were people skelaton and dinosaur's skelaton. Everything was dead. The house was torn down and no one was there. It was all messy and ugly.

Second Draft

One day I was studing in the library. Then I kicked something under the table. I crawled under the table and saw a time machine. It was small and then I saw a red button said "Push." I pushed the button and the time machine grew bigger. It was almost as big as the table. There were two bars on each side of the time machine. I took hold of the bars and climb in. There were buttons everywhere and there was a chair. I sat in the chair and start pushing buttons. There was a sign said "Flying Succer." The flying succer zoomed up into the sky. I was getting hungry and I pushed another botton. Green pills came out and I swallow it. After awhile my chair was spining and the machine was running by itself. Finally the flying succer land. I got up and went to the door to push the botton. I stepp out of the flying succer. Everything was odder than the flying succer. There were people skelaton and dinosaur's skelaton. Everything was dead. The house was torn down and no one was there. It was all messy and ugly. I want to go back to 1984 because I want to be with people and my friends. I want to live in a nice house, not a torn down house.

Third Draft

One day I was studing in the library. Then I kicked something hard under the table. I crawled under the table and saw a time machine. It was small and rough and I saw a shinny red button. I prested the button and the time machine grew bigger. It was almost as big as the table. There were two bars on each side of the time machine. I took hold of the bars and climbed in. There were lots of strange buttons and in the corner was a chair. I sat in the chair and started presting buttons. The Time Machine zoomed up into the sky. I was getting hungry and I decided to prest another button. Suddenly, a bunch of green pills drop from the cieling. I nelt down on my knees and grab some and put it in my mouth. After awhile my chair was

spinning and the machines ran by itself. Finally the time machine landed and the chair stopped. I got up and went to the door. I was so dizzy I tripped. I stepped out of the time machine and everything was odder and different when the chair stopped. It was all messy and spooky. The houses were all torn down except one. As soon as I stepped on the stair the house fell down and I was frightened. I ran back to the time machine, closed the door and sat in the chair. I prested the same button and the chair spun again. As soon as it stopped I was amazed to see that I was back in 1984.

Fourth Draft

One day me and one of my best friend Natalie were in the library studying. Then I kicked something under the table. "Hey, Nat, there's something strange under the table. Let's see what it is," I exclaimed. So we crawled under the table. "What a cute little thing," said Nat as she prest a shinny red button. The machine got bigger. "Back up, Nat," I yelled. "There's lots of machines and buttons inside there," said Nat. "Hey, I know what. We can call this thing a time machine," I suggested. Nat prest another button on a door and it opened. "Nat, there's a big chair over by the corner. Let's go and sit down." "Let us take turns pressing the buttons," said Nat as she prest one button. The light was on. When I prest the button, the door closed. We both decided to prest just two more buttons, and then we leave. Suddenly, the roof opened and millions of green pills dropped from the sky. We grabbed some of it and put it in our mouths. Then I accidently hit the biggest button. The chair was spinning faster each time. Natalie and I held on to each other and screamed. When it stopped, we stepped on the pills and went to the door. "Hey Cham look at this. It says Happy 2084 and it's printed out of green pills. Come on, let's get out of here," I said. "Oh, oh. Now what kind of place are we in," said Natalie as we stepped out of the time machine. "Come on. Let's see who's in that creepy house. And as soon as we stopped on the stairs, the house started to crack. We ran back to the time machine and pushed the door closed. Then we raced back to our chairs and Natalie hit the big button and the chair started spinning again. When it stopped we both disappeared out of the time machine and were back under the table in the library. We looked around to make sure everything was back to normal. Then one of our friends walked and asked, "What are you doing down there under the table?" Natalie looked at me and laughed. "We're looking for candy."

APPENDIX D

Excerpts From Vuong's Dialogue Journal*

Weekend

It was Saturday I woke up and I took a shower. And after shower then I watched cartoon with my mom. My dad wasn't home. He went somewhere. When he come back he took us to my uncle house. We had dinners there. And came back to our house.

Does your uncle live nearby? Does he have any children for you to play with? What do you do when you visit your uncle's house besides eat dinner?

Weekend

One Saturday morning I was the only one wakeup. My mom and dad were sleep I turn the television. And my dad wokup. Him and I watched television. I get up and take a shower and brush my teeth. I was home all day. We did go anyplace.

What else did you do this week? Did anything exciting happen in school? I really liked the map you drew for your assignment. I can tell you worked hard on it.

On Saturday morning I woke up and wash my teeth. Then my mom and dad going out. I have to do laundry. After that I watched football game.

Vuong, what did you do during the two week vacation? Did you go outside during the snow and ice? Did you slide around? Were you cold?

On Saturday I wokeup and wash my face and ate breakfast. After that I watched television and then we went out to my uncle house. Then we came back home. On Sunday I have to do laundry in the morning.

[Then he included a story in his journal which had been written in his class.]

Vuong—that was a real interesting story you wrote about being kidnapped. I could really imagine you in that man's house with all the junk and the gun. Hope you will write some more stories soon!

One Saturday I woke up and wash my face. And turn on the television. I was watch a basketball is was fun. On Sunday I was watching Super Bowl 18 it takes long time to get started. Then they start the game the L.A. Raiders won the game the score the Raiders 38 and the Redskins 7.

Wow! That was a pretty one-sided game, wasn't it? Who were you rooting for? Did your favorite team win?

One Saturday morning I was watching basketball game it was a lot of sports all I watched is sports I had to do laundry before the game started I had a good weekend.

Vuong, what is the name of your favorite violin piece? How long have you been playing the violin?

^{*} Portions in italics represent Braithwaite's responses.

My favorite piece is call Lightly Row that my favorite piece I been playing for three year.

APPENDIX E

Excerpt From Sonkla's Dialogue Journal

Dear Mrs. Braithwaite

Can I ask you a question? I feel sad because everytimes you mailed my journal back I always saw a different folders. When I took that folder home I always saw it riped. Why are you always changed the folders? Well I don't mean that I don't like that folder. Everytimes those folders on my desk, everyone start to teasing me. I always turned red, you know that I'm the shyest girl. They always said "what a beautiful," but it's mean a opposite word. Well, see you on Thursday.

Dear Sonkla,

I didn't realize that getting your journal in envelopes made you feel sad. I'm sending you a fresh envelope today and I will try to use the same one from now on.

APPENDIX F

Excerpt From Khamla's Dialogue Journal

November 3, 1983

I have met a glir. She is a nice glir. She help me on my works. She is in Mr. B— math class. I like her but She does't no that I like her. I didn't known if she like me. To tell you the thouth I am her sikgereatmyer.

Integrating Theory With Practice: An Alternative Approach to Reported Speech in English

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Standard characterizations of reported speech in English grammars and ESL textbooks are shown to be incomplete. A more explicit description is proposed emphasizing (a) a clear differentiation between direct and indirect speech using prosodic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic criteria; (b) the role of deixis in explaining the internal syntactic adjustments in indirect speech; and (c) the importance of semantic concerns. A checklist based on this more complete analysis of English reported speech is provided for evaluating the presentation of English reported speech, as well as a short critique of the coverage of English reported speech in six current ESL textbooks. Finally, a more explicit characterization of English reported speech—intended for the ESL classroom—is presented.

Many nonnative speakers of English, even at advanced levels, exhibit great difficulty in learning English reported speech. Elements of direct and indirect reporting in English are often combined when nonnatives retell an utterance. In the following example, nonnative speakers (A and B) and a native English speaker (NS) listened to a taped dialogue between two robbers about to break into a house. They were then asked to report what they had heard.

- la. Original statement (robber describing escape plans) George: Tomorrow we will drive to California.
- b. Indirect speech (one week has elapsed)
 - A: He said that tomorrow we will drive up to California.
- c. Indirect speech (one week has elapsed)
 - B: They said so if we successfully do it so the next day they will go to California.

d. Indirect speech (one week has elapsed)

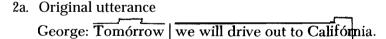
NS: George said that the next day they would drive out to California.

In Example lb, even though the presence of *that* suggests that the speaker is using indirect speech, we do not find any internal syntactic changes in the reporting of the original statement. The sequence thus exhibits features of both direct and indirect speech at the same time. In Example lc, certain elements indicate that the first and third person pronouns *we* and *they* are co-referential, yet the listener would not be aware of this. This kind of "combined reporting," using elements of direct and indirect speech in the same sentence, poses problems in English by creating possible confusion for the hearer.

The errors students make when reporting utterances obviously come from a variety of sources. However, the emphasis in language teaching on error analysis and the problems of the learner has led many teachers to concentrate on the language acquisition process of the student, without reexamining the accuracy of the presentation of this grammatical structure in the ESL classroom. Rather than concentrate on the learner's acquisition process, this article examines the current coverage of reported speech in selected standard grammars and ESL textbooks. A more explicit analysis of English reported speech is then presented. This analysis introduces the student to a full repertoire of reporting techniques based on syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and prosodic criteria and at the same time emphasizes the proper semantic motivation necessary for reporting the conversationally conveyed meaning.

ENGLISH REPORTED SPEECH AND DEIXIS

A variety of terms for reported speech are found in the literature (e.g., *indirect speech*, *indirect discourse*). Throughout this article, the term *reported speech* is used to refer to the oral conveyance of the content of an utterance. This term includes two separate systems in English: (a) reporting in the style of direct quotations, in which the original statement is simply adjoined to the reporting clause, and (b) indirect speech, in which utterances are retold with several syntactic and often semantic adjustments. The following examples illustrate these reporting styles:



- b. Reported speech: direct quotation

 Geórge said: Tomórrow we will drive out to Califórnia."
- c. Reported speech: indirect (one week has elapsed)

 Geórge said | (that) the next day | they would drive out to

 Califórnia.

As Example 2 demonstrates, indirect speech differs from direct speech in several ways. Regarding the prosodies of the reporting styles, we find in direct quotation a pause between the reporting element and the utterance, usually accompanied by a slightly higher pitch contour on the original words in the report. In contrast, the indirect report, when uttered, has the intonation contour of a declarative statement.

There are also several syntactic differences between direct and indirect speech. Even though the words to be reported function as noun clauses in both reporting styles, in Example 2b the clause has a "quasi-independent" nature, while in Example 2c it is clearly subordinate to the reporting element, often introduced in indirect statements (though not in questions) with the complementizer that. Upon examination we find that certain words in the indirect version (2c) have been altered: (a) The verb will has become would to make the listener aware of the passage of time between the original and the current speech event; (b) the pronoun we has been changed to they to point out the appropriate referents from the reporter's here-and-now vantage point; (c) the adverbial of time tomorrow has been changed to the next day, again indicating the passage of time; and (d) the optional complementizer that may introduce the reporting clause.

¹The pitch contours in Example 2 correspond to the four-level system proposed in Gleason (1901, pp. 40-50). The conventions used to mark pause, length, and tone are those suggested in Crystal (1975, p. 101):

```
increasing degrees of pause length

level tone
onset syllable of tone-unit
tone-unit boundary
following syllable is at higher level
```

In the preceding discussion, the concept of deixis has been implicitly introduced. The term itself comes from Greek, meaning "to point" or "to indicate." In particular, the internal syntactic adjustments (Points a, b, c above) found in the clause to be reported in indirect speech may be thought of as deictic in nature, since they serve to locate and indicate persons and processes in relation to the spatiotemporal context of the current speech event. Even though these alterations involve different grammatical structures—noun phrases, verb phrases, and adverbials—the purpose of the adjustments is similar in each case. The alterations indicate, point out, and make the listener aware of shifts in real time, in participant roles, and in location. Lyons (1977, p. 638) specifically mentions tense as a deictic marker, since it functions to locate certain events and processes in time. It should be noted that in addition to the syntactic adjustments listed here, we find that intonation (i. e., pause and higher pitch level in direct speech versus declarative contour in indirect speech) also serves a deictic function indicating which reporting system is being used.

Having described the basic nature of reported speech in English as it relates to deixis, let us now consider the ESL and TESL literature and examine how this grammatical structure is typically characterized.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF TEACHING ENGLISH REPORTED SPEECH

Treatments in English Grammars

Of the grammars consulted—Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1972, 1985), Thomson and Martinet (1980), Leech and Svartvik (1975), Frank (1972), Crowell (1964)—the following rules adapted from Leech and Svartvik (pp. 118-119) are representative of the coverage of reported speech:

- A. Present tense verbs should be changed into past tense (to match the reporting verb).
- B. First and second person pronouns should be changed into the third person.
- C. Pointer words like *this, now, here, tornowow* should (sometimes) be changed into *that, then, there, the next day,* and so on.
- D. Rule A should be ignored in the case of the past perfect. Some modal auxiliaries are also not backshifted. In addition, if the utterance expresses an eternal truth, Rule A will not apply.

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Some of the grammarians listed above deal with the reporting of questions and commands as well. However, it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss all the difficulties students have in reporting other utterance types. (How these types of utterances should be presented in the ESL classroom is discussed in the section English Reported Speech in the ESL Classroom.)

The rules listed above are accurate but incomplete. If a teacher presents reported speech based on this information only, unacceptable utterances which no longer convey the essence of the original words could easily be formed by the students. Moreover, these rules do not focus on particular learner-related problems of nonnative speakers.

Let us examine the implications of an approach to reported speech based on these rules. The first rule has to do with shifting the tense of verbs in the clause to be reported to a corresponding past tense if the verb in the reporting clause is in the past. Charts such as the following one are often presented to aid the student in the process of backshifting:

Simple present Simple past
Present continuous
Past continuous
Simple past
Past perfect
Present perfect
Past perfect

Past continuous Past perfect continuous

Future Conditional

Future perfect Conditional perfect Conditional Conditional perfect

If we turn back to Example 2c, we find that the change in the verb to be reported corresponds to the chart: future \longrightarrow conditional. However, not all reported utterances are backshifted, even when the reporting verb is in the past. Even though Leech and Svartvik (1975) list the past perfect, certain modals, and eternal/general truths as cases in which backshifting is ignored, several other situations also prove to be exceptions to the first rule.

When an utterance is reported without a distinct period of time having elapsed, the backshift is not necessary. This type of reporting—that, is, immediate reporting—is used when the speaker does not differentiate between points in time, as shown in Example 3:

3a. Original utterance

Mother: Girls, I want you to clean up the kitchen.

b. Reported speech (immediate reporting)

Debbie: What did Mom say? I couldn't hear her.

Mary: She said she wants us to cleanup the kitchen.

c. Reported speech (a distinct period of time has elapsed)

Debbie: What did Mom say before she left yesterday? I couldn't hear her.

Mary: She said she wanted us to clean up the kitchen.

(It is unclear how long a "distinct" period of time is. When the shift in real time occurs, the reporter is able to identify the time of the original utterance as *then* and the time frame of the present reporting as *now*.)

In the reporting of conditionals, backshifting, if applied to all the verbs in the original, may change the intended meaning. In the following example, the backshift rule is only semantically appropriate for the first verb in the reported clause (the asterisk denotes semantic infelicity in Examples 4,5, and 6):

4a. Original utterance

Bill: I think she would go to the dance if we asked her.

- b. Reported speech (all reported verbs are backshifted)
 - John: *Bill said that he thought she would have gone to the dance if they had asked her.
- c. Reported speech (backshift is applied to first verb)

John: He said that he thought she would go to the dance if they asked her.

If students mechanically apply the first rule to the original utterance, the result will be a report such as that in Example 4b, which does not correspond to the meaning the reporter intended to convey. The dance is yet to take place. If students, however, think about the semantic motivation behind the backshifting, the necessity of pointing out the time of the present act of reporting, they will backshift only the first verb in the reported clause—think.

In some utterances, certain tenses in English may be used to apply to other time references. In the following example we see how the speaker, although actually referring to present time, uses the past tense to create psychological distance. Here again the mechanical rules of backshifting do not apply, since the tense in the original utterance does not correspond to real time.

5a. Original utterance (past used for present time)

Hotel clerk: Did you want a room?

- b. Reported speech (with backshifting)
 - Bystander: *The clerk asked whether the man had wanted a room.
- c. Reported speech (no backshifting)

Bystander: The clerk asked whether the man wanted a room.

Conversely, the simple present may refer to the future. In some situations the verb remains the same or may be forward shifted when reported rather than backshifted:

- 6a. Original utterance (present used for future)
 - Betsy: Christmas next year falls on a Thursday.
- b. Reported speech (statement was made in the past, but Christmas is still to come)
 - Jonathan: *Betsy said that Christmas next year fell on a Thursday.
- c. Reported speech (statement was made in the past, but Christmas is yet to come)

Jonathan: Betsy said that Christmas next year falls [will fall] on a Thursday.

At first glance the exceptions to backshifting in reported speech may seem to be unrelated. (Since this discussion deals only with time-oriented expressions, modals, the "present" and "past" forms of which do not correspond to real time, are not included.) Yet, if we examine them more closely, we find that underlying similarities exist. In all these exceptions a distinction between two real points in time is not necessary; therefore, the existing deictic marker on the verb (tense) is not altered. Rules A and D can be combined and explicitly restated as follows:

The verb in the original utterance is adjusted to a form which indicates or differentiates between points in time. In some instances the verb is not backshifted:

- (a) If there is no difference in two points in time between the original utterance and the reported utterance—immediate reporting
- (b) If the statement is not bound to the limitations of time—general and eternal truths and habitual actions

Turning again to the grammar rules for English reported speech, Leech and Svartvik (1975) state in Rule B that first and second person pronouns are changed to third person. Yet, we can find situations in which third means third person or in which third person is changed to second. The following example illustrates this latter change:

7a. Original utterance (Susan hears utterance)

John: Jane deserves a vacation.

b. Reported speech (Susan tells Jane what she overheard)

Susan: John said that you deserve a vacation.

Rather than characterize the change in pronouns with a number of mechanical rules, we can explain all the situations with the following principle, which embodies the underlying notion of deixis:

The pronoun in the original utterance changes to the appropriate noun phrase (NP), which corresponds to the spatiotemporal zeropoint of the reporter and addressee(s).

(If a third person NP is used in the original utterance, the NP may remain unaltered when reported in indirect speech. Munro, 1982, has a more complete discussion of deixis and pronoun reference.)

Finally, the changes in adverbial of time cannot always be explicitly stated in a rule. It depends entirely on the spatiotemporal here and now of the act of reporting. The following example illustrates this point:

8a. Original utterance

John: I'm going to New York tomorrow.

b. Reported speech

Nancy: John said that he was going to

New York

on August 18th.
the next day.
the end of the week.
on Saturday.
yesterday.
tomorrow.
last month.

All of the adverbial in Example 8b are appropriate, depending on the context. The rule for reporting adverbial of time may be summed up as follows:

In indirect speech, adverbial of time correspond to the temporal frame of reporting. They are adjusted to indicate the passage of time, but if the original time references have not changed, they are not altered in indirect speech. A similar rule for the adjustments in place adverbial (e.g., *here/there*) and deictic verbs (e.g., *come/go*) can be given, once again taking deixis into account:

The adverbial of place and deictic verbs are adjusted so that they conform to the here and now (proper spatiotemporal zeropoint) of the present act of reporting.

To summarize, rather than list a set of mechanical rules which are incomplete and which do not necessarily encourage nonnatives to think in terms of the deictic force of the spatiotemporal features of the discourse, we may instead present one all-encompassing rule which accurately characterizes the syntactic changes in indirect speech, while emphasizing the semantic motivation behind them:

In indirect speech, elements such as pronouns, verbs, and adverbs from the original utterance must conform to the here and now of the act of reporting. Whether or not this necessitates a change from the original utterance depends on the relevance of the pointing (deictic) qualities of these words for the present act of reporting.

The importance of this rule lies in the fact that it emphasizes the underlying theoretical principles behind the adjustments in indirect reported speech. This analysis provides a coherent explanation for exceptions to the rules in standard grammars, and it enables the student to develop an understanding of the underlying semantic motivation of reported speech in English. The implications of this rule for the ESL classroom are discussed in greater depth in the section An Alternative Approach.

Semantic Concerns

When utterances are reported in indirect speech, the syntactic form does not necessarily correspond to the semantic function in the original discourse. Drawing on the work of Kempson (1977), the following example shows how a statement is reported as an indirect question, rather than as an indirect statement (? preceding a sentence indicates pragmatic infelicity):

9a. Original utterance (form of statement)

Tourist: Excuse me, I would be very grateful if you could tell me where the train station is.

- b. Reported speech (reported as indirect statement)
 - Bystander: ?That tourist just said that he would be very grateful if we could tell him where the train station is.
- c. Reported speech (reported as indirect question)

 Bystander: That tourist just asked where the train station is.

In Example 9b the report is not syntactically or semantically deviant. Yet, as Kempson (1977) points out, even though the original utterance to be reported was in the form of a statement, it would be much more natural to report the original utterance as an indirect question. Example 9c is pragmatically relevant (appropriate to the context of the speech event), while the report in Example 9b seems flat and colorless, even though it is syntactically closer to the original utterance.

Additional examples of reporting in which it would be inappropriate to retell an original utterance according to its corresponding syntactic form have been pointed out by Green (1975) in her discussion of *wh*-imperatives, that is, *whimperatives*. Whimperatives have the surface structure of questions, yet they are used to make orders, requests, and suggestions and are not semantically appropriate if retold as questions:

10a. Original utterance (It is dinnertime. Dinah is talking with her husband, who promised to make dinner that evening.)

Dinah: Why don't you cook dinner?

b. Reported speech

Nelson: ?Dinah asked Ralph why he didn't cook dinner.

c. Reported speech

Nelson: Dinah suggested that Ralph cook dinner.

While the report in Example 10b is a grammatically correct indirect question, it does not convey the intended act of suggesting. As we can see from Examples 9 and 10, the conversationally conveyed meaning will determine how an utterance is to be reported. The speaker, in observing certain conventions, utters a statement, question, or command, in order to convey in some instances quite a different meaning. Therefore, the reporter must be able to understand the function of the utterances in the discourse and to report it with these conventions in mind.

Up to this point, we have introduced the reported utterances in most examples with the generic reporting verbs *say*, *tell*, and *ask*, which are generally nonspecific and colorless in nature. However, a

large group of nongenetic reporting verbs are frequently used in reported speech by native English speakers. The use of these nongenetic reporting verbs has to do with the illocutionary force of the original utterance. According to Austin (1962), the term illocutionary force corresponds to the speech act performed by the speaker in making an utterance, for example, announcing a verdict or intention; making an appointment, an appeal, or a criticism; making an identification or giving a description; asking or answering a question; or giving information, assurance, or warning.

The following example of reporting a speech act, adapted from Schweller, Brewer, and Dahl (1976, p. 330), illustrates the importance of the illocutionary force in guiding the speaker to the appropriate reporting verb:

11a. Original utterance (act of demanding)

Bearded man in airplane: I want to go to Cuba!

b. Reported speech (generic reporting verb)

Passenger: The bearded man told the pilot that he wanted to go to Cuba.

c. Reported speech (speech act verb)

Passenger: The bearded man ordered the pilot to take him to Cuba.

This example demonstrates that if we limit ourselves only to *say*, *tell*, and *ask*, the reporting becomes somewhat flat and the conversationally conveyed meaning is not always apparent. In fact, it is often distorted. As mentioned earlier, the essence of what is said is what is important in indirect speech. Therefore, it is often more effective (i.e., meaningful) for the reporter to recognize the function of the utterance in the discourse and simply report the speech act by using one of the nongenetic verbs. Thus, the reporter can explain what the person meant, focusing completely on the conveyed meaning. Again, we see the need in the grammars for a characterization of reported speech which goes beyond the syntax to include the semantics.

The Use of Direct and Indirect Speech

Another area which English grammars generally fail to consider is the pragmatics of reported speech. No strict rules exist about the uses of direct versus indirect speech; however, English speakers do have inclinations regarding the appropriate use of each style. Allwood, Andersson, and Dahl (1977) state that direct speech conveys the words which were spoken, while indirect speech reflects the essence of what was said. In some situations one of the systems will be preferred, depending on the discourse and intentions of the speaker, and in other situations only one system, that of direct speech, must be used.²

The report in the following example could be retold grammatically either with direct or indirect speech. Pragmatically, however, one style is clearly inappropriate. In the telling of a joke, direct quotation is preferred:

12a. Joke telling (direct speech)

Ruth: I just heard a joke.

Betty: Oh yeah? Let's hear it.

Ruth: Well, there's this woman at home in the kitchen. One day she opens the door of the refrigerator and finds a rabbit inside. Immediately she asks, "What are you doing in there?" The rabbit says, "This is a Westinghouse, isn't it?" So the woman says, "Yes." Then the rabbit goes, "Well, I'm just 'westing.'"

In Example 12a, since the goal of the report is to recreate the atmosphere originally present, direct speech is more appropriate. Note that Example 12b is not "ungrammatical," but the effects of the report are different:

12b. Joke telling (indirect speech)

Ruth: I just heard a joke.

Betty: Oh yeah? Let's hear it.

Original utterance Charles: Hi there. Peter: Hello!

Charles: You haven't seen the file on policy H-12, have you?

Peter: No, I haven't. Honest. You asked John for it?

Reported speech

*Charles said that hi there. (exclamation)

The syntactically deviant nature of some of the original utterances in the above dialogue may account in part for their unreportability in indirect speech. See Banfield (1973) for a summary of constructions which can appear only in direct speech.

²The utterances in the following dialogue do not lend themselves to the mechanical rules of indirect speech. This "unreportability" ranges from tag questions to certain exclamations:

^{*}Charles asked if Peter hadn't seen the file on policy H-12, had he? (tag question)

^{*}Peter said that no, he hadn't. (complementizer plus negative)

^{*}Peter said that honest. (deletion of subject plus be)

Ruth: Well, there was this woman at home in the kitchen. One day she opened the door of the refrigerator and saw a rabbit inside. Immediately she asked the rabbit what he was doing in there. The rabbit asked her if the refrigerator was a Westinghouse. She replied that it was, at which point the rabbit mentioned that he was just "westing."

We sense that the reporting in Example 12b is on a higher register, further removed from the original atmosphere. Indirect speech appears to emphasize the factual content of the incident, which is of course inappropriate in the context of a joke. Rather, what is needed is a recreation of the original atmosphere for the dramatic and comic effect which is the purpose of the discourse.

Considering the characterization of reported speech available in English grammars, it is not surprising that nonnative students exhibit difficulty in mastering this grammatical structure. Reported speech is described as a syntactic phenomenon without emphasizing the semantic motivation behind the deictic adjustments. A number of criteria do characterize English reported speech, syntax being one of them, but semantic, pragmatic, and prosodic considerations are all of equal importance.

ENGLISH REPORTED SPEECH IN THE ESL CL4SSROOM Treatments in ESL Textbooks

Let us now consider how the above theoretical discussion can have practical relevance for presentations of English reported speech in the ESL classroom. The following suggestions are for (a) teachers who would like to supplement or adapt treatments of reported speech in ESL textbooks and (b) materials designers who are presenting reported speech, taking into account a more context-oriented linguistic approach.

The checklist in Table 1, which is based on a more explicit characterization of English reported speech, has been used to critique the coverage of this grammatical structure in Pollock (1982), Azar (1981), Davis (1977), Praninskas (1975), Rutherford (1975), and Danielson and Hayden (1973). Teachers can also use this checklist to evaluate their present texts.

Table 1 indicates first of all that no texts cover the prosodic differences, listed on the table as intonation. In differentiating between the two reporting systems in English, the punctuation is usually mentioned. Regarding deixis, the ESL textbooks deal with

TABLE 1
Checklist to Evaluate the Presentation of English Reported Speech in ESL Texts

| Feature | Polloek | Azar | Praninskas | Rutherford | Davis | Danielson & Hayden |
|-------------------------------------|---------|----------|---------------|------------|-------|-----------------------|
| | | Dis | tinctions | | | |
| Statements | | | | | | |
| Intonation | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Subordination | b | b | Ö | ő | a | Ő |
| Declarative form Complementizer: | a | b | 0 | ъ | b | 0 |
| if, whether | a | a | 0 | b | a | b |
| Wb-questions | b | a | 0 | a | 0 | 0 |
| Commands | | | | | | |
| Tell + infinitive | a | a | 0 | b | 0 | а |
| Should | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | Deixis | | | |
| Semantic motivation | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Pronouns | a | 0 | b | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Verbs | b | b | b | b | b | 0 |
| Adverbials | b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | Semantio | cs/pmgrnaties | | | |
| Presentation of speech | | | | | | |
| act verbs | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | ь |
| Subcategorization: re- | | | | | | |
| porting verbs | b | b | b | b | b | b |
| Choice of reporting | | | | | | |
| style | a | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Reportability criteria | a | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | • | Pur | ectuation | • | | |
| Both reporting styles | a | a | b | 0 | b | 0 |

Note: a = accurate and mostly complete; b = accurate but incomplete; 0 = no explanation.

some of the internal syntactic adjustments, treating them separately, but give no explanation for the semantic motivation behind them. Of the three alterations, the texts concentrate primarily on backshifting. The change in pronouns is often not specifically mentioned, and the coverage of adverbial is also lacking. Few texts deal with the semantic concerns of reported speech. Finally, with the exception of Pollock (1982), there is little guidance for the use of one reporting style as opposed to the other.

In all these texts, reported speech is not introduced until the intermediate or advanced levels. In at least two of the books, Azar (1981) and Davis (1977), reported speech is presented in chapters on noun clauses, thus emphasizing the syntactic similarities between reported clauses and other types of noun clauses. And frequently, reported speech and the reporting of mental activities are grouped together, which at times can be misleading, since the motivation for the backshifting in these cases is different. (When reporting mental activities, the motivation for the change in the verb will have to do with syntactic parallelism, rather than with the pointing out of distinct periods in time.)

An analysis of the reported speech errors of nonnative speakers shows that there are three areas of potential difficulty: distinctions between the two reporting systems, an understanding of deixis as it relates to alterations in indirect speech, and a knowledge of the semantic and pragmatic concerns. The most current presentations of this grammatical structure are weak in all these areas. For teachers using these and other current ESL textbooks, supplementary materials should be included for a more complete presentation of English reported speech. The following alternative approach to the presentation of reported speech for the ESL classroom focuses specifically on the three areas of potential difficulty mentioned.

An Alternative Approach

The advantages of this four-cycle presentation over those in the textbooks evaluated may be summarized as follows:

- 1. Prosodic distinctions in the two reporting systems are explained in the first cycle.
- 2. Students are asked to consider how the pointing words in the original relate to the context of the reporting. Thus, they become aware of the concept of deixis as the semantic motivation for shifts in pronouns, verbs, and adverbial.
- 3. Students are encouraged to report utterances using nongenetic speech act verbs. Thus, they learn how to report the conversationally conveyed meaning.
- 4. Students are taught when to use direct and indirect speech. They gradually develop target-like intuitions about the proper use of each style.
- 5. The progression of the cycles can be used at any level (starting at high beginner) and can be adapted to fit the needs of any ESL student.

Cycle I. In this cycle prosodic distinctions between the two reporting systems are presented. Changes in pronouns and adverbial are explained, and students are introduced to immediate reporting.

Given the fact that nonnatives at lower levels of proficiency are more inclined to use spoken reported speech rather than written, differences in the reporting styles having to do with intonation are presented first. One way of helping students recognize the marked and unmarked intonation contours is to present them with examples of both types (in minimal pair units) and to ask them to identify which style is being used. Once the students have mastered this, they can then practice sentences and dialogues which have direct and indirect speech in them.

To help them understand the change in pronouns, students can be asked to report examples such as the following:

13a. Changing from first person to third

Student: I have a toothache.

Student reports: She said she has a toothache.

b. Changing from second person to first

Student: You can leave class early.

Student reports: He said I can leave class early.

To help the students grasp the reason for the adjustments in pronouns, this question should be stressed: How do the words which were originally uttered relate to the conversation now?

After students have practiced the pronouns and are aware of the differences in intonation, the change in place adverbial can also be practiced, once again emphasizing the relevance of these pointing words to the present reporting:

14. Student: The book is here.

Student [on the other side of the room] reports: She told me the book is there.

The purpose of Cycle I is to make students aware of the two reporting systems in English through differences in intonation and through changes in pointing words (pronouns and adverbial of place). This presentation gives students an understanding of immediate reporting. It is also hoped that students will begin to grasp the semantic motivation for the shifts in pronouns and adverbial of place.

Cycle II. In addition to deictic changes in pronouns and adverbials, students need to be made aware of the pointing qualities in the tense of the verb to be reported. Rather than give them a chart or set of mechanical rules, this question should be continually posed: How do these words, that is, verbs and pointer words having to do with the content of time, match my present situation? Keeping this question in mind will help make students aware of the semantics of these adjustments. The reporting of examples such as the following can be practiced with students:

15. Student [yesterday]: I am going to buy a car today.

Student reports: John said that he was going to buy a car yesterday.

It is also necessary to point out the changes in adverbials. Rather than give rules such as *tomorrow* is always adjusted to *the next day*, the teacher should emphasize again the importance of asking how the pointer words of the original relate to this present act of reporting.

After having presented the three deictic changes, the teacher can explain the use of the complementizer *that*. Here it should be stressed that *that* never introduces direct quotations.

Cycle III. The reporting of questions is introduced in this cycle. The teacher should first point out that indirect interrogatives assume a declarative form. Students can practice this change with yes/no questions using examples of all four verb types (*be, have + EN,* lexical [main] verb, modals):

16. Student: Is she your adviser?

Student reports: He asked him if she was his adviser.

Here, the teacher should emphasize the use of an obligatory complementizer, either *if* or *whether*, which introduces the indirect yes/no interrogative.

Finally, the reporting of *wh*-questions can be presented, stressing again the changes in question word order. It should be noted that no overt complementizer is used, since the *wh*-word itself serves this function. Again, students can practice reporting questions with the four different verb types:

17. Student: Where have you seen jeans on sale? Student reports: He asked me where I had seen jeans on sale.

Questions with *who* and *what* as subjects should also be practiced:

18. Student: What went wrong?

Student reports: He wanted to know what had gone wrong.

At this point it is necessary to discuss punctuation, reviewing the rules for indirect questions and statements. All the deictic changes can be reviewed again, emphasizing how they relate to the here and now of reporting. General and eternal truths and immediate reporting should be discussed, and the distinction between the two systems reviewed once again.

Cycle IV. In this cycle, students are taught how to report the conversationally conveyed meaning of the discourse and in what context a particular style is preferred. For the former, students will need to know how to report commands, in addition to statements and questions. Indirect imperatives can be taught through examples such as the following:

19. Teacher: Finish your homework by 3:00.

Students: The teacher told us to finish our homework by 3:00.

Here the teacher will want to stress that the verb to be reported becomes an infinitive construction. Students should also be taught how to report commands by using modals such as *should* and *must*.

To effectively teach students how to report the conversationally conveyed meaning, the teacher should present nongenetic speech act verbs. This can be done by putting a list of them on the board and then acting out situations in which the student has to classify the conversationally conveyed meaning.

- 20. (praise, demand, insult, suggest, insist, explain, criticize)
 - a. Student: Bring me my supper, right now!

Student, classifying speech act: Why are you always demanding that I cook for you?

b. Student: You really should buy a new pair of shoes.

Student, classifying speech act: Are you *suggesting* that my shoes look worn out?

Martin (1978) presents a number of suggestions for teaching speech acts in the ESL classroom. In addition to acting out single-utterance speech acts, students can also read or listen to portions of dialogues and then retell what they heard using the appropriate nongenetic reporting verbs. The teacher should discuss the meaning of these verbs and explain the appropriate subcategorization frames for them (a list of these can be found in Martin). Concerning the

pragmatics of reported speech, students can be given a variety of reporting situations and be asked to discuss which style would be more appropriate and why. Examples of situations could include reporting an important conversation to a police officer, reporting what was in the news, telling a joke (with reported speech in it), and retelling an amusing incident. The teacher could also discuss the syntactic unreportability of certain utterances, which might influence students' choice of a particular style.

Once the prosodic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of English reported speech have been presented to students, it is useful to reinforce the material covered, beginning with Cycle I and using a spiral technique (see Martin, 1978) to present the material again, this time with more advanced vocabulary and syntactic structures.

CONCLUSION

This article has dealt with theoretical concerns of reported speech in English and their implications for TESL. It should be noted that an approach to reported speech which focuses on deixis and brings in prosodic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic criteria provides a framework for research in a number of related fields as well. An area in which little research has been conducted is the acquisition of reported speech. It would be of interest to investigate which deictic devices are acquired first and what intuitions children have about the pragmatics of direct and indirect reporting. For those involved in language typology, a framework for reported speech which focuses on a network of pointing devices can account for various phenomena which would be overlooked using a strictly syntactic approach (see Goodell's [1983] treatment of Persian reported speech). Finally, research on the deictic nature of reported speech across languages can provide psychologists with new insights into spatiotemporal cognitive mapping. In short, a more explicit characterization of reported speech provides the researcher with the tools needed to investigate a variety of phenomena in applied, theoretical, and psycholinguistics.

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Business Letter Writing: English, French, and Japanese

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This article examines the form and content of business letters of request in English, French, and Japanese, focusing on prescriptive accounts in the respective languages. Since writing is the process of creating meaning, the examination of a highly prescriptive form of written communication increases our understanding of the varied interpretations of the writer's purpose and reader's expectations in different cultures. The rhetorical differences of note in this comparative exercise were that despite amazingly similar surface characteristics, American business letters are reader oriented, French business letters are writer oriented, and Japanese business letters are oriented to the space between the writer and reader.

BUSINESS LETTER WRITING

Research into the writing process informs us that writing is a creative discovery of meaning which takes place in three recursive stages of (a) prewriting, (b) writing, and (c) rewriting (de Beaugrande, 1984; Murray, 1978; Smith, 1982). It is therefore a slow process characterized by starts, by stops, and even by the total inability to create, the so-called writer's block. This writer's block must be accepted as part of the price an author pays for creativity. We advise our students, and ourselves, to walk away from the writing task when a block occurs and to return later when the writing will again flow. Smith (1982, p. 133), for instance, advises us to watch a movie, to take a walk, or to sleep on the problem.

There are forms of writing in which the luxury of a 2-day delay, or even a 2-hour delay, is not possible. This is the case for business letters, which are the focus of this article. Business letters were chosen for analysis because they represent a specific communication event in which there is a close match between the intentions of the writer and the expectations of the reader. The form and content of business letters of request in American English, French, and

Japanese are analyzed. (Throughout this article, the term *English business letter* refers exclusively to American English business letters, and the term *French business letter* refers to those of France and not of francophone Canada.)

Business letters must be written promptly and effectively. To do otherwise is to jeopardize goodwill or profits. Since business cannot afford the time for the slow evolution of meaning, an obvious solution is to formalize letters. The search for a means of expression requires creative thinking, and creative thinking runs the risk of blocking. Having a formulaic way to express an idea facilitates the writing process.

Another problem for business letter writing is that text is necessarily ambiguous. Janis (1966) defends what he calls "common business letter expressions," so-called cliches, as necessary, suggesting that ready-made expressions are more efficient in that they reduce uncertainty and the need for time-consuming individual invention.

Certainly, courses and textbooks in business writing exist in all three countries. In France, standardized examinations, the Certificat Practique de Français de Commerce et Economique and the Diplôme Supérieur, are taken by all who aspire to a career in business communication, and most textbooks and courses teach students to succeed in these examinations (Guback, 1984; LeGoff, 1982). Japanese books on business letter writing seem even more prescriptive in that they typically provide detailed models for every possible occasion. The aim is to provide a format at the appropriate level of formality, no matter whether it is asking for an appointment or acknowledging receipt of materials (Kawaguchi, 1975). In the United States, writing courses are increasingly emphasizing the process of composition and turning away from the product approach of presenting and imitating models, yet there is little evidence that texts in business writing are following suit. It is not difficult to understand why.

Such ritualized and formulaic writing may give the impression that these forms are uninteresting to study rhetorically. While business letters may be characterized by more than just ready-made expressions, their content is often a close paraphrase of a sample letter presented in a published source (see, for example, Cahill, 1985). As pointed out in Vatz (1973), however, underlying assumptions about meaning and the communicative nature of the event are what give rise to the ritualized forms in the first place. Their value to rhetorical inquiry is thus enhanced.

So on first examination, it may not seem that business writing is worth detailed analysis. Business letters have the specific function, more so perhaps than most other types of writing, of getting the recipient to comply. As such, it is necessary to present the information, request, and suggestions they contain in a format which will lead to compliance.

The preceding discussion suggests that the form a business letter takes will not differ significantly according to the language in which it is written. An examination of textbooks for business letter writing in various languages appears to support this. In addition to specific statements admonishing business letter writers to write clearly, precisely, and unambiguously, these textbooks also identify similar, if not identical, components of an effective business letter. A comparison of the recommended formats for English, French, and Japanese business letters is presented below.

English: 1. Salutation

2. Body

3. Complimentary close (Damerst, 1966)

French: 1. Introduction

2. Body

3. Salutations (Guback, 1984)

Japanese: 1. Opening remarks

2. Body

3. Ending (Kawaguchi, 1975)

CROSS-CULTURAL VARIATION

Despite the similar nature of the recommended format and the inherent necessity to persuade the reader to comply, we contend that business letters are not rhetorically uninteresting and that analysis of the genre in different languages will inform us about how meaning is created in different cultures to achieve ostensibly the same purpose. Differences in the prescriptive treatment of business letter writing among cultures should, in fact, be expected, based on our knowledge that persuasion is a rhetorical exercise and that rhetorical organization may vary considerably from culture to culture.

Kaplan (1966), for instance, has alerted us to the fact that there might be profound cultural differences in the organization of compositions. Subsequent research has reinforced this observation, and at this point it may be expected that compositional organization will differ from culture to culture (for a different view, see Mohan

& Lo, 1985). While most of the research has dealt with expository writing, which, as Longacre (1976) has shown, is logically organized, some studies have focused on discourse genre other than expository writing. DeSilva (1982), for instance, has shown that Spanish, English, and Japanese procedural discourses have different organizing characteristics. Thus, the fact that rhetorical techniques for business letters differ across cultures should not surprise us.

We have found that business letter writing in the three cultures differs in two fundamental ways, reflecting Guback's (1984, p. 21) distinction between *le fond*, which is the choice and arrangement of ideas, and *la forme*, which is commercial style and presentation. We have also found that the differences in rhetorical style in these three cultures reflect in many ways the values which permeate much of interpersonal communication in each culture.

Longacre (1976), who has characterized a variety of discourse genres, has shown that narrative discourse, for instance, has certain characteristics, regardless of language: It is first- or third-person oriented, and episodes are chronologically arranged. Expository discourse, on the other hand, is nonperson oriented, and sections are logically arranged. This concept of person orientation allows us to understand the differences in rhetorical techniques among the languages under consideration.

According to our analysis, the most fundamental way in which business letters differ across the three cultures under consideration is with respect to the orientation that the letter takes. American English business letter writing is reader oriented, French business letter writing is writer oriented, and Japanese business letter writing is nonperson oriented, reflecting an overall tendency to frame communication in terms of the relationship between people rather than in terms of the people.

The following discussion describes, in turn, English, French, and Japanese business letter writing. The discussion of each culture's letter writing behavior begins with an overall characterization of the business letter, followed by a specific example of business letter writing which is representative of this genre.

English Business Letter Writing

English business letter writing, as prescribed in textbooks, is reader oriented. The purpose of a business letter is to attempt to get the reader to appreciate the benefits of doing what the writer wants. It is an attempt to induce voluntary agreement (Shurter, 1971), or it is a medium through which ideas are made acceptable to the reader

(Damerst, 1966). Consequently, the writer's obligation is to analyze the rhetorical situation from the reader's perspective and to ensure that the format, choice of language, and content reflect this need.

As a result, English business letters place far more emphasis on *le fond* than on *la forme*. In terms of form, there is considerable latitude in the choice of layout and appearance, and there is very little prescriptivism. Textbooks usually devote a chapter to describing the various options of full-block, semiblock, hanging-indentation, or simplified forms, but a choice is recommended on the basis of what will make a good impression (Shurter, 1971). Placement of address, date, salutation, and complimentary close are also discussed as required by the layout chosen.

In addition to specifying the positions of the salutation and complimentary close in the letter, business writing textbooks also discuss the deliberate choice of these features on the basis of tone and formality. Damerst (1966) and Shurter (1971) present a small number of choices, ranging from very formal (*Respectfully yours*,) to informal (*Cordially*,), and suggest that the complimentary close be in keeping with the salutation. Choices here are also limited in range, involving the use of *Dear Sir*: or *Dear Madam*: or *Dear Mr*.______: when the name is known.

Because of the reader orientation, books on business letter writing give most of their attention to the body of the letter. Shurter (1971, p. 102) states that the tasks of the opening paragraph are to get favorable attention, say what the letter is about, set a friendly tone, and establish a link with previous correspondence. Beyond that, the body of the letter is analyzed for its content, and in this area the dominant principle, marking the reader orientation, is the "you-attitude," which Shurter defines as an attitude which "should tell the reader honestly, truthfully, and tactfully about the benefits he obtains from an action or attitude implied in the letter's purpose" (p. 96). Damerst (1966, p. 30) lists the following aspects: developing empathy, showing a human touch, personalizing, employing a positive tone, using psychological appeals.

These aspects may be instantiated through the linguistic device of pronoun use (you rather than I where possible), avoidance of passive structures, and use of direct address and proper names. The English letter in Appendix A (Damerst, 1966, p. 350.) uses several of these techniques. It is particularly important in letters of request, for example, to motivate the reader to respond, especially when there is no obligation on the part of the recipient to do so. A typical youattitude letter includes a psychological appeal: For example, the letter in Appendix A, which hopes to motivate a fellow academic chair to provide information on courses, states: "Because your

department has the reputation of being one of the best departments in the country, I am writing to ask if you will answer the questions listed below." When the request is solicited (Shurter, 1971) and has obvious financial benefits for the reader, textbooks recommend that a brief, one-sentence letter is sufficient. Nevertheless, it is not unusual to find a psychological appeal, such as the one in the letter in Appendix B (Cahill, 1985, p. 183): "We have seen some of your excellent products."

In this letter, the register is that of a formal, yet friendly exchange between business people who are assumed to have mutual interests. The you-attitude is present in the opening sentence, which appeals to the reader's pride in her products: "We have a client who is interested in purchasing good quality . . . chairs." The buyer reinforces this appeal further: "We have seen some of your excellent products." Thus, the reader knows that the company's reputation may now depend on its interpretation of the word *quality*. This is reinforced by the writer, who gives to the supplier the responsibility of selection: "chairs that you think fit this description." The appeal is directly to the reader's expertise.

The linguistic forms used in making requests are usually informal in American business letters. The most typical form observed is that used in Appendix B: "Please send us." Although the historical past form of the modal is often considered "more polite and less presumptuous than the historical present forms" (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983, p. 84), it rarely occurs in business writing. In fact, the use of the modal may be one of the forms which distinguishes British from American business letter writing. Stubbs (1986) suggests that forms such as I would be gratified if you would . . . are more prevalent in British letters.

Interestingly, the sample letter in Appendix B contains the historical present modal form, which, according to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983), is considered to be more abrupt and less polite: "We will want to know," "we will appreciate." Yet we wonder if they are perceived as too abrupt by the reader. We feel that the psychological appeals to the reader's sense of pride and expertise, together with the intimate involvement of the supplier with the needs of the client, reflect a typical personalizing of the content to each reader. In this way, there is a reduction in the number of formulaic expressions.

French Business Letter Writing

In contrast to the reader orientation of English business letters, French business letter writing is writer oriented. The purpose of a business letter in French is judged by several sources to be quite different from that of an English business letter. The importance of correspondence is that it constitutes evidence in cases of litigation (Guback, 1984). LeGoff (1982) claims that this is the reason for the extreme precision of the French business letter. Thus, the primary virtues of the French business letter are prudence, conciseness, and precision. LeGoff goes onto claim that the interests of the seller and the buyer are directly opposed and that this must always be in the mind of the writer.

In this context, it is interesting to note that French business in general and French business letters in particular are subject to far more official control than their English counterparts. All businesses must register with the Registre de Commerce and be given a registration number. This is a requirement of the Code du Commerce, which specifically directs that business letters are valuable forms of evidence in the event of conflicts. Cases of litigation are held before a special body of judges known as the Tribunal de Commerce (Guback, 1984).

So far as business letter format is concerned, that too is prescribed. L'Association Française de Normalisation has decreed a preferred form, known as Z 11-001. This format, presented in Figure 1, divides a letter into six zones. Consequently, there is considerably less variation than in English formats.

Perhaps the most obvious difference here is in the salutation. There is a more rigid observance of formality and respect in French use. *Cher Monsieur* is never used, unless one is personally acquainted on a friendly basis with the recipient. The preferred term is *monsieur*, *Messieurs*, or *Madame*, unless the title is known, in which case it must be used. Typical of these are such forms as *Monsieur le Directeur* or *Maître* (to a lawyer). Furthermore, the form used in the salutation must be repeated in the complimentary close, or *formule de politesse*.

A great deal of attention is paid to the *formule de politesse* in the texts consulted (Benedict, 1952; Cummins, 1982; Guback, 1984). It is extremely important to convey the required degree of respect and the writer's expectations of the response. There are many variations from which to draw, including the following: *Avec nos remerciements anticipés*, nous *vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur, nos sincères salutations* ("Thanking you in anticipation [literally, "with our anticipated thanks"], we beg you to accept, Sir, our sincere greetings"); *Duns l'attente de uous lire, nous vous présentons, Messieurs, nos salutations empressées* ("Awaiting your reply [literally, "in the expectation of reading you"], we offer you, Sirs,

FIGURE 1

The Preferred Form of a French Business Letter

From Français Commercial: Théorie et Correspondance (p. 23) by Denise Guback, copyright © 1984 by CBS College Publishing. Reprinted by permission of HoIt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

> ZONE I En-tête Heading

> > SUBSCRIPTION Address

ZONE III ZONE II ou or

ZONE IV Date

V/Références N/Références Your/Our references Objet: Subject

(À l'attention de . . .) For the attention of

ZONE V Appellation Messieurs, Sirs Corps de la lettre Nous accusons . . . Salutation and body of the letter

Nous accusons . . . We acknowledge

marge minimum de 2,5cm minimum space: 2.5 cm

marge minimum de 1,5cm right-hand margin: 1.5 cm

Formule de politesse Complimentary closing

Signature

Nom de l'expéditeur Titre

Initiales d'identification Initials Name and title of sender

p.j. (pièce[s] jointe[s]): c.c. (copie[s] conforme[s]): enclosure(s) copy(ies)

Fin de lettre End of letter

(bas de page 2,5em) ZONE VI Renseignements complémentaires de bottom margin: 2.5 cm

l'en-tête Additional information concerning the heading

Note: Translations, which have been added, appear in italics.

our assiduous greetings"); and extremely respectful, Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'expression de ma haute consideration ("Be pleased to accept, Minister [literally, "Mr. the Minister"], the expression of my high respect"). It is thus possible to vary the degree of respect quite precisely. Even when complaining, the formule de politesse is not omitted, although it may be shortened: Agréez, Messieurs, nos salutations distinguées ("Accept, Sirs, our distinguished greetings").

With respect to content, the example in Appendix C (Bénouis, 1982, p. 47) demonstrates that the parts labeled introduction and body of a French business letter correspond to the body of an English business letter. If we compare the introduction with Shurter's stated functions of an opening paragraph, then only the "linking with previous correspondence" is relevant. Again, the advice of the textbooks and actual practice converge in a formulaic phrase such as "Nous vous accusons réception de . . ." ("We acknowledge receipt of. . . "). Recommended alternatives are Nous avons bien reçu . . . ("We have [literally, "well"] received . . . ") or Nous vous remercions de . . . ("We thank you for . . ."). One may certainly see similar formulas in English business letters, since such openings contribute to the easing of the writing task so necessary to the genre. Nevertheless, the difference is that the French business letter is very concise and formal compared with the English version; rarely does one find any attempts to personalize or to establish a friendly tone.

Again, the intention seems to be to serve the writer as a record of the transaction. For example, Paragraphs 2 and 3 in the letter in Appendix C would be unacceptable in an English letter, except in an unsolicited request. Both paragraphs convey the information clearly and concisely, but in a way which is abrupt and impersonal. Similarly, the fifth paragraph, which informs the recipient that he needs to pay 91 francs more, is writer oriented. A logical reason for the request is mentioned, but no attempt is made to phrase it in terms of the reader's needs: that although it is an inconvenience, he will surely see the benefits of the extra cost. The implication is certainly there, but one feels that the English letter would have been more explicit on this point.

Linguistically, two structures occur in French business correspondence to a far greater extent than in English business letters: the present conditional and the imperative subjunctive. Both are markers of respect and deference and are therefore in keeping with the overall formality of tone. Although English uses the conditional for polite requests, as in *I would be grateful/pleased if you would* . . ., French uses the same structure plus added items to increase

the politeness. Consequently, one sees "Nous vous serions donc reconnaissants de bien vouloir nous faire parvenir . . . , " which roughly translates as "We would be grateful to you, therefore, if you would be good enough to send us . . . "

The subjunctive shows respect in structures such as *veuillez*, which often appears in the complimentary close and in requests: *veuillez nous dire* ("be pleased to/good enough to tell us") and *veuillez avoir l'obligeance de bien vouloir nous dire . . .* ("be good enough to have the kindness to tell us . . ."). Structures such as these would be excessive in English.

To summarize, French business letters, from an English perspective, make no obvious contact with the reader's point of view, although they are extremely formal and respectful. Their brevity and conciseness are difficult to translate into English: One feels a compulsion to say more and to be more friendly. It may be, of course, that the highly formal register is seen as sufficient indication of reader orientation. However, in light of the requirement that business letters be written as a record in case of legal disputes, it seems more likely that the writer cannot afford to take the risk of reader orientation.

Japanese Business Letter Writing

Japanese business letter writing, in contrast to both of these styles, is oriented to the relationship, or the space, between the writer and the reader. The concern is with the format and language which will most effectively establish or maintain the appropriate relationship between reader and writer. This concern is so pervasive that the typical approach to letter writing is to take stock phrases and expressions from books for every part of the letter except the body.

A Japanese business letter consists of three parts: an introduction (bootoo), body (shubun), and conclusion (matsubun). These appear in outline form in Figure 2. The introduction consists of an introductory part and a greeting. The introductory part, which is formulaic, is made up of a salutation and a seasonal greeting. The salutation is selected on the basis of the formality of the situation. For the seasonal greeting, an appropriate formulaic expression is selected, depending either on the month of the year or the season of the year. The greeting consists of a formulaic expression of concern for the recipient, as well as formulaic words of thanks and apology. The fourth formulaic section of the greeting, the transition to the main text, frequently consists of a single word such as sate ("well"). Sugiura (1979) considers this part of the introduction, but others consider it a part of the body.

FIGURE 2

Formulaic Parts of a Japanese Business Letter

From Bijinesu Bunsho No Kakikata(pp. 229-230) by Makoto Sugiura, copyright © 1979 by Keirin Publishers, Tokyo. Adapted by permission of the publisher.

INTRODUCTION (bootoo)

- I. Introductory
 - A. Salutation (toogo) (choice of one)
 - 1. General (ippanteki na mono)

haikei ("Dear Sir")

- 2. Abbreviated (zenbun shooryaku no toki) zenryaku ("Dispensing with preliminaries")
- 3. Rushed (isogi no toki)

toriisogi mooshiagemasu ("I say this in haste")

4. In reply (henshin no toki)

haifuku ("In reply to your esteemed letter")

B. Seasonal greeting (jikoo no aisatsu) (select one)

For April:

yooshuu no koo ("Spring season")

sakurabana ranman no koo o mukae ("Facing the season of glorious cherry blossoms")

- II. Greetings (aisatsu) (not all will occur)
 - A. Welfare of the recipient (aite ni taishite no ampi)

kisha masumasu gohan'ei no koto oyorokobi mooshiagemasu. ("I wish your firm continuing prosperity.")

B. Words of thanks (kansha no kotoba)

heiso wa hitokata-naranu ohikitate o tamawari chuushin yori orei mooshiagemasu. ("I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your great favor[s] in the past.")

C. Words of apology (chinsha no kotoba)

makoto ni mooshiwake naku zonjimasu. ("I truly believe there is nothing I can say.")

D. Words to lead into the main text (honbun no kakidashi no kotoba)

sate ("Well") tsukimashite wa ("Therefore")

BODY (shubun)

CONCLUSION (matsubun)

- III. Concluding (shimekukuri)
 - A. Closing words (matsubun no kotoba)

mazu wa ryakugi nagara shochuu o motte goaisatsu mooshiagemasu. ("Although I have been extremely informal, I wish to write you my greetings.")

- B. Ending (ketsugo)
 - 1. If haikei had been used: keigu ("Sincerely")
 - 2. If zenryaku had been used: soosoo ("In haste")

It is necessary to emphasize here that the expression *formulaic* as applied to the Japanese case has a more rigid definition than might otherwise be thought. When a part of a Japanese business letter is called formulaic, this means that the writer has searched for a book which has several set expressions that may be used. The task of a writer, then, is to determine from the possible expressions the one which is most pleasing. It is not often the case that a writer will "create" an expression. The writer instead prefers to take a set expression from a book with no modification.

The body of the Japanese business letter consists of a statement of the reason for writing. It is frequently brief in comparison with comparable sections of the English or French business letter.

The conclusion consists of two sections. The first, which is formulaic, is made up of closing words, best wishes, and thoughts of this type. The second, also formulaic, is the formal ending, which is matched in degree of politeness and respect to the greeting.

An example of a Japanese business letter that conforms to this format can be found in Appendix D. This letter also exemplifies the type of language which is characteristically used in Japanese business letters. The nonperson orientation of Japanese business letters is achieved through the use of honorific language. Since this aspect of the Japanese language is likely to be unfamiliar to the majority of readers, a slight digression into specific features of the Japanese language is necessary.

The linguistic forms used in this letter, and in any similar letter, are subsumed under the heading of honorific language (keigo), which is defined along two intersecting planes: teineigo ("polite language") and sonkeigo ("respect language"). The determination of forms along the first plane depends almost entirely on the perceived relationship between the speaker or writer and the listener or reader (for details, see Harada, 1976; Hinds, 1976; Martin, 1964). Nonpolite language is used with persons falling within a temporally defined class of persons termed the ingroup, typically consisting only of family members and close friends. Everyone else is accorded polite language, which is characterized by verbal inflections.

The second plane, while complicated in practice, is straightforward in theory. One first decides whether to speak in a neutral fashion or whether to mark the actions of the actor in some special way. This decision is important in terms of establishing or maintaining the appropriate relationship between individuals. If one decides to mark the actions of the actor in some special way, one uses respect language, *sonkeigo*, to refer to the actions of

superiors and humbling language, kenjoogo, to refer to one's own actions.

Because of the formal nature of business letters, only polite forms are used. In addition, very few neutral forms are used, since it is important to build and maintain the proper relationship between individuals. Again, it is necessary to emphasize a contrast between U.S. and Japanese society: Whereas English speakers are interested in leveling out social status, evidenced by the overwhelming desire on the part of most Americans to be on a first-name basis with virtually everyone (see Appendix B), Japanese speakers are not concerned about social inequality as long as the relative status of individuals is known. In other words, Americans feel uncomfortable addressing a "friend" as Mr. Jones or Ms. Johnson; Japanese feel comfortable with these labels but feel uncomfortable if they do not know what level of honorifics to accord the partner.

The complexity of the Japanese language in this respect is evidenced by the number of verbs which may be used to refer to the same action. The only difference among such verbs involves who is performing the action. (Keep in mind that verbs in Japanese do not inflect for person, number, or gender.) In Table 1, the neutral form of the verb is given in the left column, and some, but not all, of the honorific variations are given in the next columns. Note that there is some phonological similarity between neutral and honorific verbs but that there is also much suppletion.

TABLE 1 Honorific Variations of Verbs

| Neutral | Humbling | Respect | |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1. ikimasu ("go") | mairimasu | irasshaimasu ikaremasu | |
| 2. iimasu ("say") | mooshiagemasu | osshaimasu | |
| 3. sbimasu ("do") | itashimasu | nasaimasu | |
| 4. sbitte-imasu ("know") | zonjimasu | gozonji desu | |
| 5. <i>imasu</i> ("be") | orimasu | irasshaimasu | |

In the business letter in Appendix D, expressions with the sole purpose of establishing and continuing the relationship between the writer and reader are italicized. These expressions consist of (a) verbal expressions, (b) nominal expressions, and (c) particle choice. Several choices of verbal expression are presented in Table 2. Each

TABLE 2 Honoritic Verb Choice in Sample Business Letter

| Neutrally polite | Honorific | Meaning | |
|------------------|----------------------|----------|--|
| fukamatte | fukamari | deepen | |
| kimashita | mairmashita | came | |
| okutte-iru | okutte-orareru | spending | |
| skitte-imasu | zonjimasu | know | |
| Shimasu | itashimasu | do | |
| iimasu | mooshiagemasu | say | |
| inorimasu | oinori mooshiagemasu | pray | |

choice of an honorific form contributes no additional referential meaning but does contribute significantly to defining the relationship between the writer and the reader.

With respect to nominal expressions, the major ways in which nouns are marked for formality are with the honorific prefix go- and with the honorific suffix -sama, both of which mark the actions of the recipient of the letter. In addition, specific nouns are selected over others because of their connotation of learnedness, an additional indicator of politeness and respect. This is the case, for instance, with the noun ken (preferred to koto) to mean "fact."

Particle expressions are of interest because their role in honorific language is not often discussed. Table 3 presents the forms which are used in the sample letter. Again, the choice of an honorific form contributes nothing to the referential meaning of the letter. Instead, this choice serves to maintain the relationship between the writer and the reader.

In brief, the emphasis on form over content in Japanese business letter writing is a result of a concern with maintaining or

TABLE 3 Honorific Particle Expressions

| Neutrally polite | Honorific | Meaning | |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------|--|
| -ni oite wa | -ni okaremashite wa | concerning | |
| -ni tsuite | -ni tsuki | concerning | |
| de | ni te | according to | |
| kara | node | because | |
| sono toki | ori kara | at that time | |

establishing a relationship rather than with orienting the letter toward one party or the other. This is reflected in the use of formulaic expressions, invariant lists of which are found in popular and esoteric books, and in the use of a style of language whose sole purpose is to establish what the relationship between two parties is. Of course, the priority of form over content in Japanese business letter writing goes deeper than the observations made here indicate: Even in this age of the word processor, writers are still advised to write their letters by hand. Moreover, handbooks on business letter writing devote whole chapters to the style of handwriting one should use (Kawaguchi, 1975).

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Obviously, there are ritualistic elements in the business letters of all three cultures. What differs is the amount and the emphasis. This brings to mind Hall's (1976) distinction between high- and low-context cultures. Hall defined a high-context culture as one in which there is little explicit coding of the message because most of the information is in the "physical context or internalized in the person" (p. 91). A low-context culture is one in which most of the message is explicitly coded. Japan is a high-context culture, and the United States a low-context culture, with France at the lower end of the scale but higher than the U.S. The business communications examined here support this distinction.

The letters from the United States are by far the longest, are much more individual in content, and are more varied in register than either the French or the Japanese. This is inevitable if American value orientations include individualism, informality, open-role behavior, and a "doing" activity orientation (Condon & Yousef, 1975). Each communication has to be examined and defined and all the implications made explicit. It is to be expected that textbooks would pay most attention to the you-attitude of content.

The French business letter, in contrast, reflects a far more rigid social organization. With little need to personalize or be informal, the letters can be brief. Indeed, it has been noted that the French have a high regard for verbal behavior that is "precise, explicit, straightforward, and direct" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1983, p. 144).

Japanese business letters, it may be argued, are typical of a highcontext culture, and this is shown by the many complex rules which must be followed in their composition. Moreover, the actual body of the typical Japanese business letter is quite short. This may be seen as a reflection of the value orientation of Japanese society, which recognizes that "verbal contribution is something that accompanies non-verbal communication and not the other way around" (Doi, 1974, p. 20).

Although the function of the business letter does not differ significantly across cultures, clearly its rhetorical orientation does. The investigation of rhetorical patterns across cultures, even in those areas which, on first glance, appear not to be worth the effort, can lead to important insights.

Two recent trends in ESL pedagogy indicate the need for analyses of such genres as business letter writing in different languages. First is the ongoing debate over the approach to composition teaching for ESL writers: Should we teach a "process" or "product" approach (Spack, 1984; Taylor, 1981; Zamel, 1976, 1983)? Following researchers in L1 writing, L2 writing researchers stress that composing is a cognitive process whereby the writer discovers the meaning to be communicated in the act of writing. The opposing view, and the one long held in ESL writing classes, is that it is essential to present inexperienced L2 writers with a model. The analysis presented in this article supports the product approach, and we indeed claim that models are essential in the ESP genre to which business writing clearly belongs.

We have shown that business writing is a form of writing that is determined by the situation in which it operates and in which it has its effect. It is, in fact, well described by Bitzer's (1968) three components of the rhetorical situation: exigence, audience, and constraints. For business writing, there is a complex interaction between the rhetoric and the situation when the communication is between cultures. The relationships, persons, events, and relevant objects were created within a specific culture's values and norms. For those outside the culture, these are not obvious, and studies in cross-cultural communication contain a history of *faux pas* in which potentially lucrative business transactions have failed for lack of cultural awareness.

Therefore, for business writing, we claim that ESL teachers need to present models to their students because meaning cannot be created successfully unless there is a strong awareness of the constraints. Inexperienced young writers find it very difficult to produce writing for a specific reader; Flower (1979) refers to their lack of audience awareness as a "writer-based" prose. From an American perspective, this means that the writer must employ the you-attitude, but as we have demonstrated, this interpretation is inappropriate for French and Japanese writers. Only by exposure to appropriate models, with discussions of the cultural norms and

values involved, can cross-cultural business communication succeed.

Cross-cultural differences are also manifested in linguistic style, as we have seen. It is difficult, initially, for an American to accept the elaborate *formule de politesse* of a French letter and to realize that *Cher Pierre* is used sparingly compared with its counterpart *Dear Peter* in American letters. Similarly, an American does not naturally employ both subject and object pronouns in business letters (*We thank you for . . .*).

The second issue of relevance for ESL relates to the perceptions of ESL students about their courses. Recent studies (among others, Pearson, 1983; Scarcella, 1984) have indicated that students feel they are ill prepared to deal with the specific writing needs required in their professions and that they are concerned with the relevance of the instruction they receive in their ESL programs. As more and more students become involved in ESP, it is essential that they be made aware of the differences which exist in business writing across cultures. Only when students become aware of these important but subtle variations will they be able to communicate effectively across cultures.

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APPENDIX A

An American English Business Letter*

LETTER HEAD STATIONERY

INSIDE ADDRESS

Dear Dr. Doyle:

I am chairman of the agricultural marketing curriculum committee at Eastern University. Our group is continuously concerned with discovering ways in which we can improve our present offerings. At this moment, we are looking into advanced courses in agricultural economics at other universities, with a view to developing an advanced course here. The latest copy of your catalogue lists two advanced courses in this area. Because your department has the reputation of being one of the best departments in the country, I am writing to ask if you will answer the questions listed below.

- 1. How often do you offer your advanced courses?
- 2. What is the average enrollment in each?
- 3. What specific areas are covered in Advanced Agricultural Marketing?
- 4. What specific areas are covered in Advanced Agricultural Commodity Marketing?
- 5. What changes, if any, do you expect to make in the next two years?

Since we will use your answers only to help plan advanced courses here, I hope that you will feel free to share with us any other information that you believe will help. The course descriptions enclosed will show what similarities and differences there are between our basic courses and yours.

We can well understand how busy you are at this time of the year, and therefore have no intention of pressuring you to reply "at once." But it will be very helpful if you can send your answers by April 1, since any new courses for the fall must be approved by May 1.

Very truly yours,

^{*} From *Resourceful Business Communication* (p. 350) by William A. Damerst, copyright © 1966 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

APPENDIX B

An American English Business Letter*

Dear Sarah:

We have a client who is interested in purchasing good-quality, tall-back dining room chairs with tie-on seat cushions. We have seen some of your excellent products and believe that you may have something in your line to fill this need.

Please send us catalog sheets and full information on chairs that you think fit this description. We will want to know exact size, finishes available, and the price of each chair. We will also want to know if you make seat cushions or if we will have to find another source.

Our client wants delivery before December 15, 198_{-} ; therefore, we will appreciate your prompt reply.

Sincerely,

^{*} From *Executive's Portfolio of* Business *Letters* (p. 183) by Bernadine B. Cahill, copyright © 1985 by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

APPENDIX C

A French Business Letter*

LETTER HEAD STATIONERY

Paris, le 4 Juin 1980

INSIDE ADDRESS

JC/CG

Monsieur,

Nous vous accusons réception de votre chèque bancaire de 43,71 \$ que vous nous avez adressé en règlement de votre abonnement a notre revue "Aujourd'hui".

Nous vous en remercions.

L'échéance en est maintenant au ler décembre 1980.

Toutefois, l'acheminement par voie ordinaire étant irrégulier, nous avons installé ce service par avion, ce qui est plus adapté pour une revue dactualitè.

Nous vous serions done reconnaissants de bien vouloir nous faire parvenir en complement 1a somme de 91 FF (coiit de la taxe aérienne pour six mois).

Nous vous remercions de l'intérêt que vous portez à notre publication et vous prions de croire a l'assurance de nos sentiments dévoués.

J. CARTIER

Administrateur

Sentence-by-Sentence English Translation

Dear Sir:

We acknowledge receipt of your check for \$43.71 that you sent in payment of your subscription to our magazine "Aujourd'hui".

We thank you for it.

The subscription will expire on 1st December 1980.

However, because ordinary mail is irregular, we now use airmail, which is better suited to a magazine of current affairs.

We would therefore be grateful if you would send us the additional sum of 91FF, being the cost of airmail postage for six months.

We thank you for the interest you have shown in our publication, and beg you to believe in the sincerity of our devoted feelings.

TESOL QUARTERLY

From Le Français Economique et Commercial (p. 47) by Mustapha K. Bénouis, copyright
 1982 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

APPENDIX D

A Japanese Business Letter

haikei [IA1]

nihon de wa aki ga *fukamari* kigi mo irozuki hajimete *mairimashita* ga. [IB] ryuugakusei no *minasama ni okaremashite wa* bengaku ni isogashii hibi o *okutte-orareru* koto to *zonjimasu*. [HA]

sate, sassoku desu ga, [IID] šhoowa 58-nen gyooseki hyootei no *ken ni tsuki*, kaki naiyoo *ni te*, jisshi *itashimasu node*, betten no yooshi ni *gokinyuu* no ue, *gohensooka saru* yoo onegai *mooshiagemasu*.

nanika to *gofujiyuu* no koto to *zonjimasu* ga, kore kara fuyu ni mukau *ori kara gojiai* sen'itsu no hodo, kain ichidoo *oinori mooshiagemasu.* [IIIA]

keigu [IIIB1]

Sentence-by-Sentence English Translation

Dear Sir: [IA1]

In Japan, fall has deepened, and the trees have begun turning colors. [IB] As exchange students, we believe you are busy studying every day. [IIA]

Well, getting right into it. [IID] We are carrying out the 1984 business evaluation with the material described below. We hope that you will please fill out the enclosed evaluation card and send it to us.

We believe that this will cause you some inconvenience, but since winter is coming near, we all hope that you will take care of yourself. [IIIA]

Sincerely [IIIB1]

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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Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics

Jack Richards, John Platt, and Heidi Weber. London: Longman, 1985. Pp. ix + 323.

■ Applied linguistics, even in the restricted sense of linguistics applied to language teaching and learning, has become an often bewildering area of interdisciplinary research, where the novice and the not-so-novice reader are often confronted with a vast array of professional literature that uses technical terms from linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, statistics, computer science, and so on.

The publication reviewed here was meant to be a compass for traveling through this "terminological jungle" and, according to the authors, is primarily intended for language teachers and for those taking courses preparing for or related to the language teaching profession.

With this audience in mind, I drew up a list of 100-odd technical terms that I regularly encounter in the applied linguistics literature, about half of them directly related to language learning and teaching, the other half being directly relevant and frequently used concepts from theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, educational research, psychological test theory, statistics, and so on.

The result was outright impressive. Not a single term of those directly concerning language teaching and learning was lacking, and the explanations given were concise, to the point, informative, and extremely readable. The drawback, of course, is that articles on crucial concepts such as *interlanguage*, *error analysis*, or *language lab*, limited to half a page or less, as are the explanations for most entries, are somewhat short to do justice to such controversial concepts. I realize this is a dictionary, not a handbook, but entries

such as those mentioned could probably be expanded to a full page, without increasing the volume or the price of the book too much.

Concerning theoretical linguistics, I found all the terms I looked up from traditional grammar as well as from structuralist or generative linguistics, phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, even the more technical such as extraposition or pseudo-cleft sentence. It is all the more surprising, then, that there do not seem to be any entries on more recent tendencies in formal linguistics: I searched in vain for government and binding, parameter setting, or pro-drop. And yet, these terms are increasingly common in the literature on second language acquisition. Their absence is regrettable, as these are exactly the linguistics terms students in the applied fields may be less familiar with and as they are harder to find in most reference works too, even in recent publications such as Crystal (1985).

Sociolinguistics is well represented, but here too one may wish that entries for terms such as *language attitudes, variable rules,* or *diglossia* were somewhat longer and could offer a glimpse at least of the controversial nature of some of these concepts.

As regards psycholinguistics, I found semantic differential, coordinate bilingualism, and semantic memory, but not semantic priming or internal lexicon. Not surprisingly, then, terms that belong to cognitive psychology rather than to psycholinguistics, such as executive control, procedural knowledge, or Stroop effect, were not to be found either. Concerning personality theory, I was surprised to see field independence included, but not extroversion or tolerance of ambiguity. Developmental psychology is hardly represented at all, with terms such as accommodation or assimilation not listed in their Piagetian sense; even a quite general term such as maturation is not to be found.

Relevant terminology from educational research, psychological test theory, and statistics is well represented, with concepts such as flash card, participant observation, ethnomethodology, Hawthorne effect, face validity, criterion-referenced, regression equation, or chi-square. Even slightly more obscure terms such as KR-21 or stanine are listed, but not some more general ones such as multitrait-multimethod matrix, latent trait theory, or nonparametric statistics, in spite of the inclusion of related terms such as construct validity, item analysis, and rank correlation.

Each entry in the *Dictionary* gives the pronunciation in British and American English; many contain references to related entries, which compensates to a certain extent for the brevity of some explanations. About half the entries contain one or two well-chosen and up-to-date bibliographic references. Abbreviations are listed as

separate entries, though this seems to have been forgotten in the case of *computer-assisted language learning (CALL)*, only mentioned in its full form.

In conclusion, then, the *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* is an extremely useful resource for students of applied linguistics, but the authors may want to include more relevant terminology from recent linguistic theory in future editions. Common acronyms for organizations, such as ACTFL or BAAL, may be useful too, though I realize their choice would be difficult. Expanding certain entries, finally, may make the *Dictionary* more useful to scholars and advanced students of applied linguistics who want to brush up their memories about concepts they are less familiar with. At any rate, the authors and their collaborators have done an impressive job, and their work may become a major study tool, as it fills a real gap in our reference sections.

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Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective

M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan. Victoria, Australia: Deakin University Press, 1985. Pp. vi+ 126.

Language, Context, and Text is part of a language education series which is intended to provide prospective teachers with a perspective on language based on systemic grammar. Since Halliday and Hasan have contributed significantly to the development of systemic grammar (for further information on systemic grammar, see Berry, 1975, 1976), this book stands as one of the more important contributions to the series. But the value of the book goes well beyond the series: It synthesizes Halliday and Hasan's contributions to contemporary linguistic theory and provides the reader with important information on the functional basis of language, the relationship between language and the social

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and linguistic contexts in which it occurs, and the resultant texts that these contexts give rise to.

Language, Context, and Text consists of two sections, each written separately by one of the authors. In the first section, Halliday provides an overview of his functional theory of language, a theory that views language from a social-semiotic perspective. Language is semiotic, Halliday maintains, because it is a system of signs used to create meaning; it is social because this system of meaning is heavily influenced by the social system within which language is used. This view of language, Halliday notes, is especially relevant in educational settings:

Learning is, above all, a social process; and the environment in which educational learning takes place is that of a social institution, whether we think of this in concrete terms as the classroom and the school, with their clearly defined social structures, or in the more abstract sense of the school system, or even the educational process as it is conceived of in our society. (p. 5)

Studying language from a social-semiotic perspective commits Halliday to a functional view of language—to the belief that language is not simply a formal system, but rather a system that exists to satisfy the communicative needs of its users. Although various scholars have posited numerous functional topologies, Halliday maintains that language has three general functions: an ideational function, an interpersonal function, and a textual function.

Halliday's ideational function has two subfunctions: an experiential function and a logical function. Language functions experientially when it is used as a means of "representing the real world as it is apprehended in our experience" (p. 19). Language functions logically when it is used to express "fundamental LOGICAL relations" (p. 21). To illustrate these functions, Halliday analyzes the second line of Ben Jonson's "To Celia":

Or leave a kiss within the cup, and I'll not ask for wine.

To understand this line, the reader must comprehend its experiential structure to be able to determine, for instance, that the first clause contains an implied actor, *you*; a process, *leave*; a goal, *kiss*; and a locative, *within the cup*. In addition, the reader must understand the logical relationship indicated by *and*, namely, that *and* is being used causally in the example.

Language, however, is not simply "a representation of reality; it is also a piece of interaction between speaker and listener" (p. 20). The latter is, according to Halliday, the interpersonal function of language. Halliday argues that to interpret the line quoted from Jonson's poem, the reader must determine that the writer intends the imperative in the first part of the line to be interpreted as a request and the second part of the line to be loosely interpreted as an offer not to do something. When communicating with one another, speakers and listeners are constantly aware of the appropriate linguistic choices for the particular social situations they find themselves in, and Halliday's interpersonal function attempts to make this relationship explicit.

Finally, language has a textual function: It exists not as single, unrelated sentences but as sentences comprising a text. The line quoted from "To Celia" did not occur in isolation. It was instead a member of a larger linguistic context—a poem—and its rhythm, meter, and thematic and grammatical structure were all determined by the demands of the larger linguistic context of which it was a part.

While ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language provide insights into the nature of the semantic system, Halliday points out that the way that the system is used is heavily determined by the "context of situation," which consists of three components: the field, tenor, and mode of the discourse. These components, Halliday argues, are directly related to the three functions of language; that is, the particular linguistic situations we find ourselves in will be reflected in the way that we use the semantic system, in the way that the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language operate.

This relationship is illustrated in the Jonson poem. The field of discourse in the poem—literally, what the poem is about—is expressed through the ideational function of language. This is a love poem, a theme expressed metaphorically in its experiential structure by processes and goals such as *pledge*, *drink*, and *kiss*. The tenor of discourse in the poem—the people participating in it—is conveyed by the interpersonal function. The poem is spoken by a man to a woman and consequently contains pronoun choices such as *I* and implied *you* in the imperative clause beginning with *leave*. Finally, the mode of discourse in the poem—the use to which language is put in it—is reflected in the textual function. Because this is a lyric poem, its structure is constrained by the demands of its genre: It must, for instance, be very "person oriented," a thematic constraint maintained throughout the poem.

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Although the first section of the book is theoretical in nature, the information in it will be of great value to prospective teachers. Unlike most theories of language (such as transformational grammar), Halliday's theory of functional grammar accounts for language at and beyond the level of the sentence. Consequently, it provides a comprehensive view of how language actually works, a view that prospective teachers need to be exposed to. These teachers, and the students whom they will teach, need to understand that mastery of language involves more than learning "rules" for producing isolated and unrelated sentences. They must understand that the sentences one produces are part of a larger linguistic and social context, a context that Halliday's theory of grammar makes quite explicit.

In the second section of *Language, Context, and Text, Hasan* elaborates on the notion of text introduced by Halliday in the first section. Specifically, she discusses the relationship between texts and the contexts giving rise to them, arguing "that text and context are so intimately related that neither concept can be enunciated without the other" (p. 52). A text, according to Hasan, is any body of language that has unity, specifically unity of structure and unity of texture.

Structural unity results from a "specific set of values that realizes field, tenor, and mode" (p. 56). These values, Hasan claims, are the "contextual configuration" of the text: the choices a speaker or writer has made from the many options that the field, tenor, and mode of any discourse situation allow. As an example of one type of contextual configuration, Hasan analyzes the structure of service encounters (pp. 61-63), that is, the type of texts arising from encounters between salespeople and customers. Service encounters have an optional sale invitation, a question-answer sequence such as the following:

Clerk: Who's next?

Customer: I think I am. (p. 61)

This sequence begins the encounter and serves to get it under way. Following this invitation is an obligatory sales request, a sentence such as "I'll have ten oranges and a kilo of bananas, please" (p. 61) that is spoken by the customer to request some goods. Either the sale invitation or sales request can be repeated if, for instance, one of the parties involved does not hear the other party.

While the notion of contextual configuration quite adequately accounts for discourse types (service encounters, for instance) with highly predictable structures, readers should realize that it remains to be seen whether this notion can be extended to texts with less predictable structures. Although Hasan (p. 61) quite easily isolates eight different structures occurring in a 14-part service encounter, one wonders whether this type of microanalysis can be applied to all kinds of discourse types. A technical report, for instance, is a unique discourse type, but could one develop a contextual configuration for a technical report that consisted of more than general components such as "optional abstract" and "obligatory statement of purpose"? This is not to suggest that Hasan's notions are untenable but rather that they need to be rethought in terms of how they can describe other less stereotypical types of text.

In addition to having structural unity, texts have textural unity. They are coherent pieces of discourse, Hasan maintains, because they consist of individual elements that are semantically related. Textural unity is achieved through cohesive ties: grammatical or lexical links between individual elements of the text. For instance, in the lines below, a little nut tree and it form a cohesive tie because they are co-referential.

I had a little nut tree. Nothing would it bear But a silver nutmeg And a golden pear. (p. 73)

The step-by-step unfolding of cohesive ties in a text leads to a cohesive chain, and these chains ultimately result in a text. Interestingly, Hasan is able to demonstrate empirically (rather than impressionistically) why certain texts are more coherent than others. After presenting the reader with two texts (p. 72), one of which is obviously more coherent than the other, she analyzes the cohesive ties and chains in each and provides two reasons why one text is more coherent than the other. First, the coherent text contains more central tokens than peripheral tokens; that is, it consists of more items that are a part of a cohesive chain than items that are *not* part of a cohesive chain. Second, the coherent text contains more individual chains that are related at some higher level than does the less coherent text. In other words, while the less coherent text contains cohesive chains, hierarchically these chains are not as related to one another as the chains in the more coherent text are. Hasan's analysis confirms formally what most have concluded intuitively, namely, that coherence is not an all-or-nothing proposition but rather a matter of degree.

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In the final chapter of the book, Hasan shows how the notions of structural and textural unity can be used to establish generic identity—to distinguish, for instance, an advertisement from a service encounter. This is by far the weakest chapter of the book: It consists of numerous confusing abbreviations that require the reader to go back continuously to examples given earlier in this and other chapters; it contains frequent distracting digressions; and an important diagram on culture, meaning, and situation (p. 100) would have been much clearer had Hasan chosen to illustrate it with one extended example rather than with a series of shorter examples.

Once these difficulties are overcome, however, one finds that Hasan is making an important point about generic identity, namely, that two texts will be of the same genre if they are structurally unified in a similar manner, that is, if the contextual configurations for each text contain similar obligatory elements expressed in a similar obligatory sequence. For instance, two texts will be service encounters if each contains an obligatory service request occurring near the start of the encounter.

It is not sufficient, however, to define a genre simply in terms of the structural characteristics it possesses. Genres will also contain texts with similarities in textural unity. Service encounters, for instance, will contain cohesive chains involving "concrete goods which are organic, edible, and perishable; and another set pertaining to money" (p. 113). Other genres will be typified by other kinds of chains. Hence, for two texts to be of the same genre, they must be similar in terms of both their structural and textural unity.

Language, Context, and Text is a demanding book: The findings of years of research on the part of Halliday and Hasan are compressed into a mere 126 pages. However, those willing to work through the book will find that it contains information that is vitally important, particularly for prospective teachers. For as Halliday points out (p. 49), learning is as much a linguistic process as a cognitive process. Students may fail in school not because they lack the cognitive ability to succeed but because they do not understand the language of the texts that they must read—the situational contexts in which the texts occur and the manner in which these contexts give rise to certain processes, logical relationships, participant roles and attitudes, and structures. The value of Language, Context, and Text, then, is that it gives teachers a theoretical perspective on language that will ultimately enable them to help their students cope with the complexities of language.

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

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

Edited by D. SCOTT ENRIGHT Georgia State University

Success for LEP Students: The Sunnyside Sheltered English Program

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■ Many different types of bilingual programs have been developed to meet the needs of limited English proficient (LEP) students. Underlying these programs are the beliefs that cognitive development is facilitated by instruction in the student's first language, that students develop more positive attitudes toward school as the result of the use of the Ll, and that instruction in the L1 actually increases acquisition of the L2 (Cummins, 1981). Most frequently, bilingual programs have been implemented at the elementary-school level and have been designed for students whose L1 is not the socially prestigious language of the community.

Immersion programs, such as those developed in Canada, employ a second language to teach content-area materials to students whose first language is the dominant societal language (Genesee, 1983). These programs are implemented primarily at the elementary level but have also been used with secondary students. Hernández-Chávez (1984) has argued that such programs are not appropriate for language minority students in the United States because immersion in English would cause a loss of the native language.

However, a number of language minority students in the United States reach high school without the benefit of bilingual education and are enrolled in districts which offer no bilingual programs at the secondary level. Often, these students are not placed in ESL programs, since they demonstrate oral proficiency in English. Nevertheless, many of these students have not developed the literacy skills necessary for academic success in either L1 or L2. These are high-risk students who often drop out

of school when they reach the legal age to do so (Duran, 1983; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

In the summer of 1985 the Sunnyside School District in Tucson, AZ, instituted a pilot program designed to meet the needs of these high-risk students. The district offered two "sheltered English" classes, one in biology and one in U.S. history, for language minority students who had a record of academic failure. This article describes the criteria for student selection to the program, the program structure, the instructional approach used, and the program results, based on an informal evaluation. We conclude that for these language minority students the kind of sheltered English program offered by the Sunnyside School District provides the opportunity for both academic success and an improved attitude toward school.

Sheltered classes teach language through content. As Krashen (1985) states,

A crucial characteristic of the sheltered class is that it is a real subject matter class, not "ESL math" or selections from subject matter classes introduced as part of the language class. The focus and the test are on the subject matter. (p. 64)

This characteristic was shared by the Sunnyside classes.

In some sheltered classes, the subject matter is simplified so that beginning students can participate and follow instructions (Chamot, 1982; Krashen, 1985). In other sheltered classes, rather than simplifying the input, teachers use concrete objects and context-embedded language to make input comprehensible (Lapkin & Cummins, 1984). In the Sunnyside program, the students were "sheltered" in the sense that they did not have to compete with academically successful peers. The focus of the classes was on the subject matter rather than on language, at least from the point of view of the students. The teachers, on the other hand, had what Goodman (1986) calls a "double agenda" because they were aware of students' linguistic needs. The teachers attempted to make the content comprehensible for these students not by simplifying it, but by using new teaching techniques, by adopting new attitudes toward their students, and by maintaining high expectations for student success.

SELECTING STUDENTS FOR THE SUNNYSIDE PROGRAM

LEP students are presently identified by the Sunnyside district by a home language survey, scores on standardized tests, and staff or parent recommendations. Once identified, these students are assessed in their primary language and placed in either a bilingual or an ESL class. This policy has been instituted recently enough, however, so that many students now in high school were not placed in bilingual classes during elementary school.

As a result, although the high school students chosen for the pilot sheltered English classes had a home language other than English, they had not developed literacy skills in their first language in a bilingual program. At the same time, the students who took part in this pilot program were sufficiently proficient in oral English so that they had not been placed in ESL classes but instead attended regular high school classes. Thus, they fit Cummins's (1981) description of students who have basic interpersonal skills in the L2 but lack cognitive academic language proficiency.

In addition to being identified as LEP, the students chosen for the pilot classes also had low scores on standardized tests (below the 41st percentile on the California Achievement Test) and had failed at least three classes during the previous school year. Thus, the participants in the Sunnyside program were LEP students who had experienced little academic success but for whom bilingual education was not a realistic alternative.

PROGRAM STRUCTURE

The students were placed into one of two courses, biology for the 10th graders or U.S. history for the 11th graders. The courses, both of which were required for graduation, were team taught. One teacher in each class was experienced in the content area and taught biology or history during the regular school year. One of these content teachers had worked extensively with bilingual students, while the other normally taught enriched classes for native English speakers. The second teacher in each class was an ESL master's student from the local university doing her teaching internship. Neither of the interns had had experience with the content area. Their primary responsibility was to work with the contentarea teachers to find ways to make the language input comprehensible for the students.

The pilot classes met 5 days a week for 5 hours each day, starting at 7:00 a.m. and ending at noon. The two 3-week summer sessions corresponded to first and second semester classes.

INSTRUCTIONAL APPROACH

The four teachers involved in the program were given instruction in the summer, before the program was instituted. During this morning-long session, the consultants first explained the philosophy behind a sheltered English class (Krashen, 1985): The students would not be competing with native speakers of English, but they would be expected to cover the regular subject-area content. They would learn English as they learned through English (Halliday, 1975). It was emphasized that one change from the kind of program Krashen described was that the material would not be simplified.

Next, three metaphors for learners (Lindfors, 1982) were considered: the plant, the builder, and the explorer. These images were examined in terms of the relationship of the learner to the environment (Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984). Teachers were encouraged to view learners as explorers and learning as a transactional process (Rosenblatt, 1978).

Shifting from the theoretical to the practical, the consultants discussed the instructional guidelines for the program, which had been developed with the assistance of the bilingual advection good instant

with the assistance of the bilingual education coordinator:

- 1. Work on developing basic concepts of the content area, moving from concrete to abstract. Avoid memorization of facts, dates, and so on.
- 2. Expand concepts through reading and writing to ensure maintenance.
- 3. Develop the students' ability to read texts in the content area, including the ability to summarize, categorize, pick out main facts, make inferences and judgments, compare and contrast, analyze and synthesize, and so on.
- 4. Develop the students' ability to solve problems related to the content area.
- 5. Develop an improved self-concept and increased self-confidence in the students as the result of competence in the content area.

In the most important phase of the instruction, the teachers were presented with specific techniques designed to make content-area instruction comprehensible for these LEP students. These techniques included using pair and group work; various writing techniques, including journals; visual aids; and effective teacher talk (Enright & McCloskey, 1985; Gonzalez, 1982; Johnson, 1983; Kagan, 1986; Long& Porter, 1985). In addition, the teachers were encouraged to help their students learn how to learn by finding various ways to organize their reading, to locate main ideas and key concepts, and to predict and integrate as they read. During this phase of the instruction, the consultants had the teachers act as students and go through a number of the activities that were being recommended.

Finally, the consultants presented a model for a typical day's plan including a preview, a view, and a review. It was explained that the "preview" should be designed to motivate the students and generate interest in the topic to be covered. During the preview, teachers could also fill in cultural, linguistic, and experiential gaps. Typical preview activities included viewing a film, listening to a recording, or listening to the teacher read.

The "view" part of the lesson began with a presentation, which could be a lecture, a film, or a recording. Teachers were encouraged to keep lectures relatively brief and to use this time for students to practice such skills as note taking. The bulk of the view was the student activity—reading, doing lab experiments, working in groups, and so on. The emphasis was on active student involvement in cooperative activities that were teacher structured, but not teacher centered.

Each lesson was to end with a "review" activity designed to integrate the concepts presented during the day. While these activities could be quizzes, they could also be skits, debates, and oral and written reports and summaries, done on a group or individual basis.

Each lesson also included 15 minutes of sustained silent reading in the content area which was not to be from the textbook. Instead, teachers were encouraged to build classroom libraries of magazines, newspapers, novels, and other materials in the content area from which the students could select.

Because of the intensive nature of the program, homework was limited to journal writing. Students read a newspaper or magazine article or watched a television show connected in some way with the subject area and then wrote up a summary and reaction. Teachers gave reader-based responses to these journals.

The ideas presented during the instruction were reinforced as the consultants observed the classes regularly and conferred with the teachers. During these conferences, the emphasis was on finding practical ways to make the content-area information comprehensible input for the LEP students.

In a follow-up workshop, the teachers who had taught the sheltered English classes, along with the consultants, acquainted teachers who would be involved in sheltered classes during the regular school year with the successful techniques they had used.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

The program was evaluated in several ways. The primary measure of success was simply the course grades in the content areas for the LEP students. In addition, the students were given pre- and posttests designed to measure their reading and writing competence in the subject areas. Finally, the students were given an attitude questionnaire at the end of the program, and they wrote their reactions to the classes in their journals.

The students' success rate as measured by their grades was very high. Of a total of 46 students, only 2 failed the classes, both because of excessive absences. This result indicates that the methods used had made the subject matter comprehensible for these students.

On the pre- and posttests, students answered true/false tests taken from the texts, completed a reading comprehension test based on a passage from the text, and wrote an essay based on the subject matter. The greatest gains between the pre- and posttests were in reading comprehension. It appears that students were able to use the reading strategies emphasized in the classes to make more sense out of texts. Their success during the course, possibly resulting from group and pair work, may also have allowed them to approach the comprehension task with more confidence. Finally, the improved reading test scores may simply reflect the effect of increased reading. It appears that more time is needed to develop student writing skills than to improve reading. Krashen (1985) hypothesizes that

writers need comprehensible input in the form of reading to develop their skills. This suggests that the writing of these students will show

improvement with time and with continued reading.

The attitude questionnaire and the student journals indicated that attitude toward school, previously quite negative, had changed significantly. One student commented in her journal that this was the first class in which she had passed a test without cheating. A number of journal entries echoed the sentiments of one student who wrote, "This class is pretty fun to be in because we have nice teachers for the class and if the teachers weren't here to help us where would we be we all would be dumb."

Likewise, the questionnaire also reflected positive student attitudes toward these classes. For example, 88% of the students felt that they were able to participate more in the class because of the way it was conducted. More specifically, 95% of the students said working in groups helped them, and 83% thought the teachers had made an extra effort to help them learn the material. Finally, 90% of the students said they would like more classes conducted like this one.

These informal evaluations, which showed that students made cognitive and affective gains as the result of participation in the pilot program, have led the school district to institute similar programs during the regular school year, programs which are being more formally and rigorously evaluated and monitored. Such classes appear to help LEP students with English and with their school subjects. Perhaps most important, success in the Sunnyside classes improved students' attitudes toward school and gave them the self-confidence and the needed skills to help them reverse their previous patterns of failure.

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The Effectiveness Literature on CA.I/CALL and Computing: Implications of the Research for Limited English Proficient Learners

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■ Much has been written about the actual and potential benefit of microcomputer use for native speakers of English. The literature consists of claims about the myriad positive effects of students' learning relational concepts and developing creative-thinking, problem-solving, decisionmaking, and logical-thinking abilities while they are acquiring programming skills (Papert, 1980). However, as Goodwin, Goodwin, Nansel, and Helm (1986) point out, there is a dearth of sound empirical research supporting such claims. In addition, until quite recently, it was difficult to locate in print unequivocal empirical findings supporting the effectiveness of computer-assisted instruction (CAI) or computer-assisted language learning (CALL) (Dunkel, in press). The issue of the effectiveness of CAI/CALL (i.e., improved academic performance and second language acquisition) is a critical one, for unless student scholastic and L2 performance improves as a result of CAI/CALL, Rude (1985) suggests that the millions of dollars invested in microcomputer hardware and educational software will be perceived as having been spent for naught. (In 1983, for example, IBM alone committed approximately \$8 million for a program development effort aimed at the instructional use of IBM-PCs in 89 secondary schools in California, Florida, and New York [see Blomeyer, 1986].)

An optimistic note concerning the effectiveness of CAI has, however, recently been sounded in several papers analyzing the CAI-effectiveness research for native speakers of English. Some of the conclusions drawn by the reviewers of the research may have implications for the academic and L2 success of limited English proficient (LEP) students who are struggling (a) to master the English language, (b) to learn academic subject matter, and (c) to develop study skills, usually all at the same time.

Analysis of CÂI/CALL-effectiveness investigations and computer-use studies reveals the following information:

- 1. The effect of computer-assisted instruction on end-of-course academic achievement is positive. In a meta-analytic review of 28 studies with results from achievement examinations, Kulik, Kulik, and Bangert-Drowns (1985) determined that students from the CAI class received the better examination scores; in no study examined did students from the conventional class achieve better scores on a final examination covering course content. It was further determined by the researchers that CAI appears to have its strongest achievement effects at the elementary-school level. In a 1982 report based on 51 studies among students in Grades 6-12, Bracey found that students in classes with a CAI component outscored students taught only by conventional methods on objective tests covering course content. In a recent CALL study, Church (1986) similarly found that college students who had practiced computer-aided French exercises made slightly better course grades than did those who did not.
- 2. CAI/CALL users are highly enthusiastic about working with computers, and academic motivation usually improves (Fisher, 1983; Kulik & Kulik, 1986; Merton, 1983; Spencer & Baskin, 1983). Orlansky and String (1979) report that in a large-scale investigation of the effectiveness of the mainframe PLATO IV CAI system, it was determined that student and faculty attitudes were generally favorable toward the use of PLATO IV and that PLATO IV produced no noticeable effect on student attrition in the 162 classes using the CAI courseware to learn academic content. In a meta-analysis of 101 computer-based education (CBE) classes, Kulik and Kulik (1986) found that of the 13 studies that examined student ratings of the quality of college-level instruction, 9 of the studies found more positive attitudes in the CBE class; 1 study found no difference in the attitudes for CBE

and conventionally taught classes; and 3 studies reported more negative attitudes in the CBE classes.

For LEP students, Fisher's (1983) finding involving the affective results of CAI has dramatic implications. According to Fisher, those studies that looked at student attitudes reported improved attendance, increased motivation, and lengthened attention span due to CAI. Improving attendance, motivation, and attention would better the academic performance of students who are working under the burden of an English-language handicap.

With respect to the affective domain, another finding uncovered in reviews of the effectiveness literature may prove pertinent to the schooling of the LEP population. Fisher's (1983) analysis of the literature disclosed that "passive" students, who viewed school as a series of events outside their control, became more "active" and began to feel that they had a modicum of control over educational events. It was noted that the passive students began to develop independent habits of analyzing and problem solving. The individual nature of computer use "seems to encourage independence, where more traditional tutoring situations may foster dependence" (Fisher, 1983, p. 84). CAI appears, in other words, to have the potential for molding appropriate educational and social behaviors (see R.T. Johnson, D. Johnson, & Stanne, 1986) and positive outlooks in students. Empirical investigation of the cognitive, social, academic, linguistic, and affective effects of microcomputer use by LEP students is sorely needed to substantiate or disconfirm the motivational and autonomy-generating aspects of CAI/CALL and computer programming for those students whose native language is not English.

- 3. When computers are used, students learn instructional materials at a faster pace (Gleason, 1981; Kulik & Kulik, 1986; Orlansky, 1983; Orlansky & String, 1979). In an evaluation of 30 studies of the effectiveness of computer-managed instruction and computer-assisted instruction for military training, Orlansky and String (1979), for example, found that CAI typically saved 30% or more of the time students needed to complete the same courses given by conventional instruction. In Kulik and Kulik's (1986) analysis of college-level CBE studies, it was found that CBE students required only two thirds as much instructional time as did students taught in traditional fashion. Since LEP students have "more things to learn all at once than fluent English speaking students" (D. Johnson, 1985, p. 3), they should have access to a medium that will provide instruction more rapidly and efficiently.
- 4. CAI appears to be most effective when used with either low-achieving or high-achieving groups rather than with entire student populations. Fisher's (1983) analysis of the research suggests that this finding holds whether the "disadvantage" causing low achievement is attributable to a physical condition (according to studies done with mentally handicapped students) or a social condition (according to studies

examining performance levels between ethnic groups). In addition, after reviewing the effectiveness literature, Fisher contends that the greatest pretest/posttest gains were for the lowest achieving students and that CAI should therefore be targeted at specific groups-for example, low-achieving and/or low-socioeconomic-status (SES) students—rather than being provided to the aggregate student population

While LEP students should perhaps be given more access to computers than their more affluent and English-fluent peers, this does not happen. LEP students, who often fall into the category of low-achieving students and who are often concentrated in schools in poorer neighborhoods with high concentrations of minority students, do not have high access to CAI/CALL or computer programming courses. Reporting on Arias's recent survey of computer uses in predominantly Hispanic schools in California, D. Johnson (1985) notes that barriers exist between Hispanic students and computers. The Arias survey found that in schools with high Hispanic enrollment

computers were most often under the control of math and science teachers, and Hispanic students were less likely to participate in these courses. Second, there was often a requirement that algebra be taken as a prerequisite to courses involving computers. Third, when Hispanic students did have opportunities to interact with a computer, it was most often in drill-and-practice mode. Because most of the schools in the sample were low-SES schools, they had few teachers who were trained to select software and to know how to use it. In addition, there were no after-school labs available due to concerns about the security of the equipment. (D. Johnson, 1985, p. 3)

It appears that LEP students have less, rather than more, access to computers than their English-proficient peers.

5. Another important finding emerging out of the effectiveness literature concerns the scheduling of computer time. Fisher (1983) suggests that frequent computer sessions prove more beneficial for students than infrequent ones. Instructors should permit their LEP students to work frequently and intermittently on CALL and CAI lessons during the day if the requisite computers, content, and ESL courseware are available in the school's classrooms or computer labs.

The effectiveness literature on computer use by native speakers of English is small (and sometimes equivocal), but it is growing. For LEP users, it is still meager. In time, research on the efficacy of CAI/CALL and computer programming should provide additional guidelines for those seeking to enhance the academic achievement of LEP students through use of computer technology. Before that, researchers will need to continue or to begin assessing (a) the cognitive impact of LEP students' learning how to program the computer; (b) the effect of computers on developing higher order thinking skills in LEP students (Pogrow, 1985); (c) the impact on learning of CAI/CALL format variables (e. g., layout of the screen print, the use of color and graphics, response inputs, branching of lesson

segments, types of feedback, and locus of control); (d) the value of CAI tutorial software in specific subject-matter domains for LEP users (e.g., in physics, chemistry, algebra, ESL); (e) the interaction of subject characteristics/attitudes toward computers and the effectiveness of CAI/CALL treatment (see Chapelle & Jamieson, 1986); and (f) the impact on L2 acquisition of CALL lessons focused on instructing LEP students in English grammar and composition and reading and listening comprehension (see Dunkel, in press).

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Does Instruction Make a Difference? Revisited

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■The field of second language acquisition (SLA) research has been one of ferment in recent years. Questions addressed by SLA researchers which are of interest to language teachers and applied linguists include the following: Why do learners fail to learn certain morphosyntactic items which have been explicitly (and often repeatedly) taught? Is there any evidence that teaching linguistic structures results in those structures being learned? If not, is there any evidence that instruction makes a difference? Studies addressing these questions are documented in some detail in Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982), Hyltenstam and Pienemann (1985), and Ellis (1985). From the research, it seems that certain morphosyntactic items are impervious to instruction because they are generally graded and taught according to linguistic rather than psycholinguistic criteria of simplicity and difficulty (Pienemann, 1985). On the question of whether explicit instruction in morphosyntax can result in learning, some say no (e.g., Ellis, 1985), some say yes, if it is timed right (e.g., Pienemann, 1985), while others say perhaps (Long, in press).

In an exhaustive review of the literature, Long (1983) concluded that while there was little evidence on the ability of instruction to alter the "natural order" of development, instruction is potentially beneficial in at least three ways: (a) It can lead learners to acquire correct structures in the long run; (b) it can speed up the rate of acquisition; and (c) instructed learners can progress further toward native-like competence than natural acquirers (although the evidence for this third assertion is weaker than that for the first two).

Acquisition studies, including those which take a "communicative" line (see, for example, the task-based approach of Long& Crookes, 1986), use as their yardstick measures which are tied to morphosyntax. This is because morphosyntax is the only factor in language proficiency which

can be measured with any precision. The complexity and interaction between learner factors and performance factors described in Nunan (1987) could well mean that other measurement criteria are at least partly subjective and therefore unlikely to have the requisite degree of reliability.

The problem with measuring morphosyntactic gains, however, is that the gains themselves are often not quantifiable in the short term. For this reason, the short-term answer to the question of whether or not instruction made a difference in courses of 100-150 hours is often no. This is demoralizing for the teacher. It can also be embarrassing and not a little threatening in this day and age of political accountability, particularly for publicly funded courses for immigrants and refugees.

It may therefore be important to the profession to develop alternative means of demonstrating the efficacy of instruction for the types of short-term courses in which measurable gains in morphosyntactic mastery might not be reasonably expected. It also seems reasonable to develop assessment procedures which relate to the objectives of instruction, although they would probably need to do more than indicate mastery of content (i.e., they would need to be more than achievement tests).

The research question for the study reported here was the following: Does instruction make a difference in the acquisition of communication skills by zero-level learners in short-term courses? This question was examined by testing the following two formal hypotheses: (a) There is no difference in the mean scores of an experimental group on a test of communicative listening skills before and after explicit instruction in those skills, and (b) there is no interaction between the mean scores of an experimental and control group on a test of communicative listening skills after explicit instruction in those skills has been delivered to the experimental group.

METHOD

The subjects were 20 immigrant students taking part in a full-time (20 hours per week) language program for new arrivals, conducted by the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program. The subjects came from a variety of first language backgrounds, including Polish, Vietnamese, Kampuchean, Greek, and Korean. At the beginning of the language program, each subject was given an oral proficiency rating. All subjects were assessed as having either zero proficiency (unable to function in the spoken language) or initial proficiency (able to operate only in a very limited capacity within very predictable areas of need) (Ingram, 1984, pp. 33-34).

A classical experimental test design was employed, with pre- and posttreatment tests, and subjects were randomly assigned to control and experimental groups. Both groups were in the same class for the 7-week program, but the experimental group left the classroom for 3 hours per week for explicit instruction in specified functional listening skills based on

authentic materials. The control group received normal instruction during the time when the experimental group was absent for the treatment instruction.

Both of the instructors who took part in the study were highly experienced senior teachers employed by the Adult Migrant Education Program; both had had extensive ESL and EFL experience in a variety of countries; and both had master's degrees in applied linguistics. The teacher assigned to the control group was the regular class teacher for both the experimental and control subjects. Neither teacher was provided with the test material, although the teacher of the control group was present during part of the pretreatment testing.

The test developed for the study was based on authentic "off air" radio material and was designed to probe subjects on their ability to (a) distinguish English from other languages, (b) identify key words from two alternatives, (c) identify the genre of aural texts, (d) identify the sex and number of interlocutors in short interactions, (e) identify key words in aural texts, and (f) listen for and record basic information (e.g., names,

times, addresses, telephone numbers) from aural texts.

Test probes were developed for each of these skills. For each probe, subjects were given an example and a practice item to complete before undertaking the test probes. For instance, in a test item probing the ability to identify key words in continuous aural texts, subjects were told to listen to an off-air radio weather report and then were asked, "How many times can you hear these words? Listen and tick the box." The words listed on the response sheet for the first source were *weather*, *fine*, and *warm*; for the second source, *hot*, *mild*, and *sunny*; and for the third, *temperature* and *fine*.

The test items were pilot tested on a class of students with similar proficiency ratings and biodata profiles as those taking part in the study. The spread of scores (from 17% to 78%) was taken as evidence that the test items were appropriate for and capable of discriminating between the members of the target group. The test took approximately an hour to administer.

Following Long (1984), both classes were monitored to see whether, in fact, the instruction they received differed in any way. This was deemed necessary, given previous research indicating that teachers do not always do in class what they say or think they do (see, for example, Dinsmore, 1985; Long & Crookes, 1986; Nunan, in press). Classroom monitoring was carried out so that differences (or similarities) between the groups could be attributed to the experimental treatment. This monitoring took the form of recordings of classroom sessions, teacher diaries and logs, and the collection of materials and records of activities used with the students.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A *t* test of pretreatment scores showed that although the mean score for the experimental group was higher than that for the control group, the

difference was not significant. Both groups were therefore assumed to derive from the same population.

The hypotheses were tested by subjecting pre- and posttreatment means for the experimental and control groups to a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures (see Table 1). (Only 16 subjects, 7 from the experimental group and 9 from the control group, were present for the posttreatment test.) The difference between groups and the interaction between groups and instruction were not significant. The effect of instruction was significant, however. A paired t-test comparison revealed that the pre- and posttreatment means for both the experimental and control groups differed significantly (p < .002). Thus, the first hypothesis was rejected, and the second hypothesis was not rejected.

TABLE 1
Two-Way ANOVA, Group x Instruction

| | MS | df | F | p |
|---------------------|----------|----|-------|------|
| Group | 607.86 | 1 | 4.82 | n.s. |
| Instruction | 1,526.28 | 1 | 12.12 | .002 |
| Group x Instruction | 42.58 | 1 | 0.34 | n.s. |
| Residual | 12.5.98 | 28 | | |

It is important not to read too much into these data. The experiment was a preliminary one, and the sample sizes were small. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that measures which probe the development of functional skills could provide an important supplement or even an alternative to the use of measures of morphosyntactic gains. This is particularly true for behaviorally based programs in which the emphasis should be on teacher-developed, criterion-referenced forms of assessment and in which the use of rating scales is fraught with problems (Brindley, 1986; Nunan, 1987). Such tests also appear to be a useful tool in the sort of learner-centered curricula described by Brindley (1986).

The focus of the tests was the subjects' development of the listening skills already specified, rather than their mastery of a set body of content. It was therefore felt that the tests themselves were more than simply achievement tests; they probed the sorts of skills learners could conceivably be required to utilize in obtaining information aurally in real-life situations. The tests could therefore be said to be tapping an aspect of proficiency. The typification provided by Richards (1985) is relevant here: "Proficiency is defined with reference to specific situations, purposes, activities and tasks. Proficiency is always referenced to the ability to perform real world tasks" (p. 3).

The view of language incorporated into the tests has implications for curriculum design and development. It can be operationalized as

performance objectives which can be taught and tested. As Brindley (1986) reports:

The specification of objectives based on an analysis of learners' needs is the cornerstone of learner-centered curriculum design. The concept of proficiency can only be operationalized through setting broad course goals and specific communicative objectives which are translatable into learning activities. Hence, any assessment of language proficiency is dependent on a prior formulation of objectives. (p. 63)

Tests such as those used in the study reported here could provide a useful means of validating programs of the type described by Brindley. They could also assist in operationalizing the concept of proficiency as articulated by Richards and could provide an adjunct to (or even, in certain programs, a replacement for) tests of morphosyntactic gain. Hence, they can be used to show that instruction does, indeed, make a

Analysis of the data showed that both the experimental and control groups made significant gains in the listening skills under investigation. The fact that there was no interaction, that is, that the experimental group did not do significantly better than the control group on the posttreatment test is worthy of comment. It may well have been that the experimental period was simply not long enough for an interaction to occur.

An alternative explanation is that the instruction received by the control group was in fact similar to that received by the experimental group. An inspection of lesson protocols showed this to be the case. The major difference between the instruction received by the two groups was that the experimental group had more exposure to activities featuring the processing of authentic data. The fact that the lesson protocols facilitated interpretation of the test results underscores the importance of incorporating process evaluation into any form of classroom-based experimental research (Long, 1984).

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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 Jeanette S. DeCarrico's "Tense, Aspect, and Time in the English Modality System"

A Reader Reacts. . .

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I would like to offer some criticisms of Jeanette DeCarrico's recent article in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 4, December 1986). These criticisms relate both to DeCarrico's analysis of modal perfects and to her comments about the treatment of modal perfects in some ESL grammars.

DeCarrico argues that modal perfects are best identified with the simple past rather than with the perfect. An alternative view is that the distinction between the perfect and the simple past is neutralized in nonfinite contexts in such a way that modal perfects are consistent with both simple past and perfect (present perfect and past perfect) contexts. This is clearly shown by *might*, which can be matched with paraphrases that reveal distinctions hidden by a verb phrase like *might have worked*:

- la. Has Linda worked here since 1979?
- b. She might have worked here since then. I'm not sure.
 - (= Maybe she *has worked* here since then.)
- 2a. Did Sue work here in the seventies?
- b. She might have worked here then. I don't know.
 - (= Maybe she *worked* here then.)
- 3a. Had Linda worked here very long when you were hired?
- b. She might have. I can't say.
 - (= Maybe she had.)

Similar examples in support of this type of neutralization analysis can be found in Leech (1971), McCawley (1971), Palmer (1974), Comrie (1976), and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985). DeCarrico herself includes the example "He should have been here by now," a counterexample to her analysis which she explains away as "pragmatically forced" (p. 674).

One of DeCarrico's sets of examples may at first appear to be evidence against the analysis I am arguing for:

* I should have lived in the dorm
$$\begin{cases} \text{since last year.} \\ \text{since 1972.} \\ \text{since then.} \\ \text{since that time.} \end{cases}$$
 (p. 672)

My first reaction to this set (which DeCarrico marks with an asterisk, to indicate that it is ungrammatical) was that such sentences, if appropriately contextualized, would not seem odd:

4. I live in a dorm now, and I've found that it makes my life easier. I can study at the library, I don't need a car, and I've got more friends than I ever had before. I should have lived on campus since last year, when I first had the chance.

If *should have lived* in this context still seems incompatible with a perfect time expression, I suggest making the verb phrase progressive:

5. I should have been living in the dorm since the first of the month, but I wasn't able to move in until yesterday.

(The three native speakers with whom I checked this sentence found it acceptable, although two of the three agreed with DeCarrico's assessment that *I should have lived in the dorm since last year* is ungrammatical.) *Should have been living* in this context is clearly perfect in meaning as well as in form; it is consistent with a time expression normally used only with the perfect.

In another context, it is not perfect in meaning:

6. I should have been living with my wife at that time, but I was living in New York because of a job offer I couldn't resist.

Here the modal perfect is perfect in symtax only, for the time frame is consistent not with *have been living* but with *was living*. So *should have*, like *might have*, is consistent with both simple past and perfect time frames. The same can be shown for other modal

perfects, including those in conditionals, and for perfects in other nonfinite contexts.

DeCarrico's claim about the modal perfects is, in fact, somewhat hedged; she says that the modal perfects "rarely [italics added] occur in perfect aspect contexts . . . but instead are normally [italics added] restricted to simple past contexts" (p. 669). But if this claim is about frequency (and as such, it may well be right), then it should be supported not by constructed examples but by frequency counts of modal perfects in language use.

Some of DeCarrico's criticisms of ESL grammars are, I feel, unfair to the authors. With the exception of Frank (1972), the texts she mentions are not reference grammars. They are classroom texts, which can be supplemented by a teacher's explanations. And as DeCarrico points out, the texts do include examples of modal perfects in simple past contexts. If "no explanation is given" (p. 670), as DeCarrico objects, it may be because the authors are wary of overexplaining, choosing instead to let the examples, along with subsequent classroom practice, make the point.

DeCarrico credits a scholarly article (Bull, 1960) for clearly distinguishing between tense and aspect. She criticizes ESL texts, which are not comparable in their purpose with works of scholarship, for not doing the same. This, too, seems unfair to the ESL texts. One of the tasks of a writer of an ESL grammar is to read the work of linguists (such as Bull) and to make decisions, based on pedagogical considerations, about how much of the linguist's analysis is appropriate for a pedagogical grammar. Most ESL grammarians, aware that the perfect is not truly a tense, may nonetheless have sound pedagogical reasons for calling it that.

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Response to Nelson. . .

Modals, Meaning and Context

JEANETTE S. DeCARRICO

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I welcome Eric S. Nelson's comments on my article, "Tense, Aspect, and Time in the English Modality System." This kind of dialogue, I believe, serves to deepen our understanding of language and to further our search for better ways to teach it to our students.

Basically, my argument was that the modal "perfect" time frame is best identified with the time frame of the simple past rather than with that of the present perfect. Nelson suggests instead that the distinction between perfect and simple past is neutralized in nonfinite contexts in such a way that "modal perfects are consistent with both simple past and perfect (present perfect and past perfect) contexts." This suggestion is not without appeal, especially if it allowed an even simpler explanation of the modality system to be presented in the classroom.

Unfortunately, this suggestion is apparently a bit too simple, as it falls far short of explaining the range of data and never really addresses certain key issues raised by my analysis. Concerning the data, for example, although I had noted that the modal perfect forms, or in my terms, *modal simple past*, do sometimes occur in contexts which (pragmatically) force a present perfect meaning, Nelson terms my example of these marked cases a counterexample and sets out to refute my argument with what he evidently considers further counterexamples. Example 1 below is repeated from my article, and Example 2 appears in Nelson's comments.

- 1. He should have been here by now,
- 2a. Has Linda worked here since 1979?
- b. She might have worked here since then. I'm not sure. (=Maybe she *has worked* here since then.)

Nelson claims that the compatibility of the modal verb phrase with the present perfect is "clearly shown" with *might* in this case. After a moment's reflection, however, one finds this "compatibility" anything but clear. For one thing, the focus on a particular choice of modal in Example 2 is puzzling, for the point of Example 1 is not to say anything special about the particular choice of modal, but rather to show that in contrast to other present perfect contexts, the present perfect context marker *by now* can be used to force a present perfect time frame.

And incidentally, it should be mentioned that even with this time phrase present, in some sense the actual time frame still seems to be associated with simple past. That is, Example 1 also seems to imply that he should have been here at some specific time, say 7:00, that it is now past that time, and that he still has not arrived.

A second puzzle is that Nelson presents Example 2 as evidence against what I maintain is a marked case of a present perfect inference being forced by the pragmatic context. If his intent is to show that (in sentences like Example 1) the pragmatics of *by now* is not responsible for the present perfect time frame, it is indeed odd that he presents an example which has an even richer pragmatic context, that is, not only the present perfect marker, *since 1979* (Example 2a), and a second marker, *since then* (Example 2b), but more important, the specially italicized present perfect verb *has worked* in the following "paraphrase." Evidently this is meant also to counter examples of mine such as the one below.

3. *I should have lived in the dorm since 1972.

The point of Example 3 is to show that the modal phrase is incompatible with the durative present perfect time frame forced by *since 1972*.

However, Nelson's Example 2b, even with such loaded context, still seems odd. And if the context is deleted, it is as odd as Example 3. So, for instance, when I presented Example 2b—devoid of context—to three informants, one said that it was "vague" and "grammatically incorrect," one said that it "sounded funny," and one said that it was "not clear," though it seemed possible that "she had worked here in the past, but was not still here." When I then presented the sentence in Example 4, all said that it was clear that she had started in the past and that she could still be working here.

4. Mary has worked here since then.

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Nelson also mentions, with respect to my Example 3, that it "may at first appear to be evidence against the analysis I am arguing for" but then claims that "such sentences, if *appropriately contextualized* [italics added], would not seem odd":

5. I live in a dorm now, and I've found that it makes my life easier. I can study at the library, I don't need a car, and I've got more friends than I ever had before. I should have lived on campus since last year, when I first had the chance.

Notice that the result of the first two sentences is to present background information (living in a dorm *now*, advantages not available *before* now) in order to set up a particular situation from which present perfect time frame inferences can be drawn and can be pragmatically related to both the modal and the present perfect time expression *since last year* in the final sentence.

Even so, the effect of the pragmatics is still not entirely successful in overriding the strangeness of this sentence. Nelson himself must still be uneasy about the result because he suggests that if *should have lived "in this context* [italics added] still seems incompatible with a perfect time expression," then we should try making the verb phrase progressive (a move which, incidentally, still does not produce a natural result). In any case, Example 5 does not illustrate the semantic compatibility of modal past time expressions with present perfect time frames. Instead, it mainly serves to illustrate the problems involved in trying to cloak the semantics with enough pragmatic implicature to camouflage it. For comparison, consider *I should have lived on campus last year*, in which the simple past time frame marker *last year* is entirely compatible with the modal expression, as I have argued throughout. Similar objections can be raised for all the other example sentences presented by Nelson.

This attempt to conjure up contexts rich enough to disguise the oddness of sentences like Example 3 does little to explain why the co-occurrence of modal expressions with present perfect *since* phrases results in anomaly in the first place—and especially so since no cases seem to exist in which the co-occurrence of these modal expressions with simple past time phrases *(last year, etc.)* results in anything less than natural, grammatical sentences.

If Nelson's neutralization framework were correct, then simple sentences with no time phrases and no other context added should be open to interpretation as either present perfect or simple past. The sentences with the continuations in Example 6 indicate that only the simple past interpretation is available.

6a. A: You must have been exhausted.

b. A: He might have lived in the dorm.

Another problem is that Nelson does not tell us how we might teach modal past expressions in an easily comprehensible way. How are students to learn, in any systematic way, how to "appropriately contextualized" modal expressions in an attempt to convey present perfect meaning? How is *appropriate* to be defined, given that the type of contextual (pragmatic) meaning he illustrates is infinitely variable, depending as it does on the particular circumstances present in each occasion of utterance?

In short, Nelson's approach may tell us something about pragmatic meaning, but it tells us nothing whatever about the semantics of the English modal time frames or about the teaching of modals themselves—though it is these which were the subject of my article.

Nelson's response, in general, ignores the distinction that most linguists draw between pragmatics and semantics. Very briefly, this distinction, particularly within the generative framework, describes a core grammar that provides the mapping between syntax and semantics, yielding the basic meaning of the sentence (though see Chomsky, 1981, 1982, for instance, for a somewhat narrower definition of core grammar). The pragmatics, whether present in the linguistic context, the immediate situation, the shared background knowledge, or in Gricean implicatures (Grice, 1968, 1975), might be said to add another level of meaning, resulting in the complete meaning of the sentences involved. More to the point of the present discussion, however, pragmatic meaning cannot be added if it is incompatible with the basic, sentence-level semantics. (For detailed discussion of the delineation between semantics and pragmatics, see especially DeCarrico, 1982, 1983, 1986; Kempson, 1975, 1977; Kempson & Cormack, 1981; Wilson, 1975.)

It should also be mentioned that alternatively, it might be possible to argue that the meaning conflict found in a sentence like Example 3 is one of (sentence-level) semantics. That is, the present perfect time frame in a phrase like *since 1972* is in conflict with the simple past time frame of the modal phrase, the semantic incompatibility of the two expressions resulting in anomaly. However, such an

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alternative is in no way crucial to the present discussion; either way, the main points argued for in my article remain essentially the same. It is important to note, however, that even if this explanation were to apply to the sentence-level case of my examples, it would in no way apply to the clearly pragmatic contexts—sets of sentences setting up particular, situational meaning and time frame—which Nelson constructs in his attempt to find counterexamples to my analysis.

Nelson also attempts to show that these modal phrases are compatible with past perfect time frames, as in his example given below.

7a. Had Linda worked here very long when you were hired?

b. She might have. I can't say.

(= Maybe she had.)

However, if the elliptical sentence (Example 7b) can easily be interpreted as associated with past perfect, then it should be possible to add a continuation with a matching past perfect expression. The sentences in Example 8 show that this is not the case. On the contrary, they show once again that a simple past expression is entirely compatible. Example 9a (taken from Dart. 1978, p. 68), to be compared with Example 9b, also illustrates this point.

8a. Had Linda worked here very long when you were hired?

- 9a. Before the French Revolution, the aristocrats ought to have paid more attention to the common people, but they didn't.
- b. *Before the French Revolution, the aristocrats ought to have paid more attention to the common people, but they hadn't.

Both Examples 8 and 9 indicate that these modal expressions cannot easily be interpreted as past perfect, just as they cannot be interpreted as present perfect. The meaning in these examples seems to be something more like "at that time," as the simple past continuations illustrate.

One further objection Nelson makes is that if these modal phrases, as I maintain, generally do not occur in perfect aspect contexts, then this claim should be supported not by "constructed examples but by frequency counts of modal perfects in language use." But if such perfect aspect contexts are to be the "appropriately contextualized" type which he labors to create, then this suggestion

is novel indeed. Such a count would seem to involve a count of pragmatic meaning. But since pragmatic meaning often depends not only on verbal contextual cues but also on shared knowledge of speaker and hearer, relationship of speaker and hearer, information present in previous context, circumstances present in a given situation, and so on—some of which may or may not be apparent to a third-party investigator—then the value of such a "count" certainly seems questionable. (For detailed discussion of the difficulties involved in determining what aspects of context are relevant to the interpretation of sentences in discourse, see especially Brown & Yule, 1983, and references cited there.)

On the other hand, a simple frequency count of modal expressions and the particular time phrases with which they actually do co-occur would be an easy matter, though again the value of such a count is open to question. I did, in fact, look at several randomly chosen texts, both new and old (Azar, 1981; Cake & Rogerson, 1986; Danielson & Hayden, 1973; Dart, 1978; Davis, 1977; Elbaum, 1986; Fingado, Freeman, Jerome, & Summers, 1981; Frank, 1972; Gregg & Russell, 1985; Praninskas, 1975; Werner & Church, 1985; Werner & Nelson, 1985). In the reading passages, dialogues, and example sentences provided, the time phrases cooccurring with the modal perfects were in almost every case the simple past ones (i.e., yesterday, in 1979, two years ago, etc.). Of the more than 140 instances counted, less than 6% were present perfect markers, and none was past perfect. By now phrases did co-occur (but see my discussion above), as did one already expression and one yet. Given my analysis, this outcome is exactly as expected.

Again, however, I wish to emphasize that the value of such frequency counts is highly questionable, since, among other things, there is no real way to guarantee that the sample collected is a representative one, whether collected from written texts or from recorded conversations, or to guarantee that many relevant and possibly crucial data have not by chance failed to appear. Given these limitations, no claim is being made about the relevance of this outcome, and it is included only as an aside.

One final matter. Nelson believes that my criticisms of ESL grammars are unfair to the authors. In particular, he suggests that if no explanation is given with examples of modal expressions in simple past contexts, it may be because the authors, wary of "overexplaining," may choose instead to let the examples make the point. Since the whole point of my article concerned ways of simplifying the presentation and explanation of simple past modal expressions, I have no way of knowing what he means by "overexplaining." However, I do know that among the many ESL

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teachers who attended my presentation on this topic both at TESOL '84 (Houston) and at ORTESOL '84 (Portland), there seemed to be general agreement that the kinds of examples Nelson mentions did indeed obscure the point, resulting in the type of confusion for students that I documented in my paper. Nonetheless, my suggestions should not be misread as harsh criticism of the authors for what I consider understandable oversights.

In a second objection to my criticisms of ESL grammars, Nelson mistakenly concludes that I advocate that ESL texts make the distinction between aspect and tense. A more careful reading of my article will reveal that no such suggestion was made. Rather, my complaint was that these terms are often used without mentioning the associated "semantics of a particular time frame. . . . the basic problem seems to be that in ESL grammar texts, the systematic nature of the forms [i.e., tense or aspect] and of the semantics with respect to time relationships" (pp. 667-668) is not adequately clarified. The issue is not which terminology is used for the forms; the issue is the inadequate clarification of the associated conceptual time frames. Nelson's misreading is most unfortunate, since on the contrary, I have no quarrel with his point that "most ESL grammarians, aware that the perfect is not truly a tense, may nonetheless have sound pedagogical reasons for calling it that."

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A Handbook of Bilingual Education. Rev. ed. Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph C. Troike. TESOL, 1971. 71 pp. \$2.00 (\$1.75)

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Convention Programs. The following convention programs contain the entire program as well as the abstracts of papers presented at that convention.

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