BECOMING BILINGUAL

A Guide to Language Learning

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PREFACE

At a time when we can span the globe almost instantaneously by mechanical means, distance must still be measured by alienation as well as by miles or minutes. The distance from NASA Command Center to the moon is scarcely imaginable, but in some ways it may be nearer than that between my house and my neighbor's ten yards away. In spite of fantastic communication networks and exploding possibilities for species-wide interaction, we may not be able to understand a passer-by when he asks for the time of day in another language. We can pick up the phone and converse with a friend half a continent away, yet in a chat with a Black down the street we may fail miserably to get through to each other. A consciousness that alienation is a measure of distance is growing in importance in today's world.

Becoming bilingual is one important process among many by which de-alienation takes place, and this book about becoming bilingual is written for the expatriate living and working where he needs another language in order to be at ease. Dealienation, of course, is not the only motive for language learning. There are utilitarian ones as well: better jobs, manipulation of people and power, ego-building and many others. People with such motives should also find parts of this book useful, though their purposes are different from ours.

Hundreds of thousands of expatriates are residing in different countries of the world: refugees, business men, government officials, Peace Corps volunteers, missionaries, scholars. Some expatriates remain perpetually, rigidly alien and can never use anything but their mother tongue. Some find their alien reactions softening as they become people of two worlds. Some become bilingual.

For an adult, becoming bilingual takes time, effort and motivation. It is a serious matter. This book is for serious people--those who actually are or expect to be living in a language environment strange to them, and who are motivated enough to take the time and effort necessary to learn.

Becoming Bilingual has been written to help people decrease the language distance between themselves and their neighbors, and in so doing to help decrease other cultural distances as well. It seeks to help the alien understand himself and the linguistic dimensions of his predicament, to deepen his knowledge of the nature of language and to show him some ways of undertaking serious language study as a resident abroad.

In preparing this book we have tried to be realistic. Since not every resident overseas will be able to take a high-powered, well-constructed language course, we try to show such a person what he can do to make whatever opportunities he has as effective as possible for learning a language. Most people, of course, are not going to learn without much effort put forth over a considerable span of time. We try to show how that effort can be harnessed and how time can be used to the best advantage.

We emphasize that the picture of language learning presented here is an ideal. Most users will sample the suggestions and apply what he can where he is. We suggest that he keep coming back for more ideas as he progresses in language skill.

Our stimulus for writing this book came over several years of experience in intensive summer sessions designed to orient prospective missionaries to the task of learning another language. For all their linguistic failings, missionaries probably put more conscious effort into second language acquisition than any other single group of Western aliens in Asia and Africa today--and have been doing so for several generations.

The prospective range of readers of this volume, however, goes far beyond the needs of missionaries. Any educated alien, dissatisfied with the linguistic distance between himself and members of the community around him and willing to work at reducing that distance, is a candidate for becoming bilingual.

Donald N. Larson and William A. Smalley

February, 1972

 0.0[1] Becoming Bilingual is not addressed primarily to language-oriented specialists--linguists, language teachers or psychologists who study verbal behavior. For some of them, however, it may have some incidental usefulness and it is with this in mind that this special introduction is written.

 For years theories of language acquisition in children and of adults learning a second language have been hotly debated. In most instances discussion is focused on other considerations than the controlled, experimental study of actual language learning processes. Where controlled studies have been made, all too often they have dealt with superficial and minute problems which have only marginal usefulness since they fall short of coming to grips with the psychology of learning in any convincing fashion.

 Skinner in Verbal Behavior[2] extrapolated from observation of the behavior of rats under experimental conditions to the language learning of humans. In Chomsky's powerful attack on Skinner's views[3] a theory of the nature of language is brought to bear upon the discussion of the nature of man's learning processes. To us Chomsky's extrapolations seem far more satisfying than Skinner's since he seems to handle the phenomena of language more adequately. The fact of our linguistic bias was brought home to one of the authors in the comment of a psychologist friend after one of Chomsky's talks: psycholinguists seem to be "all linguist and not much psycho."

 As anthropological linguists, the authors claim no insight into the psychology of learning from other sources than impressionistic experience, the debate over language learning and crash programs which has raged since World War II, and our ethnolinguistic theories (which for the most part have other bases than hard data on language acquisition).

 Why then is this book offered to the public? Simply for the reason that in spite of the lack of adequate theories of second language acquisition based on hard empirical findings, most people have managed to learn two or more languages whenever contact made it necessary. Furthermore, practical experiences teach much about the ways in which languages are learned, and linguistic and anthropological theories cast helpful light at many points along the way toward becoming bilingual, even if there is a lack of evidence which can be properly called "proof." Furthermore, the book is offered in response to the need and desire for practical help as expressed by many people who are learning languages in expatriate conditions.

 It seems that there is no book which undertakes what we attempt to do in Becoming Bilingual. We endeavor to present the learner with an integrated and systematic treatment of his entire task, linguistic, cultural and practical, in learning a new language abroad.

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 [1]Section numbers show the chapter before the decimal point (0. for Introduction) and major subdivisions immediately after the decimal point. Subpoints follow to the right: 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.21, 1.22, etc.

 [2]Skinner 1957

 [3]Chomsky 1959

In Part One we discuss the learner himself and the important factors of motivation which bear upon his ultimate success, such as aptitude, age and opportunity. We seek to establish the point that his primary problem in living abroad is cultural alienation, and that learning the local language is a major factor in adjustment to the new surroundings. Language learning is part of what membership in a new community entails, and entering into the life of a new community begins with the development of a surrogate family (not necessarily a kin group, although this is sometimes the case). Without membership in groups, the alien rarely learns to react in normal ways in the new community.

Part Two deals with language, language learning, programs and opportunities. The nature of language learning, differences in approach, some essential theoretical concepts underlying our approach, kinds of existing opportunities for language learning are among the topics that are discussed.

Part Three introduces a wide range of techniques for learning a language. It is the "what to do and how to do it" part of the book. It hugs the ground of the learner's need when he is without a trained teacher and/or linguistic training. It seeks to answer one major question: how can I organize language data for efficient learning?

"Widening the range of communication" is the theme of Part Four. Its concern is mainly with the plateaus which often trouble language students. Once he can use the language to get around and take care of simple, everyday business, a learner may stop progressing. In this section are many suggestions for looking into a wide range of cultural activities and aspects of life in the new community and deepening cultural understanding while becoming bilingual. It discusses the problems of learning more than one dialect or language, more than one style (including the styles of written language), and the advanced skill of translating.

A number of books touch upon various facets of this overall coverage. These include Sweet's The Practical Study of Languages,[4] Palmer's The Principles of Language Study[5] and Bloomfield's Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages.[6] These and many others are still of value.

Nida's Learning a Foreign Language: A Handbook Prepared for Missionaries,[7] with a similar audience in mind, has been widely used as an introduction to linguistics for non-professionals with an interweaving of practical suggestions for language learning in the field. It does not really help the learner, however, to proceed with his study, nor does it put language learning into the context of joining a new community as thoroughly as we have done.

Gudschinsky's How to Learn an Unwritten Language[8] tends to concentrate on preliminary linguistic analysis in preparation for learning, rather than on

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[4]Sweet 1900

[5]Palmer 1917

[6]Bloomfield 1942. See also Bloomfield 1926.

[7]Nida 1957a

[8]Gudschinsky 1967

learning itself.[9] A similar comment applies to other recent books, which although not as analytically oriented as Gudschinsky, are more about language than about becoming bilingual and treat a much narrower field than the present work. They include Moulton's A Linguistic Guide to Language Learning[10] and Politzer's Foreign Language Learning.[11]

Many books deal with the teaching of language from the point of view of view of classroom instruction in Western schools. Relatively few, however, reflect linguistic or anthropological sophistication.[12] While there is an interdependence between learning and teaching, those with "learning" in the title often do not distinguish between the two processes. It is important to see their differences in the context of language acquisition.[13]

As the bibliographies of Weinreich[14] and Haugen[15] testify, the literature on bilingualism is enormous, but helpful as it may be in the development of a theory of bilingualism, it usually has little to do with the learning process or with practical help for the individual who wants to become bilingual.

Psychological investigations of language learning processes have tended to be only weakly related to convincing theories of the nature of language. Recent psycholinguistic studies, however, suggest a trend toward language-centered investigation of linguistic behavior, and of language acquisition of children, but they remain highly tentative and often speculative, though sometimes convincingly so.[16] They offer very little of a serious nature to the adult who would learn a second language, however. Ervin-Tripp[17] and a few other studies indicate that some of these same psycholinguists are beginning to turn more attention to the processes by which adults become bilingual.

0.1 Genesis

Becoming Bilingual had its beginning about 1957 as a set of notes for students at the Toronto Institute of Linguistics and in a companion program at Meadville, Pennsylvania. These programs were designed to orient prospective missionaries to ways and means of learning a language under diverse field conditions. The book was re-written in its present form largely in 1968-69. Linguistic insights (or should we say fashions?) were changed markedly during the nearly fifteen years since 1957. The rise of generative-transformational theory has profoundly influenced our understanding of language and our view of the processes of

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[9]Smalley 1969

[10]Moulton 1966

[11]Politzer 1965.

[12]For representative bibliographies see Centre for Information...1968, and Nostrand, Foster and Christenson 1965. See additional note on p. xiv.

[13]Mackey 1965:x-xi; Quirk and Smith (eds.) 1959; Rivers 1964

[14]Weinreich 1953

[15]Haugen 1956

[16]See, for example, Smith and Miller (eds.) 1966; Saporta and Bastian (eds.) 1961.

[17]Ervin-Tripp 1967, 1968

second language learning. Stratificational grammar, the work of Halliday, and especially Nida's work on semantics[18] have also all had major effects on our work.

Colleagues who have taught with us in the orientation programs have taught us a great deal in the process. Most notable among these are Eugene Nida, Robert Maston, Earl W. Stevick and G. Linwood Barney. Among several other colleagues whose influence has been strong we could name William D. Reyburn and Jacob A. Loewen. Our bibliography by no means covers our debt in the literature.

We have learned much from our students as well, both during their student days and later when we met them in different parts of the world and reviewed language learning problems with them.

Both authors came to the initial stages of writing this book with the earlier experience of writing a language text. In the one case it was modified from the wartime army language programs[19] and in the other case it was modeled on the "pattern practice" approach of the structuralists in the 1950's.[20] Then, after working on the present book for several years, each author also had an opportunity to test his developing theories and techniques. Larson became the founder and organizer of an intensive language program teaching three languages in Manila,[21] and Smalley studied Thai in a language school in Bangkok and Chiang Mai, Thailand. The experience gained in these ways contributed considerably to the present form of our work.

0.2 Becoming Bilingual

The term bilingualism, in this book, is not used in the sense of an equal command of two languages, something which is extremely rare (if not impossible) to acquire as an adult. Rather it refers to a useful, functional command of the second language.[22]

Except for brief references to the learning of language during childhood (as in Chapter 2), becoming bilingual is meant here to refer to the process by which an adult acquires an additional language in the environment in which it is spoken, surrounded by the culture in which it is used.

Becoming bilingual is seen essentially as part of a process of a "redomestication" or "dealienation"--becoming less foreign in a culture in which one is an alien. It is not purely a linguistic matter, of course, nor simply a psychological one alone. Rather it is a complex configuration of many concurrent processes by which the human being incorporates an additional set of linguistic and cultural behaviors in addition to and integrated with his original, native set. Each modifies the other, as we shall see, but still the two remain remarkably distinct.

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[18]Nida 1966, and subsequent unpublished work

[19]Smalley and Nguyễn-van-Văn

[20]Larson 1958. See also Sweet 1956.

[21]Larson 1963

[22]Catford 1959:164; Fishman 1966:122-123; Brooks 1960

The learner develops a new set of habits and then uses the new or old set as conditions demand.

We have chosen the word "habit" carefully and deliberately in the previous sentence and use it in this way throughout the book, for we want to reflect our own concern with the objections to the word which have been raised by Chomsky[23] and others.[24]

Much as we agree with Chomsky's contention that creativity in language is of enormous importance (Chapter 7 below), his outright rejection of a place for 'habit' is to us patent nonsense. When one speaker of English makes an [r] by cupping the tongue and raising the tip, while another makes it by cupping the tongue and raising it back, we say each does so by habit. As trained phoneticians we can make an [r] either way when we are thinking about it. When we are using our native English we do it in the way that is habitual for us. One of the difficulties in reducing "foreign accent" in the process of becoming bilingual is the development of a new habit for pronouncing [r], for example, instead of whatever kind of [r] we normally produce in English.

When we say /boyz rowzɨz šips šiyp men ɔksɨn/ and other forms of English plural we do so by habit. Without thinking about the form of the plural we supply the one which is habitual with us. We can use other forms for special effects, and sometimes use them by mistake, but to do so regularly in normal use of English would require great concentration until a new habit formed through practice.

It takes conscious effort for one to say "he don't" if he habitually says "he doesn't."

Neither of us may have ever heard or said the sentence "Big blocks of pavement danced down the street," but when we write it here we do so by virtue of innumerable habits working together. We called into use the habits by which we construct sentences to describe what happened immediately after an explosion.

For an adult "homework" may refer to any school assignment, whether or not it requires paper and pencil. For the child, however, a reading assignment may not be "homework," but "studying." These are differences in the habitual use of words.

Examples can be multiplied. We are not using "habit" in any special sense, whether "known to psychology" or not. We simply use it in its most familiar sense--learned behavior which has been internalized to the point where no conscious thought is required to execute it.

If we remove the red herring "habit" from the discussion and look more deeply into Chomsky's own writings and those of other generative-transformationalists, it becomes apparent that they are reacting to overly

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[23]Chomsky 1965:47-59; 1966b:4

[24]Carroll 1965; Jacobovits 1968b:90

simplistic and distorted views of language acquisition current in behavioristic psychology.[25]

Chomsky, furthermore, is making an important point in his discussion of the child's innate capacity for language learning. Too often forgotten, Chomsky has given new emphasis to this capacity in the development of linguistic theory. He correctly emphasizes that the learning which takes place between the ages of one and five cannot be adequately accounted for only on the basis of normal conditioning, habit formation or practice.[26]

In their desire to make their important point, Chomsky and the psycholinguists of the generative-transformational school do not always give a balanced picture.[27] Granted that the individual's innate capacity results in the internalization of grammar during childhood, this capacity does not help an adult in the same way (Chapter 2).[28] Language patterns become fixed. How then are the patterns of a new language learned?

We are not here concerned with the acquisition of a native language, nor with the learning of children. Nor do we offer any new theory of learning. We simply know that when we learned a second, third or fourth language as adults, we had to practice. We had to practice especially carefully at those points where our former language or languages involved habits which interfered with the new ones which were needed. We are not psychologists, but to us it seems that there is a fundamental similarity between Smalley's substitution of Vietnamese tone levels (which he learned first) for Thai tones (when he learned Thai later) and the problems which he encountered when starting to drive on the left side of the street in Bangkok, having come from a country where people drive on the right. We call the tendency to use the familiar without thinking habit, as the average reader would. To the degree that languages are alike because of some inborn human predisposition there is no problem, from the standpoint of this book. We are concerned with learning the differences.

In this book we advocate practice. Knowing very well that practice is only part of the whole matter of becoming bilingual, we also know by experience how important it is. Such practice includes listening, exposure to language use, inner speech, talking, whether in highly organized learning materials or at random. We do not believe that a language can be learned without practice, not even the first one. Neither do we believe that practice is the whole story.

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[25]Chomsky 1959; Skinner 1957

[26]Chomsky 1966c:112. Amplification of these ideas may be found in many sources such as Chomsky 1966a:59-71; Lenneberg 1964, 1967; Lenneberg (ed.) 1964; Smith and Miller 1966; Jakobovits 1967b:105; Ritchie 1967:113; Saporta 1965: 551; Lenneberg 1964:592; Carroll 1966:111, 118; Jakobovitz 1968b.

[27]Peizer and Olmstead 1969; Putnam 1966

[28]Ritchie, in an otherwise rather sensible article (1967:130-131) becomes so entangled in his own theorizing that he decides to hypothesize that adults do "retain all of the language-acquisition abilities of pre-language children," which flies in the face of all evidence unless "ability" is defined in some highly unusual way.

Practice aids in building habits. We recognize, however, that habits are also produced apart from what we commonly consider practice, although it is extremely difficult to pinpoint these causes. We believe that it is possible to teach people how to practice more efficiently and we try to do so. At some points our theory or our experience may be misleading or inefficient in certain ways. The experience of others may point to a better way. In fact, we have changed our minds on hundreds of details in the process of preparing this book over the past decade. But language learning without practice of any kind, or without habit formation, would certainly require drastic new theory and learning techniques far beyond what we can imagine today.

With the wide-ranging differences of opinion these days on theories of language structure and criteria for evaluating them, and with the chaos and faddism in language teaching, we would be foolish to expect general approval for our book. If it helps some people on the way to dealienation in a fragmented world, and if it helps some people to communicate with their neighbors--to be neighbors--we will be more than satisfied.

0.3 Acknowledgments

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12 (Cont'd) After Becoming Bilingual was already in press there appeared a

new book which is many ways closer in approach to our own work than any of the others already mentioned. It is Adapting and Writing Language Lessons, by Earl W. Stevick (Stevick 1971). Stevick's new book is written for the teacher rather than being a do-it-yourself book for the learner, but the serious reader of Becoming Bilingual would do well to refer to it for many helpful ideas.

PART ONE

THE LANGUAGE LEARNER

When One Language Is Not Enough

1.0[1] An elderly, dignified Mien (Yao) tribesman of Thailand, a leader in his mountain community, speaks several languages in addition to Mien, his mother tongue. Like most of the intelligent and ambitious men in his tribe, he knows some Mandarin Chinese because of his contact with traders and because his ancestors had centuries-long contact with Chinese civilization, borrowing from it into their own Mien religion and other aspects of life. He also speaks Cantonese and Hakka, two other Chinese languages not mutually intelligible with Mandarin. He can read Chinese characters aloud in Mandarin, Cantonese, or Mien.

This mountain-dwelling Mien tribesman also knows some Lahu, a widely used trade language among tribal people in his area. He speaks Myang (Northern Thai), the predominant regional language of the populous valleys below his village--the language of the cities and towns where he goes to trade. He knows a little Thai, the standard language of the country in which he lives, and the language taught in the village school.

But this Mien tribesman, as a member of a minority group, is considered "primitive" by more "developed" people. A Thai government official seeing him walking into town dressed in his strange costume and speaking accented Thai considers him an ignorant and inferior being. The official himself speaks no language but Thai, although he studied a little English in school.

The Thai government official is like many educated Americans who typically groan about how they are no good at languages. An educated Swiss or Swede typically speaks English, French and German, and thinks nothing of it. If he moves to the United States his children go to American schools and in a generation his grandchildren groan about how they are no good at languages.

An Indonesian known to us speaks Javanese, Indonesian, Dutch, German, French and English in addition to his Batak mother tongue. He also reads Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Yet in the 1960's, at the worst period of Indonesia's economic inflation, he was earning only enough to buy the rice for his family plus the equivalent of US $5.00 per month.

In many parts of the world it is impossible to function fully as a member of a community without speaking two, three, or even four languages every day. These generally include the mother tongue, which may have only local use, one or more trade or national languages as well as an international language like English or French. Thus, many an educated East African cannot get along without three languages: the language of his village, a regional language like Swahili, and English.

Why is it that in some parts of the world everybody learns a second language, and in other areas nobody does? And why does the thought of learning

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[1]For explanation of section numbers, see footnote 1, p. vii.

another language generate such fear for many Americans when millions of Europeans, Africans and Asians take it for granted?

There are many reasons, of course. Opportunities for language study and use vary widely throughout the world, and this has much to do with one's skill. Undeniably, some people have natural aptitude for language, and although the effect of aptitude is often overrated, it does count as a factor in success and failure.

Primarily, Americans do not learn more languages because they do not feel the need for them. Two popular reasons are often cited for offering language study in high schools and colleges in the United States. One often hears, "It is good discipline for the mind," or "I need the credit to graduate." Thus, when the student finds that his mind is properly disciplined, he can safely abandon the routine of language study, or when he earns the necessary credits, he can forget the whole matter.

A high school student with an eye on a career in medicine may study Latin because he thinks it will be easier to learn to write prescriptions.

In some circles language study has a good bit of snob value. Sometimes better jobs are offered to those who can claim some proficiency in a second language.

But such reasons as these are only peripheral to truly functional bilingualism. Millions of people in the world do learn more than one language, and do so in order to communicate and interact with other people! Through no fault of his own, the typical student who tries to learn French without any real need to interact with Frenchmen is not likely to develop much proficiency. Language study, apart from those situations in which one actually can and must communicate in a new language, is likely to be spotty and unrewarding.

1.1 Domestication and Alienation

Language is but one aspect of human behavior, yet its central importance is seen in the fact that no normal human community can exist without it. From the days of infancy the normal person undergoes a process of "domestication", of being trained--molded into a productive member of society. Some ten to twenty years are devoted to the development of patterns which guide the thinking, activity and speech of a mature adult. Little wonder, then, that a person born and raised in middle class United States views the whole world with an Americanized pair of eyes; he has learned American premises which put an American interpretation on everything that happens. Although he does so unconsciously, the domesticated member of any culture tends to accept his own ways as normal, good and right, except as he may self-consciously revolt against certain aspects of those ways, in the manner of the subculture of his peers.

In today's world, however, the well-adjusted middle class American can become a member of a minority group for the first time in his life after just a few hours of air travel. He is ill-prepared by his home community for the experiences encountered in a strange airport half a world away, not to mention what he will

meet in a market place, or in a strange home. Physically present in a new city, he begins to realize what it means to be an alien, a foreigner.

Success in becoming bilingual may often be explained in terms of the learner's alienation. So long as he is able to interact with people whose relationships and friendships he values, there is little incentive for learning the language of his new community. On the other hand, caught in a situation where he cannot communicate--where he is alienated from a group with another language, with the desire to interact with them--the average person can develop motivation to learn, and find opportunity to use what he learns to meet his needs. Without such a relationship to a new community effective bilingualism is rare.

1.2 Dealienation

The alien is surrounded by forces which can help him to find a place in his new community. Before these forces begin to operate, however, the alien makes an important decision, often unconsciously: will he coexist indefinitely without ever becoming a member of this new community, or will he submit and seek to acquire the perspective of its members? Will he retire into an alien ghetto protected by imported surroundings, and choose his friends only from those who will move into his world, or will he learn to understand and participate in a new way of life?

Many aliens live at the periphery of community life, going about their work much as they did in their native land. They may learn a few perfunctory phrases: greetings, commands and the like. They may be motivated by the desire to learn what people are saying about them and become just this proficient and no more. Some may have to learn enough of the language to pass an examination in order to get a promotion. Some may feel that it is good "public relations" to learn a bit more--perhaps to be able to display their ability to read and talk about literature.

But given normal aptitude and sufficient opportunity, the alien who decides to let those around him "re-domesticate" him, and who is determined to make them want to do so even if they are reluctant at first, is virtually assured of functional bilingualism. His willingness to submit to change, and his ability to be sensitive to the way in which domestics behave provide the necessary conditions for becoming bilingual.

Because of their particular "melting pot" history, some Americans reading this book may be troubled by this relationship between language learning and dealienation. The ancestors of most Americans who were not already speakers of English had no choice but to learn it in order to cope with their alien status in the new world. Psychological pressures on the second generation to be fully "Americanized" were intense, and the use of English became one of the major indicators that Americanization had been achieved.

Thus, for many Americans, a language other than English is a symbol of alienation from their home community. Fishman, who has made extensive study of bilinguals in the United States, points out:

Many Americans have long been of the opinion that bilingualism is "a good thing" if it was acquired via travel (preferably to Paris) or via formal education (preferably at Harvard) but that it is "a bad thing" if it was acquired from one's immigrant parents or grandparents. [2]

It seems evident in our experience that these same values often go with the American as he travels abroad. Learning a language in Paris is fine so long as there is no danger of one's being identified as a Parisian, a good strong American accent serving as insurance that nobody will mistake one for being anything else than an American.

Significant participation in the new community demands of every member that he know how to use its communication systems. Without such capacity the individual cannot derive from the community those things which are necessary for his survival and maintenance, nor can he give the interaction demanded of every legitimate member of every human community.

1.3 Motivation

It is motivation that determines ultimate proficiency in a second language, motivation usually fired by the recognition that one language is not enough, motivation for at least a token degree of dealienation, or if not dealienation, some more utilitarian purpose like a better job, scholarly interest, or even the power to exploit.

But becoming bilingual is not easy. Even the best motivation, supported by the strongest reasons for wanting to learn a new language, may begin to falter under the pressures of the long and complicated process of language learning. Starting with a great will to study in the face of constant frustration the learner may find himself giving up more easily, unable to muster up the energy required for coping with interruptions of all kinds.

Or the learner, in spite of his hard work, may find that he is running out of ideas for practice long before he can use the new language. He does not know what to study next or how to proceed.

Nothing can deflate motivation quicker than failure, and sometimes failure itself is caused by an unrealistic formulation of one's goals. It is not unrealistic to expect progress, day by day, week by week, but progress will be gradual. It will be felt in one area for a while, and then in another. There are not likely to be dramatic changes overnight. The learner should not think in terms of "accomplishment" except in respect to limited and specific objectives such as mastering certain drills, or learning how to tell certain stories, or correcting certain mistakes in pronunciation, or polishing up details of style.

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[2] From Trends in Language Teaching, by Albert Valdman (ed.). Copyright 1966. Used with permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company. (Fishman 1966:122-123). See also Fishman et al. 1966; Fishman and Nahirny 1964.

For example, the learner might set himself to the task of learning to tell a story. Working on such a story until he can tell it with ease and pleasure, the learner is certain to derive satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment from his study. Learning it so well that he can concentrate on his audience while he tells it (not just trying to remember what the next word should sound like), his motivation is certain to receive a big boost when he watches people's eyes light up when he reaches the major point of his story.

Sustaining motivation is important, of course, and one way to insure it is through the development of a variety of study activities. When one approach becomes stale, the learner might reread the appropriate parts of this book for new ideas, or seek them elsewhere.[3]

Basically, however, sustaining motivation requires reconsideration of the need for bilingualism, the importance of dealienation, the potential involved in being able to communicate effectively. Becoming bilingual only makes sense when the learner is sure that one language is not enough.

1.4 Language in Communication

Perhaps we should make it clear from the start, however, that language is only one means among many by which people communicate. Furthermore, imparting new information is only a part of what we do when we communicate.

For example, imagine a mother telling her daughter the story of Little Red Riding Hood. Both of them know it by heart, and the daughter may react to the slightest omission or addition. The mother pauses, "And what do you suppose happened?" No new information is being imparted linguistically, but both mother and child are communicating their attitudes toward each other, their emotional condition, reassurance, warmth, love. Each reads the other very well.

A boy and girl meet and strike up a typical teenage conversation. Although each conversation is unique, it will be made up of highly predictable elements. Parts of the conversation come ready-made. "Do you come here often?" "Where do you live?" "Do you have ... for a teacher?" Although small amounts of new information are imparted, this is not where the significant communication is going on. Each is sizing up the other through observing face and form, gesture, intonation, characteristic mannerisms. Each is communicating an impression of himself. Each is reading the other's impression and responding to it.[4]

But although communication can take place without language at all, language is crucial in most human communication. In less ritualized interpersonal encounters language may play a major role in imparting new information. In written communication as well, language plays the chief role in imparting mood or new information, and relatively little is carried by nonlinguistic vehicles.

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[3] Mohrlang 1968

[4] Bernstein 1964:60-61

In many cities of the world it is certainly true that one can communicate in English to an important degree, although the range of people with whom one may talk may be severely restricted. It is also true that some unusual people manage to throw aside much of their alien-ness without learning a new language. Quite obviously, many aliens living abroad with wealth and prestige are able to make others conform to their own ways.

For those who intend to remain as aliens, or who have no true alternative, proficiency in a second language would seem to be optional. But for those who plan to acquire the domestic point of view as preparation for some relevant contribution to life in a new community one language is usually not enough. Valid participation and significant influence are never so deep without the language of the new community.

Chapter Two

Learning the Next One

Every normal infant cries soon after birth, and so far as is known today this first vocalization is organically determined. In certain ways it is similar to some kinds of animal cries--sounds associated with emotional states. It is neither language nor even a preliminary form of language, yet it is the primary means by which the infant is able to influence his immediate environment. After just a short outburst, for example, something warm and moving may appear bringing food and a dry diaper.

Every normal adult has his own complicated set of linguistic habits, different in certain details from those of every other person in the world. With that set of habits he can talk about a fantastically wide range of subjects: about strolling along a path in the light of the moon, or about man's first steps on the moon itself. While we do not yet know the extent to which the cry of the infant or the lecture of a scientist may be genetically determined, we do know that every normal person acquires the language of those around him, yet uses it in his own unique way.

Baby's cooing and babbling are early signs of experimentation with his speech and hearing mechanisms, although they are not yet speech. As Baby makes his noises he is apparently learning to monitor--to listen to and interpret--his own vocal production. At first he may be oblivious to the ways in which others are affected by his verbal behavior. Bit by bit, however, he becomes aware that responses of others are linked to his own noises. Babbling undoubtedly contributes to the development of speech sound, but it is evident also that people who are congenitally unable to babble or speak may nevertheless develop a use of language through writing or some other form just the same. [1]

Baby also begins to respond to the vocal behavior of those around him. A loud voice frightens him much as does a slammed door. A pleasant voice is associated with feeding, fondling and a change of diapers. Later on a pleasant voice, together with playful movements, brings a smile, and then a new vocal response--laughter. Although much of the vocal behavior to which he responds is couched in language, Baby does not yet understand it as such.

2.1 The Beginning of Language

We do not yet know precisely how Baby starts to learn his language, or how the process develops. We can only observe the stimuli to which he is subjected, and the responses which he makes, and watch their development of the process, month by month. Physiological and psychological processes can only be inferred, and these processes constitute the focus of much important psycholinguistic study today. [2]

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[1] Lenneberg 1964:589

[2] Smith and Miller (eds.) 1966; Lenneberg 1964, 1967; Lenneberg (ed.) 1964; Lyons and Wade (eds.) 1967; Ervin-Tripp 1968; Weir 1962; Osgood and Sebeok (eds.) 1954

Quite obviously if Baby is to learn a language there must be a language in his environment. In fact, if more than one language is sufficiently present in his environment during his earliest years he will learn them all although we still do not know how much language exposure constitutes "sufficiently present".

Language, of course, comes along with other experiences in Baby's life. He babbles something remotely resembling "mama" and Mama goes into ecstasies. In many societies Mama "reads" to him, pointing to pictures, and saying, "kitty," "doggy," "horsie," etc. with the characteristic intonation of baby-talk, and Baby learns to point to the same pictures and say things which Mama interprets as being "kitty," "doggie," and "horsie." One mother even controlled her intonations (speech melodies) in such situations with one of her children, so that Baby began to use precisely those intonations on those same words with which the mother had associated them when she began to talk.[3]

Actually Baby's utterances are acoustically very different from Mama's: they employ a different range of pitches and from the point of view of Mama's language, sounds are distorted in various ways. Nevertheless, we have no reason to doubt that Mama is right and that Baby is imitating Mama's behavior.

But just how much of this interplay is essential for Baby's learning? We don't know. If Baby were to be brought up in a room completely isolated from everyone else, exposed to language only via the sound of human speech coming through a loudspeaker, would he learn any language? The experiment is, of course, impossible, but our best guess is that he would not. If his access to language were through a television set, however, perhaps he might, for there it would be possible for him to establish links between sounds and something else. That is, to establish meaning.

Baby is different from a chimpanzee, of course, for exposure to spoken language does not result in a chimp's learning to use it. Chimps brought up in English-speaking homes, intelligent as they are, and learning as much as they do, never learn English as the normal child does, in spite of the fact their musculature, the shape of their mouth, nose and throat, is much the same.[4]

The only possible inference now is that a part of "humanness" is the inherent capacity to learn a language as a child.[5] Baby seems extraordinarily perceptive to language stimuli in his environment. Chimp does not have this perceptiveness. We do not yet know exactly what it is that makes a human mature in this particular way,[6] although it may be helpful to note one theory of what may take place:

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[3] E. Pike 1949

[4] Lenneberg 1964:602. However, in recent experiments, chimps are being taught non-verbal language such as deaf-and-dumb sign language, and other non-vocal but linguistically based codes. Gardner & Gardner 1969; Bryan 1970.

[5] Chomsky 1965:59

[6] Lenneberg 1964:602

Maturation brings cognitive processes to a state that we may call language-readiness. The organism now requires certain raw materials from which it can shape building blocks for its own language development. The situation is somewhat analogous to the relationship between nourishment and growth. The food that the growing individual takes in as architectural raw material must be chemically broken down and reconstituted before it may enter the synthesis that produces tissues and organs. The information on how the organs are to be structured does not come from the food, but is latent in the individual's own cellular components. The raw material for the individual's language synthesis is the language spoken by the adults surrounding the child. The presence of the raw material seems to function like a releaser for the developmental language synthesizing process. The course of language-unfolding is quite strictly prescribed through the unique maturational path traversed by cognition, and thus we may say that language-readiness is a state of latent language structure. The unfolding of language is a process of actualization in which latent structure is transformed into realized structure. The actualization of latent structure to realized structure is to give the underlying cognitively determined type a concrete form.[7]

From this view, the latent structure is a universal grammar shared by all users of language everywhere. The realized structure is the particular grammar and speech patterns of a language which differentiates it from every other language.

2.2 Learning a Language as a Child

However Baby starts to learn, before long his rudimentary skill is instrumental, for it becomes the principal means by which he learns to get attention. As Baby continues to explore his limited environment, he moves to the stage where he associates names with important people, and with objects and with the observable physical activity which characterizes them.

Baby approaches the borders of language when he begins to develop the skill of naming things. A child of one of the authors, for example, learned "milk" as one of its first words. It was "milk" because it sounded (to fond and not overly-critical parents) like "milk" although the only sound which was anywhere nearly the "same" as our pronunciation of "milk" was the [m]. The [k] of her pronunciation was inaudible, and the rest of the word was a vowel not really identifiable with any vowel of our dialect of English. However, we knew it meant "milk" because of the way Baby associated it with milk by pointing, by the way she was satisfied when milk was produced after she had repeated the word demandingly, etc.

But Baby's word did not mean what we mean by milk, for she would also point to water and to orange juice and say "milk." Her behavior was very much

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[7]Lenneberg 1967:375-376

like all babies at this stage. Their labels often cover wide areas of meaning which adults discriminate more finely. Later on Baby learned to distinguish "milk" from "water" from "orange juice," etc. [8]

Babies differ in the number of expressions they collect at this stage. Some of these expressions may seem to Mama like they are whole sentences, yet for Baby they may only be labels or signals. They are sound "gestalts" or total configurations which Baby associates with objects or experiences in the real world around him. As such they are not yet really language; they are not yet structured as language is.

But then rather suddenly a new kind of structure may begin to replace these signals: sentences of a primitive kind begin, and this marks the beginning of Baby's grammatical competence--or should we now say Junior's? Language has started, even though it is a crude beginning. Words become differentiated into groups which are analogous to what the adult calls "parts of speech." One kind of contrast in grouping seems to show a developing distinction between labels-- names of things, and a smaller group of words which go with the labels.

Table 1 is one researcher's partial list of the two classes:

A	B
allgone	boy
byebye	sock
big	boat
more	fan
pretty	milk
my	plane
see	shoe
night-night	vitamins
hi	hot
	Mommy
	Daddy
	etc.

Table 1. One Baby's beginning grammar, consisting of two classes of words. Class B consists of the labels, and class A the words which go with the labels. Any word in class A may go with any word in class B. [9]

Whether or not Junior--all Juniors everywhere, in all languages--starts by distinguishing two classes as some researchers imply is unimportant for our

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[8] From another point of view, Baby's behavior was not all that different from that of adults. Languages do classify things differently, and in Thai 'milk,' 'water,' and 'orange juice' would all be grouped together as naam, and distinguished by telling the source: 'water,' 'orange water,' and 'breast water.'

[9] After McNeill 1966:22, interpreting Braine 1963.

purposes. The significant fact is that at some point Junior begins to develop a grammatical system.

At this point words are grammatically differentiated, and word order ceases to be random. At the early stages, however, Junior's grammar is still unlike the grammar of adults who speak the language which he is learning. In fact, an adult can tell the approximate age of the child by the way in which he uses the language. Extremely interesting, for example, is the fact that some of the words heard most frequently by Junior show up in his speech rather late in its development: the, a, is, will. [10]

-From this point on, in an incredibly short period of time, Junior's crude initial pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary are transformed into full-fledged language. The many assorted linguistic stimuli to which Baby and Junior have been subjected are now sorted out, ordered into a grammatical system which is so involved that research linguists working on it for generations have only scratched the surface of its complexity. Furthermore, Junior is actually putting the language to use—he has learned it so thoroughly that he uses it with great facility. In fact, it begins to grip him so deeply as to influence his perception, his logic, his relationships with people, all his life. Before he is six years old Junior has somehow "reconstructed for himself the theory of his language," internalized a grammatical system on the order of a predictive scientific theory, and of a complexity far greater than that of any typical scientific theory constructed by adult geniuses. [11]

During his first years Junior spends a fantastic amount of time and energy in language "study," and by his fifth year has acquired a powerful tool by which he makes his needs known, expresses his feelings, threatens his parents, and tells family secrets to the neighbors. During the early period, he must learn to make many fine distinctions. He must differentiate between cat and cats, house and houses, table and tables, etc. If English is his language he may even apply this principle in saying things like sheeps, mans, mouses, but such mistakes are ultimately corrected as learning proceeds, and as Junior senses that other people do not normally use these forms.

Furthermore, at this stage he observes differences and even conflicts in those he imitates. The kids say, "He done it," so that is what Junior says, at least until his parents and teachers assume the responsibility for coaching him in the standards of their community. Yet even then Junior continues to hear "He done it," so it is difficult for him to change his habits. On the other hand, to remember that mice is preferable to mouses comes rather easily for him, for mouses does not get much reinforcement from the behavior of people around him. We find Junior, then, acquiring and changing the overt manifestations of his own linguistic system on the basis of the speech traits of others around him.

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[10] Lenneberg 1964:598

[11] Lees 1957:408

During his early years, Junior spends a good bit of time talking to himself. Although an adult may not attach any particular significance to this, such behavior apparently provides the manipulation and repetition necessary to deepen the "grooves" of habit in his maturing linguistic system.

Normal children develop near-perfect control of all sound distinctions important in their mother tongue by their fifth year, and those who may retain certain imperfections usually correct them before they are seven. Furthermore, by the time Junior is five he has learned the vast majority of grammatical patterns, although he will continue to refine them so as to string phrases and clauses together in many more subtle distinctions. [12] Finally, by the end of his fifth year he has learned several thousand words of very high frequency in everyday speech.

Thus far in our discussion, "Junior" could be virtually any child in the world with normal intelligence, with or without formal education, whether or not his community has a school. By processes which are doubtless identical the young Nuer of Sudan learns Nuer and the young American learns English. It is as natural for "Junior in Sudan" to tell his friends that there is a crocodile in the river as it is for "Junior in America" to tell his friends that there is a dead mouse in their garage.

What then does formal education have to do with the learning of one's mother tongue? During his first five or so years Junior confronts his experiences in a rather fragmented and haphazard way, but in school the handling of some information is carried out in a somewhat more orderly fashion. School days bring up for discussion a new range of topics along with thousands of new words. Even here only in rare instances does Junior take conscious and deliberate steps to study the formal definition of a new word. Rather, he simply learns it by hearing it in repeated contexts in regular association with objects and ideas that are already familiar to him.

Undoubtedly school has an enormous number of effects on Junior's language acquisition which we do not as yet even suspect. Doubtless it contributes to the shift from childhood learning of vocabulary in the context of visual-motor activity to adult learning, much of which is in a verbal context. [13] Junior's school day, then, is important in language learning because it provides him with many new experiences; the emphasis is on learning content, more than on structural features --the grammar--of his mother tongue. Under the influence of effective teachers, however, he also concentrates on improving his style, on the use of more vivid imagery and on a sharper sense of appropriateness.

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[12] Ervin-Tripp 1968:2

[13] Ervin-Tripp 1968:2

In some societies some people would say that language learning begins when one learns to read, write and spell. But, from another point of view, in such secondary activities he is learning to freeze speech with visual symbols. [14] Furthermore, such people might also say that language learning is mainly a matter of correcting mistakes, but when Junior finally learns to say "He doesn't," instead of "He don't" he is learning another (less common) variant detail of English, not English as opposed to some other language.

When Junior learns to talk about "intestines" instead of "guts" he is learning a variation of still another kind, that some words are appropriate to certain social situations and for certain emotional effects but others are not. Finally, when he learns to call some words "nouns" and others "verbs," some constructions "subjects" and others "predicates," he is learning to analyze his language in the culturally approved way. Learning about one's mother tongue may be a useful exercise, but it should not be confused with learning that tongue as a language.

There is a real sense in which one's acquisition of his mother tongue never ceases, for even in old age we find innovations cropping up in nearly everyone's speech. Furthermore, even those who move to new communities later in life may take on aspects of the local dialect with its special features of pronuncation or grammar.

2.3 Bilingual Children

Millions of children in their pre-teen years learn more than one language, and they do so whenever interaction in their community requires it. Some children speak only language A to their father and only language B to their mother. Some children of white Americans in Asia speak only English to every Caucasian they meet, and only an Asian language to every brown-skinned person they meet. They may refuse to speak the Asian language to parents or English to the Asian. Some children talk about fishing in one language and arithmetic or history in another, simply because they use one language at school and another in the home.

The way that Baby begins to learn his initial vocabulary, and that Junior develops his language or languages is a once-in-a-lifetime proposition. If four languages are sufficiently important in Junior's environment during his 2-5 years, he will learn all four of them, and apparently the same innate maturational factors will be at work in all of them.

Once Junior reaches the age of five or six years, when his language competence (his ability to handle the grammar of his native language) is already highly developed, any new language he encounters will be learned on a somewhat different basis from that of his first language. When Junior starts in on this new language there will be signs of interference from his first language. He will briefly

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[14] This statement is a considerable oversimplification. Written language does differ from spoken language in important ways, and both may be looked upon as manifestations of language in different forms. See Chapters 20 and 22.

have an "accent" because he tends to use the sound system of his native tongue. Some of his mistakes in grammar will be the substitution of the grammar of his mother tongue for the grammar of the second language.

Yet through the younger years of childhood, Junior's ability to learn a new language quickly, without belabored effort, remains high. Within a few weeks or months of moving to and interacting with a new community he is using its language. Accent and grammatical mistakes quickly disappear. The innate maturational factor which was at work in making it possible for him to learn his first language is clearly still at work. In fact, he learns the subsequent languages much faster than the earlier ones, given the same amount of exposure. How much the increased speed is due to transferring what he learned from one language to another, and how much is due to the fact that much of the time spent on the first language was spent as an immature baby we do not know. [15]

Bilingualism among children differs somewhat from individual to individual, however.[16] If a child grows up in a situation where he learns two different languages at the same time in the same environment, with equivalent opportunity for use, the kind of bilingualism which he develops is different in important psychological ways from bilingualism in the child who learns his second language in school, or in some other environment where it is not naturally and habitually used.

In the former case the two languages show remarkable independence in the child's use (independent bilingualism). The skill shown by the children in keeping them apart may be unbelievable to anyone who has not had the same experience. The child thinks in one language when he speaks in it, and thinks in the other when he speaks in that. [17] Yet, psychologically these are not so much different languages to the individual, but the same general language ability with two very different ways of being expressed under different circumstances. Just as the same telegraph key can be hooked up either to a light or a buzzer, so the same generalized language can be psychologically hooked up with two "outputs," producing French under certain circumstances and English under others. [18]

Children who grow up with only partial exposure to either language, but who learn them under normal circumstances of communication will have partially interdependent bilingualism. Some pronunciation and grammatical habits may show the characteristics of independent bilingualism, but vocabulary in either language

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[15]Ervin-Tripp 1968:13

[16]Different kinds of bilingualism and the effects of bilingualism on people are discussed in a variety of sources. See, for example, Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1956, Ervin and Osgood 1954, Jakobovits 1968a, Fishman 1966, with their many bibliographic references.

[17]Fishman 1966:128

[18]Weinreich 1953:8-9; Ervin and Osgood 1954.

may be undeveloped, for example, because some subjects are communicated only in one or the other language. This is so when people think about politics in one language but science in another, for example.

On the other hand, children who learn a second language through only occasional contacts (like children whose parents live in the second language community, but who go to boarding school in the first language community), usually develop dependent bilingualism. Their use of the second language may be to a large degree mediated by the first; they think in their mother tongue, substituting second language vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar more or less correctly.

Suppose, for example, that a very young Filipino child should spend the daytime hours almost exclusively with his Ilocano-speaking paternal grandmother, while his bilingual father (Ilocano-Tagalog) and monolingual mother (Tagalog) were off to work. Mother and Dad normally use Tagalog to speak to Baby and to one another, and Dad keeps Grandma informed by speaking Ilocano to her, although Mother can make herself understood in Ilocano if it is necessary to talk to Grandma. In such a situation, the determining factor in the child's bilingualism might well be his peer group.

Suppose, also, that the family were living in a predominantly Ilocano-speaking community, so that the child's peers used it more than Tagalog. In such a situation, if it were to continue for four or five years, chances are good that the child would become an independent bilingual (equally at home in both languages which are psychologically fused). If, on the other hand, his peers were mostly Tagalog-speaking, he might develop interdependent bilingualism in Ilocano and Tagalog, with Tagalog predominating because his peers give him wider experience than his grandmother. If, on the other hand, a child should encounter a second language after the basic structure of his first language has matured, the second will apparently always show some traces of dependence and imperfect learning.

Furthermore, it is evident that a second language is not acquired just because it is heard in the individual's environment, but because it is needed for communication and interaction. If one needs to identify with two linguistic communities, he has the capacity for doing so, but without the need for the second language, it may not be acquired.

2.4 Learning Another Language as an Adult

2.41 For the adult, becoming bilingual differs in important respects from the childhood processes we have been describing. Learning a mother tongue or even several mother tongues is an irreversible process. After the first few years the conditions which make it possible for the small child to learn the almost unbelievable complexities of a language in three or four years time are no longer present.

We do not know precisely how to account for the change that takes place. As functional localization of skills in the brain develops, earlier plasticity tends

to disappear.[19] As puberty approaches and the individual is concerned with the consolidation of his personality, it apparently becomes more difficult for him to submit to the new norms, which a second language requires. As an individual's dependence on others gives way to his own independence in satisfying needs, there seems to be less pull toward the internalization of the new norms required by a second language. Furthermore, after some years of education, attention is drawn to the content of language, rather than its formal systems, its sound structure, grammar, and semantic (meaning) structure, so that his natural tendency is to place more attention on the content of a second language than on its form.[20] Thus bilingualism which begins during adolescence is always partial and relatively slow.

The adult then faces the problem of learning another language with some relatively serious handicaps. He does not have time to babble endlessly. Nor does he have a "clean slate" on which to record his observations and impressions about verbal behavior.[21] Furthermore, no one will surround him with the love and care of childhood, nor will people patiently repeat simple phrases hundreds of times.[22]

More seriously perhaps, the adult may feel self-conscious as he hears himself sounding like a "foreigner." He may be reluctant to make even the slightest mistake lest he mar the finish on his self-image. Yet paradoxically, he may then become well-satisfied if he can make himself understood even with badly formed sentences, and if even his fumbling attempts to speak are positively reinforced, there may be little incentive to strive for perfection. There is an extraordinary amount of "simplified," reduced, even babyish character to the second language usages of enormous numbers of bilinguals.[23]

The adult cannot dismiss the whole set of habits which has been developed in the learning of his first language, nor will they just go away by themselves.

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[19]Note Shankweiller and Studdert-Kennedy 1967 and Kimura 1961 for some interesting insights into the way in which the brain changes during adolescence and its possible effect on language acquisition. Special thanks are due Sue Huston, Northwestern University, for her suggestions on this point in an informal conversation at a Peace Corps Consultation, Estes Park, Colorado, May, 1968.

[20]Ervin-Tripp 1968:1

[21]Actually, the infant probably does not have a "clean slate" either. So far as the adoption of characteristic differences between languages is concerned, it may be clean, but there are important psychological predispositions as to the very nature of language. The adult probably benefits considerably from some of these as he learns a second language well.

[22]For an interesting discussion of the generation gap in language acquisition, see Langacker 1967. Also see Lambert 1963, 1967; Lambert et al. 1963.

[23]Ervin-Tripp 1968:10

Neither can he ignore his prior experiences, such as the ghosts of failure in a high school or college language course.

Psychologically, and from the standpoint of learning theory, the adult's task is therefore very different from that of the child. But not entirely different. Perhaps an enormous amount of Junior's learning took place through practice, through habit formation (learning to say isn't or ain't as the case may be, learning to curl his tongue or hump it for an [r], and thousands of other habits). The adult cannot recapture the child's developmental cycle, but he can learn through other less natural means.

There is a factor in adult learning, furthermore, which is weakly reminiscent of the child's fantastic capacity to absorb language. An adult may practice a new language for a long time, and find it hard to remember and to use what he is trying to learn. Then all at once he finds that whole chunks of the language are suddenly natural to him. He also finds that he learns some things quite easily by the same kind of big leap. Disparate bits and pieces all of a sudden fit together and are internalized.[24]

The child's maturation in language reached a point which could be referred to as "linguistic puberty."[25] Before this time the child had not completed his normal language-learning cycle, and learned whatever languages he was sufficiently exposed to in normal contacts. He may, however, have acquired only a very imperfect knowledge of a second language in school, no matter how many years of "conscious effort" he put into it. The adult, however, who has passed this linguistic puberty, through conscious effort may acquire a very fine command of a second language, but may in some cases gain only a contaminated, imperfect knowledge from contact with much the same natural situations in which the child learned so easily.[26]

2.42 The adult who learns a new language is never capable of the full kind of independent bilingualism which the child can achieve, but the distinction between bilingualism which is interdependent and that which is dependent is nevertheless pertinent for him also. The adult who learns his new language in the environment in which it is spoken, and for whom active communication in the language is very significant, goes through a number of different stages of development. At first he tries to identify everything he learns in the new language with what is already familiar in his mother tongue (Chapter 8). Sounds, grammatical constructions, words, in the two languages are assumed to be the same in some ways. Direct identifications are made. This is dependent bilingualism.

But then increasing discrimination creeps in. The learner becomes more and more aware of differences. The gap between the two languages widens psychologically, although this identification of the two may continue in many particulars where the differences have not been noticed. The learner becomes

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[24] Pike 1960

[25] Wolfe 1967:174

[26] Carroll 1966:116

linguistically schizophrenic. When he changes from English to French, psychologically he moves himself from one category of communication to another. He is conscious of which language he is using and of observing the differences between them.

Gradually, however, in some respects an independence begins to take place for the adult if his bilingualism deepens. He listens to somebody talking and suddenly he is conscious of the fact that he wasn't aware of which language the speaker was using; he just remembers what was said. Furthermore, his mother-tongue vocabulary now has a different "flavor." There are elements of meaning in his mother tongue which he shares with speakers of the new language, not with the usual run of speakers of his own mother tongue. They come from the new community and new experience. Words like rice, lane, canal, taxi, construction, government, election, king, religion, take on a Thai cast to an American who begins to fuse some use of Thai with his English. The mother tongue will be dominant, sometimes overwhelmingly so, but not completely.[27] But the adult is reaching interdependent bilingualism, not truly independent bilingualism. He finds it easier to talk about Western science in English than in Hindi, but about Eastern religion in Hindi rather than in English. Nor will he be consistent. One of the authors had the experience of "thinking" in French for several months while in French-speaking Africa, only to find that it was impossible to do so when he reached his home in New York.

2.43. The typical adult needs to capitalize on all the resources he can to strengthen his language learning. Many adults simply excuse themselves from any attempt to learn another language by claiming that they "have no aptitude" for languages. Yet if such persons understood the nature of aptitude a bit better and were aware of what persons with very low aptitude can do, perhaps they could be stimulated to achieve.

For example, one learner had scored in the fifth percentile on the Modern Language Aptitude Test.[28] He gave other evidence of being deficient in aptitude. Yet this man was highly motivated, unwilling to stop short of functional bilingualism. On the strength of his motivation and the manner in which he utilized his opportunity he reached his goal. His low aptitude always exerted a drag, yet he put forth the necessary effort to compensate for it.

Aptitude seems to involve a few basic faculties. No person can use a language without developing the capacity to store thousands, or perhaps even millions, of pieces of information in his brain. Nor can one learn even his mother tongue naturally without some ability to hear and reproduce accurately. Those who do this easily have a great edge in language learning. Aptitude also seems to involve the ability to reason inductively, deductively and analogically. A person cannot possibly memorize everything that he wants to say, so he has to be inventive, to make up new things to say on the spot. Those who do this easily and in a wide variety of situations seem to develop fluency more readily than others.

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[27]Jakobovits 1968a; Ritchie 1967:127-128

[28]Carroll and Sapon 1959

Closely related to this faculty is the ability to make associations, between sets of words and between closely related concepts and the labels by which we identify them. This capacity is perhaps the most crucial, and those with ability to do this have a decided jump on those who are weaker in these respects.

Experience affects aptitude. Each language learned as an adult tends to make the next one that much easier in some ways. If the two languages have significant similarities, the learning load may be considerably lightened, yet even when they are as different as, say, French and Kikongo, the transfer has value.[29] Sometimes, to be sure, a third language may interfere with one's performance in the second, especially when neither has been mastered adequately, or when the two languages are so similar as to be virtually mutually intelligible, as is often the case with Spanish and Portuguese. On the whole, however, with successive languages transfer value begins to multiply. The experience gained in learning one normally contributes to the learning of others more easily.

Other kinds of experience, furthermore, may be very important for adult language learners. The value of residence abroad, of cordial associations with people of other cultures, of broad appreciation for human dignity and worth may be hard to measure, yet they do help to set the tone for language study.

Exposure to such disciplines as cultural anthropology and linguistics may have positive effects on the learner's attitudes and approach to language study. In fact, that is why this book seeks to provide some background experience by showing what is involved in the acquisition of a second language.

A little-understood factor which has a great deal to do with a learner's language aptitude is his psychological reaction to childhood language trauma. It is very possible for an individual to be emotionally disturbed over language problems and to reject new languages because of them.

A bright, vivacious, outgoing and communicative wife of an anthropologist found herself physically gagging over sounds in an Asian language which she was trying to learn. When one of the authors was helping her, she was startled when he asked, as a shot in the dark, "What was your father's attitude toward language?" She admitted that she had never dared read aloud in her father's presence until she was an adult because he had developed a beautiful reading style and was very proud of it. The sounds which she was now trying to make were harsh things, by her father's standards, and her whole emotional system rejected them.

Part of the American melting-pot psychology was to reject the language of the parents, and to reject their imperfect English. Second generation Americans

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[29]High school and college courses, studied outside a context of meaningful communication, such as are offered traditionally in the United States, may carry little such advantage, of course, unless the language later studied in the field is the same.

often worked hard to get "correct" English and anything else was a threat. This rejection, this sense of threat, sometimes carries over into the learning of some other language than English, or the speaking of it in anything less than a perfect way.[30] The learner has to murder the language, however, before he can master it. Recognition of the problem, and dealing with it, may strengthen aptitude.

   2.44 The adult is mature, can think abstractly, and can see analogies more readily than the child. If he learns to harness such powers, this can significantly increase his overall level of performance. On the other hand, his very inclination toward analysis may constitute a threat to his ultimate success, for he may simply be content to learn about the language rather than practicing its use.

   A background in phonetics may be an especially significant experience for the prospective language learner, for language study must always begin with the retraining of one's hearing and production of sounds. The linguistic institutes for which this book was designed provide a minimally brief but intensive period of training both in phonetics and in the techniques of do-it-yourself language study. The various schools operated by the Summer Institute of Linguistics offer extensive study in linguistics for those who have to devise writing systems for unwritten languages or to analyze grammatical systems with a view toward translation work. Many universities also offer work in linguistics, with or without a course in the practical phonetics of languages.

   Yet while this previous experience and formal education are very important to every language learner, it is essential for him to realize that the world is running over with bilinguals who may have scarcely seen a pencil, much less used one for learning another language. Basically, if a person needs and sincerely wants to learn the language of a new community in which he lives, he will be able to do it, whether young or old, with or without a formal program of study. The quality of his language use is not so fully predictable.

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[30]Nida 1958:7

Chapter Three

Learning in a New Community

A typical couple had unusually good aptitude for learning a language, and from every indication had strong motivation, yet they failed rather completely in their attempt to become bilingual when they moved overseas. Moving into a community where another language was used did not mean that they would automatically learn it.

The couple was assigned to Cebu City, Philippines, a medium-sized trilingual city, where in one block during midday one would constantly hear two major languages of the country, and often English. They were assigned to tasks which involved them in interaction with the community's English speakers almost exclusively. That is, they were able to meet the demands of their sponsoring agency[1] without becoming proficient in either of the two local languages. In this assignment they really felt little need for proficiency in a second language.

Social life, likewise, was restricted to those who could speak English, whether native speakers, expatriates, or local people educated in English. Normal business dealings were with shopkeepers and others who knew some English. Because there were many such people in Cebu City pressure for learning Cebuano did not come from such ordinary life contacts. Their home, furthermore, was set in a compound where English was the dominant language. It was easier not to learn Cebuano.

In Cebu City the community itself placed no special demands on North Americans to learn Cebuano. In fact, to hear an American speak one of the local languages fluently was somewhat unusual. The community had itself adapted to Western aliens rather than requiring aliens to adapt. If aliens are to be something other than displaced and disoriented people, they must learn to become genuine participants in some meaningful local community. If the English-speaking community is a meaningful local community for them, they do not need to learn Cebuano. If it is not, they do.

3.1 Communities and Aliens

The relationship which often exists between communities and the aliens within them is often one of suspicious tolerance on the part of the community and a frustrated sense of exclusion on the part of the alien. Communities tolerate aliens because of their economic value, or because of their sponsor, or because of international agreements, or because they do not want to be unkind. If the aliens are Westerners they are usually received with a veneer of polite hospitality, even superficial cordiality.

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[1]By sponsor we refer to the many organizations which send people overseas these days: business, government agencies, educational institutions, foundations, religious groups, etc., as well as to the local institutions which may direct their orientation and work.

But until the individual alien wins his own way, he stands outside of the communication networks of the community. He may learn the language, which makes it immeasurably easier to plug into the communication system, but that does not insure that he does plug in. He may talk, and people may respond, but he may have absolutely no effect on decision-making.

There are good reasons for the shallowness of communication, of course. Alien and member of the local community have different assumptions, different points of view. The alien's ideas were formed in his own cultural setting (Chapter 1), and until he learns to reform them in ways relevant to the new setting they may be pretty much beside the point. The alien may feel under compulsion to prove his competence in the roles which he sees himself playing in the new community, and may begin offering ideas before it is ready to receive them. The Western alien, because he is a Westerner, may be accorded a status in the new community which is all out of proportion to his natural abilities. He is therefore allowed the status, but what he has to say may be ignored.

So, the community may develop a pattern for ignoring aliens who want to communicate on technical or religious or political matters. The treatment may be deceptively polite, but very effective. More and more the alien senses that he is not getting through, and when this happens, he can only withdraw into his own circle of fellow-aliens, or spend more time with employees paid to pay attention to him, or find some identity with disgruntled local people who are themselves outside the local decision-making apparatus, or other people who will at least pretend to listen.

So the learner, during his period of language study, must set about deliberately to open means of communication into the new community. This involves learning something of the cultural perspective of the community (Chapter 4) and adopting a new "family." The only way of beginning really meaningful communication requires meaningful personal relationships (Chapter 6). In this way it is the community itself which ultimately makes it possible for the alien to be de-alienated. But the community does not yield easily.

3.2 Multilingual Communities

Many factors make the alien's community identification difficult. The metropolitan centers of the modern world are not uniform communities, but highly heterogeneous. One of the problems is multilingualism.

Singapore, for example, is a country of two million people on a not-so-large island flanked by other smaller islands. It has four official languages: Mandarin (one of the Chinese languages), Malay (the language of Malaysia to the north and Indonesia to the south), Tamil (a language of southern India), and English (the language of the former colonizers, but also the language which provides a gateway to science, technology, and the rest of the world beyond Southeast Asia). One of these languages, Malay, is designated the national language. It is the language which everyone is supposed to learn, but is in fact a minority language in the country. The language spoken by the largest group of inhabitants as their native language is none of these official languages, but Hokkien (another Chinese language, not mutually intelligible with Mandarin).

There are two separate school systems in Singapore, running from the lowest primary levels through university. In one of them the medium of instruction is Mandarin, and in the other English. The Mandarin-educated and the English-educated people (almost all of them Chinese in background) form two rather sharply distinct groups, socially and economically.

A typical educated citizen of Singapore speaks Hokkien, Mandarin and English. If he was educated in Mandarin-medium schools his English is the weakest of these languages, and may not really be functional. If he was educated in English-medium schools, his Mandarin may be the weakest of these. The strength of his Hokkien will often depend on whether it is used much in the home or not. What languages the alien should learn is clearly related to the roles he wants to have and the associations he wants to make.

The feelings which people have for their official language or languages are not always apparent to outsiders, nor for that matter even to representatives of linguistic minorities within their country. It is well known that many speakers of Cebuano, in the Philippines, resent the fact that Tagalog was chosen as the basis for the national language. When an early wave of Peace Corp Volunteers studied Tagalog, for example, and then went to the Visayan Islands, where Cebuano is spoken, some leaders commented on the apparent lack of wisdom in the decision. Would not the volunteers be rejected if they spoke Tagalog in these Visayan regions in view of intense antagonism over the choice of Tagalog as national language? When the volunteers spoke Tagalog to Visayans, however, they were often met with an enthusiastic, "Oh, you know how to speak our national language!" The Visayans took it as a compliment when outsiders learned any one of their country's official languages. When it came to inter-linguistic rivalries they were Cebuano-speaking. When it came to relations with aliens, they were Filipinos.

In countries like Japan, on the other hand, such problems hardly exist, for not only is there only one official language, but it is also indigenous to Japan. In some countries of Africa, where the official language is strongly identified with a colonial past, the very fact that the newcomer learns it instead of a local language may have many hidden meanings for the citizenry.

In Taiwan one finds Mandarin, Taiwanese and Japanese, not to mention the ten or more languages of the Austronesian settlers living in the mountains. An alien can hardly learn one of the minority hill languages without this act being misunderstood by the Mandarin or Taiwanese, yet the very choice will determine the very nature and extent of the alien's contact with the hill people, and so far as they are concerned to speak only Mandarin will serve to identify him with the prestige group for good or ill.

Solutions to such problems of choice of community and choice of languages may lie beyond the learner's immediate control. However, the importance of awareness of the implications of language identification cannot be overemphasized.

3.3 Community Roles and Responsibilities

Communities affect language learning for the alien by the roles they assign him. Whether or not he is aware of it, the alien is automatically classified by

the permanent residents of his new community and expected to behave according to preconceived patterns ascribed to different kinds of aliens. The alien may consider himself a middle class person, only to find that the residents of the community give him some other status, probably wealthy, perhaps prestigious, often suspect. The elite status granted Westerners by many societies may be so pleasant as to help stifle any desire to have more contact with non-Westernized local population.[2]

The learner enters the community prepared to act out certain professional roles in accustomed ways, only to find that citizens act out similar roles in different ways, or perhaps have no comparable positions in their own community. Often such expectations involve verbal behavior, and in some communities residents may be surprised if the alien fails to communicate in their tongue. In other communities they are surprised if he does.

The alien may genuinely want to learn to play his role in a natural and helpful manner in the new community. He may seek to establish rapport with people of equivalent training, to gain their friendship and learn his place from them. Many such an alien has soon retreated in bewilderment and frustration into the circle of his fellow-countrymen. The shared professional interest was not enough to bridge the gap, and the alien felt all kinds of unfamiliar forces at work in the role played by his counterpart. There may be implicit relationships between professions and politics or religion. The domestic counterpart may be involved in an elaborate web of kinship relationships, and decisions which the alien makes on professional grounds may be made locally on some other basis. Or, in other countries professional roles may be structured in terms of social hierarchies which seem to the alien to be entirely irrelevant.[3] Someone is director of the school or hospital because he is a prince, or a relative of the Prime Minister, even though he has no professional qualifications whatsoever.

Where two or more languages are in current use in a given community, it may be that one of them is normally associated with a given set of activities, so that local residents build up some pattern of expectation regarding the function of each of the languages in their community. English may be used for government and economic activity, and Christian missionaries who use English may unknowingly lead local residents to see some relationship between political or economic affairs and Christianity. On the other hand, if it is apparent to the local residents that the Christian missionaries are presenting information of a religious kind, and if religious activity is regularly carried out in the indigenous language, some considerable confusion may arise until the local residents build up new expectancies.

The expatriate community likewise has its own preexisting set of roles from which the new learner may not be able to fully extricate himself even if he wants to do so. He may find that he likes these roles better and better as time

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[2] Reyburn 1968

[3] Reyburn 1968:253

goes on, however, and that fitting into them removes him more and more from fruitful language learning. The roles of boss, advisor, representative of a powerful sponsor, agent of culture change, missionary, are not very endearing ones in many countries, although many individuals have overcome the limitations of role stereotype to become individual friends of local people.

Very often there is an element of newness in the roles which Americans play in other countries. Playing these roles in English may be simply interpreted as part of the novelty.

The performance of any role carries with it varying demands for language proficiency, and it is important both for sponsor and learner to assess the nature and extent of these demands. Some demands will be realistic and some will not. Some will even be self-defeating, as when the domestic assumes that the alien cannot and should not learn his language, but is delighted when the alien finally does.

Western aliens play a wide variety of roles, some of which, it is said, do not require functional bilingualism. Such roles as workers in international schools for the expatriate community, office staff, and many technical positions can be performed without really becoming part of a new community.

In many countries, however, even these roles require that the alien engage in casual everyday conversation with local people on a wide range of topics in a variety of situations. He has to live, has to get along. Then as he learns how to perform utilitarian tasks through the new language, he sometimes becomes a naturalized member of the community, and his role relationships broaden.

These "normal roles," however, do not require the linguistic competence which other roles may demand, for to fulfill more advanced roles the alien must be able to explain new ideas and concepts, to refine and equate his own concepts with others, to communicate relevantly in all sorts of unusual situations. Such "innovator" roles, in turn, do not demand the kind of proficiency required by the language "specialist" such as that of translator, author, editor or literacy worker. Here verbal behavior is in constant focus, and choice of style and awareness of options are continual concerns. It is quite unreasonable to expect persons of equal aptitude, motivation and opportunity to be as successful in the specialist role as in the normal member roles.[4]

Sponsors who expect their workers to learn a second language should see to it that they have opportunity to use the language in their work in meaningful ways, and should encourage further development through their employment. Individuals should not be moved about from assignment to assignment, leaving a trail of frustrating starts in language learning without the encouragement of the success of functional communication. Demands that a learner start learning a third language may be unfair before the learner has had an opportunity to become functionally bilingual in the second.

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[4] For a fuller discussion of this matter of assignment see Barney and Larson 1967.

Our basic point is that the community defines the roles which are to be played and communication systems which are to be used in playing them. If an individual or his sponsor chooses to ignore these norms, then he must pay the consequences in terms of limiting his own objectives in some way, or else failing to reach them altogether. The individual or sponsor who determines that such roles call for any particular level of proficiency, without really understanding what is involved, may simply be mismanaging his resources when he fails to provide opportunity for language study.

3.4 The Learner's Setting in the Community

Residence overseas does not insure language contact. It is possible to be physically isolated from Hindi in New Delhi almost as much as in New York. A key factor in the development of proficiency is the location of the learner's home and the neighborhood in which he lives and works. All too often the overseas American is assigned to living quarters which are not conducive to language learning or to becoming part of a new community. He may have little or no voice in the matter, yet the decision may have as much to do with the effectiveness of language study as his language course itself.

The European area of a large oriental city, or for that matter the "compound," is usually a miserable place for language acquisition because of the natural tendency to want to be with "one's own." Linguistic isolation is easier to find and maintain nowadays in the big city than in smaller towns and villages. In the old days pioneers found it difficult to hide behind wide lawns and high walls, and their servants and immediate associates were often monolingual.

Sponsors and long-time Western residents may deliberately seek to keep their employees and colleagues from "native" contacts, providing housing and clubs which guarantee social isolation. This is particularly true of such sponsors as business and government. The relative degree of prestige for some businesses may be measured by the opulence with which its upper-echelon staff is housed and the social isolation maintained. Business and social worlds are all focused on the small group of expatriates who live this insulated existence.[5]

When the foreigner had to walk from place to place or take public transportation, opportunity to hear and use the language was all about him. But the urban American at times seems to use a car to protect himself from contact with people --a culture trait which he developed very extensively at home.[6]

There are ways to salvage opportunity in a less-than-ideal living situation. The learner who is forced to live in isolation from the new community may compensate by spending as much time as possible with local residents, working with them, going with them on trips, learning some of their skills, and in other ways participating in the new community.

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[5] Reyburn 1968:252; Arensberg and Niehoff 1964

[6] Hall 1966:164

3.5 Communities and Opportunity for Learning

Opportunity is available in different degrees in different communities, and to different learners. Adequate time itself is perhaps the most crucial opportunity, for there is no way to learn a second language without devoting time to it, not just a good block of time each day but a rather significant segment out of the learner's life. In order to become fluent in the new language he will have to spend the bulk of his daily supply of creative energy in using the language for a period of months; otherwise it will be impossible for him to develop the necessary habits.

It is impractical to undertake language learning on a compartmentalized part-time, half-day basis if one expects to gain a deep and extensive ability to use it. The interval of eighteen to twenty hours between practice sessions allows the skills under development to slip out of focus, and the energy required each day to pull them back into one's attention is not being put to use efficiently.

For many people, short periods of high-intensity or total-immersion language training produce the best long-range results.[7] While programs of lower intensity often permit the individual to spend some time on the job each day, the long-term result is that he develops less over-all proficiency in the language unless the job itself requires extensive use of the language.

The setting in which learning activity actually takes place is also part of "opportunity." Personnel who guide the activity, teachers, program and content, the physical environment of study itself--facilities, classroom, light, fresh air --and all the related problems of transportation are involved in the efficient use of the learner's time and energy.

Language study programs vary widely in availability and quality. Many learners who use this book will find themselves in well-organized schools set up to teach the local language to foreigners. Other schools may generate extreme frustration, and the learner may waste huge amounts of time.

Still other learners will be in situations where no institutionalized learning is available at all. Rather, the individual may be given a few pages of typewritten material prepared by people without technical competence to guide language study. Others, again, will find themselves in situations where there are no language programs of any kind. They will have to do what they can and perhaps work with poorly trained and inexperienced tutors. They must find their way into the new community without guidance.

One language learner is typical of many who have never really penetrated the new community in spite of better-than-average aptitude and excellent opportunity to learn the language. Little by little after arriving in the new country he

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[7] The reader is directed to the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State and the Peace Corps for further details on such programs.

began to view himself as a kind of consultant to nationals--an administrator. His fundamental starchiness and perfectionism and the fact that he could not display his intellect and education in the simple content of a language school curriculum led him to seek ways to ease himself out of language learning responsibility. In other words, he abandoned his good opportunity to learn because he could not become a child again, in the sense that·a language program may require. Doubtless he felt more secure in maintaining his alien barriers. He held to his foreign adult norms rather than seeking childlike socialization into a new life.

Another learner with only normal aptitude and no chance for formal study whatever learned Japanese because she wanted to. Her longtime interest in art became a natural bridge toward building significant friendships with the women of her neighborhood. She picked up the language by bits and pieces through enormous amounts of time spent in informal unstructured situations as she learned some of the techniques of Japanese art. Her husband, on the other hand, with great aptitude and a good opportunity for formal training, did not learn Japanese because he did not want to learn it. She penetrated a segment of the new community. He did not.

Chapter Four

Learning Through Cultural Perspectives

No two people talk exactly alike, not even twins raised in the same family under almost identical circumstances; their mother and father can differentiate them by their voices alone. At the same time, all people everywhere have certain types of verbal behavior in common: their languages differentiate consonants and vowels; they have types of words analogous to English "pronouns," their sentences break down into clauses and smaller units of structure, etc. But between the two extremes of complete individuality and complete linguistic universality within humanity we find many layers of aggregates--groups of people with very nearly the same verbal habits.

Speakers of English, for example, belong to different aggregates so far as the pronunciation of the words merry, marry, Mary are concerned. Aggregate A, let us say, includes all those people who pronounce the three words alike; Aggregate B includes those who pronounce each word differently. Then there are aggregates made up of individuals who make two-way distinctions between the three words. One of the authors belongs to Aggregate A, and the other to B. Members of any one of these aggregates are likely to share other pronunciation characteristics as well, but no aggregate defined by one speech characteristic will be fully uniform with respect to others. Aggregates tend to cluster in specific geographic areas, specific socio-economic groups, or specific educational traditions.

Language is learned within aggregates or sets of aggregates; when an individual joins an aggregate as a child, he picks up most of its characteristics. If he joins it as an adult he may or may not pick them up.

Some behavior--like eating--is inherited, not learned. It is from the aggregate with which we associate, however, that we learn how and what to eat, when and where to eat. The capacity to learn a language is inherited; what language we learn depends on the aggregates with whom we associate. In certain respects, then, every man is like all other men, like some other men, like no other man.[1] With these categories we can distinguish six types of behavior in Figure 1.

	Learned Behavior	Inherited Behavior
Universal	Eating habits	Eating
Aggregate	Speaking the same language	Handedness (left or right)
Individual	Some facial expressions	Some voice characteristics

Figure 1.   Analysis of Behavior[2]

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[1] Kluckhohn and Murray 1957

[2] Oliver 1964:48-49.   Items within the boxes are examples of the six kinds of behavior.

We still do not know much about the dividing line between learned and inherited behavior, and it is rather difficult to distinguish between some inherited behavior as universal, aggregate or individual.

Insofar as our behavior is learned from our aggregates, then, if a man belongs to a Square Community he has square behavior, and if he belongs to a Round Community he has round behavior--with differences as great as those which separated Robinson Crusoe from Friday   (Figure 2).
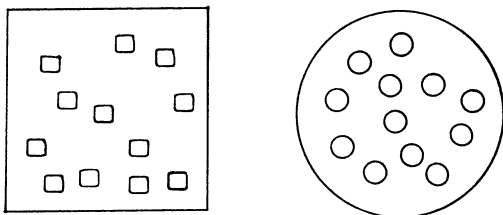
Figure 2. Small geometric figures represent individuals, larger ones the set of aggregates to which they belong: Square Community and Round Community. [3]

Members of Square Community all have some aggregates in common, and have learned to see the world from their own distinctive square vantage point; the same is true of Round Community--but from the round vantage point. At the same time, each has modes of behavior which are not uniformly square or uniformly round because Square Community and Round Community are themselves sets of aggregates. Robinson Crusoe was not identical with all Europeans or Friday with all "Savages," (to use Defoe's term).

There are thousands of kinds of aggregates all over the world: families, groups of age-mates playing together, hunting parties, work crews, societies, churches, schoolmates, members of a common social class. The ones most fundamental to developing the member's viewpoint are those which were strongest in childhood, and those with which he identifies most strongly as an adult.

Much of the behavior learned from aggregates and the culture which gives it structure and meaning (also learned from aggregates) is so deep-seated that the individual may be completely unconscious of it. Even our perception of the world around us is affected.[4] Hall goes so far as to say that people of different cultures "inhabit different sensory worlds,"[5] and his development of this theme is a fascinating study indeed.

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[3] After Nida 1960:33-61

[4] Segall, Campbell and Herskovitz 1966

[5] Hall 1966:2

4.1 Reactions of Aliens

4.11 What happens when we confront another individual for the first time? First of all, at those points where our individual experience and point of view has found people to be the same, we tend to <u>assume</u> sameness although we <u>notice</u> difference. However, where our experience or the point of view of our aggregate leads us to find differences we will tend to assume differences which are not there. Thus when an American meets someone on the streets of New Haven, Connecticut he assumes the stranger speaks English, and notices his "foreign accent" if he has one. A white American assumes that every Black American will use Black English of some form, and notices when he does not.

This initial impression of sameness and difference is subject to correction as we get to know one another. A probe beneath the surface may uncover similarities where differences were first noted, or we may find genuine differences which were overlooked at first.

The habit of noticing differences seems to be a universal one. Its overall effect, of course, is to make us acutely aware of others and conversely of our own membership in aggregates, where we may safely assume that fellow-members are just like us.

The differences which we notice, however, are often just symptoms of underlying differences of viewpoint which we do not suspect at all. We assume the underlying viewpoint to be the same. We see a Buddhist priest going from house to house in Bangkok collecting his food for the day. This, from our experience we call "begging," and associate his motives with those which we ascribe to beggars. Actually in his system of thought, he is doing the giver of the food a great service in making it possible for her to gain religious merit.

We have earlier referred to "members" of groups as "domestics"--their perspective is the <u>domestic</u> perspective. The group to which they belong "tames" or "domesticates" them to its particular ways   (Chapter 1).

Thus, when someone leaves home--Square community, for example--and takes up residence in Round community, it is clear, first of all, that he brings his Square perspective with him, so that once settled in Round community, everything is seen through a square grid.

It is apparent, however, that what Robinson Crusoe <u>notices</u> about Friday are those things which are different from Square community, or from his Square expectation of Round community (what people like him in his time thought "savages" were like). Friday doesn't wear clothes, doesn't like salt, puts his head on the sand to express fealty, etc. What he does not notice as different he assumes to be the same, which is often a false assumption. This is harder to illustrate because when something is unnoticed it goes unmentioned. Friday's kinship system, for example, would have been very different from Robinson Crusoe's.

4.12 Aggregates of Squares living as aliens in Round community have their ways of preserving Squareness. Expatriates in Africa spend long hours decrying

"tribalism" as a barrier to African development, but as they do so it is primarily as Englishmen in a group of Englishmen or Frenchmen in a group of Frenchmen or Americans in a group of Americans. The fact that a kind of Western tribalism is being preserved, transplated into Africa, does not get passing notice.[6]

The expatriate's aggregate of Westerners, usually his own fellow-countrymen, help him to keep his Square perspective by providing a group in which local matters may be evaluated and a filter through which they may be interpreted. A common Square group opinion is reached on local affairs, local culture, the daily news, and gossip. Thus the complexity of the local situation can be standardized and made intelligible to Squares.[7]

Some Squares--citizens of Square community--may reside in Round community and come to see beyond the limits of their squareness. They may learn to perceive the world and filter experience in a manner characteristic of Round community's domestics. Others, however, may live in Round community for years and continue to react primarily to differences. They apparently lack the sensitivity and desire to seek out the similarities, or at least to try consciously to ignore the differences.

We may therefore differentiate two types of aliens: those who cling tenaciously to their primary orientation and principal aggregates, and those who seek to look beyond their essential squareness in an attempt to understand, perhaps even accept, and sometimes acquire, the Round community perspective on things.

The first alien remains an alien; the second we will refer to as a neo-domestic, for he is trying to "round off" his sensory receptors in Round community, and although his essential squareness will never go away completely, its grip can be relaxed. The difference may be diagrammed as in Figure 3.
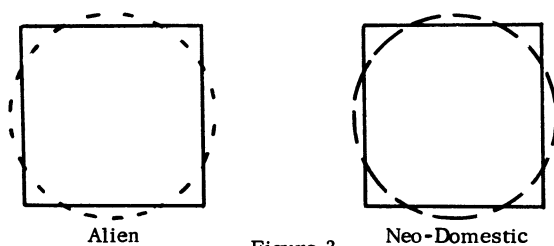

Alien   Figure 3   Neo-Domestic

The neo-domestic looks through or past his squareness in an attempt to see Round community as it is. The alien is never able to approximate seeing Round community as it is, for his squareness blocks his view.

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[6]Reyburn 1968:252

[7]Reyburn 1968:253

Not only does ethnocentrism (the tendency to see one's own culture as strongly superior to others) affect the quality of second language learning, but it also apparently affects the kind of bilingualism produced. The non-ethnocentric person is more likely to achieve a more interdependent bilingualism than the ethnocentric to whom maintaining distinctiveness is important. Bilingualism for the latter is more likely to be of the dependent variety unless his utilitarian motives and his abilities are very high.[8]

4.13 Interestingly enough, a Square at home may not realize that he is a Square, but when a citizen from Round community moves in, or when he moves away to Round community, suddenly he begins to notice differences, including aspects of his own squareness. First he probably just realizes that he is not round, and only gradually does he pick out those characteristics which mark his difference. We do not really know that we are white or black until we see people whose skin color is different from ours. Nor for that matter, do we know what it is like to be an American until we begin to associate with people whose nationality is different from our own.

4.14 So far we have differentiated several perspectives: the domestic, the alien and the neo-domestic. It is also possible to view Square community and Round community from a somewhat neutral point of view, although it is impossible for one to lose his essential squareness or roundness completely when he does so.

Suppose, for example, that Robinson Crusoe and Friday should get together and agree to look at both their communities from a neutral point of view, discounting their respective Square and Round perspectives as much as possible. This would take considerable effort for both. They would need to develop a new set of categories which both would agree to, which would serve to compare and contrast Square community and Round community. In their attempt at "objectivity" they would undoubtedly see things that ordinary Squares and Rounds missed in their own cultures, although they might not agree with these members on the interpretation of what they saw.

Here then is another perspective. It is a perspective characteristic of the scientist. Ideally, a scientist from one community will come up with some of the same conclusions as the scientist of another when they examine the same phenomena. They seek a shared set of categories which makes this possible.

4.15 To become a domestic requires only natural birth and a modicum of native intelligence. To become an alien one needs some mobility and some motivation to withdraw from the sources of security and hope for the future. To become a neo-domestic requires sensitivity to the domestic point of view and some desire to acquire it.[9] To acquire an "objective" perspective one must have the kinds of experience which partially liberate him from his squareness or roundness. Such a point of view demands new assumptions, new powers of observation, new frames of reference, new sets of values, new purposes and techniques. What

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[8]Jakobovits 1968a:39-40; Lambert 1967; Lambert et al. 1963; Fishman 1966: 128

[9]Nida 1957c:11; Larson 1967

is sought for in the objective perspective are categories which will help one discriminate superficial differences from an external, objective and supra-aggregate, or supra-cultural, point of view. We wânt to discover as much similarity as possible and try to explain or account for the clear differences. We recognize that the effort can be only partially successful, but may nonetheless be eminently worthwhile. [10]

From either Square or Round point of view, sometimes differences seem irreconcilable. [11] What a square sees as difference or similarity will stand, regardless of what Round community citizens may tell him. Not until each acquires the same frame of reference, large enough to include both sets of data and examine them, can they reconcile the differences inherent in their perspectives. Until then each holds his own perspective as absolute.

4.2 Alternatives to Alienation

4.21 This matter of perspective, of course, is not simply an all-or-none matter as one might imply from the preceding discussion. A Round may retain his roundness in certain realms and lose it in others. Hence, we see in Figure 4
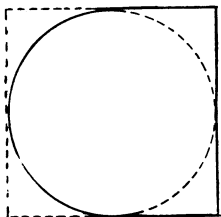
Figure 4

an instance in which Friday, residing in Square community established by Robinson Crusoe, retains his roundness--alienness--in one area, although he is becoming a neo-domestic in others, although Defoe tells us nothing of the round world view that Friday retains. In Friday's case, as in all cases, we learn to become neo-domestics--to change our viewpoints--by stages, not all at once. There is no such thing as instant biculturalism.

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[10] To use terms which have become popular in some circles of linguists and anthropologists dealing with these and similar problems, the domestic point of view is the emic view (Pike 1954:8ff.). Our alien point of view could be called alien-emic. The "objective" or scientific point of view is the etic point of view. The neo-domestic is one who has learned, at least partially, a second emic system.

[11] Pike 1954:8-28

Alternatives to alienation are rather limited: one can in varying degrees try to renounce his squareness and give himself to the new community, becoming a neo-domestic. Or one can seek to develop an objective perspective from which he can see things from a neutral point of view. The objective perspective is both impossible and undesirable as a way of life, however. It is a means to an end (understanding) rather than an end in itself (life in the new community).

4.22 After one of the authors had been in Manila for a few days, he went downtown. He decided to take the bus. He had been told that there were more than 300 private bus companies in the Manila area, some having one bus, some having two and others even more. His housegirl told him the name of the bus company he should use and the color of its buses, and out he went to the corner to flag one down. He had already learned that buses stop anywhere, not just at corners, and had learned the hard way that one does not just wave at the driver to stop. The driver simply waves back and continues on. So, in proper Filipino fashion as the bus approached, the author pointed his hand toward the sky and slowly lowered his arm until his index finger pointed right at the driver, who saw it and stopped.

He settled down for his first bus ride. After a minute or two there was a hissing sound. "Flat tire," he thought, "and on my first bus ride at that!" The bus stopped and a passenger disembarked. Apparently the tire was not flat, for the driver just started up and continued his run. A few blocks further on there was a hissing again, and when the driver stopped the bus and a passenger got off, the author concluded that the bus had faulty airbrakes.

It turned out that the passengers were doing the hissing, and when they hissed, the driver responded by stopping the bus. Hissing was a signal, a convention shared mutually by driver and passenger, by which "bus behavior" was organized.

The author began to think that this was a pretty stupid way to stop a bus. Really, they could install electric buzzers or something like that! Since then he has altered his opinion considerably. Hisses do not drain batteries. People can always "reach" them. The driver can hear them even when the bus is full of chattering commuters. As a matter of fact, the system is perfectly efficient. He has never known it to be disappointing to a passenger.

Everyone but the author was a domestic. They were concerned with their workaday world as passengers on the bus riding toward their destinations, as conductress trying to make enough money to get through high school, or as a driver trying to support a growing family. For them life was viewed in terms of the meaning of events, the attitudes of people. Their behavior was purposive; their responses to situations were to a considerable degree predictable. They had made habits out of certain patterns of behavior by which they were identified as members of a group. They were insiders.

The author was an alien. He assigned meanings to events as he would "at home," and they turned out to be incorrect. He tried to interpret signals but missed their significance. Once in the bus he found himself "out of it."

4.23 Both domestic perspective and alien perspective are habitual but with different points of reference. The domestic and alien are both insiders to some group. The alien, who is both insider and outsider, experiences a clash of perspectives whenever he is involved in a situation where in-group and out-group behavior are in contrast.

The author's change in point of view on behavior in a bus was brought about partly by learning more of the Filipino perspective, and partly by taking the more objective, scientist's perspective. By viewing the hissing not as bizarre and "different" but seeing it as one way of stopping buses among the many ways to be found around the world, and by noting how it fits in with other behavior related to communication and travel, a wider perspective not completely tied to any one domestic point of view was possible.

The scientist, like the alien, is an outsider, although in a very different sense. The frame of reference with which he examines reality is one which he has learned from his scientific aggregates, and is radically different from that which the domestic uses.

The domestic may be unaware of an alien's misinterpretation of a given event and totally indifferent to the scientific point-of-view. The alien, on the other hand, may be at a loss to explain domestic behavior satisfactorily; he may fail to see its pattern, its congruity. Certain tools of the scientiest may help him at times, alerting him to new explanations, sharpening his powers of observation; yet the true picture of domestic behavior--the picture from the domestic point of view--may still escape him.

4.3 Motives for Shift in Cultural Perspective

What makes people shift perspective? A man may become a scientist for economic or for humanitarian reasons, or he may simply have an unquenchable curiosity about something. Why do people become aliens? Are they being eased out gently from their own in-groups? What is it that attracts them to another group, to another place? Are they simply men without countries? Why do aliens become naturalized? Why do they not simply remain as aliens? What happens to their former in-group relationships when they are thus naturalized?

Of equal interest is the question of method by which perspectives are changed. A domestic can become an alien by crossing the street, by opening a door, by crossing an ocean. A man can become a scientist only by devoting himself to study, to experimentation and to contemplation for a number of years; yet he can become an alien overnight. But an alien does not become a domestic at the drop of a hat; in fact, an alien may retain physical contact with an out-group for a lifetime without ever sharing its purposes or its feelings about things. It may require years of painstaking observation, imitation, humiliating experiences and costly mistakes before an alien is able to identify himself as a member of a new group.

Chapter Five

Learning Under Anxiety

The first experience of living as an adult in a new culture came to one of the authors when he spent a year in Paris studying French as a prerequisite to work in what was then French Indochina. He was accompanied by his wife and infant daughter.

For the first month they lived in a boarding house in Versailles, selected for them ahead of time by a representative of their sponsor. Later they moved into Paris itself when they found a more convenient location.

The proprietor of the boarding house in Versailles could speak no English, and the newcomers could not yet speak French. They had studied French in college, could read simple material, and knew some words and grammatical rules, but were completely lost in a conversation. One elderly gentleman in the boarding house knew a bit more English than they knew French, and was called on by the proprietor to help when a state of emergency was reached.

The year was 1949-50, soon after the end of World War II, and before France's recovery and present high level of economic development.

Father, mother and infant daughter all lived in the same room, which was distinguished (as appropriate for rich Americans) by the fact that it was the only room in the boarding house which had a sink in a little alcove. Toilet facilities were down the hall, and in this case without benefit of running water.

The room was light--and cold. It was management policy not to turn on the central heating until November 1, no matter what the temperature. The days were overcast and damp. Although the temperature was not particularly low, the cold was penetrating. The baby would shiver as she was bathed (and the mother would cry).

Floors were kept shining by a vigorous buffing daily, but dirty wallpaper was peeling from the walls. After the first week the newcomers began to wonder why their sheets were not being changed. It became a constant source of nagging concern: Were the sheets changed while we were out? Afraid to ask because of the language problem and the uncertainty of the new situation, the couple's uneasiness grew; but after the appropriate time they found out. The bedsheets were changed once a month.

The aliens arrived bag and baggage--American style. Most of their belongings had been shipped direct to Saigon, to be sure, but when they were packing back home they would often think that something or other might be useful to them during their year in France, and this collection of potentially useful things had grown to the bulk of a couple of trunks and several suitcases. There was no room for all this property in their room, and the proprietor was stumped as to where to put it. He finally stored it in the back porch of his own private quarters so that the newcomers had to go through his private bedroom to find anything they wanted. After some initial unpacking and resorting they did not undergo the

trauma of trying to get to their things again until they packed up and left for a new location in town.

Especially troublesome to them was the fact that they soon realized that their stock of belongings, although pitifully little for a year's living from their point of view, was a mountain of goods to the French people in that boarding house--people of lower middle class, just now beginning to recover from World War II. They noticed, for example, that an attractive young lady at the next table in the dining room wore only one dress (a wool knit) the whole month they were there, varying it with inexpensive accessories. Apparently it was all she had.

Even a loaf of bread could produce trauma. At the first meal, when food was served, they had no bread, although everyone else did. They knew the word for bread, and asked for some. This produced a bit of a flurry as the proprietor cut a piece from the loaf on his table and brought it over. This happened again at succeeding meals, and the proprietor shared his bread with obviously increasing reluctance.

The newcomers became increasingly uneasy, increasingly frustrated, concerned, as something was obviously wrong. At this point the boarder whose smattering of English was used for emergency purposes was able to convey to them the information that everyone buys his own bread at the baker's. It was not included in the price of board and room. Reacting in terms of their own background and expectations, and to the uncertainty they had been feeling, the aliens were relieved to know at last what the score was, but felt that this was an utterly ridiculous way to run a boarding house. It just so happens that now, years later, one of the brightest, most pleasant memories of those days in France is the memory of the smell of the bakery shops and the fresh, warm, crisp bread they took home.

In hundreds of different ways everyday the newcomers sensed how much they were out of place, how different everything was, how it was not possible to count on the familiar and the expected. They added their stories to the countless stories circulating among their fellow American expatriates, stories about how strange and difficult the French were. These stories were told with a laugh. It was a big joke, told as though the joke were on the foreigners, very often. But they had the function of projecting hostilities. They were a way of getting back at tormentors.

Before long the husband began to have the symptoms of what they called "Parisian Malady"--general discomfort, lethargy, and painful diarrhea. Like their fellow Americans, they ascribed it to a local virus (which may have started it) and to French lack of cleanliness (which probably was not responsible), not realizing that it was probably due as much to anxiety, and a psychosomatic rejection of the trauma-filled situation they were in. At Christmas they got together with some other Americans and ate a CARE package Christmas dinner. The canned turkey seemed to be the most delicious thing the husband had ever tasted.

Eventually they learned some French, and adjusted to French ways. Eventually the sun came out, and they saw Paris in the springtime. Eventually they

knew where to shop, what to buy, what to say, what to do. Eventually they could enter into the conversation in the dining room. And eventually the diarrhea stopped.

In due course they reached Vietnam where problems of adjustment, although significant, were not so great. The culture of the country was even more different from their own than French culture had been, but the change was not so hard for them.

One reason why life in Vietnam was not so difficult was that they had learned how to handle new situations. But, also, they were more insulated there. In France the communities into which they were placed were the boarding house and a large, impersonal language school. In Vietnam it was the American mission, a small exported American community with oriental trimmings. This American community had important lines of communication into the Vietnamese community, and other indigenous communities in Vietnam, but the newcomer could plug his own communication system into this communication network gradually, and much of the uncertainty and unpleasantness was filtered out for him.

5.1 Culture Shock

The aliens in France had undergone a classic case of culture shock--psychological shock resulting from anxieties created by a new cultural environment. And no adult living overseas for the first time in his life can hope to be free from such anxieties.

5.11 The example given above emphasized the difficulties of living in a new cultural environment. Other causes which we have previously mentioned include the problems which an adult must face when he has only shaky reasons for studying a language. Little wonder then that a language learner develops anxieties when he is expected to become proficient but is not given opportunity. Quite naturally, also, a person with misgivings about his role overseas or his presence in another community can expect to develop many anxieties.

Culture shock is sometimes aggravated even by anxiety resulting from the very knowledge that aliens overseas are likely to suffer from it. It can produce its own vicious circle. Fear breeds fear.

Nor is maturity and wide experience in one's own culture necessarily protection. People who appear to handle problems very well at home may nevertheless find themselves unable to cope with the situations which they face in a new community.

Culture--like a blueprint--guides the behavior of people in a community and is incubated in family life. It governs our behavior in groups, makes us sensitive to matters of status, and helps us to know what others expect of us and what will happen if we do not live up to their expectations. Culture helps us to know how far we can go as individuals and what our responsibility is to the group. Different cultures are the underlying structures which make Round community round and Square community square (Chapter 4).

Culture gives us our general patterns for dealing with problems, some of which arise within the individual, while others come from his immediate environment; some of which come to us rather directly, while others come in symbolic form. Clothing and shelter, for example, are man's ways of coping with those problems which come to him from the physical environment. In eating and drinking he is responding to internal biochemical needs. Such psychological problems as loss of face, fear, and anxiety itself, involve symbolic behavior. We find man ever on the search for rest and relief from the perpetual problem of coping with his environment, ever searching for peace with his neighbor.

Symbolic behavior is at the core of practically all of our problems: coping with the climate, fetching water, keeping peace and finding rest. So important is it that we note that man cannot not communicate. Actually we read verbal and nonverbal signals from the behavior of others continually. In short, the ability to interact and communicate is vital both to physical and mental health.

At the heart and core of culture is the system of interaction and communication that we call language. Without it we are not much different from animals. Without language we cannot make complex tools, nor do we have any reason for doing so.

5.12 When is a person healthy? Howard and Scott[1] in a provocative analysis of stress define health as the state in which a man has achieved mastery over his whole environment, "when he uses a minimum amount of energy and resources to maintain himself" and when he has a maximum amount of energy available for recurring problems and sudden or unpredictable demands such as he meets in emergencies. Thus the healthy person can reduce threats from his environment and keep them to a minimum. Much like the circus performer on the tightrope, he is in a state of dynamic equilibrium, handling his disturbances while he remains in step, going on to new levels of equilibrium even while restoring the delicate balance after a period of threat and danger. The healthy person is the one who develops well-tested solutions designed to help him deal with whatever his society teaches him to expect.

Klaus Laemmel, a psychiatrist practicing in New York, looks at it from a slightly different point of view:

> Health is consciousness. It is manifested by a wholesome presence, which pays attention to what really is rather than to what we wish or fear to be. The prerequisite for such responsiveness is the ability to see what really is, i.e.: an open mind. The open mind can be realized by understanding what notions obscure our vision. These notions have to be discarded. [2]

But even healthy persons may not be quite prepared for what happens when they pick up and move to another country and community. They bring with them,

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[1] Howard and Scott 1965
[2] Laemmel 1966

of course, that blueprint by which they reduce threats, maintain dynamic equili-
brium and handle disturbances back home. In other words, they bring with them
the potential for solving their problems in the setting to which they are accus-
tomed. But it does not fit. They have the alien point of view. They are not healthy
in the new community.

Recounting an experience of one of the authors may help to show how com-
plex our behavior really is. On a trip through Appalachia by car early one Sunday
morning he reflected on the kind of life there in the hills and hollows, the little
communities and the shockingly low subsistence level. "It's like a foreign coun-
try," he thought to himself, and about this time he rounded a curve, passed over
a narrow bridge spanning a small creek, and out of the corner of his eye caught
a glimpse of the sign giving the name of the stream. It read: Sinking Creek.
Driving along he thought to himself, "That's a strange name for a creek in Ken-
tucky. Why would a Chinese word be borrowed for naming a creek in Kentucky?"
Only minutes later did he realize that he had misread it; it was not Sin-King, but
Sink-ing. He had established a mind set while driving through this countryside:
it "reminded" him of a foreign country; hence, he was prepared to interpret what
he was experiencing as he might have done on a trip to another country or conti-
nent.

Very often when an alien arrives in a new community and observes differ-
ences he may be fascinated with the novel and unusual. But when things begin to
happen that the alien interprets as "problems" his attitudes begin to change.
Streets full of pot holes are perhaps simply evidences of lack of economic devel-
opment, at first, to the American who is used to six-lane concrete freeways, but
it becomes a very personal matter when he receives his first repair bill for his
car's suspension system. When such happenings remind him of some of his other
unsolved problems and difficulties, the early fascination begins to wear off.

As Oberg puts it, the adults first reject the environment which causes the
discomfort:

> The ways of the host country are bad because they make us feel
> bad... When Americans or other foreigners in a strange land get to-
> gether to grouse about the host country and it's people--you can be
> sure they are suffering from culture shock. [3]

New problems mean new demands on one's supply of energy. New climate,
the new foods, the new people all mean that the alien must muster up every bit
of available energy and put it to use in new ways.

At home a healthy man may have built up strong problem-solving reactions,
having learned to master a wide variety of problems, building up adaptability and
flexibility to new situations, but sudden depression affecting all vital processes
involving symbolic behavior seems to hit everybody when the old patterns cannot
be applied to new situations.

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[3] Oberg 1960:177

There is, of course, a sense in which culture shock has an important function: it tends to keep people close to home. Like the Distant Early Warning line, it reminds people that they are far from home; like the toothache, it reminds us to get to help as quickly as possible.

5.2 Culture Stress

As well-proven solutions from the alien's own culture are applied to the new problems, some are solved rather effectively. New ways of meeting some new problems are quickly learned. Other problems, however, are not solved so easily, and now comes the onset of what we might call culture stress. While culture shock may pass rather quickly, culture stress may hang on for months or years and mean the difference between health and permanent or long-lasting injury.

Some years ago Norman Cousins discussed "compassion fatigue" or "conscience sickness" as that mood which settles over a person little by little after seeing many people crowded into a single room or into shanties made of old crates or discarded tin, or to stumble at night upon someone sleeping on a sidewalk. Some people never lost the sensitivity to such depressing situations, and Cousins refers to the resulting psychological toll on them as "compassion fatigue." Others, of course, become hardened or even calloused and in time retrain their field of vision so that they do not even see the suffering.[4]

When the alien is involved personally and directly, experiences such as these may give rise to serious culture stress. His feeling of alienation becomes stronger as the stress intensifies. Called upon to use nearly all of his energies and resources for maintaining himself, he lives in tension, running from one day's problems to the next without getting any one completely dealt with. All his energies and resources are in a state of continuous mobilization.[5] Loss of sleep, climate change, new schedules and diets, all take their toll. The long walks, which at home were taken for recreation, become a chore now that there is no other alternative. New techniques required by the new culture lie just beyond his reach. New rituals and beliefs seem to make no sense. Expectations of domestics simply cannot be fulfilled.

Two major questions come into focus for the alien during the period: "Who am I?" "What good am I here?" This period of identity-crisis has many roots: conflict of roles, no local family of orientation, no membership in relevant indigenous groups. People treat him as if he were a member of the upper class, yet at home he may have been strongly identified with the middle class and knew how to behave in no other way. At the same time, there is apparent loss of status, for all of a sudden he is faced with a fear of failure.

If he is a government advisor he suddenly realizes that his own government wants him there more than the local government does. In fact, he may be ignored

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[4]Cousins 1961. See also Seeman 1966.

[5]Howard and Scott, 1965

by the local government in spite of the fact that they gave him a big office. He may have been an experienced minister at home, but local churches do not invite him to preach. All of a sudden great quantities of energy are required for just maintaining himself as he feels himself sliding downhill. In the face of such failure, he then finds it impossible to tackle new problems the way he did before.

Interaction and communication is at the core of the problem, for verbalizing his difficulty was always an important part of solving his problems. Yet he cannot talk--except superficially--to anyone except fellow aliens, and they may be as frustrated as he. Without the alternative of discussing his difficulties with members of the new community, he can do nothing but live with his unsolved problems.

Perhaps the greatest dangers lie in this matter of trying to live with unsolved tensions. The alien must remain in a state of mobilization continually, so that all his energies and resources are bound up while he waits for balance to be restored. He is culturally disoriented in the new situation. He is not whole, not well. Failing to find mechanisms to cope with his problems, he has the added problem of dealing with his unresolved tensions. He cannot take on any new problems without serious consequences.

Perhaps the largest number of cues to interpersonal relationships are the verbal ones. Stripped of the primary means of interaction, the language learner feels like a child again, making mistakes constantly. Even after weeks of effort there is so little that he can say, and it is seemingly impossible for him to display his education and his intelligence, and it was because of these very things that he took this overseas assignment. There at home he could handle himself; here he sounds like someone else; people laugh at him; he feels rejected.

Language study itself, therefore, creates stress, although we shall see how important it is as the first step to relief. The learner worries about his lack of motivation; he reminds himself perhaps too often about his scores on aptitude tests. He takes too much comfort in the inadequacies of the opportunity with which he is provided. Language study is tiresome, boring and often frustrating. [6]

Even the successful may suffer for their pattern of success. Some who succeed in rapid initial language learning and in finding a place in the new community may be suddenly overwhelmed by the implications of it all: rootlessness, the feeling of being a displaced person, the need for a new identity.[7]

One reaction is to live with his tensions and keep them hidden from public view. Another is to withdraw all energy, to fail completely at mobilizing resources, to become paralyzed by the whole thing. A third, and perhaps the most common reaction, is seen in the release of tension in a variety of ways, in all sorts of diversion. Aliens who should be working with people become inordinately preoccupied with machinery--generators, cars, air conditioners, tape recorders--or with paper work.

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[6] Smalley 1963a; Adolph 1965

[7] Fishman 1966:130-131; Fromm 1968

Sometimes release of tension comes to the surface as aggression at some other frustration. The post office, servants, colleagues, one's sponsors can all be targets. Or, it may be seen in bizarre and irrelevant ways of behaving. One woman made guests wash their shoes in Lysol before entering her house. Then again, we see tensions released in conference-going, field excursions, and excessive amounts of time spent in piddling around. It may take the form of poorer language performance than the learner is capable of, as a psychological way of disassociating himself from the stress-producing situation, keeping the mark of identification with the alien language and culture. Language ability sometimes even regresses, apparently for this reason. Some learners may take more rational steps, such as redefining their objectives so that they are reachable with less overall effort.

By and large these reactions are not solutions but adjustments. They may bring temporary relief but they do not get at the heart of the problem, for they do not restore the alien to a state of dynamic equilibrium; rather, the output of energy simply saps his strength. Tension persists until mechanisms are found to cope with them, and failure to deal with them effectively may simply mean the more serious problem of dealing with unresolved tension.

5.3   The Resolution of Anxiety

Quite clearly, the best method to deal with shock or distress is to meet problems directly and attempt realistic solutions with realistic amounts of energy applied to them. Perhaps recovery begins with the realization of one's nakedness and with the exposure of self to the new community. The alien needs to face the prospects of defeat, even when he has made a long habit of success. He needs to discover his own emotional insecurity, weakness which perhaps before he saw only in others. His new needs must be seen from new perspectives.

One of the first signs of progress is renewed ability to laugh at one's mistakes; in fact, this may be precisely why language learning is so good for people; it forces them into that vulnerable position of nakedness; child-adults, as it were, trying to act like normal adults in the new community. As Paul Tournier points out, "man has a great need to have a place,"[8] and we may discover it only an inch at a time, beginning with coos and cries and babbles, as it were, only gradually working our way up to the point of proficiency which we enjoy in our native communities. Resolution of problems can then begin. Tensions dissipate and disequilibrium disappears; balance is restored.

As vital as communication is to mental health, the alien who is able only to interact with fellow aliens or with bilinguals is severely handicapped without significant relationships in the larger community. An enclave of disintegrated aliens is often a stress-producing situation in itself, particularly when individual and group goals are not being met well. Furthermore, the monolingual alien often feels threatened and inferior to domestics who can communicate both in their own and in the alien's world. As Hoskins says,

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[8]Tournier n.d.

Control of language is basic, not only to furnish a means of communication but to supply one of the best means of understanding the total culture of the people, because language is the cultural system through which almost all the activities and beliefs of the society are reflected and transmitted.[9]

Once an alien's problem is identified, struggle for mastery can begin. This involves some basic intelligence and some knowledge of available tools. But more than that, the solution to one's problem rests on a good formulation of it. This book, in fact, is aimed particularly at helping people to define their language problems in more precise terms than they would otherwise be able to do, and then to tackle them accordingly. Some people waste great supplies of energy trying to solve unsolvable problems, but we cannot escape death, for example, nor can we be in two places at the same time, nor can we learn a language without a lot of work. Any solution, therefore, must begin with a clear picture of the problem.

In short, the solution to many of the problems of aliens living abroad rests on the development of language skill, for this is the primary means by which they adjust to the ways of the new community and discover ways and means of making a relevant contribution to it. It is the foundation for one's valid participation in social life. It marks the beginning of a whole new experience of symbolic interaction. Life takes on a new meaning: to talk about a ball game in a new set of symbols is a new experience. One becomes aware of how deeply intertwined with language are one's values, emotions and feelings. Becoming bilingual marks the beginning of new acquaintances and friendships, new roles, the loss of strangeness.

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[9]Hoskins 1959

Chapter Six

Learning from a New Family

So far, the picture we have been painting of language learning may seem rather bleak: the prospective bilingual must be motivated, must have aptitude, must make the most of his opportunity, must enter the life of a new community, and yet with even all these things going for him, he will still develop anxieties. Fortunately, not all of the disasters we have described would happen to any one person! But the new community (although it is the cause of much of the learner's trauma, with its new culture patterns, its new communication systems and its bewildering lack of "logic") is also the incubator of the new patterns and communication systems by which he can be whole again.

The new community seen as a whole is too large, however, too bewildering. What the learner needs is a small community of sympathetic people who will help him in the difficult period when he is a linguistic and cultural child-adult. He needs a new family to help him grow up.

The new family may take many forms, but with the example of a young man who had an unusually successful learning experience in Thailand we would like to illustrate one such form. To be sure, he was not typical of most language learners. He had more aptitude than most, and was more motivated. He had linguistic training. By temperament he mixed easily with people. Life overseas was nothing new to him as he had grown up outside his native country. Furthermore, he was single, relieving him of many of the practical frustrations which a man faces when he tries to rear a family in an unfamiliar environment.

However, his steps to wrap himself in a new family, a new aggregate of friends and associates in the new culture are suggestive for anyone. Adaptations of what he did, as amplified later in the chapter, can enrich the experience of any language learner.

When he first arrived in the new country the learner lived for a few weeks with another expatriate, his sponsor. This gave him time to meet people, find his way around the community, begin language study, and begin the process of making adjustments. He did not have to begin to learn quite so much at once as if he had gone immediately to live in a non-Western home.

Next he moved in with another bachelor, also an expatriate, a teacher in a professional school in town. In so doing he lived on the school grounds, ate some of his meals with the students, and began to make friends among them. He went places with them, including trips to their homes in other towns. The fact that he was young helped him to take the role of a student among students quite easily.

Finally the learner moved into the home of one of the leading doctors in the city. The doctor and his wife had heard him inquiring about where he might be welcome, and they invited him to move in with them. His host and hostess were educated in the United States and spoke English very well, but they agreed not to use English with him, but to treat him as one of the family.

His new "father" and "mother" had relatives all over that part of the country. The doctor furthermore took regular trips into the countryside taking the learner along. As the learner came to be accepted as a foster member of the doctor's family, within a few months there were homes open to him as a "relative" and friend throughout the area.

Later the learner hired an assistant to help him with his linguistic research. At one point he and his assistant moved to a country village where they set up housekeeping together, establishing to a lesser degree another family, another aggregate.

All the time he was working hard on the language, studying, doing research, and using the language in the most natural of all places--at home and with friends. The community--which could have been an emotional threat--actually became an emotional support, an incubator during the period of learning, as it took the form of a new family.

Not all learners can follow this learner's example in detail, but it should be evident that the person who wishes to learn a new language must begin by identifying himself somehow with its community of speakers. He needs some kind of a family substitute to help him acquire the community's point of view, and at the same time to round off his square corners. The alien needs to be surrounded by those who can help him to understand and cope with his environment, and to satisfy his basic needs in culturally admissable ways, that is, to learn Round solutions to Round problems.

Like the child, the learner must develop some orientation to a new world of spatial and temporal relationships, and some means for expressing himself within it. Without some kind of aggregate the alien is defenseless, without clear sense of identity, without models by which he can govern his own behavior, without sympathetic correction of his mistakes.

6.1 The Alien Child-Adult

So alien adults and native children do have certain common needs. Next in importance to the learner's own motivation, his immediate sociocultural surroundings are principal determinants of success or failure. In fact, we easily overlook the fact that domestics are often shocked and surprised at the behavior of alien adults, unless they are used to them. In societies where it is considered impolite or even vulgar to hand an object to someone with the left hand, a child learns to avoid doing so, knowing that he will be severely disciplined. Errant behavior of alien adults may simply have to be tolerated or consciously ignored.

There are in fact many reasons why serious attention should be given to the similarities between children and aliens, and the language itself is perhaps the key factor. Often aliens see the language learning problem as one of learning a new code, new sounds, new words, new sentence formations.

Let us point out, however, that, as Ervin-Tripp has written, "anyone brought up in a society learns not only the language, but what its speakers are likely to

say."[1] The adult may invest hours of time and energy in language study without experiencing what it means to communicate relevantly by means of his newly acquired skills. This is not the case with children: they are continually learning not just the language but how to use it.

The adult assumes that he can put the new language to use in fundamentally the same way as his mother tongue, just so long as most of his sentence is organized correctly, most of his words are pronounced correctly and refer to the intended meaning. Actually, however, he is not just making mechanical mistakes which domestics notice, but is also talking where he should be silent, saying the wrong things to the right people, saying the right things in the wrong way, and so on.

Too many adults view language learning and the development of competence in a kind of cultural vacuum, or simply assume that when they learn another language they continue to say the same sort of things they have always said. They never quite experience the normal use of new language in its natural environment.

The appropriate use of language, on the other hand, is fundamental if one is to be "domesticated," whether one is a child or alien adult. The alien, of course, may figure out ways to work without natural use, may carry a lifelong "accent" (both in pronunciation and in other aspects of language) and may never be so completely affected by his surroundings as the child. He can, however, develop to the point where his differences do not interfere with his valid and significant contribution to his adopted community.

On one occasion some years ago the second-in-command of an American embassy addressed a group of fellow-American aliens studying in the Philippines. At the end of his speech as he was leaving the premises with the director of the school, he noticed a small group of Filipino teachers standing by. "Oh, I'd better say hello to those people there before I leave," he commented to the director, and then approached them and remarked, "Are you Filipinos?"

Imagine their surprise! What would this embassy official expect brown-skinned people in the Philippines to be? One's squareness runs very deep, and the powerful foreign institutions that can carry out their programs impersonally on the strength of their prestige and economic power can be very insensitive to the importance of face-to-face relations, and what these relations mean not only to individuals within their own organizations but also to the local citizens with whom they interact.

Pressure of time often dictates policy and procedure in Western institutions at work overseas. Westerners do not have time to become children again, nor do they like what this connotes. They have their job to do; their programs govern their behavior, not the reverse.

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[1]Ervin-Tripp 1964:90

In fact, the alien who insists on time to prepare, to adjust and to feel his way may actually be applying temporary brakes to the ever upward and onward progress of his own institution. Caught in the bid between his needs as a person and the demands on time and energy which his organization imposes, the matter of adjustment and adaptation may simply go unresolved until working conditions become unbearable, or else until he can settle down into the accepted pattern of his organization. Turnover of personnel, therefore, is often high.

We are suggesting that the substitute family is a solution to many of the alien's typical problems. What he needs is a genuine Round aggregate that can help him round off the square corners. For the single person, such a fictive family might actually be constituted of a real Round family as such. For the married couple, who will need to set up a household of their own, their surrogate family might have to be "built" with a conglomerate of Round citizens--one playing father, another mother, another uncle, and so on. Some will be teachers, others employees, many will be just friends with whom a special relationship exists. A local Christian church, particularly if not too large, might often be an ideal place for the alien Christian to learn to be at home.

In such aggregates, regular and frequent contact makes deeply personal relationships possible, something that is very important in dealing with the unavoidable anxieties generated in a new situation. The new family also helps the alien to find a place from which to start.[2] Here he finds protection until he can fend for himself. He finds help with his own self-expression. He learns how to play his roles in culturally admissable and relevant ways. The usefulness of such a substitute family terminates safely when the alien can cut loose and function on his own as a neo-domestic, forming his own network of interpersonal relationships as he did as a young adult back in Square community.

6.2 Characteristics of a Good Family

The child does not have to hunt up a family and beg people to help orient him to the community, but an alien adult may have to do just that: he has to find a place to be born again. He has to cultivate friendships, hire language helpers, and convince people of the sincerity of his desire to be "adopted." Just what must he look for? What kinds of people make the best "relative?" These questions are answered throughout the entire book in a variety of ways. We simply classify some of the important aspects of the problem now.

(1) The alien's family members should be people who are ready, willing and able to correct his mistakes, severely and consistently.

(2) The family must be composed of people who are secure and well-respected in their own community, so that they are not easily threatened by the presence of aliens or by a certain amount of kidding or even criticism from their peers.

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[2]Tournier n.d.

(3) The family must be comprised of models of authentic behavior, for the alien learner will take on the characteristics of his teachers.

(4) The family must be able to provide the learner with the kind of information which he needs to adapt to the ways of people in his adopted community. That is, education and experience may be a definite asset, but the amount is related to the level of society with which the alien wants to identify.

(5) At least some members of the family will need to have the patience to drill the learner in linguistic patterns. They need to be people who can model correct behavior tirelessly.

Perhaps the matter of correction needs special emphasis. Aliens often have a way of inadvertently filtering out corrections. The domestics with whom they work may sense that the alien no longer wants correction, advice, help and information, and when that happens they will simply stop providing it. That is, the family members will continue to assist as long as they continue to see results, but when results cease, they may withhold their help.

(6) Others need only serve as conversation partners to give the alien opportunity to overlearn his skills in near-normal situations.

It is evident that these roles which the learner needs to have played by his family are essential roles which any natural family plays for its children. In fact, as children "play house" they actually begin to learn how to be fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, the very parts which they themselves will be called on to play "for real." The alien adult may miss these experiences without a surrogate family, and in so doing may never learn some of life's most important lessons, so far as Round community is concerned.

Another function of the new family, however, is to legitimize the roles which the learner needs to learn to play in the new community: relative, student, consumer, friend, etc.

We have already seen the inhibiting effect which the Western alien's typical roles have on language learning (Chapter 3). But there are often more humble roles which would greatly facilitate both learning and acceptance.

One of the most important of these, and one which the alien is often able to fill, is the student role. Garland Bare, an American who became a medical student in Thailand, already knew the language, but he noticed that he seemed to become a human being to his fellow Thai students when he failed his first exam. Barriers dropped. Other students were no longer embarrassed to have him in the shower room. Doors were no longer closed when students were gambling.[3]

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[3] Bare n.d.

An American couple, old enough to be the parents of most students, enrolled as freshmen at the university in Sao Jose do Rio Petro, Brazil. They were isolated and suspected until initiation, when his shaved head and her cut hair, their painted faces, and festoons of toilet paper changed them into real people. Classmates and upperclassmen made it clear in conversation and attitude that they were colleagues now. Many racial and political barriers were broken down.[4]

Taking a student role, of course, requires some language knowledge in order to be realistic. When the learner has made enough progress to be able to enter into school activities (even if he really does not yet have enough to study with great efficiency) school may be the easiest and most natural way to establish a new family, making friends who will be leaders in the community in years to come. It is perhaps the most natural role for the child-adult. But whether or not a student role is possible, the new family can legitimize some roles (Chapter 21) for the learner and thus help him fit into various aggregates in the new community.

THE LEARNER'S PROBABILITIES OF SUCCESS

Throughout this first section we have been discussing the learner as a person, his problems and possibilities in learning a second language. Although we cannot predict success or failure in language learning in any completely satisfactory way, we can summarize with these important observations:

(1) When a person with high aptitude has an excellent opportunity to learn a language and is well-motivated to do so, success is virtually guaranteed if his immediate environment gives him positive reinforcement.

(2) When a person is well-motivated and has a good opportunity to learn a language, this combination may offset low aptitude, so that he can enjoy a good measure of achievement in the normal use of the language, especially if the immediate environment supports him.

(3) When a person is well-motivated and has a high aptitude, he may have the insight and imagination necessary to create a learning program of his own and thus insure some measure of success, especially when the immediate environment includes individuals who are willing and able to coach and correct him.

(4) When a person with high aptitude has a good opportunity to learn the language, his degree of motivation is the principal determinant of success or failure, and his immediate sociocultural environment may be the principal determinant of the degree of his motivation.

(5) When a person is well-motivated but lacks aptitude and opportunity for language study, failure is almost certain, unless the immediate sociocultural environment includes individuals with a unique ability for utilizing time and situations in a creative way toward the development of language skills.

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[4]Lachler 1969

(b) When a person has a good opportunity to learn the language but lacks motivation and aptitude, failure is almost certain, for he will almost predictably abandon the opportunity in one way or another, and the sociocultural environment in such cases may only help to wear him down.

(7) When a person has a high aptitude but lacks motivation and is not given the opportunity, eventual failure is almost certain, although his aptitude may carry him along for a while so that it appears that he is achieving some degree of success. A favorable environment may help to build motivation; an unfavorable one will most certainly hasten failure.

PART TWO

THE LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Chapter Seven

A Language Can Be Learned

People have been becoming bilingual ever since Babel. Today many language programs are being developed which bring people at least to superficial bilingualism in reasonably efficient and effective ways. There are, in fact, several fundamental reasons why we can look at language learning optimistically, why a language can be learned.

7.1 Creative Nature of Language

Our optimism comes primarily from the very nature of language itself. Suppose one were to be dropped into a primitive village in some far-off corner of the world like the highlands of New Guinea. Why could we be reasonably sure that it is possible to learn a language there? Aside from the reassuring actuality that others have done it, first and foremost would be the fact that the learner and his hosts belong to the same species--homo sapiens--and that they have had much experience in common, although they might not think so at first (Chapter 4).

They share, for example, the experiences of communication itself. Each already speaks a language. Most meaning which can be conveyed in one language can normally be conveyed somehow in another. Every language is learnable; for the infant, one language is on the whole just as easy to learn to speak as another.[1]

Without language, man's potential for true humanness is lacking. With language man orients himself to the phenomena of this world, discriminating, classifying and conceptualizing them along culturally determined lines symbolically mediated through language.[2]

There is a sense in which no two languages are exactly alike, yet this is perhaps misleading, for in a very real sense no two languages are completely different.[3] The layman's impression that languages are all very different is based on his reaction to real, and important, but superficial differences; yet the deeper we probe language structure the greater our impression of underlying similarity. We do not discount the differences. They constitute the reason for the need for this book. But the similarities provide assurance that another language can be learned.

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[1] Such statements as these are only partially true and need qualifications, many of which will emerge during the course of this book. However, in a general sense they are true and constitute a basis for optimism for the learner.

[2] Casagrande 1963:220-225

[3] Langendoen 1967:1968a, 1968b

Hockett[4] points to sixteen different "design-features" common to all languages. He notes, for example, that no language requires men to speak the truth at all times, that every language enables man to talk about the past and the future, not just the present, that every language enables man to talk about the world of sight and hearing, beyond his senses, and so on.

Perhaps one of the most significant of these features is openness, or creativity, in language. No language is a closed system; the capacity for change is within each. Men everywhere can communicate about their ever-changing environment, a fact never more dramatically apparent than in the television coverage of the first "moon walk," which took place as this was written.

Creativity in language is a continuing mystery. With a finite set of symbols, the variety of things that can be said is nearly infinite. Yet we cannot set limits on man's conceptual powers, and until we can, it is unlikely that we will be able to set them on his capacity to develop language to meet his needs.[5]

One of the fascinating features of human language are the creative possibilities of combining and recombining limited elements. The hundreds of thousands of words in the English vocabulary are all constructed out of less than fifty significant sound units in a multitude of combinations. A near-infinite number of messages is possible with a few thousand words used according to the complicated rules of any natural language.

Thus, the combinability of elements makes language infinitely flexible and expandable in form.[6] In no language have we as yet been able to set upper limits on the theoretical length of sentences, because for any sentence we construct it is always possible to construct a longer one by adding another adjective, or another clause, or something else to make it longer.

By reading one word from each column, left to right, in the substitution table below, it is possible to read off more than 256 different sentences.

Mary	threw	the	ball	to her	brother
Sue	brought		toy		sister
Betty	gave		doll		father
Alice	sent		book		friend

By adding one word to each of the four lists, the number of possible sentences increases by geometrical progression to 625! By adding another column consisting of items such as yesterday, this morning, a while ago, before, just then, the total number of possible sentences reaches 3,125. Suppose, then, that we should alter the basic form of the sentence to The ball was thrown by Mary to her brother yesterday. This change would double the total number of possible sentences

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[4] Hockett 1960. See also Greenberg 1963.

[5] Chomsky 1966a

[6] Ervin-Tripp 1964:81

to 6,250. This is just one brief sample of what can be said in English with two grammatical patterns and less than two dozen different words.

Nor is it possible to count up the number of possible sentences in any language, because there is no limit to them. Language structure has within it a capacity for infinite creativity. It is a subtle tool for a Shakespeare, a teen-ager, a college professor, a farmer, a creator of new knowledge like the space scientist and a guardian of traditional values like the small town newspapaer editor.[7]

The normal native speaker of a language has the capacity not only to manufacture and understand sentences in a straightforward and rather mechanical way, but he also has the capacity to interpret expressions like Dylan Thomas' "a grief ago," or even Mayor Daley's "The policeman isn't there to create disorder, the policeman is there to preserve disorder." He has the capacity to realize that one sentence is more grammatical than another, or at least that one "sounds better." A single word, "Hiroshima," will conjure up wide ranges of associations.

Quite obviously, no language learner can predict just what sentences he will need to understand or to produce all the things he will need to say in his lifetime. Rather, he must learn the finite system and learn to use it creatively. Then the infinite variety of messages is possible.

7.2 Structure of Language

The fact of structure is common to all languages. It is the form of that structure which differs from language to language (Chapter 2). All languages are similarly designed; all fall within a rather narrow range of structural possibilities. Yet between them there is an enormous amount of diversity of detail.

Every language, for example, makes distinctions of tongue position in producing vowel sounds. (Feel the difference in tongue position with the vowels in see and saw.) Furthermore, every language has a consonant system which includes distinctions between stops (sounds in which the air from the lungs is momentarily shut off) and other kinds of consonants.[8] (Feel the difference when you try to prolong the tt of matter as against the nn of manner.) These are always at least two different stop sounds, differentiated by positions in the mouth where the flow of the air from the lungs is shut off (for example, the lips, as in pea and the alveolar ridge, or upper gum, as in tea).

Furthermore, every sound system is undergoing change continually, imperceptible at any given time but quite evident when sound systems are viewed at different stages, like Elizabethan and contemporary English. We will be drawing on other generalizations when we come to advise the learner on practicing new sound systems.

The similarity in grammatical systems between languages is also evident. All known languages have ways to ask questions, to make informative statements,

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[7] Chomsky 1966a, 1966b

[8] For technical phonetic terms see Smalley 1963b.

to give commands, to affirm and deny, to agree and disagree. Every language has words comparable to 'this' and 'that,' 'I' and 'you' and 'he'. Every language can show relationships like 'and,' 'of,' 'because.' Every language has names for people: 'John,' 'Juan,' 'Giovanni.'

Speakers have some intuition about the structural units of their grammar: words or perhaps even smaller units of meaning, phrases, clauses and full sentences. Every language seems to make some distinction comparable to the one which we make between subjects and predicates, between nouns and verbs and between intransitive verbs (Mary is singing) and transitive verbs (John struck Bill). Very significantly for the language learner, in all languages native speakers can make one big sentence out of several little ones or explain a long, complex sentence in terms of several shorter ones.

Our intuition that languages have regular grammatical patterns is often a help to the learner, but sometimes it can be a hindrance. A Lisu in Thailand was learning some English words from E. R. Hope,[9] writing his new words in Lisu script, pronouncing them in Lisu sound patterns, as illustrated in the second column below:

pig   [phɪgə]
dog   [dɔgə]
child   [čaygə]

Finally he stopped and studied his list. "What kind of a [gə] is that?" he asked, pointing to a horse.

Because of structure, language is more like a machine than a pile of miscellaneous parts. Its parts fit together and work together as an integrated, functioning unit, albeit a very complex one. One way of viewing language sees it as structured simultaneously along two dimensions. Along one dimension there are the physical sound waves. Along the other there is the meaning carried by the sound waves. Some understanding of the structuring of sound and the structuring of meaning is fundamental if one is to prepare effective learning materials for his own use (Chapter 14).

Furthermore, it is evident that man has some ability to sense the structure in his own language and to analyze--at least superficially--both dimensions. That is why we cannot carry the "machine" analogy too far. The structure of language is inside a man. For example, if the following text is read aloud, it is apparent that a speaker of English will find places to pause, will break up the sequence into phrases, words, syllables and even individual segments. He will also stress some syllables more than others, and his voice will rise and fall in pitch. He will organize this string of words into a meaningful sequence by applying to it the facts of English structure which he senses to be appropriate.

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[9] E. R. Hope n.d.

IN MODERN THOUGHT IF NOT IN FACT NOTHING
IS THAT DOESN'T ACT SO THAT IS RECKONED
WISDOM WHICH DESCRIBES THE SCRATCH BUT
NOT THE ITCH. [10]

In performing this exercise the native speaker applies rudimentary analytical techniques. He tries various alternatives until one "makes sense." He senses structure both of sound and meaning and (although he does not know it) differentiates various levels or kinds of structure. On each level he perceives various units (Chapter 13).

The interdependence of sound and meaning dimensions is rather evident in the examples above, for one cannot understand a message until he sounds it out correctly. To see how this works in another example, try to read the following sentence:

WANTS PAWN TERM DARE WORSTED LADLE GULL
HOE LIFT WETTER MURDER INNER LADLE CORDAGE
HONOR ITCH OFFER LODGE DOCK FLORIST[11]

At first the tendency is to read one word at a time, the voice dropping after each word as though it were the end of a sentence. Each word looks like an English word and the native speaker instinctively tries to combine them, yet they do not seem to enter into normal combinations. Once the sounds are straightened out, however, the meaning comes through clearly. To solve the problem, read the sequence quickly and pause at the diagonals, not between the words:

WANTS PAWN TERM / DARE WORSTED LADLE GULL /
HOE LIFT WETTER MURDER / INNER LADLE CORDAGE /
HONOR ITCH / OFFER LODGE DOCK FLORIST /

By experimenting, one soon comes up with something that sounds almost like:

ONCE UPON A TIME / THERE WAS A LITTLE GIRL /
WHO LIVED WITH HER MOTHER / IN A LITTLE COTTAGE /
ON THE EDGE / OF A LARGE DARK FOREST /

The meaning dimension of language is less well understood, but some observations are possible. Many, if not all, languages have taboo words, onomatopoetic words and homophonous words--words sounding the same with different meanings. Some kinds of figures of speech, like the simile and the metaphor, are perhaps to be found in all languages, although the same figure will often not be understandable from one language to another.

In every language words have ranges of meaning, rather than points of meaning. Carry, for example, is not a unitary concept, but covers many

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[10]Author unknown

[11]Leavitt

different kinds of action. Note the different behavior involved in carry a purse, carry a bag of groceries and carry a desk.

In every known language there are synonyms--words with intersecting ranges. In every known language there are "generic" words like thing, person, animal, which cover vast territories also labeled by more "specific" terms. Desk, screwdriver, fingernail are more specific areas within the area of thing. Man, woman, John are included within person. Dog, elephant, kangaroo likewise are within the area of animal (Chapter 18).

Just as important is the fact that each language also structures the world in its own way. In English, for example, the term "cousin" applies to the children of my father's brother, my father's sister, my mother's brother and my mother's sister. No distinction is made between the children on my father's side and on my mother's side in the terms that are used, and we make no distinction between the children of my parents' brothers as against my parents' sisters (Figure 1).
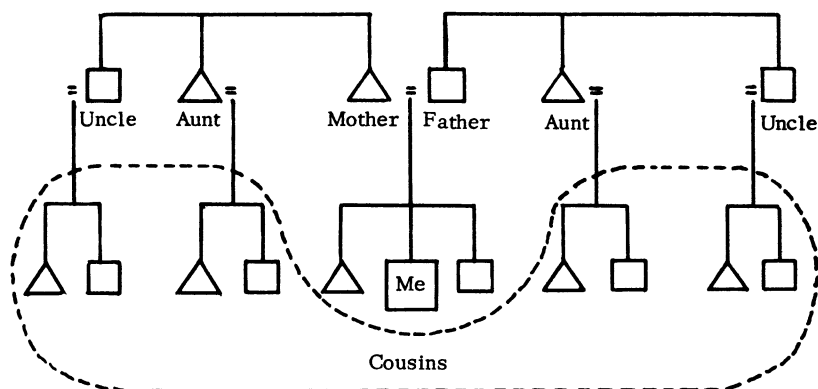

Figure 1. Diagram of some relatives most typically called "cousin" in English. The diagram is not complete, as more distant relatives are also known by the same term. In this diagram and the following, tri-angles represent female, squares represent male. = indicates marriage. Vertical lines indicate descent. Horizontal lines tie together the off-spring of a single pair of parents.
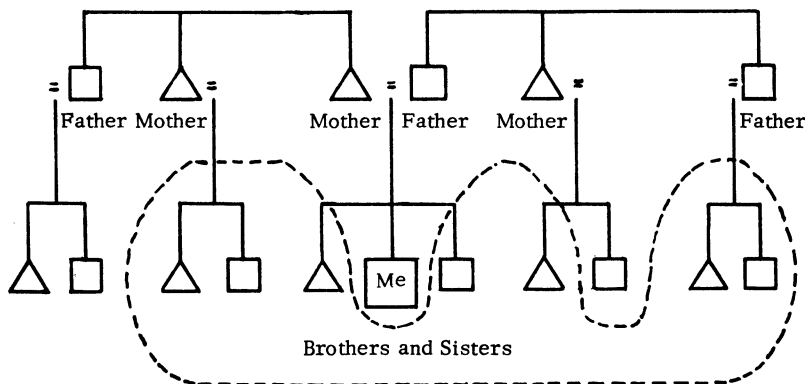
Figure 2. Diagram of the same relatives as in Figure 1, but indicating the different grouping which exists in Khmu?. This system partially illustrates the situation described in the text. The Khmu? is considerably simplified, and many pertinent distinctions are omitted to highlight the contrast with Figure 1. The other relationships called "cousin" in English are various terms, each identical with terms used for the husbands or wives of the people called brothers and sisters. My mother's brother's daughter is also, in fact, my preferred marriage. [12]

Many languages of the world, however, have sharply different kinship systems. In some, for example, the children of my father's brother will be called by exactly the same terms that are used for my own brothers and sisters. I will call the children of my father's sister by a different term. The terms for my mother's brothers and sisters may not be parallel to those of my father's siblings. In such a case as this, very often my behavior toward the children of my father's brother is very different from that toward the children of my father's sister, and for me to marry the daughter of my mother's brother may even be a preferred marriage in my community, one that is thought of as ideal. At the same time, to marry the child of my father's brother could be considered a horrible crime, a case of incest.

Difference in kinship terminology may be carried through into other parts of the society as well. In some societies "cousins" several times removed can be designated by the same term as my own brother and sister, and anybody whom I call by this term I may not marry, no matter how distant the blood relationship. On the other hand, anyone whom I call by another term I am free to marry, no matter how close the relationship. In such a situation as this, language is at the same time a reflection of social custom and an influence on behavior.

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[12]Smalley 1964:116

But language structures life and the way in which we look at reality in even more subtle ways. Among the Kaka people of the Eastern Cameroun the words for 'spider' and 'God' are identical.[13] God is thought of as a great spider who holds the stars in place with his mighty web, which he weaves in the sky in his own disinterested way. It is not clear whether terminology is caused by the mythology or the mythology by the terminology, but certainly the vocabulary influences the Kaka person's understanding of the nature of supernatural phenomena.

The cowboy, when he uses the word horse, has quite a different understanding from that of the New Yorker whose chief experience with horses is seeing them in a parade. It is interesting also to compare the attitudes toward horses among two neighboring tribes in Northern Laos. The Khmu? people do not ordinarily own horses themselves. They cannot afford them and their economy and way of life do not create a sense of need for them. The Hmong (Meo) people who live somewhat higher up in the mountains do have horses, and the importance of these animals to them is great. They are a sign of wealth, a source of prestige, a vehicle of trade and have a number of other important values. Such differing associations enter into the meaning of the respective words for 'horse' in the two languages.

The structure of language interacts with all of life. Its parts do not exist in isolation, but in complex integration. The language learner is learning a system, not a collection. He is acquiring a process of communication, not a list of sounds or words, or the rules of a grammar book.

7.3 Redundancy in Language

One of the important characteristics of language is the fact that we usually do not need to catch every syllable or word or phrase of a message in order to receive its intended meaning.[14] For example, if one should hear the sentence "I just caught a . . . of the queen" (with noise obliterating the missing part of the sentence) he might supply the missing part without difficulty with such words as glimpse, whiff. There is enough information in caught and queen to enable the native speaker of English to predict something of what might have been obliterated in the message.

Or suppose that we read the sentence "I just caught a gl. . .   of the queen" with part of the word rendered illegible. Our ability to guess the complete message would be even greater.

This ability to predict or expect certain things to occur in speech arises in part from built-in repetition which is one of the characteristics of structure in language. This built-in repetition is technically known as redundancy. Note, for example, that plurality of men is indicated several times in These old men dream their time away. It is marked in the distinction between these and this, between men and man, between dream and dreams. Redundancy is present in all languages

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[13] Reyburn 1957:185-187

[14] Langendoen 1967, 1968a

although the same features will not necessarily be redundant in all cases, and it provides the learner with another basis for optimism, for it means that intended messages can usually get through even though they are partially distorted by the learner's mistakes.

Our communication experience prepares us to expect patterns and words to occur in regular ways. In learning another language we face the task of revising some of these expectancy patterns in favor of the ones characteristic of the new language. In English, for example, a sentence that begins, The man broke . . . will usually continue by stating what it was that was broken: The man broke the window pane. Of course it is possible to continue in other ways: The man broke down. The man broke up. In Tagalog, on the other hand, a sentence often starts off with a verb, so that the counterpart of the English example might be: broke the window pane the man.

Hence, the native speaker of Tagalog, in hearing the first two parts, broke and the window pane, would expect to hear who it was that did the breaking. The new language will be different enough in detail from English to require the learner to establish new expectancy patterns at all levels of language structure, but once they have been established, the regularity contributes to ease of communication. Were we not able to make such predictions, we would have to produce perfect sentences every time, something that would require an overwhelming amount of time and energy.

7.4 Rule and Habit in Use of Language

Learning a new language is in some ways more like learning to drive a car than like studying one's own language in school. Speaking is in part a habit (Introduction, Chapter 2). To learn habits they have to be practiced, something which was characteristic of the pre-school years of learning the first language. To be aware of the significance of this rather commonplace observation in language learning is fundamental to the preparation of learning materials. To learn another language is to acquire another set of habits alongside of (and partly integrated with) those of one's mother tongue.

The native speaker has developed his language habits to the point of automaticity and unconscious control. He can actually decode and encode messages simultaneously at a lightning-like rate of speed, with little conscious awareness of his behavior. All his attention seems to be centered on the content of communication (what is being said), not the form (how it is being said).

Linguistic habits vary considerably from person to person within the same speech community without impairing communication (Chapter 23). Some varieties are evaluated as right or wrong, good or bad, by the community. Others pass unnoticed. To listen to certain purists, one might think that any variation from a norm is incorrect and to be avoided. The usage of people with prestige and particularly of teachers (or perhaps only of what teachers think they say) is sometimes set up as "correct," and any variation is considered bad. Such statements are often rationalized by appeal to some sort of logic.

Certainly some habits of speaking are considered standard, acceptable to the leadership in a community, usable on formal occasions and so on. Others are substandard, restricted to extremely informal situations or to the speech of lower economic classes or less-educated people. Such considerations, however, are social judgments which cast their emotional effect upon language rather than intrinsic measures of language usefulness or communicative efficiency.

The entire matter of "logic" in language creates apprehension in some language learners. They feel that the order of words, the organization of grammatical patterns, should have some underlying rationale. Perhaps it does, if one sees the phenomena from the domestic's point of view, but the criterion of logic is a difficult one to apply to phonological or grammatical aspects of language structure, and not particularly useful. A double negative is often considered substandard in English, and illogical because two negatives cancel each other out, leaving an affirmative statement, as the argument goes. Yet in French it is standard and perfectly logical (from the French point of view) to have two negative words in the same negative statement. We are often blind to what others see as inconsistencies in our own system. For example, what is logical about saying Elm Avenue (with the stress on Avenue) but Elm Street (with the stress on Elm)?

Standardized forms of language change slightly from one generation to the next, and often some of the forms which were considered substandard at one period gradually move into a more favorable position in the following generations. Language, in fact, is always in a state of flux. Many would call this "degeneration," but we see it as simple adaptation to the internal stresses of the sound system and grammatical patterns, and also to the external changes of life and society.

Quite obviously, when we view language learning as a matter of constantly varying and changing vocal and auditory habits, imitation of those who behave this way becomes essential to learning. This imitation applies to individual sounds, the structure of words and sentences and even the organization of paragraphs. There are many complications, and there are many steps to mastery, but imitation is always and only a beginning, a necessary beginning for becoming bilingual. The fact that we can imitate is one of the reasons why language can be learned.

7.5 New Understanding

One of the bases for optimism in language study comes from today's understanding of the way in which language is acquired. Studies of the sounds of language date back centuries, as do studies of whole grammars and of vocabulary. In recent times, emphasis has shifted (some would say shifted back[15]) to the examination of the "unconscious infrastructure" of language, rather than simply its conscious, overt phenomena, to the study of language as an ideal system in the mind, not simply as everyday speech. This new emphasis and its application

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[15]Chomsky 1966a

to a variety of languages has brought new concern with the discovery of laws governing all language systems and not just with particular languages;[16] it has brought a new search for the physiological and psychological bases for these universal qualities.

As we have already seen, the question of how languages are acquired by children has received considerable attention during the last three decades (Introduction, Chapter 2) Present research is suggesting that one's early experience activates the basic structure of language in the child rather than shapes it, that languages are enough alike so that the fundamental problem is to master the particulars of any individual language, not the general features.

We know that a learner's difficulties with a second language are somewhat predictable. Linguists have been learning to isolate and predict the variables that affect second language performance, and today it is possible to design a language course which in many ways anticipates the trouble spots and deals with them far more effectively than ever before.

Although there is much that is still unknown, psychologists and linguists continue to search for answers to a number of questions: Which aspects of language are acquired through experience and which are more deeply rooted in human psychology? How are such inherited aspects activated and how is experience transformed into language competence? What are the stages of language learning through which a child passes? What is the relation between language universals and general individual differences between languages? Unfortunately there is not so much work being done on the psycholinguistic factors in adult bilingualism.

7.6 Interference and Contamination in Bilingualism

If languages can be learned, what, then, is the problem? Once established, this strongly entrenched habit system that we call language does not disappear easily.[17] This pre-existing set of habits--the first language--is one of the great barriers to learning a second language. A great deal of the learner's knowledge and experience transfers to the second, but the habits of the first language also seriously interfere when a second is learned.[18]

The finite set of units, patterns, and rules constituting the habit-system of the mother tongue will differ in explicit ways from the system of the new language. This original set of habits exerts a gravitational pull on a person when he tries to follow the behavior patterns required by the language he is learning at the points of difference between the two languages. This interference is evident in pronunciation, in the formation of words and sentences and even in nonverbal communication gestures, facial expressions and so on. No realm of communicative behavior escapes the force of these old habits.

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[16] Levi-Strauss 1967:34

[17] Except in cases of severe psychological or physiological pathology.

[18] A great deal has been written on linguistic interference. For a summary of much of this literature see Weinreich 1953, Brière 1968, Lado 1957, 1964.

The learner first notices the power of old habits when he tries to pronounce words in the new language. In learning Thai, the word /maa/ sounds something like English Ma (Mother), and means 'come.' But not quite sure that he is getting it right, the learner says it with a question intonation in his voice, so that it sounds like English Ma? (i.e. 'you mean mǎa?'). But in Thai this makes it sound like an entirely different word, /maa/ 'dog.'

Examples of aliens speaking English may be easier to follow. An old Swedish lady, for example, refers to the dessert as "yellow," not jello, but the color of her new dress is "jello," not yellow. She is not able to make the distinctions between /j/ and /y/ that English requires.

Many people from India, in speaking English, have a distinct staccato rhythm to their speech, and a frequent r-like quality in it (or so it seems to Britishers and Americans). Both of these result from the force of interference.

Filipinos are heard to say "I hope to see you leave" when they mean live, or "Good bye, till we mate (meet) again." They will also tend to substitute /p/ for English /f/, /b/ for /v/, /t/ for /th/.

With respect to pronunciation, then, interference means that the learner tends to substitute the sounds of his own language for those of the language he is learning. He tends to make the same variations of sounds that he makes in his own speech. He finds any combination of sounds to be difficult if it is not to be found in his mother tongue.

There is, furthermore, a hierarchy of difficulty as created by interference. Some sounds in the new language are more difficult than others and for different reasons.[19]

On the grammatical level, interference runs very deep. Even when the grammatical patterns of the second language are well learned, interference may appear in the form of the selection of the pattern to be used. The second language may have two patterns, one of which is quite like English, and the other quite different. The learner will tend to use what is for him the easier of the two, even though the difficult one might be the most commonly used by domestics in the new language. In many of the languages of the Far East, for example, the concept of plural is not marked by grammatical indicators as in English. Plurality may be indicated by additional words if necessary, but speakers of those languages normally leave them out unless the plural idea is to be particularly noted. Because English requires plurality to be marked in every noun or verb, mother tongue speakers tend to mark plurality more often than necessary from the point of view of the Asian language which they are learning.

In the meanings of words, too, we see the evidence of interference. Content, for example, is a spelling which may be found in French as in English, but the

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[19]Stockwell and Bowen 1965; Moulton 1962b, 1962c:5; Brière 1968

meanings are not at all the same. In English the word means that someone is satisfied, possibly happy, with the situation. In French the meaning is far more positive and should often be translated 'glad.' English demand and French de-mander differ radically. Demander is a polite word for a request and has nothing of the imperiousness of the English word. The temptation when learning French is to use the word in the English way.

There is cultural interference as well. As we use language, we leave a great deal for the listener to fill in from his general knowledge; we cannot tell everything. In a new language situation, whether as speaker or listener, we tend to assume or fill in our alien background, so that it interferes with communica-tion. Even what we say and leave unsaid is subject to this conflict. The westerner may feel uncomfortable until he knows the name of someone with whom he is talk-ing. In some societies the name is of little consequence, but the kinship relation-ship or status of a new person may have to be determined before there can be comfortable communication.[20]

The effect of interference is ever present when the learner speaks or listens to the target language. From the point of view of the domestic in the new language the learner contaminates it. Foreign accents, mistakes in grammar caused by interference from another language, assumption that the areas of words in the new language are like those in the mother tongue--these are all examples of contamination.

When contamination occurs, it is an important sign for the learner, for when he becomes aware of it, he can seek out underlying differences between the target language and his mother tongue. Contamination is the signal for the need of new habits. (Chapter 14)

These following expressions from Filipino English[21] are intelligible if the hearer knows Tagalog and therefore understands the underlying interference which caused the contamination:

(1) Oh, I am not delicate. Even coffee will do.
    (i.e. I am not choosy. Coffee will do.)

(2) You are very another now.
    (i.e. You have changed.)

(3) I don't like him. He has no one talk.
    (i.e. I don't like him. He goes back on his word.)

(4) What do you want, a painful body?
    (i.e. Are you looking for trouble?)

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[20] cf Hall 1966:96

[21] For many similar examples of interference see Morales (n.d.), an inter-esting study of cross-cultural communication between Filipinos and Americans.

Contamination will also extend even into what the alien chooses to say. The alien asks a local person what his name is, intending to be friendly, to open a conversation. In some societies the domestic seems embarrassed, smiles sheepishly, looks at the ground, then at the alien rather helplessly. Finally he turns to someone standing by, and says, "Tell him!" One just does not tell one's own name.

The alien, defeated in his attempt to be friendly, meets another stranger, who asks, "Where are you going?" The alien suppresses his reaction, "Of all the nosey . . ." and then goes into a long explanation of how he is going to the post office, and then to the market. After this happens about forty times, he begins to feel foolish, for he comes to realize that the domestic is not trying to find out where he is going, but simply offering a friendly opening to a conversation such as "How are you," or "Nice day, isn't it?"

Interference, and resulting contamination, however, does not come only from the pressure of old language on new. It comes also from problems within the new language itself. There may be patterns in the new language which cause interference for the learner.

One notable example of such patterns is "irregular" construction. The learner who wants to say sheeps, mouses, feets, is receiving interference from the predominant -s plural in English. This will be a problem to him whether his own language has one form of plural or many, or none at all. Likewise English -s in third person singular present verbs (he goes, he eats, he walks) as opposed to no -s in other persons (I go, you go, we go, they go) is a strong source of contamination. [22]

An example of internal interference for one of the authors came in learning the Thai words for 'near' and 'far.' They are identical except for the tone: /klay/ (level tone) 'far' and /klây/ (falling tone) 'near.' The problem was not his hearing the distinction between level and falling tone; he could hear and practice them in other words. If it had been such a problem, it would have been ascribable to interference from English. Nor was it a problem that English did not have these two categories of meaning. Obviously it does. It was an internal problem in the new language--the fact that the meanings were exchangeable in nearly every context, combined with pronunciations which were so nearly alike to his alien ears that he had a problem remembering which was which.

Internal interference can result also from the order in which things are learned. In Thai the learner starts out by learning a pronoun for 'I' and another for 'you.' He gets along fine with these until he gets farther along in the language and finds that these pronouns are not appropriate in speaking to everyone. His initial confusion at this point results from English interference. We do not have status differences in pronouns in English. However, long after the Thai system has been understood, and the lack of correspondence with English recognized, it is the pronoun originally learned which is the one which comes to mind, regardless of what would be most appropriate in the situation. It does not make any

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[22] For further examples see Wolfe 1967:179-180

difference which Thai pronouns were learned first; they are the ones which inter-
fere with the learning of all of the others.[23]

On the grammatical level internal interference may be seen when the per-
son learning English first learns

(5) Where did he live?

(6) Where did he go?

and then has difficulty "unlearning"

(7) *Can you tell me where does he live?[24]

(8) *Do you know where did he go?[25]

Contamination also results from factors which cannot be ascribed to inter-
ference. Bilinguals may use patterns not found in either language. These often
come in the form of a simplification or reduction of the second language.[26] Verb
endings may be left off. All genders may be reduced to one. One word serves
for a dozen related words. This is a contamination due to poverty of knowledge
of the new language, to insufficient or imperfect habits, or to lack of understand-
ing of the rules.

In an ideal approach to language learning, problems of interference are
dealt with systematically in planning lessons and using them in the classroom.
In less-than-ideal situations contamination may be the only clues which the learner
has to structural features of the new language, features which are different from
his own language. Learners in less-than-ideal situations, by working carefully
to discover and then correct their contaminations, may be able to compensate
for lack of carefully designed programs. If the learner can deal in this way with
his mistakes, he will effectively reach much the same sense of structural differ-
ences between the languages which the linguist has when he isolates structural
differences through his analytical techniques. The untrained learner's way is less
systematic, admittedly, yet the results are often effective.

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[23]This is not always true. In fact, even the reverse may be true. Some-
times things learned later may interfere with things learned earlier in the same
language. Research on such retroactive interference is summarized in Brière
1968:22f, but little of it is done within the context of problems in becoming bilin-
gual.

[24]We follow the convention of using an asterisk before a linguistic example
to show that it is in some way considered wrong, or ungrammatical, or inappro-
priate.

[25]Wolfe 1967:179-180

[26]Ervin-Tripp 1968:10-11

Getting at the causes of interference through the evidence of contamination depends heavily on the sensitivity of the learner to his own mistakes. Various techniques for discovering contaminations and eliminating them with corrective exercises are discussed in the following chapters. With a little ingenuity, a lot of attention to his mistakes and with the help of native speakers, the learner with natural and normal endowments can make steady progress toward functional bilingualism.

Language is structured. The structure is partially innate, partially learned as a set of habits, probably partially gained through other mechanisms at present poorly understood. The habits of one language interfere with new habits needed for a second language, causing contamination in it. But the structure made habitual also makes possible the production of an infinite number of messages, the ability to put into words things of which one has never before heard or dreamed. This is the creativity of language. And these are the fundamental concepts which underly our approach to becoming bilingual. A language can be learned.

Chapter Eight

Learning in Ideal Programs

The ideal program for learning a second language would be one which takes fully into consideration all of the implications of all of the factors about the learn- er, the language and learning processes which have been discussed in the preced- ing chapters--and much more. It would be based on a thorough understanding of the nature of language, and of the differences between the new language and the first language of the learner. It would use the best known techniques of language teaching in all its forms, skillfully led by highly competent teachers, taught not in a cultural vacuum, but in the context of dealienation. It would be adapted to combinations of abilities, personality variables and background which various learners would bring to it. It would provide the learner with a new family in the new community, and it would help him take his place in that family and learn a set of realistic roles in it. It would provide psychological support for him in his anxious moments and help him to understand what their causes were when they came. It would stimulate him to do his best, to learn as quickly as his aptitude would allow, and it would make it possible for people of different aptitudes to learn at different speeds.

At present there is no language learning program in existence which even remotely exemplifies all of what we are talking about. On the other hand, there are many programs which incorporate key features of an ideal program in vary- ing degrees. We present the model of an ideal program not so that the learner will look for it ready-made, but so that he may have a basis on which to analyze, evaluate and upgrade his own learning situation.

In contradiction of our view that ideal language programs probably do not exist, extravagant claims for language courses are common. One textbook, for example, has this self-evaluation: "What is the easiest and quickest way to learn Bengali?"

Evolved through the learning experiences of several persons whose mother tongue is not Bengali this book has sought to provide the answer. It is possible to learn this language in about six weeks by the perspec- tive method used in this book. No tutor is necessary.[1]

The learner who used such a language text on the basis of its self-evaluation would have every right to blame the text when he failed to accomplish the promised re- sults.

But learners are also inclined to blame the language program unduly for their frustrations. Even the most ideal program can only guide the development of new behavior, not inculcate it. The majority of language courses produce re- sults only because people have the capacity to learn more than what is formally taught. When failure comes, one missing ingredient may well be either aptitude or hard work.

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[1]Huq and Mills, n. d.

Many language programs are being steadily upgraded all around the world, and new and better ones are appearing all the time. (Chapter 12) In the meantime, however, the average person can do various things to "idealize" his own program, and this chapter provides the background for such attempts by describing various approaches to becoming bilingual. Since particular programs will follow variations of one or more of these pedagogical approaches, if the learner understands what he is experiencing, he may be able to compensate at its weak points. (Chapter 10)

8.1 Traditional Approach

Still represented in courses for ancient and classical languages is the traditional approach consisting largely of the memorization of rules, paradigms and vocabulary, and the translation of sentences. Such programs still compete also with the newer, non-traditional ones for modern languages most frequently used by Westerners.

This approach is different from our "ideal" approach in several fundamental ways.[2] Primary attention is given to the written form of language, without effective emphasis on learning the spoken language. Much time and energy is devoted to the memorization of rules of grammar, of conjugations and declensions and of vocabulary lists rather than extensive practice of these features in natural context. In such programs class time is more often devoted to discussion about the language than to practice in the language. Lectures and discussions prevail over drills and exercises for forming new habits. Languages are not viewed in their own right, as exemplifying their own structure, but in terms of a language such as Greek or Latin which is usually viewed as normative.

The traditional approach has a markedly different point of view from that of this book. Language is primarily a matter of speaking and listening, and secondarily one of reading and writing. Language involves intricately structured cultural habits, not just an accumulation of information; hence, it is absolutely necessary that language learning be grounded in imitation, followed by generous quantities of repetition and reinforcement. More fundamental yet, man's capacity for language learning and use includes the ability to say and understand new things once he has made habits of the language system and has internalized its rules. This capacity needs to be encouraged in the learning program. Lectures cannot inculcate such behavior patterns. We take it as axiomatic that every language must be seen in its own right as a medium for communication within a given society.

Many people have learned languages through the traditional approach--when they have kept at it long enough--where motivation was strong enough and where opportunities for supplemental use were great enough. The traditional approach, however, is a relatively inefficient means for altering a student's behavior so that he can use the language for communication. The successful student in the traditional classroom is not one who learns to communicate but rather one who learns

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[2]Moulton 1962a:86-90

to make approved statements about the language, even though the information which he acquires is not transformable into normal language usage.[3]

8.2 Direct Method

One outgrowth of the traditional approach to language learning is the so-called "direct method," which seeks to get the student's nose out of a book, to get him to talk, and to stimulate communication. The essential understanding of language, however, in much work based on such methods is strictly traditional. Although its practitioners realize that the book-centered and analysis-centered approach of the traditional method is pedagogically unsound, they do not go far enough in questioning many of the linguistic assumptions of the traditional point of view or the tendency to represent the superficial grammar of all languages in the same pattern. At the same time, the direct method does not reflect many of the pedagogical insights which have proved to be important in more recent approaches to language study. It is linguistically traditional and pedagogically unfocused and overly randomized.

After its beginning in the early 1900's, the direct method gained ascendancy and in one form or another is still widely represented in many modern language courses today. It is commonly the approach used in record albums for language learning which are available commercially.

The direct method attacked certain failures of the traditional approach rather forcefully. Students used the language from the very start of their programs. "Learning by doing" was very popular at the time. Results, too, were immediate and the approach won favor rather quickly.

In the direct method, language is seen as oral activity, correcting (and sometimes over-correcting) the emphasis on writing and reading characteristic of the traditional approaches. Language learning is seen as a matter of habit-formation (but not always in the framework of a structured system). The learner must acquire skills, not just knowledge about the language. Discussion about the language is replaced as a favorite classroom activity by active participation in mimicry, repetition and play-acting. To a much greater extent than do the traditionalists, advocates of the direct method see the importance of native speakers as models, although non-native speakers often try to teach by this method.

Significant advances came with the direct method and our ideal approach continues to draw heavily on some of its key themes. A new authenticity and relevance came into the language course, and the immersion in language on a "sink or swim" basis actually "took" for a number of students. On the other hand, for an even greater number this approach also failed to produce significant results, especially in alien classrooms outside the language environment. For many students, creative use of language--the ability to say new things beyond what was memorized--simply failed to develop. Also, the emphasis on "quickie" results left people disillusioned when they found that becoming bilingual took a long time and lots of hard work.

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[3] Priceman 1965

8.3 Structural Orientation

The Second World War marked a turning point in approaches to language learning. Within the space of just a few years a vast body of new data on many languages had been accumulated. Scores of linguists were put to work analyzing many of the exotic languages of the world, and from their combined efforts came a number of significant innovations in language instruction.

The essential features of the direct method formed the foundations of the pedagogical approach in the World War II programs, but to them were added the advantages of concentrated study in which students spend nearly all day in language study for a period of three months or longer. Great emphasis was placed on mimicry of basic sound features and memorization of dialogues and basic sentence types.

These new programs were undergirded with the point of view of structural linguistics and, as they developed, incorporated many of the insights of structural analysis. The contrastive analysis of learner's language and the new language, with their patterns of interference, guided the development of revised learning materials. It became apparent at this time that some difficulty for the learner could often actually be predicted from good contrastive analyses, and the result is evident in much more attention given to structural difficulty in the courses which emerged.

Developments since then have been more in detail than in basic philosophy. The systematic drill of grammatical patterns was developed well beyond World War II materials, and other improvements were steadily made. If any single aspect still awaits attention in structurally oriented language courses, it is perhaps that of creativity, for programs have not yet been developed which sufficiently stimulate the multiplication of the student's use of his acquired skills in every possible way.[4]

Virtually untouched is the larger question of embedding the language course in the learner's life in the new family and community. The dichotomy which places language study in school and the learner's "free time" as his own concern still prevails almost universally in structurally-oriented programs. It remains also to provide even more cultural authenticity in learning materials and make it even more possible to lead the student to the point where he can be truly creative in the use of the target language.[5]

8.4 Transformationalist Reaction

The adverse reactions to language programs which we have just characterized as "structural" have been of two fundamentally different kinds. At first there

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[4] The structural approach produced an enormous cycle of discussion in the United States, with strong advocates, both pro and con. See Angiolillo 1947; Matthew 1947; Haas 1953; Cornelius 1955; Ornstein 1956; Moulton 1962a; Upshur et al. 1968.

[5] For an important critique of the dialogue approach see Kelly 1964.

was a great deal of pained protest by language teachers who felt threatened by the claims of the innovators. These were essentially arguments for the status quo. In more recent years, however, strong new 'transformationalist' theories of the nature of language and of the way in which a child acquires his language (Introduction, Chapter 2) have also raised some important corrective observations regarding the structuralist assumptions about becoming bilingual.

Unfortunately, there has been more criticism on the part of the transformationalists than positive contribution to the problems of adult bilingualism. Yet this state is not likely to continue for long;[6] already transformationalists are having an important effect on language courses, as they have had on this book.

The transformationalists have contributed more profound insight into language structure than the structuralists, and this depth is important for any valid language program. They have also strongly emphasized the creative aspect of language, that when one learns a language he has done more than learn a long list of sentences, that a language is more than the sum of its visible parts, that he has learned a process by which enormous creativity in communication is possible. They would put the emphasis in language learning on that system or process rather than on the end product--the sentences and the sounds.

The transformationalists seem in some ways to be going back to the traditional approach in their emphasis on learning about the language as prerequisite to using the language.[7] But what they mean by this is very different from what the traditionalist meant, and is actually much closer to what many structuralists meant when they spoke of "learning the language" in distinction to "learning about the language," up to a point.

When structuralists talk of "learning the language," they include the ability to use the habitual rules. Transformationalists, as we have already indicated, are in addition absorbed with the extremely important questions of how much of a person's language competence is innate and not learned at all, but activated in some fashion.

8.5 Global Approach to Becoming Bilingual

The ideal program for learning a language will have to be greater than any of these, a total one which takes into consideration (1) the individual learner, (2) the new community, (3) features common to all languages, (4) the nature of the similarities and differences between the learner's mother tongue and the new language, (5) understanding of the psychology of language learning and the processes by which one becomes a neo-domestic, a bilingual person.

The ideal program will be fully sensitive to individual differences. The learner with high aptitude will not have to drill in the same way and to the same extent as the slow learner. The plodder will have time to plod, but will be stimulated to keep moving ahead and not mark time. The person who learns by flashes

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[6]Ney 1968:13; Wardhaugh 1967

[7]Ritchie 1967:46

of insight will be stimulated to turn such insight into linguistic habits through the necessary practice.

The ideal program will be concerned with the proper times and places for learning. Functional bilingualism takes time, and the learner will have to develop skills in controlled situations before he will be able to get along by himself. Near-total immersion in language learning involves no less than eight hours per day, much of which must be in controlled situations at first.

Furthermore, it is doubtful that any range of functional bilingualism can develop in less than five months in any language, and for most languages it probably takes at least four months before the learner can get along by himself in the community, using the language as a medium for his own learning and adjustment. This is, of course, only the start, the base line from which he will grow in his use of the language.

The ideal program provides the individual with professional help in understanding his learning problems, in diagnosing his mistakes and in counselling him concerning anxieties. It is sensitive to the learner's need.

The ideal program finds a place for the learner in the new community, and helps him to penetrate it by teaching him a growing number of appropriate roles: student, neighbor, consumer, friend. It does not consider its responsibility closed with the end of formal school hours, but helps the learner to organize his new life, to find and relate to a new family in which he can grow as a neo-domestic child-adult. It also provides opportunity for the learner to step out of the new community from time to time, to look back on his experience, to take stock of what he is learning, of what is happening to him, through discussion with people who can help him to be objective concerning his whole program.

8.51 Formal study, part of the ideal program and integrated with all of these other aspects of learning, will be controlled and graded for maximum learning efficiency. It will be conducted in pleasant surroundings with all the necessary equipment--books, tape recorders, props and whatever else the study materials require. It will help the learner to understand the process by which the language works, and to learn to use this process habitually.

The study course of the ideal program has two major thrusts, one of which is emphasized at the beginning and then slowly phased out, and the other gradually phased in. In the first phase, the mechanics of the language are emphasized as the learner seeks to understand and make habits of the new language system through pronunciation drills, grammar practice and vocabulary learning. Yet even in this phase each day's activities must carry the learner into the community where he is forced to put each new set of skills to practical use. This means that study material must be culturally authentic and continually relevant.

In the second phase, emphasis shifts to the deepening of knowledge and using the language creatively to widen the range of communication. Here the learner confronts the various styles of language and learns to use them. He meets the complications of literature and the diversity of regional dialects.

8.52 The ideal program surrounds the learner with a highly-trained and experienced staff for the study course. The staff must provide efficient learning materials, tailor-made to the individual learner's needs at every point. Where such materials are not already available they have to be produced.

The staff includes an anthropological linguist whose major responsibility is to design the program, or modify it where necessary, to do the contrastive analysis and to make the study of interference which will form the basis of much of the drill material. He will also gather all published resources on the two languages and the cultural areas involved.

Also included would be an educational psychologist to design the overall programming and testing. Working under his direction would be program writers. They would produce the needed drills and other language materials used as the basis for habit formation. A technician would have the responsibility for producing the materials in written or taped form.

Some staff members would be needed for teaching in the traditional sense. Talking about the language, the new culture, and the learning experience would occupy a small place in relation to practicing it, but nevertheless would be useful. Some members of the staff would have to be drill leaders, providing the models and stimulating the student to the repetition which is needed in the formation of good, deep habits. Along with that function would go the work of monitors, the staff members who can provide consistent correction of mistakes at all levels of structure, whether these mistakes are made in drill, in conversation, in face-to-face relationships, or when the student works with a tape recorder. There must also be conversationalists with whom the learner can overlearn and extend his skills in many new directions.

Some of the above functions may overlap in the same individual, yet each requires its own special training and skills. All may be performed by native speakers of the new language, if they are properly trained. The analytical ones may be performed by aliens, although the production of study materials, drilling and monitoring should never be done by aliens alone. Monitoring may safely be done by aliens only if it is on a supplementary basis. Any aliens on the staff should be bilingual.

8.53 The mastering of the mechanics of language, because it is done most efficiently in controlled fashion, is best accomplished in a "school" environment. The language school, however, is only part of the learner's total community--so far as an ideal program is concerned. Its learning opportunities and those of the larger community are integrated. The school leads the learner into the community and draws from the community those things which it can best provide.

Domestics (members of the new community) on the staff provide additional links with the larger community as well. As part of his new family, monitors, conversationalists, teachers and friends play key roles in training the child-adult.

Because the language school is part of the new community, the ideal language used for ordinary affairs is that of the community. In the learner's early stages, of course, an explanation or a discussion of problems in English will

save time and frustration, and will significantly increase understanding. Even in the first weeks, however, there should be limited use of the alien language, and after the first few weeks it should be very rare. The learner's first lessons would focus on the necessary expressions for working in school: "Please repeat," "I don't understand," "What does . . . mean?" "All together, mimic me." Within two weeks most of the ordinary needs for communicating about the mechanics of study would be learned, and the use of the new language in school-as-part-of-the-new-community would be fairly well established.

Learners, furthermore, would use the new language among themselves in school and with non-domestic staff as well. Reversion to the mother tongue in case of real need would be possible; however, emphasis would remain on membership in the community and commitment to its language. There is, of course, some danger of learning one another's mistakes, but this is not so great as the danger of perpetuating the alien wall, the psychological protection which the alien language can provide. Americans abroad often find it difficult to talk to each other in the local language even if they know it well. That feeling can be broken down by determined use of the new language with fellow students at the outset of language study.

The ideal language program would not nurture depth of control to the exclusion of breadth of experience. It is quite clearly a mistake to insist on the perfection of mechanical skills if by doing so it means that the student fails to get the kind of exposure to culture that gives meaning and relevance to such skills. Each year in the new community should bring the learner to higher levels of ability, not only in the mechanics of communication, but also in the relevance of his contribution to others.

The language program continues long after the experience necessary for mastering the mechanics. The seeds of cultural growth are laid in the content of the language study course. The ideal program nurtures these seeds throughout the following months and years, long after the learner has left his role as language student. It also provides opportunity for periodic diagnostic analysis of the learner's language proficiency and for "refresher" learning where necessary. The ideal program lasts a lifetime.[8]

But nobody ever will have an ideal language program, if for no other reason than that the ideal is receding with our greater insights. And, from a practical point of view, few will pay the price in resources, time and commitment. Nevertheless, the ideal stands as a model in making the most of any particular situation and in supplementing existing programs at points where they seem to be weak It is to such situations that we turn our attention in the next chapter.

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[8] For further details on such programs see Smalley 1952 and Larson 1963.

Chapter Nine

Learning in Typical Programs

If a language learning program is not ideal, what then? In this book we assume that all programs can be improved, and that in many cases the learner himself can improve the one in which he is working.

One of the authors studied French in Paris. (Chapter 5) The teaching program there was completely traditional. Beyond the two hours of class a day, there were such other activities as outings, visits to museums, but these were linguistically unstructured and unrelated to what we were doing in class. Administrators of the program took no responsibility for drawing the individual into the community or helping him to deal with his anxieties.

The classroom presented very little opportunity to learn to use the language. Instead, emphasis was on learning about the language. In a class of 30 - 40, students recited when called on, but the teacher did most of the talking. There was one "conversation" period a week when each student had time to participate once or twice.

Obviously we were forced to implement our study program if we were ever to learn French.[1] Previous linguistic training and reading was helpful, but specialized in a much different direction from the problems of language learning. Had we known what we know now, much more could have been accomplished. What we did do made a lot of difference, however.

For one thing, since oral habit formation was entirely neglected in the program, we used the best available textbook for drilling spoken French, setting up a drill program outside class with the help of a French student living in the same boarding house. Even more could have been done by developing more effective grammar drills than the textbook presented, but we did not know how. Anyone learning French today would have very much better resources.

Living in a French boarding house contributed to the shock described in Chapter 5, but in the long run it contributed to our language learning because of the daily contacts and use of the language during meals and at other times. In addition to the random contacts, we would meet and talk with other boarders at regularly scheduled intervals.

Compensating for the weaknesses in a language program, though different in detail in every case, will always involve essentially the same process: looking for ways to make the program more like an ideal one wherever it is obviously weak and frustrating, and wherever the labor of working out the improvement would not be greater than the gain in language proficiency.

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[1]Smalley 1952

The rest of this book is largely devoted to specific suggestions and techniques to compensate wherever necessary for the weaknesses in a language program. In this chapter we are concerned with the learner's approach to such compensating.

9.1 Assessing the Use of Time

When, for example, a learner finds himself trying to learn a language without enough time for formal study, he should first realistically consider all his time in terms of its potential for language learning.

The weekly schedule can be reviewed in terms of the following categories:

9.11 Sleep. The time spent in sleeping is probably lost to language learning, although there is some evidence that a tape recorder with a timer to turn it on after the learner goes to sleep and to turn it off before he awakens does have some effect on his learning. The tape would have to be a continuous loop tape which did not require being turned over during the playing.

9.12 Essential tasks where concentration is required on things which do not contribute to language learning. The learner works in an office where he is required to use nothing but his mother tongue (or some other language than the one he wants to learn), and where concentration on what he is doing makes it impossible to have the radio on or a tape recorder going at the same time. He feels that there is no time to learn the language.

Such situations are frustrating, but the motivated learner should scrutinize this category carefully. Is it really true that no language involvement is possible at all during office hours? Are there not some telephone calls to domestics in which the learner could try to use the new language? Are there no employees with whom he could communicate in the new language? It is rare that all the personnel in an institution overseas are completely alien.

Of course, the learner may not yet know the new language well enough to use it without slowing up his work, and pressures may not permit him to use the new language. But there are undoubtedly opportunities if only he will take the time to look for them.

The learner should search his motives at this point. Is he really concerned about interfering with his work, or is he afraid to make mistakes or to appear foolish before his associates. Or is it just a vague feeling of inappropriateness?

9.13 Essential tasks, but where concentration is not required, that is, where radio or recorder would not be distracting, or where the learner could practice while doing other things. For example, the learner driving to work could listen to the new language on the radio. Better yet, he could carry a recorder with him at all times, playing lesson materials as he goes along.

It is surprising how much time is given to essential tasks which allow varying degrees of language exposure. It may be nothing more than the opportunity

for listening to the language, but listening in enormous quantities is of utmost importance.[2] The learner may at first not understand what he is listening to, yet this should never stop him, for his brain and nervous system are working on what he is hearing anyhow. Concentrated listening may be impossible, but passive listening in large doses is of crucial importance.

Many learners fail to realize how much can be accomplished passively, feeling that proficiency can come only through concentrated periods of undivided attention. But periods of the day when the learner is engaged in relatively unstructured though essential activity may provide opportunity for developing considerable proficiency: he can eavesdrop (unobtrusively) on conversations, read newspaper headlines and road signs, listen to radio and watch television. He can talk to himself in the target language and memorize snatches of dialogues and stories. The learner can set up various situations in which the use of the language is possible, thus utilizing otherwise linguistically unproductive periods of time.

9.14 Essential areas of life where new language can be used. . Not everyone can marry into a new family, but for those who do, the wife or husband, their friends and relatives, provide maximum opportunity for use of the new language in the course of doing other things. Living with a family of domestics is sometimes not possible either, but it is almost as good. Lacking these, having native speakers as part of the learner's own household, living with the family, preferably at least two at a time so that they will talk together in the new language, is highly desirable. A young married couple or two high school or college students would be ideal. These domestics in the learner's home may have agreed to come because they want to learn English, so that a clear understanding of when English will be used and when the domestic language will be used should be established when arrangements are first made.

Shopping? Take a domestic friend along, and talk in the new language. Choose to patronize shops where the alien language is not known or where clerks do not insist on using it with the learner. Plan ahead for some new question to ask or some new word to use. Using the new language with servants is another important example.

Travelling? Go by public transportation and talk with fellow passengers, or take a friend along and talk with him. Watching the mechanic working on your car? Talk with him, learn the names of tools and parts of the car in the new language.

9.15 Odd moments and non-essential tasks. People differ temperamentally in their ability to use odd minutes--the twenty minutes between getting home from work and the beginning of dinner, the time between when the children go to bed and when their parents do, the few minutes before dropping off to sleep.

Certain people cannot get started on something if they know they have only twenty minutes before dinner. Others can concentrate even if there are only two or three minutes. The use of odd moments and "spare time" can be relatively painless if the new language is played on radio or recorder at home. The learner turns it on in the morning and never turns it off until bedtime. While he shaves,

while he waits for the coffee to heat, as he lies in bed before dropping off to sleep, he listens and learns subconsciously.

Another useful practice is to carry along something to study during a traffic jam, waiting for the bus, getting a haircut, and so on.

9.16 Recreation. Recreation with domestics can contribute to language learning. The time for conversation during a tennis game is limited, but even there the learner can use the new language rather than the alien one.

Recreational reading can be very profitable for language learning. One busy doctor in India decided that for one year all his reading would be in Gujarati except for necessary medical reading in English.

Television provides an excellent opportunity for language exposure in some countries. At those moments when the learner is too tired to do anything else, he can turn on the television even though he may understand very little at first.

Learners will differ in their placement of activities in the categories listed here. The mother who has small children may place eating a meal under the heading of essential tasks where concentration is required. Others may consider it essential, but not requiring concentration, thus playing taped lessons during mealtime. Still others would see its potential by conversing with servants[3] or house guests during the meal. Motivation will determine how such proposals are viewed by the learner.

9.2 Assessing the Language Course

A language program itself can be upgraded by aggressive and imaginative learners. The student normally must study the subject matter as it is presented to him. However, if he feels that it is inadequate for his needs at certain points, he may be able to develop additional drill and exercise material outside of formal class periods. Some learners have passed their own innovations along to their successors as well.

At the early stages, time should be spent almost entirely with a native speaker in oral drill, supplemented perhaps with recorded materials prepared by native speakers. Very little time should be spent in "studying" grammar

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[3] Readers who have negative reactions to the idea of aliens employing servants should remember that in many parts of the world to employ a maid or a cook in the home is no more undesirable than to employ them in a hotel. These are honorable, desired, even respected positions among working-class people and have no connotations of exploitation.

books or in reading and writing. Gradually as mastery increases, the emphasis can be shifted over to such activities.[4]

In general, a program should be so planned that the learner is able to use a large number of practical, concrete idiomatic expressions within a very few days. Then in a few weeks he should be able to express his needs on everyday matters and to understand everyday conversations easily. Within three to six months he should be able to converse fluently, effectively and idiomatically with anyone he meets on a wide variety of everyday topics.

Within a few years the successful learner will be able to understand puns and jokes and even participate in them. He will understand the language of religion and ritual, of philosophy, the technical jargon of arts and crafts; and will have amassed a wide range of vocabulary and idiom. Also, after a few years he will be able to read fluently, to spell correctly and to write an acceptable, fully correct letter on any typical subject, a simple article on a familiar theme, and perhaps even have occasion to learn one or more additional dialects. If we take the above as ultimate objectives, concern for their development must begin from the first weeks of formal study. Too often programs leave most of the learner's development to chance.

Some variation of the time schedule suggested in Figures 1 and 2 should produce such results. Figure 1 indicates the proportion of time which might be spent on different aspects of language learning at different stages. It assumes a language in which the writing system is relatively easy with fairly extensive reading materials, and full time study for three years. Of course, no language situation will match this exactly, and it can only be a rough indication of the ways in which the different emphases and techniques of language study phase in and out of the daily program.

The blocks of time shown should generally be broken up by alternating types of study. Thus, the first week, with its emphasis on pronunciation and frozen phrases, should be broken into 20 or 30 minute periods, alternating from the one to the other and varying the particular exercise used frequently. In the earliest stages the "social contacts" may be nothing more than sitting in a barber shop with ears open and an attempt to respond to what is going on, even if it is with little more than a greeting, or a laugh. By "reading" we are referring to it as a learning technique in its own right.

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[4]We are not denying the contention that an adult learns better what he already understands, and that a good picture of the abstract grammatical structure may strongly help language learning and reduce the time needed for drill (Ritchie 1967:112-114). Unless it is built into a good language program, such "storage of information" in the actual field situation is so haphazard and miscellaneous as to constitute very inefficient learning. In this book we assume a linguistically untrained person without the kind of help Ritchie wants him to get from his language course.
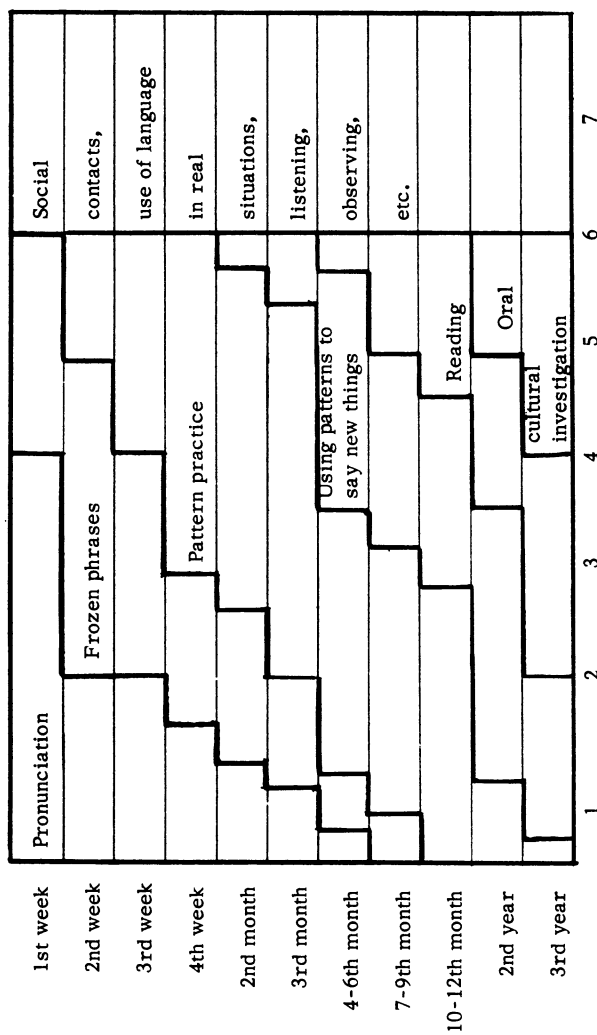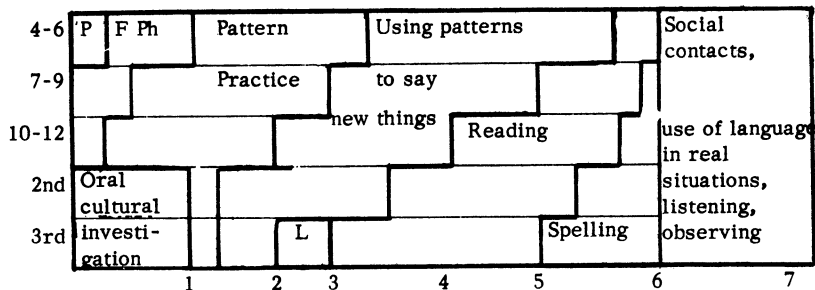
1st week | 2nd week | 3rd week | 4th week | 2nd month | 3rd month | 4-6th month | 7-9th month | 10-12th month | 2nd year | 3rd year

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Pronunciation

Frozen phrases

Pattern practice

Using patterns to say new things

Reading

Oral cultural investigation

Social contacts, use of language in real situations, listening, observing, etc.

Figure 1--Hours per day in a balanced study program where the writing system is no problem.

4-6	P	F Ph	Pattern	Using patterns		Social contacts,
7-9			Practice	to say		
10-12				new things	Reading	use of language in real
2nd	Oral cultural					situations, listening,
3rd	investigation		L		Spelling	observing
	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

Key: P-pronunciation; F Ph-Frozen phrases; L-variety and style, social dialects, literary polish, formal writing.

Figure 2 - Hours per day in a balanced study program
where writing is a serious problem.

In Figure 2 one principal variable is changed: the difficulty of the writing (spelling) system. The outstanding example of such difficulty is Chinese, but for some other languages this presents a major learning problem as well. Emphasis on it is delayed until the latter stages of study.

Depending on the particular difficulties of a given language, or the individual differences of students, any of the variables may need more or less time, and the total time needed for reaching goals will change.

Figures 1 and 2 assume that the language student is able to apportion his own time. This is, of course, not usually the case. The student in a language school or in directed study might do well to analyze his course and arrange for supplementary time on parts which do not get sufficient attention. This may be done after hours in time taken off from school to consolidate learning in those areas of greatest need, using the techniques which are outlined in subsequent chapters.

By having his own non-professional teacher available on call, by judicious use of time, by the development of effective drills and their thorough mastery, by careful supplementing, the learner can still reach a high level of achievement.

Language courses follow a variety of schedules. The time for language study must be viewed in terms of its total length and also alloted time per day. The total time per day may vary from "none" to "total immersion." Between these extremes is the part-time, low-intensity program of an hour or two each day, or the high-intensity program in which six to eight hours daily are planned for the learner. The length of the total program may vary from three months (a kind of absolute minimum for getting started) to a year or longer. If functional bilingualism is the desired objective, probably the most efficient course starts with a high-intensity program for at least three months.

There are other questions to consider in the learning program itself: Does the program train the student to learn by himself when its formal requirements come to an end? Is a distinction evident between that phase of the program in

which mechanics of the language are highlighted and the phase in which emphasis is placed on enrichment? In the first phase does the learner get a good grip on the basic structure of the language? Does daily classroom activity lead naturally to use in the community? Is the content of learning materials authentic and relevant to the learner's immediate and long-range needs? For the enrichment phase, are there activities which require the learner to develop his own materials and to use the language itself as a medium for his own self-instruction? Is attention given to various styles and varieties of language, and does the learner have opportunity to use them?

Learners may be disappointed at the answers to a number of these questions, for materials available in many languages are very meager. There are relatively few non-Indo-European languages where the learner can expect more than a grammar book, a dictionary and a small assortment of literature, although this is changing very rapidly. Some of the languages of South and East Asia, and Arabic, of course, are obvious exceptions, but in a great many other cases there is little or nothing. (Chapter 12) Some language learners have little more than sketchy mimeographed works to follow. The less accurate the material, of course, the greater the load upon the learner to compensate and improvise.

Language courses vary tremendously in their content. Often they begin with the alphabet and then take up writing, spelling and pronuncation, followed by an exposition of grammar, with examples, and some add written and spoken exercises. Extensive readings often mark the last step in formal study.[5]

The process of evaluating a language course is a continuing one, and the process of adapting and compensating should likewise continue. As needs become evident, the learner should seek to apply these principles and techniques to those points where the course seems to be most inadequate.

If prepared materials do not meet specifications, it may be possible to check them over with dependable helpers and then develop supplementary helps. If materials are not based on a sound analysis of the new language, the learner may be able to head off certain problems by reading elementary studies in linguistics, such as Moulton 1966, Gudschinsky 1967, Samarin 1967 and Nida 1957a. He can perhaps make use of resources at the local university or get information on better study materials from a clearing house such as the Center for Applied Linguistics.[6] If material is not pedagogically sound, the following chapters of this book will prove useful. He can also watch for helpful bibliographies on the new language and culture.

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[5] Nida 1957a:19-21

[6] The Center for Applied Linguistics is an important clearing house for all sorts of questions about languages and language learning materials and opportunities. The more exotic one's new language, the more important it is to contact that agency about available resources.

9.3 Assessing Teaching

So long as he remains in a particular program, the learner can do little about the personnel who supervise his work and perhaps anything that he tries or suggests might be badly misunderstood. Efforts at compensation outside of class may be very productive, however. It may be possible to supplement a corps of teachers or tutors with a helper whom the learner himself trains.

If drill instructors cannot give the kind of patient, persistent and consistent help that is needed, perhaps other can be trained to give additional help at home. Some teachers, of course, might be amenable to the kinds of suggestions which are made in this book.

If monitors do not give thorough, consistent and helpful correction, perhaps they do not realize how much the learner wants it. If necessary, monitors who do not correct the learner can be replaced. If conversational partners fail to challenge, or if they have a hard time coming down to the learner's level, perhaps they can be replaced, or given a bit more explanation of what is expected.

The differentiation between professional and non-professional teachers is an important one. The teacher may be professional, with training for his task in a culture which has specialists for language teaching, or he may be completely untrained and even barely literate in a culture which does not have such specialists. The educational accomplishments of the teacher will usually depend on the cultural development of the community. His ability to teach his own language to foreigners, however, may be no better as an educated "teacher" than as an ordinary man.

Language teaching skills are highly specialized ones. One difficulty often arising is that a professional "teacher," unless trained in modern language pedagogy, will attempt to teach his language much as it is taught in his culture to children (who already speak it). The problems of teaching an adult foreigner to speak and write a new language are entirely different from those of teaching the young child a fuller use of his mother tongue, as well as writing skills associated with it.

The student's relationship to his teacher often depends on whether his teacher is a professional or a non-professional. With the professional teacher the student must assume the role of a student, not attempting to take over leadership but following directions and doing what he is told. Nothing but trouble will come from a student's attempts at directing the activity of a teacher who considers himself a professional. When the student sees that certain changes can make language study more efficient (and they may be very many) he may have to content himself with tactful and subtle strategy in which he suggests them in an unobtrusive and inoffensive way.

With a nonprofessional teacher or "helper," the student can guide his own work if he knows how to do so. He may be able to take the initiative in showing him how to set up drills and exercises which concentrate on points of weakness.

There are certain disadvantages with a nonprofessional teacher, of course. For example, he may be less well-educated than a professional, and not know how to take the initiative when the student himself does not know what to do next. However, for the alert student who has an efficient approach to language study, there are some enormous advantages to the use of a non-professional. Such a relationship can provide intensive study such as a professional might not wish to engage in. In a typical situation the learner will spend a few hours with a professional teacher in the morning and with a helper in the afternoon or evening.

In more primitive areas of the world there may be no professional teachers at all. However, in many areas the student will quite naturally turn to the professional teacher for help. It would be unwise, in fact, for a student in India or a student of Mandarin Chinese to bypass the opportunity to work with a highly educated man, for a man of status and standing can give him many things that would be unavailable elsewhere.

However, even then the most adequate total solution might be for the student to have both kinds of help. The professional teacher is a significant source of many kinds of information, and his importance should not be underestimated. On the other hand, the nonprofessional helper may be more suitable for basic drill and habit formation, the tedious tasks involved in gaining fluency.

The professional teacher must be hired as a "teacher" but the nonprofessional helper should not. Very often one can use an intelligent office helper or house-boy in this activity. As such his role is not cast in a professional matrix, and he does not feel any loss of face when the learner directs his activity and uses him for simple tasks like drilling. One superb nonprofessional teacher in Thailand was a 19-year-old girl who worked primarily as a cook in an alien household and secondarily as language helper for about two hours a day. Her qualifications were a keen mind and a quick sense of humor plus a gay willingness to enter into the spirit of the work. The study sessions were an unusual pleasure because of her temperament.

The following general suggestions may be helpful in selecting, training and maintaining good relations with nonprofessional helpers.

1. The helper should be mature, patient, willing to correct mistakes and not easily threatened in the presence of aliens.

2. He should be intelligent and have some aptitude and interest in language work.

3. He should not have any undesirable speech characteristics such as a speech impediment, a provincial dialect (unless that is the one needed) or tendencies toward bookishness.

4. He should be communicative. He should like to talk but not monopolize conversation. He should enjoy interrogation. He should feel free to laugh and show his feelings.

5. The first helper should be a bilingual who is willing to limit his use of the intermediary language to a minimum. Later there may be advantages to monolingual helpers.

6. The helper should have an acceptable reputation and social background.

7. He should be trained to perform specific tasks and compensated accordingly.

8. The learner should not argue with his helpers. If there is reason to be suspicious of the accuracy of his information, it should be checked out tactfully.

9. The learner should always show appreciation, should always be polite.

10. The learner should never ridicule the helper, his language or his country, or seem to laugh at him.

11. He should not tire the helper unnecessarily.

12. Learner and helper should agree on working conditions and regular meetings. The learner should be faithful to his own responsibility.

There are scores of people in any community who can serve as temporary or part-time helpers: barbers, merchants, mechanics and so on. When making his arrangements the learner should be sure to do so in the manner which is acceptable to members of that community. Usually agreements for short periods with stipulated terminal points are wiser than open-ended ones. Conditions should be clear and acceptable to both parties.

9.4 Assessing Processes of Dealienation

Some language programs begin with a weak "orientation" period. However, such supporting activity is often lacking entirely. Some of the functions of the new family (Chapter 6) will be performed temporarily by teachers, if they are good, but the learner will need to make his own new friends and establish new lines of communication.

From the very first, the learner will need to cultivate ways and means of strengthening the process of domestication. He may be tempted to delay it until his knowledge of the mechanics of language is greater, and it is easier for him to communicate--and opportunities for dealienation certainly increase after he is functionally bilingual. However, the learner will establish his general outlook early, including his point of view toward dealienation, and domestics will establish patterns of reaction to him early. The learner is well-advised, therefore, to take the intiative early, to establish his roles and to make his friends.

Chapter Ten

Resources for Learning

In our suggestions about compensating for weaknesses in a language pro-
gram, we have implied the importance of identifying, evaluating and selecting re-
sources for the furthering of a person's learning. The problem is different, of
course, where a total collection of publications in a given language occupies
three inches on a shelf from what it is in some languages of Asia and Europe
where the literature fills libraries. In some situations no linguist has ever made
a serious study of the grammatical structure of the language. In others the in-
sights of linguists are readily available if one knows where to look for them. Some-
times there are no schools at all; at other times there are specialized schools for
teaching the language to foreigners. How does the inexperienced learner know
how to select from his available alternatives?

In discussing resources we will differentiate <u>general resources</u> from <u>spe-
cialized resources.</u> The general resources are more universally available; they
are useful even in the most sophisticated language learning program. Suggestions
for the effective use of these resources are built into this book from beginning to
end in various ways. They are fundamental in all discussions of language learn-
ing.[1] General resources are found in the generalized life of the community and
arise from the learner's interaction with its people. Specialized resources, on
the other hand, are publications about the new language and culture, or ones which
open avenues of understanding toward them.[2]

10.1 General Resources

10.11 <u>People.</u> The learner's most fundamental resource for learning a
new language in its own setting is the mass of individuals who speak it as their
mother tongue. These may include long-time friends or casual contacts, house-
hold help with whom the learner deals every day or storekeepers with whom he
does a few minutes' business from time to time. They include language helpers,
whether professional teachers or people with unusual aptitude for language who
can help the learner to help himself. They include children, valuable for their
unsophisticated use of language appropriate to their level, and specialists who
are valuable for their knowledge of details which are not consciously known to
the rank and file.

Some people are more valuable as resources than others, and their value
may change with different stages in the learner's development. For a beginner,

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[1]These statements do not apply fully to one of these general resources,
namely, mass media, in cultures where the mass media have not yet become an
integral part of the domestic's regular life and activity. In such cases the mass
media would fit better under specialized resources, and as a matter of fact, we
mentioned some aspects of them there.

[2]One important resource available in some countries is a language school
for aliens. Criteria for evaluation of such programs are implied in Chapters 8
and 9.

the shopkeeper who enunciates clearly is more valuable as a resource than the man next door who slurs his words and uses many contractions, even though contact with the latter may be more frequent. At a more advanced stage, however, the man who uses all the difficult contractions may be just what the learner needs if he hopes to understand the spoken language of a wide variety of people, including those who use the language with less precision and care than others.

From the language learning standpoint, daily contact with people gives the learner practice in the use of the new language. Some of its value comes in its "random" nature. Daily contacts pose problems of communication which are less controlled than those in the formal learning situation. Thus they provide a bridge between the daily study period and everyday life. In order to make the most of them, however, the learner should use them deliberately to practice what he has been working on in his formal study. He can plan a series of questions to ask of all his casual contacts (changing the question periodically) and a procedure by which he then follows up and practices some of the new expressions which he notices in their replies.

The questions can relate to the person to whom he is talking at the time. How long have you been driving a taxi? (Or working in this store? or selling gasoline, and so on). How do you like it? Do you have a family? How old are your children? Have you always lived here? (Or, where did you originally come from?)

From such daily interaction the learner may also gain a better understanding of the weaknesses in his own language competence and find areas needing more systematic study. These contacts then provide a mirror by which he observes himself in action, and sees where further improvement is required.

Personal contacts are also valuable for learning more about the language and culture through the use of the language. (Chapter 21) Asking questions about the family of a casual contact may reach a point of diminishing returns after it has been done several times. But suppose the learner cannot easily distinguish the meanings of two words which seem very similar. He might solve his problem by asking his next 20 casual contacts to help him. He can start out with the culturally acceptable form of apology and explanation, saying, for example, "Excuse me, but I still have many difficulties in understanding your language. Could you explain to me the difference between the word _____ and the word _____." Then after an explanation, he could go on, "Somebody told me that _____ is used under _____ circumstances. Is this right?" Or, "The other day I said _____ under _____ circumstances. Was this right, or should I have said _____?"

People will differ in the skill with which they can answer questions like this. They differ in the degree to which they have thought analytically about their language, and in how well they remember the stock answers of the schoolroom or the popular (but not necessarily true) assumptions about the language. However, the variety of answers which the question will evoke and the conversation which will be generated by the question may create a significant learning situation.

The possibilities for topics around which everyday conversations may emerge are limitless. A few rules of thumb need to be observed, however. One is that abstract questions about the language situation should not be asked. For example, it is not too fruitful to ask people <u>why</u> they use one grammatical form or another, although questions about <u>what</u> they say under what circumstances and what this means may be very valuable.

Then again, the same set of questions about the same language or cultural problem should be asked of a series of individuals over a relatively short span of time. Getting different answers and comparing those of one person with another are all important parts of the process. Some control of these conversations is thereby introduced, thus making it somewhat easier for the learner to participate.

Topics which have to do with customs and culture should be handled carefully with casual contacts. Questions should be expressed in a non-judgmental way which will assure people of the learner's genuine interest in their life and way of doing things.

If the learner volunteers information about his own way of life, he may not seem to be intruding quite so much. For example, if he says, "Excuse me, in my country when we hand something to somebody we use one hand. Here I notice that you use two hands (or you touch your arm with your left hand while you are handing it with your right, and so on). What is the polite way to hand something from one person to another? As a stranger to your country, I would like to know." And then when explanations begin, more detailed questions can be introduced: how a superior hands something to an employee, or a child to an adult, or an adult to a child and so on.

People with a domestic's feel for the new language and culture are the learner's primary personal resources. They are all-important, both for practicing the language and learning more about the culture. Alien specialists, however, are also useful in learning <u>about</u> the language and culture (but not so useful for practice because of the residual contamination which almost every alien has). Anthropologists, linguists, experts of other kinds, missionaries, business men and other long-time residents generally have valuable knowledge which could spare the learner frustration and help him to avoid mistakes.

Such people differ in the degree of their insight, the extent of their knowledge and their willingness to share it with others. The learner should double-check information gained from any source, and aliens who have gone through much the same process can sometimes tell him exactly what he needs to know.

<u>10.12 Social Role.</u> In discussing the language learner's daily contacts we have already hinted at the importance of occupying an understandable "role" as he relates to people. Even by establishing his role as a visitor from another country, and as one who is interested in learning how to hand objects to another person politely, the learner takes inquiries out of the realm of "nosiness" and gives them validity. There is a sense in which a role itself is a resource for gaining mastery in the new language. (Chapters 3, 6)

In each of his roles the learner gets practice in the general use of the language. In a new role, or in an old role in a new culture, he takes on many of the characteristics of play. In fact, the girl with her dolls and the boy with his truck are practicing roles for adult life. The adult alien in his own role-playing is preparing himself for those which are necessary in the new society.

When an alien tries to play a domestic role, local people may be unable or unwilling to accept him in this role at first. It may seem inappropriate or even incongruous for an alien to do things as a domestic does them. As the alien learns to fill some roles, however, others will come more easily, and domestics will feel less strange as they interact with him.

Some roles may be natural ones for the learner, as for example, the role of father, of neighbor, of consumer. In any big Asian city, the alien can go househunting in the alien pattern, or he can use the domestic pattern. Real estate agencies have been set up to handle the needs of aliens in many Asian cities, and rents have been scaled accordingly. On the other hand, the learner may say to a friend, "I know how to look for a house in my own country, but would you teach me how to look for one here?" "If you were in my situation and were looking for a house, what would you advise me to do?" The house-hunting roles, therefore, might be quite different and the houses found by these two methods might vary considerably.

There are also specialized roles for the learner which may make it easier for domestics to accept and understand him. A missionary or a teacher, for example, may come with a role ready-made for him, but if he can drop that role and become a student, it may be easier for him to learn. People do not teach teachers in most societies. By enrolling in a university as a student, his whole relationship to people around him may be drastically altered.

The role of anthropologist or linguist is likewise that of a learner. Such people have a reason for asking questions, for seeking information. Especially in societies where agents of cultural change are suspect and a genuine interest in the language and culture may be misinterpreted as subversive, adopting a role which gives legitimacy to inquiries may be very important.

At first all language learners need to establish a role as learner even though it may be difficult to do so. It may also be difficult to sustain such a role for a long period of time. People expect learners to grow up sooner or later. After some initial stumbling in the language, which makes the learning role convincing for a time, care should be taken to assume a role which makes it possible for learning to continue but which at the same time is legitimized by normal adult activity. Roles like those of doctor, teacher, agricultural worker or other professions give the learner contact with people and opportunity to share with people something that they really want. Such roles can then be excellent for stimulating learning.

All too often, however, such roles become ends in themselves and inhibit learning rather than stimulate it. The doctor becomes so absorbed in his practice that his ears gradually close to the flow of speech around him, even though he can hear delicate distinctions in heartbeats through his stethoscope. The

agriculturalist may become so obsessed with his attempts to introduce new crops
that he may not see how an understanding of the agricultural practice and lore of
the domestic can greatly enrich his own learning process. Whatever the role--
Peace Corps volunteer, government official--there are always booby traps for
the learner, yet most of one's roles can be used as a basis for deeper penetra-
tion into the new language and culture.

10.13 Mass Media. Radio, television, newspapers, books, magazines,
comic books, public speeches--there are not many major languages left in the
world where these do not impinge heavily upon life, at least for middle and upper
class adults. Here is language used in enormous quantities, and readily available.

Some language learners, it is true, tend to use such material as an escape
from personal contacts. The mass media create fewer anxieties, are less threat-
ening, require less adaptability of the learner. Their use is self-defeating if it
leads to the exclusion of or subordination of other resources. The goal of the
language learner cannot be reached without inter-personal contact.

But by and large, the resources of the mass media are rarely exploited by
the language learner to their full potential. Alone they are never enough, but
they are of enormous value when used in conjunction with other resources. Much
of what will be said in Chapter 21 on "using the language to explore" and in the
remainder of this chapter concerns techniques for using the mass media.

The learner does not really exploit the resources of the mass media unless
he uses them in enormous quantities. Glancing at a newspaper in the new language
once a week or stopping to catch a few minutes of language on the radio as one is
hunting for an English language program or for music, is of relatively little value.
By reading more and more of a newspaper daily and listening to several hours of
radio broadcasting daily (whether one understands everything or not), the learner
will approach a fuller exploitation of these mass media.

Selection of materials for reading and listening is of great importance if
learning through the mass media is to be effective. This will be discussed in fur-
ther detail in Chapter 20.

10.2 Specialized Resources

10.21 Classification by Audience and Language Model. In discussing spec-
ific resources--books, manuals and other tools--we need finer categories of
evaluation. Figure 1 presents a scheme of classification which highlights factors
which are useful in selecting and adapting resources for language study.

According to Figure 1 some books are "prepared for aliens"--designed
to help them with the new language in some way. Others are "prepared for do-
mestics"--written for native speakers of the language. This distinction can be
seen in dictionaries, for example. The selection of words to be included in a
dictionary, and their definitions, will be determined by the intended audience,
whether for those who habitually speak the language, or those who are alien to
the language and culture.

Language Model Used Audience	Alien Model of the New Language	Domestic Model of the New Language
Prepared for Aliens		
Prepared for Domestics		

Figure 1.   Categories for the classification of
resources by audience and model.

Along the top axis of the figure is the contrast "alien model of the new lan-
guage" and "domestic model of the new language." By this we mean the difference
between seeing a language in its own terms and in its own right (the domestic
model) or seeing it through English eyes or that of some other "alien language."
(Chapter 3)

Traditional grammars (Chapter 9) generally have an alien model of the new
language. In modern approaches, however, there is a greater attempt to match
the domestic model: whether the grammar is written by an alien or domestic,
the writer is trying to present the language in its own right and not as a reflec-
tion of the learner's domestic language.

There are several criteria by which the alien model can be recognized. In
mentioning them we are not suggesting that such books have no usefulness or
value to the learner, but the alien model viewpoint has certain inherent problems
that need to be recognized.

For example, publications with an alien model tend to exaggerate super-
ficial similarities between the alien language and the new language. The learner
may be told, for example, that the "vowels are like those of Italian," or that
certain vowels of Southeast Asia languages are like certain other vowels of French
or German.   There is a tendency to assume that what is a noun in English will be
a noun in the new language, and that a verb in the new language always corre-
sponds to a verb in English. When the learner notices the grammatical termino-
logy of English being used for the new language with very little redefinition, he
should be on guard, for the grammars are not likely to be that much the same.
However, if some of the same terminology is redefined in ways that apply par-
ticularly to the new language, this is an indication that the person who prepared
the book may have gone beyond the alien point of view.

A genuinely domestic model is harder for the inexperienced learner to iden-
tify, although he may be able to recognize characteristics of modern structural
and transformational approaches to language. While these do not guarantee the

genuineness of the domestic model, they do indicate that there was some intention and effort to use such a model.

We have summarized (Chapter 9) the assumptions common to the more "modern" approaches based on structural linguistic theory: (1) the superficial structures of different languages are different and the differences need to be learned; (2) each language should be studied for its own characteristics and should be learned in its own terms, without trying to impose the characteristics of one language on another; (3) in order to learn to speak one should practice speaking, regardless of the ultimate place of the written language in the program; (4) new habits have to be formed in learning another language, and the formation of these habits requires extensive practice; and (5) the learning should be introduced by level of difficulty, giving easier things first and progressing to things that are harder. In the modern approaches (typically built around the conversational rather than around the discussion of abstractions like "nouns" or "passive participle") all practice is conspicuous by its volume and its centrality.

Some of the structuralist material tends to see language in static terms and the materials based on it to require the mastery of set conversations and drills. The "transformational" corrective sees language in somewhat more dynamic terms and emphasizes learning to "generate" the language in the way that a native speaker does. Drills prepared from this point of view tends to emphasize changing one grammatical form into another, or "transforming" it.

Utilizing the categories of Figure 1, the learner can evaluate his materials by these criteria. Is the book prepared for aliens or domestics? Does it have an alien or domestic model of the new language? It is possible for books in each of these categories to be prepared by aliens or domestics. However, there are some aspects of language which are better dealt with by properly trained domestics than even the most skilled aliens. With his technical skills, on the other hand, the alien may be able to present to the alien a better picture of the language than can the domestic who has great sensitivity to the use of his own language but little understanding of the structural and pedagogical processes involved.

10.22 Textbooks for Learning to Speak. By textbooks we refer to those which have organized learning-units in pedagogical sequence. In contrast, reference books are ones out of which the learner draws information which he then reorganizes for his own needs. Textbooks are pedagogically oriented, while reference books are oriented to the imparting of information by other systems, whether alphabetical (as in a dictionary) or by topics (as in a reference grammar).

Textbooks which are designed to help people learn to speak sometimes actually lead to something else, such as imparting information or teaching people to identify different parts of speech.

Books which really help people to learn to speak are usually not very numerous in any language, are usually elementary (not going into the advanced stages of language learning) and are quite often experimental. Such books generally attempt to follow a domestic model of the language, although they are prepared for aliens, not for domestics. Books of the type that deal with "the most common errors in English" are an exception; they are usually prepared for domestics, not aliens.

These latter deal with problems arising out of different social dialects, different regional forms and other factors in the local situation which the learner does not need to know until a later stage.

There are two major classes of textbooks for learning to speak. One group is designed for college courses meeting several hours a week; the other for intensive courses meeting several hours a day. (Chapter 9) The objectives, pacing and coverage are different.

In college courses, for example, the ultimate objective of learning to read literature often ranks very high, even if the immediate objective is learning to speak. Sometimes in the intensive course, reading and writing may receive little or no attention, since objectives are to learn to speak as quickly as possible without diversion.

Furthermore, the orientation of the course may vary according to its intended use. The college course may reveal its academic orientation in the content of conversations, discussions, text material, vocabulary lists. The intensive course may have been designed for a particular group, like military officers, diplomatic and other official personnel or Christian missionaries. Content may, therefore, be somewhat specialized in these directions. In making his selection, the learner should consider his own needs for the subject matter that he must discuss quickly and the long-range needs for an understanding of the domestic culture. A textbook which combines both of these is ideal.[3]

For a few languages the learner will have several books from which to choose. Generally, he will want to own at least two or three of them because of the manner in which they supplement one another. In many cases learners are happy to find even one good book on the language.

Textbooks designed for learning to speak, especially those produced for the intensive language courses, can be classified in three major ways, according to their pedagogical orientation.

One orientation can be best seen in the famous effort to teach thousands of Americans to speak many widely different languages in a short period of time during World War II. Several of the manuals developed in this program were published by Henry Holt and Company and have had wide use in subsequent years under such titles as <u>Spoken Japanese,</u> <u>Spoken Thai,</u> <u>Spoken Chinese.</u> In these books the basic point of view is structural, although they constitute a link between the direct method based on the traditional view and later modern approaches (Chapter 8). They require little more than the memorization of long conversations, although there was a new philosophy of language apparent in them.

In textbooks with this orientation each unit consists of several pages of dialogue for mimicry and memorization, giving rise to the name of the basic technique involved, Mim-Mem. The long-term effect of this approach was learning to

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[3]See Chapters 13-15 for suggestions on organizing learning progression.

communicate by indirectly internalizing the rules of grammatical structure
through abstraction from the mass of dialogue being learned by rote. From a
pedagogical standpoint, learning by means of a dialogue keeps a situation con-
stant (ordering food, riding a train and so on) but changes the grammatical struc-
tures of the material being learned in random ways according to the needs of the
dialogue. One grammatical pattern follows another in relatively random fashion.[4]
When the dialogue is long, graded progression in learning becomes virtually im-
possible.[5]

The basic orientation of many other courses is directly opposite. There
the particular learning problem, such as pronunciation or grammar, is kept con-
stant in a drill, and the content of sentences or vocabulary is changed in random
order. To see the difference, notice the variety of grammatical constructions in
the following dialogue:

> (1) "Where do you think he went?"
> (2) "I don't know. Maybe to the grocery store."
> (3) "Not him! More likely to his girl friend's."
> (4) "Which one?"

Compare the following drill:

> (1) "Where do you think he went?"
> (2) "Where do you think he ate?"
> (3) "Where do you think he hid?"
> (4) "Where do you think he fell?"

A drill orientation can be "programmed" into a pedagogical order in ways
which a conversation orientation cannot. However, drills are not normal com-
munication events. They are useful for learning structures, but not for practic-
ing communication. Valuable as they are for pre-communication, an orientation
which relies too exclusively on them is weak.

The learning cycle advocated in this volume (Chapter 14) starts with a
short text, moves on to the drilling of selected difficult features exemplified in
that text and closes with practice in communicating with the new things learned
in the cycle. Language courses with this orientation, although still uncommon,
are especially helpful. However, materials with a drill orientation can be adapted
to learning cycles which the learner designs himself, and materials with a dia-
logue orientation can be recast according to the principles presented in Chapter
14.

Whatever the orientation, the learner needs to evaluate materials from the
standpoint of the kinds of cultural situations which are included (both situations

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[4] Newmark 1963, 1966; Newmark et al. 1964

[5] That is, except for some control of vocabulary and limitation of grammat-
ical types.

useful to him as an alien and situations which are culturally relevant in the new culture). Furthermore, in selecting materials, he should try to find those which include as wide a range of problems, grammatical structures, translation difficulties and so on, as possible. At first it may be impossible to make accurate judgments, but as he studies and checks one book against another, he may find that structures which he needs to understand are dealt with in one or the other. Thus one textbook can supplement another.

Another area for evaluation is in the notes which supplement each lesson. Notes which are clear and give useful information without interfering with practice and learning are an obvious asset to any student. Explanations will never substitute for learning to speak, but they can make the process easier and more meaningful. The notes which take up issues arising out of the lesson in which they are contained, and which do not go beyond the competence of the learner at the particular point where they occur are especially helpful.[6]

Many courses designed for speaking come with recordings. These are valuable auxiliary tools when properly produced. The clarity of directions and the drill format should be taken into consideration when evaluating them. Some recordings simply give a variety of unorganized materials in a traditional or direct method approach. Recordings appended to traditional materials may give them a "modern" appearance, but in reality may be so weak or so misleading that they can serve only for reference purposes and not incorporation into learning, cycles at all. In other cases, by careful selection, parts of them will work well into learning cycles which the learner may develop.[7]

10.23 Textbooks for Learning to Read. The nature of written language and techniques for mastery of it will be included in Chapter 20. Here we simply indicate resources available for the study of written forms. As some languages present far more reading difficulty than others, we will assume a language relatively high on the scale of difficulty. In easier situations, learning to read (though not necessarily learning to write) can begin as soon as the learner has a good start on spoken language skills.

Sometimes, of course, manuals or textbooks which emphasize the spoken language also provide help for learning to read it. Depending upon the difficulty of the written language, this may or may not be all the learner needs.

In selecting materials for learning to read, it is important that the learner keep a balance between the simplicity of the material and its content, and between the degree of difficulty and its cultural relevance. As an adult he is not likely to be motivated by books intended for children, but such books may be the only ones

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[6]Ritchie 1967

[7]We make no attempt to give criteria for evaluating language laboratories here. They are electronic settings for drill and have their usefulness, but are not normally available to our audience in this book. For some references on these and other tools see Stack 1966; Hocking 1964; Wittich and Schuller 1968.

that are simple enough to help him with the mechanics of reading at his stage. Sometimes content that is interesting and relevant is too difficult to be helpful in learning to read, and the learner must set it aside until his reading skill is greater, substituting less relevant material simply because the two requirements are not satisfied in one book.

Even on the level of a simple primer, the question of whether the book was designed for domestics or aliens again becomes important. A book written for a five-year-old domestic child can assume knowledge of vast areas of language use that the alien who is learning to read is unfamiliar with. If primers for aliens are not available, then primers for domestics may have be modified for the alien learner. Primers designed for domestic adults and used in adult reading campaigns may be culturally more useful to the learner than primers designed for domestic children, but he will have to weigh the factors of difficulty in each case.

In evaluating such materials, the learner should consider the number of new words, the new problem points, the number of places per page that slow him down for other reasons than questions of learning to read. If, for example, the learner is working through a primer of a language in a non-roman script and is trying to learn the basic values of the symbols and recognize their shape, and finds that he has to stop repeatedly for explanations on the meanings of words, on cultural references and on other questions that have nothing to do with learning to read, he might do well to check and see whether or not there is some other book which is better for his purpose. If he cannot find such a book, once he has cleared away all of the difficulties of understanding, he should then go back over the lesson for the strict purpose of fixing reading habits in his mind.

At the lowest level of resource for learning to read is the primer, a book designed to help with the recognition of the shapes of letters and associated sound values. In many parts of the world school children memorize their primers, singing them aloud in school and practicing at home. Where this is the custom the language helper may feel that the learner should follow the same process in learning the alphabet, the combinations of letters and their respective pronunciations.

For example, in earlier years missionaries learning Vietnamese spent several months "singing the tones." They used to take the syllabaries (consisting of every combination of consonant and vowel and tone possible in the language, even those which did not actually occur in the language) used in the school and systematically "sing" these in alphabetical order, assuming that this would help to learn the association of sound and symbol.

Fortunately, there are more efficient ways of learning sound-symbol association. Furthermore, such practice tends to be misleading, for "singing" the tones leads to artificially exaggerated pronunciations used only in these very special circumstances.

Primers designed for aliens are relatively rare. Some are now being produced experimentally in the form of "programmed learning" and may be very useful at the start.

As the learner moves beyond the simple recognition of symbols and their associated sounds, he needs extensive practice in reading: simple readers and practice reading books. Such readers for aliens are being produced in some languages of Asia and Africa now, just as they have long existed for many European languages. Some of them are extremely helpful, with the marks of the well-designed reader: a selection of culturally relevant content, notes at points of difficulty, indication of the meaning of new vocabulary, graded difficulty, and language which is natural and appropriate. The language helper should be encouraged to point out anything that seems unnatural.

As the learner advances, readers designed for domestics become more and more useful, and schoolbooks constitute valuable reading matter. One advantage in graded school books is that the learner may be able to find a level at which reading practice is profitable. Some school books are culturally relevant for all learners: history, geography, social studies and so on. Others are relevant to a deeper understanding of the language itself, such as books of literary selections. Some are relevant to particular specializations which the learner may have, such as science, mathematics or technology.

A reader designed for domestics may highlight the sharp differences between spoken and written usage. The learner has to master both media and switch from one to the other under the appropriate circumstances. Although these problems are dealt with again in Chapter 20, we mention them here because they complicate the question of resources. There may be a wide range of style in books for domestics, some nearly like the spoken language and others remote from it.

Beyond the level of readers are books prepared for literate adults. It is through these that proficiency in the use of written language ultimately comes. Here the multitude of available titles may be overwhelming, and selection becomes a matter of taste as well as of chance. Getting the judgment and advice of experienced people is helpful. The learner wants books that will lead to greater cultural insight, greater knowledge of the language, wider vocabulary, yet books which are interesting enough to keep his task as fresh and easy as possible. In some languages he may even find books relevant to his own specific role in the new society and to his own professional interests.

Where magazines and newspapers are available, the learner should try to reach the point where he·can read a newspaper every day and a magazine every week or two. They should be selected in consultation with informed people who can help the learner to evaluate coverage, relevancy, accuracy, usefulness and style.

10.24 Textbooks for Learning to Write. Earlier we distinguished between the skills for recognizing the letters and their associated sounds and those involved in learning to read fluently and easily for content. The same distinction applies to writing. One needs to learn to form both printed and handwritten forms of the letters of a non-Roman script, and also to develop proper written style.

Where there are long literary traditions there are usually books designed to teach the children the first of these skills. Some of these books may be helpful

as the learner works with his helper. As much as possible, letters should be shaped as domestics shape them, and the helper can be of great assistance in such practice.

Unfortunately, there are usually not so many helps available for learning to communicate in written style. Here conversation with informed persons may turn up helpful and significant works, but resources are likely to be limited.

Likewise, modern pedagogical materials for teaching aliens to write are limited in most languages. Some programmed materials have been designed to help aliens form letters properly, but usually there is nothing available to help alien learners to communicate in written style. (Chapter 22)

10.25 Reference Books. Reference books contain information which the learner extracts and then organizes according to his need. While textbooks may have to be adapted, they do provide the learner with a basic organization of his task. In reference books the learner must do this for himself.

The dictionary, organized in alphabetical order and thus completely unrelated to the sequence of the learner's needs, probably represents the extreme in language reference books, and it is almost indispensable when the learner needs information about a particular word. The distinction here between reference books and textbooks does not involve a negative judgment. Both are very useful. When a book which purports to be a textbook is really a reference book, as are many grammars, the learner needs to be aware of it, of course.

Information from reference books may be worked into learning cycles by framing such information in such a form that it may be useful in the learning sequence, or it may simply satisfy the learner's curiosity when he looks it up. However, the learner should not assume that he can remember information simply by looking it up. He may not retain it without practice.

Some grammar books claim to organize material in a learning sequence, but in fact are organized more in the fashion of reference books. Other grammars are deliberately organized for reference purposes. Some of these are based on traditional notions of language and others on modern notions. Where the viewpoint is traditional the difference between these reference grammars and those which purport to be pedagogically organized may be seen chiefly in a lack of written exercises, and the greater detail or technical language of the reference grammar.

Reference grammars are often very difficult for the uninitiated to use. They may contain a mine of information, although to mine the information may require more powerful tools than the average learner may possess. Grammars written from the viewpoint of modern linguistics may be especially difficult because of the jargon and because of the non-traditional assumptions about language. The learner will have to decide for himself how much mining he can profitably do in a reference grammar. The struggling may not always be worth the gain in language proficiency.

Reference grammars written in the new language itself should not be over-looked. Although the learner cannot read them at the earlier stages, they may be useful to the helper as he seeks to get an idea of the range of possibilities in his own language. Little by little the learner can use such reference grammars himself as he gains more skill in reading.

10.251 **Dictionaries.** Dictionaries perhaps need less comment than some of the other resources available to the learner. There may be bilingual dictionaries from the new language into English, from English into the new language, or monolingual ones with the new language defined in terms of the new language. There may also be dictionaries with definitions in still other languages which the learner may know. Dictionaries come in various formats, sizes and degrees of completeness: pocket, abridged, comprehensive or specialized. Pocket dictionaries are not only brief in the number of entries they contain (and annoying in the small size of type) but generally have inadequate or only approximate one-word definitions. Such dictionaries are helpful in emergencies but have many limitations for serious study.

Abridged dictionaries are shorter versions of more comprehensive ones. If the abridgment lies primarily in the selection of the vocabulary to be covered, they can be extremely valuable tools. Whether the dictionary is abridged or comprehensive, it should be evaluated in terms of the way in which an entry is defined. Are the definitions full, with many sub-categories where needed? Are difficulties analyzed and examples given? Dictionaries are usually quite meager in the grammatical information they give, but the learner should expect at least indication of the class (part of speech) of any word from a good dictionary.

Some dictionaries are developed for special audiences: medical, law, and so on. Occasionally one finds a specialized dictionary for language learners. If this is well designed, it may contain a great deal of information which the domestic does not need, but which is extremely valuable for the learner.

Although most languages with long literary traditions have dictionaries, a much smaller number have books of synonyms and antonyms and other such reference materials. The learner should be on the look-out for them, for they may contain explanations of difficult words, idioms or groups of words. He may even find a kind of thesaurus: a book which classifies words according to general areas of meanings and presents them in cultural or physical groupings rather than in alphabetical order. Thus various words having to do with man would be together classified according to the various parts of a human being and human functions. A good thesaurus is very useful in developing learning cycles.

10.26 **Books to Provide Cultural Insight.** The third major category of resource books consists of a wide range of titles designed to make entry into the community more meaningful and give deeper insight into language and culture. Such books range from professional anthropological studies to novels written by domestic authors with an eye for some of the significant themes of their own people. They may be found both in the language of the learner and in the new language, written by aliens and domestics. Some of them are abstract theoretical

treatises written primarily for social scientists. Others may be cheap fiction. A few books reveal new insights with each repeated reading over a long period of time.

No book will ever give the learner a complete picture. Instead, he must read widely, looking for insights into the new language and culture, but also for information that may contradict his own experience and previous reading. Biases will be present in the works of both aliens and domestics. Sometimes even these biases will turn out to be helpful at least for stimulation.

A writer may tend to see his own social class in one light and other classes of society either in an inferior or a romanticized frame. The alien anthropologist may tend to project the findings which he made in one village where he lived onto the whole nation. These problems should not disturb the learner but simply serve as warning to keep an open mind to the possibility that the real situation is more complex than what books would lead him to believe. The very fact that the domestic writer has different feelings toward different classes is part of what the learner needs to know. And although all the details of life in one village will not all be true of every other village in the nation, many will stand the test of close scrutiny. Those which do not prove true may still be of significance to the learner.

Books written by social scientists, especially anthropologists, are likely to be an important source of cultural insight. Learners, therefore, need to know something about the specific character of such books. Some are primarily description, growing out of the author's survey or intensive study.

In using a book such as this, the learner should look for marks of the author's insight and ability, the generalizations and supporting evidence, and the care and completeness with which the subject matter is covered. The learner can use a book such as this to gain more knowledge of life in one segment or another of the new culture. There are limits as to how much information can be absorbed at a time, and for this reason books of this kind should be reread at intervals, for one tends to notice new things with each reading as experience in the new culture develops.

Other books may be more interpretive. They may seek to explain aspects of cultural life and personality in terms of the writer's special theories. They may draw together facts which on the surface seem disparate and unrelated and show how they have meaning in light of one or another of the postulated determining variables for the culture.

A good study of this kind is generally far more significant for giving insight into the new culture than a purely descriptive study. If the learner can gain insight into the meaning of behavior, it suddenly becomes much easier to remember what the behavior is and how it differs from his own.

On the other hand, many attempts at interpretive studies are abortive. The investigator may have lacked the ability to interpret or may not have assimilated

a wide enough range of information, or may simply have projected his preexisting theories on the local situation even when they did not fit. Good interpretive studies therefore are rarer than descriptive ones.

Cultural studies can be used directly in language learning, even if they seem at first to be relatively unrelated. For one thing, in ethnographies (works on the culture) written in the alien language, many borrowed terms often occur. Each of these should be scrutinized, for the very fact that the ethnographer borrowed a term usually means that it reflects something so characteristic of the new culture and so different from that of the alien culture that it is difficult to express this in the alien language. The reader should take the time to learn the new term because of its importance. Along with the more general insights, such terms should usually enter into a learner's cycle and be investigated thoroughly with helpers.

One further specialized class of books and articles has great importance to the individual who seeks to become a member of a new society. These are socio-linguistic studies of the interaction of different languages, dialects, levels of usage and other linguistic variables within a nation or community. (Chapters 22, 23) Nothing marks a domestic so much as his speech, which indicates the region from which he has come, his education and his social level. It tells whether he is talking with friends on intimate terms or addressing strangers, or talking with superiors, equals or inferiors.

The speaker may be unable to erase his provincial pronunciation when he goes to the city. Other characteristics, however, can be changed automatically and unconsciously as the situation changes, as when he stops speaking to a child and turns to speak to a person of higher status than himself. The existence of different levels within a language seems to be true of all complex societies and is very much a part of the learner's problem. The domestic may not be able to explain to the learner just what is happening. He may not even be conscious of differences.

The native speaker of the language, furthermore, will often expect the learner to study formal levels of language simply because they have more prestige, because they are taught in school and so on. Yet when the learner concentrates on such language exclusively, he sounds incongruous when he uses it in simple, ordinary situations. Many an individual who has learned a second language sounds as though he were reading from a book as he talks. The strangeness of such formal expression is a constant reminder to the domestic that this person does not really belong. To the domestic it may seem that the alien is verbally holding him at arm's length.

It might take the learner years to discover for himself some of the information which is sometimes available in socio-linguistic studies. Such studies, however, are in their infancy and the learner will not get more than rough hints of the kinds of problems of which he should become aware and of the kind of differences of language and language level to which he should prepare to accommodate himself.[8]

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[8] Wonderly 1968 is especially helpful as an overall picture of these factors.

Books which provide cultural insight should give the learner many ideas for new learning cycles. (Chapter 15) A novel highlighting some aspect of the new culture should give him new questions to explore with his helpers (Chapter 19). Without the stimulus of such books the learner might overlook many important areas of experience in the new culture and the terms which have special importance in it.

Books which provide cultural insight can thus be extremely important in the dealienation process, but they should not be used alone. They should be discussed with helpers and other friends who can react to specific points taken from them. Some such books should be read repeatedly, though many, of course, will not be worth rereading. Some of them, written by domestics, are so much a part of the new culture and new language that anyone who is seeking an entry into the community must be familiar with the books themselves, just as an alien coming into the educated English-speaking world reduces his alien quality by being familiar with Shakespeare. One would scarcely think of a person as an alien if he were familiar with e. e. cummings or Hemingway.

10.27 Where to Look. Published resources may exist, but may be difficult to find. A check of bookstores is one obvious possibility. Some are designed primarily for service to aliens, while many are designed for domestic needs. Any alien should develop the habit of periodic visits to the principal bookstores just to see what is coming off the presses and prove to be valuable. Unfortunately, not all bookstore operators are qualified to advise the learner as to what he needs. Further investigation may therefore be advisable before random purchases are made.

For more specialized books or volumes long out of print, libraries become the next place to turn. Again, in many cities of Asia there are libraries for aliens or domestics or both. The learner may find it easier to use a library which is run by and for the alien, but in the long run he will want to become familiar with libraries operated for domestics as well. These include university libraries, national libraries and sometimes public libraries. Library personnel are able to advise more often than are bookstore salesmen.

A very important checkpoint in many countries is the local research society. It may specialize in research on certain aspects of the country itself or may even have more regional significance. Many countries have such societies; some of them are nearly dead, without enough vitality to keep an up-to-date library or produce publications of value. Others are prime sources of extremely useful information.

The better research societies usually have a library which can be consulted by members and sometimes by visiting non-members, and usually publish a periodical, possibly with other supplementary publications. The quality of the articles published in the journal may vary widely, yet in the better research societies there are often one or two articles in each number which may be very helpful to the language learner. Membership in a society of this kind may also entitle the learner to attend lectures and other functions of interest.

In addition to a check on the research society, the learner might also check for a local social science periodical or other journals that regularly include culturally important material. Reading a journal regularly helps to keep the learner informed of current trends and issues, of new books coming out and occasionally brings some new insight of considerable importance.

Local institutions, such as universities, government offices, information services and so on may put out their own publications from time to time, some of which are valuable to the learner. Others will point him to useful sources. In checking with such institutions, of course, the learner should try to find the offices which deal most closely with his special interests.

Local scholars provide another source of information. Such people know what books have been produced, what books are available and often what books are forthcoming. Linguists, anthropologists and other alien scholars provide one group. Local specialists, university professors, school teachers provide another.

Not only can specialists be helpful in the search for useful books, but they may also be able to give valuable information themselves. In approaching these people the learner should never hesitate to "bother" them, provided he does it in the culturally acceptable way in the new society (or, on the part of alien scholars, for the culturally acceptable way in their society). He should try to find out whether or not appointments should be made, how long ahead, in what manner and for what length of time. He should try to determine the most acceptable place of meeting, whether in the office or at a restaurant or perhaps in the learner's home for dinner. There may, of course, be a difference between the initial contact and subsequent contacts.

Personnel affiliated with Christian missions may also constitute a primary source of information. The common stereotypes about missionaries are such that the learner may not realize that in some countries some missionaries are astute students of the language and culture. A few of them may even have achieved fame as such; but whether or not they have, they may have deeply penetrating insights with a long-term perspective which some alien scholars who have been in the country only a year or so have not yet achieved. Many of these missionaries may not have formulated their insights in a systematic fashion, but under the stimulus of discussion may tell the learner things which are of enormous value and not available in print anywhere.

On the other hand, it is also true that many missionaries are typical aliens --completely obtuse with regard to local language and culture, never having gone beyond surface features, perhaps even ignoring most of these. In some such cases they may be guilty of the most gross "contamination" (Chapter 8) in their own interaction with the people around them. It should not take the learner long in talking with a missionary to see whether he belongs to the extreme of either category, and most, of course, will lie somewhere in between. Missionaries can usually direct the learner to colleagues who have the best knowledge of the language and culture and available resources.

Outside of the local country in which the learner is at work, the first place to turn for information on language learning materials is the Center for Applied

Linguistics, Washington, D.C. A letter to the Center requesting information about publications, especially textbooks designed to teach people to speak a particular language, will produce a helpful reply, giving information about much that is available in modern approaches to language learning.

Once the learner has begun to explore these various possibilities, he will find that one new resource will lead to another. A judicious following up of footnotes and bibliographical references will lead to an ever-widening network of channels to new sources. Bibliographies may be available and the titles checked. In the bibliographies of each book investigated there may be indications of new sources to follow. The hunt for resources may involve considerable detective work, and even false leads. The search, however, may lead to contacts and resources which may make an enormous difference in the learner's progress and ultimate success.

10.28 Sources for a Closely-Related Language. One last point should be made concerning those situations where resources are meager, but where there is some closely related language on which resources are widely available. An example in point is the situation in Southeast Asia where the Lao language has very meager published resources, but closely related and neighboring Thai has many more. In such cases the learner will do well to use some of the resources on the neighboring related language.

Such a procedure, however, has some potential pitfalls. It is easy to assume that because something occurs in one language, it occurs in the other; or that if it occurs in both, it is used in the same way. It is easy to learn to use the one language in a fashion contaminated not only by the learner's mother tongue but also by the other closely related language. Everything has to be checked, and everything must be validated for the language which is being learned. But even so, the effort may well be worthwhile for the many insights gained in this way. Some Lao speakers themselves use Thai dictionaries, for example, and similar benefits may come to the alien, although he has less basis for evaluating the real differences between the two languages.

PART THREE

THE TECHNIQUES

Chapter Eleven

How Language Structures Speech

In a very real sense we do not speak our language but use our language to speak. Our language is a complicated, structured system in our brains, an intricately interwoven set of categories, rules and relationships. Whenever we speak we draw on the language to produce only a small part of what can potentially be expressed.

To understand the nature of a language, we have to work back to its structure through its manifestation in speech. We cannot see the structure directly, but only infer it through the way it influences actual speech acts. A professional linguist uses a body of analytical theory and procedures which enable him to investigate language methodically and thoroughly. Many of the structural features of any language can be isolated and described in just a few weeks of analysis, while much of it remains undiscovered in such a well-known language as English even after platoons of linguists have worked on it over several generations--linguists who learned to use the language in three years' time as a child.

Languages share basic designs to a great extent (Chapter 7), and knowing this to be the case, the linguist knows what to look for and what to expect. But at the same time, every language has rare features which are not shared by any other, or which have escaped notice or analysis in others. These are the features that pose the greatest problem for both the linguist and the language learner.

11.1 The Use of Language Structure

It is the structure in language (Chapter 8) that makes it possible for people to understand one another, for it means that co-speakers of one language can organize and express their thoughts in substantially the same way. At first glance, for example, it may seem that "Jabberwocky" (from Lewis B. Carroll's Through the Looking Glass) is just unstructured nonsense:

(1) 'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe
All mimsy were the borogoves
And the mome raths outgabe.

The toves mentioned in the poem are slithy ones, and presumably if someone were to find some other toves somewhere that were even more so, he could comment,

(2) These toves are slithier than these.

or perhaps

(3) These toves are more slithy.

Furthermore, any native speaker of English could easily change plural things like toves to tove and make any other changes necessitated by this. For example,

(4) 'Twas brillig, and the slithy tove...

Most native speakers of English, furthermore, would have no difficulty in answering such questions as the following about the "nonsense" in the poem:

- (a) What kind of day was it?
- (b) What did the toves do?
- (c) Where did they do it?
- (d) What were they like?
- (e) What were mimsy?
- (f) What kind of raths were there?
- (g) What did they do?
- (h) What objects or things are mentioned in the poem?
- (i) What are the events mentioned in the poem?

The very fact that these questions can be answered is evidence that the poem is not utter nonsense (although it is obviously not meaningful in the usual sense) and that the message (whatever it is) is organized according to the patterns of English structure. Even though we hear words which we do not understand completely, we derive some notion of their meaning from the way in which they are used in a sentence.

Curiosity about language structure and some sensitivity to ways in which messages are organized are helpful commodities for learners. For example, it is clear that sentences (5) and (6) have the same organization:

- (5) John threw Mary the ball.
- (6) Joe brought Betty the book.

The messages are quite different because of the particular words, but the relationships of the words to one another are the same in both sentences.

Although on the surface (7) and (8) would seem to have identical organizations, they are actually quite different.

- (7) John is easy to please.
- (8) John is eager to please.

In (7) John is being pleased by someone else, whereas in (8) he is doing the pleasing himself. This difference of meaning is subtle and not marked obviously in the two sentences as they stand. However, we can readily see that sentence (8) is related to

- (9) John is easy for Mary to please.

and (8) is related to

- (10) John is eager to please Mary.

This and other evidence helps us to know that (7) and (8) are manifestations of different parts of the structure of English. Often we perceive speech and understand what is communicated without realizing just how deeply the organization goes.

In the following sentences going has different meanings:

- (11) John is going home.
- (12) John is going soft.

In (11) he is moving from one place to another, while in (12) going has more of the meaning of "becoming."

If native speakers of English were asked to group the following sentences into two divisions on the basis of the meanings of the word going, they would likely agree completely on their analysis.

> (13) John is going fast.
> (14) John is going away.
> (15) John is going soon.
> (16) John is going haywire.
> (17) John is going again.
> (18) John is going stale.
> (19) John is going quietly.
> (20) John is going cuckoo.
> (21) John is going native.

One group would consist of (13), (14), (15), (17), and (19), and the other group, (16), (18), (20) and (21).

In the first group, where going occurs with "adverbs," it has its more usual meaning of movement. In the second group, when it is used with "adjectives," it has the meaning of "becoming" in the pejorative sense. By such examples we are simply trying to show that the structure of a language itself has meaning, and as it guides our formation and organization of sentences, meaningful relationships are continually implied.

Laymen often mistakenly assume that meaning in language comes solely from individual words, and that by adding up the meaning of words, we find out what a sentence means. This is far from true. Contrast these two sentences:

> (22) The doctor shot the man.
> (23) The doctor wanted the man.

We now add the same word to each sentence so that if meaning consisted only of the sum of the words we would change the meaning of the two in the same way:

> (22') The doctor shot the man dead.
> (23') The doctor wanted the man dead.

In (22') the man is dead, but in (23') he is alive, and in (22') the doctor did it, but in (23') he only wanted it that way. The different structures give different meanings to the relationships between words.

If messages could be understood by adding up the meanings of the words, then

> (24) The dog bit the boy.
> (25) The boy bit the dog.

would mean the same thing. The meanings here, however, are opposite, not the same. The difference is carried entirely by the relationship between the words (the order of words) which is one of the manifestations of structure.

The popular TV show "Password" plays on another important aspect of language structure. In this game there are four players, two on a team. Two players, A1 and B1, one from each team, are shown a card with a word on it, and the object of the game is for A1 and B1 to take turns trying to get A2 and B2, respectively, to guess the word. In one particular game the password was <u>mantle,</u> and the sequence of hints and guesses ran as follows:

A1	fireplace	A1	shelf
A2	chimney	A2	compartment
B1	Mickey	B1	hearth
B2	Mouse	B2	mantle

It is interesting to study the sequence and try to understand just what might have been in each player's mind as the game progressed. Another sequence began with the password <u>scrawl</u> and ran like this:

A1	draw	A1	untidy
A2	scribble	A2	sketch
B1	signature	B1	scribble
B2	sign	B2	scrawl

The very fact that the game is playable is evidence that participants share a common sense of structure, and that structure not only involves "grammar" as we understand it traditionally, but includes the structuring of concepts themselves and their relationships to each other, the fact that words can have elements of meaning in common without being identical in meaning or even synonymous. (Chapter 18)

Man's capacity for understanding and producing a near-infinite number of messages lies in his manipulation of a large number of words in a limited (though very extensive) network of relationships. With several thousands of words and the facility for combining and recombining them in conventional ways, provided by a given language, a man can talk for a lifetime without running out of ways to say things.

The language learner cannot do this until he makes a habit of the structured system which we call language. (Chapter 8) At first he must concentrate heavily on the formation of messages, very simple ones. He memorizes things to say and learns to say new things in their analogy by using the same structure with new words. Language learning takes place as he forms an approximation of the native speaker's structure in his own brain and nervous system. The learner thus memorizes exemplifications or products of that structure (he memorizes sentences) and in so doing internalizes the process which makes these sentences possible.

Later, structure recedes from conscious attention as his focus shifts chiefly to the content of his speech, not the form: on what he wants to say, not on how he says it. Therefore, it is important for the learner to put great emphasis on the learning of grammatical structure at first, to provide a framework for the acquisition of quantities of vocabulary later. Once the structure is internalized,

the learner is in a position to use each word which he learns in a variety of relationships, and this makes possible the kind of repetition necessary to make the word stick.

11.2 How Structure Organizes Messages

Our perceptions of the world about us seem to be organized in terms of objects, events, abstracts, settings and relations.[1] That is to say, when we communicate it is largely concerning the objects around us, their abstract qualities, the events in which they participate, the time, space and psychological settings in which they occur and the relationships between all of these. Perception about objects are expressed in words like boy, dog, wall, house. Events include run, cry, shake, make. Abstracts include white, long, green, big. Settings include Tuesday, in Boston and the mood the speaker reflects such as anger or fear or academic boredom. Relations are included in to, across, down, around, but also in the subject of a sentence (as related to the event or to an object in the predicate, and so on).

The first problem, then, in understanding the structure of a particular language is to understand how such primary components of meaning, classified perceptually in this way, are encoded, woven together into a message.[2] However, while the manner by which sentences are executed has been studied for centuries in one way or another by grammarians, philosophers, literary critics, the way in which a message is planned (i.e., the way in which the speaker weaves it together in his brain) is still largely unknown. We can only infer the behavior, verbal and nonverbal, as it is executed.[3]

Examine the sentence

(26) He is our beloved ruler.

It is evident that two different objects are represented in he and our. Furthermore, two distinct events are involved: love and rule. Certain relationships are also involved, as seen in the two following sentences which are equivalent to the total amount of information in (26) less the structural information conveyed when the two ideas are united into one sentence in (26).

(27) He rules us.
(28) We love him.

The events are reciprocal between the participants. Rule goes one way, love goes the other, as may be seen in Figure 1.

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[1] The primitive semantic components of object, event, abstract and relation were introduced by Nida (1952) long before the deep structure/surface structure emphases of the 1960's (e.g.Chomsky 1965). See the subsequent references in Nida 1966:59-69; Nida and Taber 1969. We have added the category of setting. A systematic treatment is forthcoming.

[2] Nida and Taber 1969

[3] Miller, Galanter and Pribram 1960

In the superficially similar sentence

> (29) He is our beloved grandfather.

the relationship of the primary semantic components is different, however:

> (30) We have a grandfather.
> (31) We love him.

There is one kind of event,[4] not two, and the word grandfather contains a kinship relational as well as being an object (Figure 2).

(26) He is our beloved ruler.   (27) He rules us.
                                         (28) We love him.
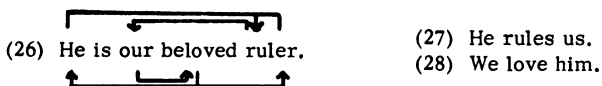
Figure 1--Follow arrows from tail to head. He and er
        represent the same object redundantly (Chapter 7).
        This can be seen in the fact that arrows moving
        from them join, or arrows moving toward them
        split to include both in the same relationship.

(29) He is our beloved grandfather.   (30) We have a grandfather.
                                         (31) We love him.
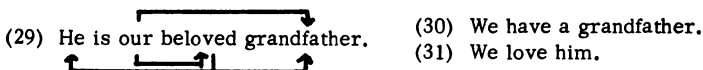
Figure 2

We can see something of the importance of relations in

> (32) John broke the window.
> (33) A hammer broke the window.
> (34) John broke the window with a hammer.

John's relation to the event can be described as agent. As an animate object he is the "perceived instigator."[5] The hammer, on the other hand, although occupying a superficially similar grammatical construction in (33) is not an instigator. When there are two instigators they can be made coordinate, as in

> (35) John and his dog broke the window.

We do not say, "John and his hammer broke the window," but

> (36) John broke the window with his hammer.

The relationship of hammer to sentences (33) and (36) we could call relation of instrument.

11.21. Verbal behavior, as we examine it, is essentially linear, produced one unit at a time, one word after another. We might assume from this that our

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[4] Have in this sentence does not express an event, but a relationship between people.

[5] Fillmore 1968

messages are <u>planned</u> unit by unit, but such may not necessarily be the case. Certainly the things we are talking about are not necessarily linear.

By way of example, an apple with all of its characteristics including color, taste, size, texture, maturity, is all of these things at once. When we talk about these abstracts, however, we have to put them in sequence:

> (37) It is a big, red, delicious, crisp, juicy apple.

There are, furthermore, limitations on the order in which we can string out our adjectives.

A sentence like

> (38) John and Mary threw the ball back and forth.

coalesces a long series of events, coming one after the other, into one sentence, replacing the more explicit, but insufferably tedious:

> (39) John threw the ball. Mary caught it.
> (40) Mary threw the ball. John caught it.
> (41) John threw the ball. Mary caught it.
> (42) Mary...

As we examine types of sentences in a great many languages, it seems possible to differentiate at least three fundamental types of configurations (non-linear concepts or perceptual groupings) which they encode in linguistic linearity. Some configurations, like the one consisting of <u>John</u>, <u>Mary</u>, <u>ball</u> and <u>threw</u> of sentences (38)-(42), are essentially <u>activities</u> with a cluster of related objects centering in an event.

Other configurations, like the one consisting of the apple and its character-istics (37) are ones in which an object (or event) is described in terms of prop-ties abstracted from it.   Such a configuration we can call a <u>description.</u>

Another type of configuration has an object, event, or abstract as its com-ponent and <u>classifies</u> it in terms of the class or group to which it belongs.

> (43) John is a boy.
> (44) Running is recreation.
> (45) Love is a virtue.

Classifications, activities and descriptions are woven together into many differ-ent kinds of message forms ranging from poems to arguments.

11.22 There is a second important observation about sentences that gives us insight into their planning. It seems to be the case that the most fundamental form of sentences in all language is bipolar in structure, that is, structure in which two parts are in an interdependent relationship.   The terms which we com-monly apply to these parts are "subject" and "predicate," although other terms, like "topic" and "comment" are occasionally used.

This suggests also that the configurations about which communication takes place are themselves structured into two interdependent parts by the organization

of language. This happens even when these parts are physically inseparable, as with redness and apple. These two parts are quite evident in descriptions and in classifications. In descriptions the two parts are, respectively, the object or event described and the property which is abstracted from it. In classifications the two parts are, respectively, the object or event and the class of objects or events to which it belongs.

Activities, however, are far more complex. A configuration which has an event at its center may have objects standing in a number of relationships to the event.[6] One object, for example, may be the agent, the "doer" of the action, another may be the goal or "receiver," another the beneficiary (the person for whom the action is done) and another may be the instrument (what is used to perform the action). One object may indicate the source at which the action begins, while another may indicate the point at which the action terminates, i.e., the terminal. Apparently in every language there are structures by which any one of these objects can be singled out as "subject" while the other objects cluster about the event as "predicate." Structures which incorporate objects in the predicate are often referred to as complements.

Some examples may help to clarify these relationships between objects and events.

(46) The nurse (agent) injected the medicine (goal) in my arm (terminal).

(47) The medicine (goal) was injected into my arm (terminal) by the nurse (agent).

In (48) the relationship between objects and the event inject is unchanged. However, the terminal rather than the agent is made subject.

(48) My arm (terminal) was injected with the medicine (goal) by the nurse (agent).

(49) The nurse (agent) injected the medicine (goal) from the cabinet (source) in my arm (terminal) with a needle (instrument).

(50) The nurse (agent) injected the medicine (goal) from the cabinet (source) in my arm (terminal) for the doctor (beneficiary).

11.23 A third observation important in understanding how sentences are planned has to do with the ways in which settings are treated. When we examine a sentence in order to isolate the particular configuration or configurations which it encodes, it is apparent that an element may be present which gives the setting in which the configuration is perceived to take place. Sometimes setting is handled grammatically as a separate item in addition to subject/predicate distinction. We could call this an adjunct. For example, in

(51) At home the weather is hot.

the two principal elements are weather (subject) and is hot (predicate). The other element--at home--provides the setting, in the grammatical form of one kind of adjunct. Another example of adjunct:

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[6]Fillmore 1968; Taber 1966, 1969

(52) I will see you in the morning.

In the morning is adjunct, providing setting.

(53) In my opinion, he's a nut.

illustrates another kind of setting feature--the psychological attitude of the speaker toward what he wants to say. This is here also represented by an adjunct, in my opinion.

The perceptual category of setting, reflecting time, space and mood, is woven into sentences in many different ways besides by the use of adjunct, however. Time sometimes comes into the tense of the English verb.

(54) I didn't go, but I will.

and space comes, for example, into prepositions like in, on, under, which express relations as well. Psychological setting (mood) may be seen in

(55) Not sure!

where tone of voice expresses it, or

(56) A certain man was walking...

where certain indicates that the speaker wants the hearer to feel that a specific man is intended, but is not concerned with establishing an identity for him.

In normal discourse configurations or ideas are linked together into long chains of sentences and each speaker must keep the flow of information clear so that the hearer can keep track of it. In a conversation, one person may pick up some element from a configuration in the previous sentence and elaborate on it, only to find that the next speaker isolates some part of this elaboration and develops it. The whole process is unbelievably complex and under normal conditions takes place at a remarkable rate of speed, with participants encoding and decoding simultaneously.

Our ability as linguists to analyze these long sequences like speeches or conversations in systematic form is still rudimentary, yet we know enough to realize that the structure of a particular sentence in a sequence is determined at least in part by the accumulation of information up to that point. When we say

(57) So, he finally gave up.

the so summarizes the information which went before and indicates that "because of all this...," then the remainder of the sentence adds new information: (the event gave up) in the predicate, relating it to one of the participants established earlier--he. The language learner, therefore, has to be aware of the structure of sequences of sentences and not just individual sentences themselves.

11.3 Saying What You Want to Say

If the first step in communication is the formulation of meaning in terms of innate perceptual categories and configurations, the second step consists of selecting symbols and structures to represent the components of the ideas. In other words, the concepts of which our idea consists must be represented in

conventional form before communication can occur. One has to decide between such alternatives as tool or pliers, red or crimson, walk or amble, or between Somebody opened the door, The door was opened by somebody, or The door opened.

Words are "socially standardized labels for concepts,"[7] and individuals are bound to the conventions of their group, their aggregates (Chapter 4) in the way in which they organize sentences, yet each person has his own unique personal history which to some extent means a unique conceptual universe. It also means in some respects a unique history of language acquisition and in some details a unique linguistic structure. Very clearly, it means a unique selection of ways to say some things. Consider, for example, the wife who responded, "He wanted, so I why-ed him and he didn't because me so I whopped him," when her husband came home and asked why Junior was standing in the corner.

We can take liberties--up to a point--with the labels for our concepts, and seem to sense just how much we can get away with in the process. We can invent new words like "summerize" by analogy to old ones like "winterize" and with perhaps a bit more effort we might even get people to use "luppy" with reference to a small stick by the analogy of dog:puppy--log:luppy. It is just such analogizing that leads people to say such strange things as, "Do you want the bake on?" "No, I want the off on," when referring to the controls on an oven, something which is highly unusual but perfectly understandable in context. At one stage in the development of the children of one of the authors they wanted to take "long cuts" when out driving, and when they dressed they would "unhang" their clothes. None of these innovations persisted into later childhood.

Without a doubt, the selection of labels to represent our conceptual world is the most complicated aspect of language structure. Not only is it a matter of knowing the area of meaning covered by a particular symbol. One must also know the other symbols which represent overlapping parts of that area. (Chapter 18) For example, we might say that dog covers more semantic territory than beagle but that animal covers more than either of the first two. Furthermore, in an extended (non-primary, figurative) sense, wolf covers a territory which goes beyond the territory covered by animal into the area covered by man, as in "He is a wolf."

It is evident that there are restrictions on the co-occurrence or association of symbols: it is normal to say that dogs bark and cats meow, but it is not common to refer to the sound of a dog as meow or a cat as bark. However, dogs, cats and human beings all cry, even though the noise is not the same. In other languages the same term may be used for barking noises and meowing, and it is perfectly ingelligible which animal is making which noise because everyone knows anyhow.

The symbols we use in language are almost always complex ones. Jane, Bill, Peter and other proper nouns may be simple in that they refer to a single unique object. Boy, girl, man, woman, however, are complex. Boy and man

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[7]Carroll 1964b:187

group together as having a component of maleness, as against girl and woman, which have a component of female. Man and woman carry a component of adulthood or maturity in common as against boy and girl which do not have this component in their most basic meanings, although by extension they are sometimes used for adults also. All share the component human.

Me, my, mine present an interesting example of the complexity of some symbols. Each of them has an object component. My, however, has a relational component which me does not have. The object is related to something stated in the context. The difference in meaning between me and my is that relationship. Mine contains the same object as me and my, and the same relational as my, plus an additional object, the object to which the first object has the relation. Thus, my is me plus a relational component, and mine is my plus an additional object:

        me   O
        my   OR
        mine   ORO

Give is an event with other components in it as well. Giver is the same event plus an object component for the agent of the event. It is the object component rather than the event component which is highlighted. Gift is the same event, also with an object component, but it is the goal rather than the agent which is symbolized and highlighted. This may be easily seen by the paraphrases: giver = someone who gives; gift = something which is given.

        give   E
        giver   OE (with O as agent and highlighted)
        gift   EO (with O as goal and highlighted)

The selection of symbols which properly encode the concepts of configurations is referred to as "semantic encoding." We have illustrated it by reference to words as symbols, but there are other kinds of symbols in language as well, ranging from tone of voice

        (58) You didn't do it?
        (59) You didn't do it!

to word order

        (60) Jack saw Bill.
        (61) Bill saw Jack.

11.31 Grammatical encoding involves three kinds of operations in most languages: (1) using the appropriate word order, (2) using affixal elements (like the s in boys) on certain words and (3) using certain words which mark particular grammatical functions--"function words." All of these devices are seen in a sentence like

        (62) John hit Bill with the stick.

The possibilities of other orders are limited. With different sentence melodies one might hear

(63) With the stick, John hit Bill.

or perhaps

(64) John--with the stick--hit Bill.

There are restrictions, however, on their occurrence within a sequence of sentences. With the change of order, in other words, come subtle differences of meaning.

Changing the form of hit to hits in (62) also involves a change of meaning, and the process of grammatical encoding involves a decision as to which form is more appropriate. Also, a change in function words is possible:

(65) John hit Bill with a stick.

The selection of a or the is part of the process of grammatical encoding, and will depend on various factors, such as whether the stick has been referred to previously in the message or not.

11.32 On a more complex level yet, involved in this step of grammatical encoding is the matter of packing several interrelated configurations into one sentence.

(66) John threw Mary the ball that he found on the street.
(67) John threw Mary the ball and she threw it back.

In (66) the last part of the sentence is an elaboration of ball, while the last part of (67) is an activity which was triggered off by the activity encoded by the first part of the sentence.

We may differentiate sentence types, therefore, as simple or complex, depending upon the number of underlying configurations which are encoded. A sentence like

(68) Isn't Marina Oswald the man who killed President Kennedy's wife?

is an example of how complex things may be--complex to the point of confusion.

11.33 Some sentences differ in grammatical form but their structures are obviously related. For example,

(69) John threw Mary the ball.
(70) Did John throw Mary the ball?

The primary vocabulary--John, Mary, ball, throw--is the same. Furthermore, if we know the structure of (65) we can produce (70) by the appropriate grammatical changes in it and can explain its function in terms of what it does in communication: in this case it is the pattern which one selects when he wants to ask a question.

When we compare sets of such structurally related sentences, it is evident that four different kinds of operations may be involved. In

(71) Throwing the ball to Mary.

something has been <u>deleted.</u>   A sentence like (71) would normally occur after a question like

>   (72)   What is John doing?

Another operation is seen in the pair,

>   (73)   Am I going now?
>   (74)   I'm going now.

where (73) involves a <u>rearrangement</u> of the order seen in (74) and the <u>replacement</u> of sentence melody with a different type.

In

>   (75)   I'm going right now.

we see an <u>expansion</u> of (74) for emphasis.

The operations of deletions, expansion, rearrangement and replacement appear in a great many varieties in every language, and this is another means by which grammatical structure makes possible an unlimited variety of messages. Actually, several different operations may occur in the same sentence,

>   (76)   The ball was thrown to Mary by John.
>   (77)   John threw Mary the ball.

Between (76) and (77), we see rearrangement of words, replacement of <u>was thrown</u> by <u>threw,</u> and deletion of <u>to</u> and <u>by.</u>

<u>11.34</u>   One can combine several configurations expressed in several single sentences.

>   (78)   John has a father.
>   (79)   The father threw the ball to the boy.
>   (80)   The ball is red.
>   (81)   The boy is on first base.

into one long sentence:

>   (82)   John's father threw the red ball to the boy on first base.

It is possible to encode a particular configuration into a phrase. For example, compare the sentences

>   (83)   The machine is used for washing.
>   (84)   The machine washes.

with the phrase <u>washing machine.</u>

A phrase like <u>laughing gas,</u> however, has quite a different relationship to its underlying configuration, for its interpretation is not gas that is used for laughing (like the machine that is used for washing) but gas that causes laughing. Each encodes a different kind of configuration.[8]

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[8]Langendoen 1968b

11.35   It is also possible to encode a particular configuration by a single word.   The word <u>student,</u> for example, encodes not only an object but an event. Its more explicit counterpart might be <u>a person who studies.</u> Exactly what determines the conditions under which one chooses <u>student</u> instead of <u>person who studies</u> is still not always clear, but the semantic components of each are rather similar if not identical. Patterns of word-formation in English like <u>doctrine,</u> <u>indoctrinate,</u> <u>indoctrination</u> and <u>filter,</u> <u>infiltrate,</u> <u>infiltration</u> are then grammatical devices for encoding semantic configurations in different ways to achieve special effects, or to convey different combinations of meanings.

11.36   The final step in the transmission of a message is to put the symbols and grammatical shapes which have been selected into sound.   As we pointed out earlier, this involves more than the articulation of consonants and vowels. These sounds must be arranged in permissible sequences called syllables. Just as some combinations of words occur in any particular language and some do not, so some combinations of sounds occur in any particular language and some do not. Furthermore, these sequences of syllables are accompanied by waves of tone, and volume changes, and differences of length of sound to which we have referred. Finally, the entire sentence is covered by a particular characteristic speech melody.   No language has more than a few dozen speech sounds, syllable types, rhythms or melodies, yet within these limitations it is possible to encode anything that one might wish to say.

The sound units in themselves convey no meaning. The English word <u>bell,</u> for example, contains three sound units presented in the written form by <u>b,</u> <u>e,</u> and <u>ll,</u> or in a one-symbol-for-one-sound transcription as /bel/.   When these three units occur in this way, one is able to differentiate <u>bell</u> from <u>ball,</u> <u>bull,</u> <u>bill,</u> and from <u>Ben,</u> <u>bet,</u> <u>Bess,</u> and from <u>Mel,</u> <u>fell,</u> <u>well,</u> and so on.

Two words or even longer stretches of speech which are different only by one sound distinction are called minimal pairs. Thus <u>pan</u> and <u>ban</u> constitute one of the minimal pairs of English. So do <u>pin</u> and <u>pan,</u> <u>pan</u> and <u>Pam,</u> <u>where?</u> and <u>where!.</u> Thus, minimal pairs are such utterances which have only one perceptual sound distinction between them for the domestic.   <u>Pan</u> and <u>Ben</u> are not minimal pairs because there is more than a minimal difference between them (both initial consonant and vowel).   Minimal pairs will prove to be an important aid in learning the sound distinctions of the new language   (Chapter 16) for they help the learner to isolate the significant sound units of the language, and to see how language is encoded in them.

Not all sound differences which the learner will hear in a new language are significant, <u>distinctive</u> sound units. For example, the speaker of English will pronounce words like <u>hit,</u> <u>met,</u> <u>pet,</u> <u>sip,</u> <u>rap,</u> <u>cup,</u> <u>kick,</u> <u>lick,</u> <u>tuck</u> (i.e., words that have a final /p t k/)[9] in two different ways.

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[9]When letters of the alphabet are placed between / / in this way, it indicates that we are talking about structural sound units of a particular language (soon to be identified as <u>phonemes).</u>

One way is to terminate the pronunciation of the sound by moving the tongue (or the lips, in the case of /p/) so that the air coming up from the lungs is shut off, and not allowing more air to escape after the mouth is relaxed. The word ends with the tight closure. The reader will understand this description better if he tries it, and feels the movement of his mouth on these words. The other way is to allow more air to escape, as with a little [h][10] after the closure is released. Thus, sometimes we say [hip] and sometimes [hiph], and are not conscious of the difference because the difference is not structurally significant in English, is somewhat accidental, is therefore not brought to our attention by any minimal pairs (i.e., there are no pairs of words in English, one ending with [ph] or [th] or [kh] and distinct in meaning from otherwise identical words ending in [p] or [t] or [k] respectively).

In some languages all final /p t k/ are of the kind without the extra puff of air. Someone learning English from one of those languages might hear this puff of air in English and might be tempted to think that it was a distinctive English sound unit until he finally realized that it was not.

The learner needs to be conscious of all sounds in the new language, and to mimic them as spoken. He needs to take the outsider's scientific point of view (Chapter 4) toward the sounds he hears, just as toward all other features of the language structure, and to learn to reproduce them. Thus, the alien learning English should try to learn to fluctuate between [p ph] [t th] [k kh] at the ends of words.

When we are dealing with sounds of language, this alien scientist's point of view, this "objective" looking for and reproducing of all sound differences, is called the phonetic viewpoint. The study of sounds from this viewpoint is phonetics.

But we already pointed out that the native speaker of English is not aware of his fluctuation between these sounds in final position until it is pointed out to him. The native speaker does not have a phonetic viewpoint toward his own language unless he is trained to do so or unless he has learned some phonetic distinctions through knowledge of a second language. Instead, he reacts to some groups of phonetically, objectively different sounds as though they were the same thing. The domestic viewpoint, when we are talking about speech sounds, is called the phonemic viewpoint. The study of sounds from this viewpoint is called phonemics. [11]

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[10]Brackets [] around letters of the alphabet are used by linguists to indicate a feature that he hears (with his trained ears), even though the native speaker may not be aware of it because it does not seem to have structural importance to him. In contrast to phonemic writing, which is enclosed in diagonals, writing enclosed in brackets is called phonetic writing.

[11]Readers who study further in contemporary linguistics will find that "phonemics" and "the phoneme" are matters of theoretical dispute (e.g. Chomsky 1964a:65-110; Postal 1968). Our use of the term "phoneme" is in the line of the Sapir (1921:43-58; 1949) - Pike (1947a; 1947b; 1952) rather than the Trager and Smith (1951) tradition. It corresponds roughly to what some others would call "morphophoneme."

We can say, then, that English ship has /p/ as its final phoneme, but that this phoneme is manifested in two ways phonetically: [p ph]. This is only another way of saying that so far as the English speaker's feel for his own sound system is concerned, there is one structural unit /p/, but that this structural sound unit is sometimes pronounced [p] and sometimes [ph], although the speaker is not usually aware of that.

Minimal pairs prove the existence of a phonemic distinction, at least for the language learner's purposes. The fact that there is no minimal pair, however, does not disprove a phonemic distinction. The whole question of how the sound structure of language works is a complex one, but the concept of sounds seen domestically (phonemically) as against sounds seen objectively (phonetically) will be helpful to the learner, and its implications will come up later.

Phonemic distinctions are not restricted to consonants and vowels. Compare the rhythms of the phrases Énglish teacher, with stress on the first word, and English téacher, with stress on the second word. If one hears the phrase with the first word stressed, he interprets it as teacher of English, but with stress on the second word, he interprets it as teacher who is English. The rhythms themselves have no meaning but they do make it possible for us to differentiate phrases of this kind.

Sounds are formed in the mouth, nose and throat. Because of the mobility of the tongue working in combination with movements in other parts of the speech apparatus, more different combinations of positions are possible in the speech tract than anywhere else in the human organism. Air passing from the lungs through the speech tract is given various pitches or resonance by the combination of shapes of the speech mechanism through which it passes. The ways in which these enormously varied sounds are structured in different languages are legion, but these variations play upon a relatively limited number of basic kinds of speech articulations.

In the case of a literary language exposure comes in part through seeing, but language impinges upon our brain and nervous system most completely through our ears. Because it is an oral system, it must be practiced with the ears and speech mechanism, and the mastery of the sound system provides the raw material of which the grammatical and lexical structures are learned. A person may get along fluently in a language in limited situations with only an infinitesimal percentage of the total vocabulary in his control, and he may talk fluently and correctly, though perhaps not with elegant style, with control of only 30 or 40 percent of the grammatical patterns, provided that the most crucial ones are included in that group. However, his control of the phonological system must be very high or else his rough, heavy accent will make comprehension difficult if not impossible.

11.4 Understanding

The steps discussed above--formulation of an idea, semantic, grammatical and phonological encoding--are involved in the planning and execution of every message, although we do not understand the brain's activity with any precision.

The decoding operation--understanding--is no less complex. In this operation one begins with the sound received by the ear. The units, rhythms and melodies are differentiated and from them the grammatical structure of the message is extracted, meaning is isolated and the configuration or set of configurations presumably form in the hearer's brain with some basic similarity to those with which the speaker began.

There are special problems faced in decoding. An interesting one is ambiguity. Heard in isolation, and unless spoken with great deliberation,

     (84) The sons raise meat.
     (85) The sun's rays meet.

cannot be differentiated. True, such ambiguities are infrequent, but when they occur, the decoder has a special problem in trying to resolve them, assuming, of course, that the ambiguity is recognized and that the hearer did not just assume one meaning or the other.

A more common type of ambiguity arises from superficially similar grammatical structures. For example, the sentence

     (86) John hit the man with the cane.

can be taken in two ways: either John had a cane and hit the man with it, or else the man that John hit had a cane. The sentence may be a manifestation of either structure, thus giving rise to two interpretations. Another kind of ambiguity is seen in

     (87) Her coat was light.

Because light can refer to color or to weight, it is impossible to know which of the two interpretations was intended. In any language, problems of recognizing and resolving ambiguity are present. The factor of redundancy (Chapter 8) means that the possibilities for resolving ambiguity are good, simply because there are usually more than enough clues in the intended meaning present in every context.

11.5 What to Expect

The foregoing discussion of the way in which structure organizes messages assumes that the basic processes are similar in all languages (although the examples were in English), and it provides a framework for differentiating various types of problems which learners can expect to face. By knowing generally what to expect, the differences of structure in a new language can be brought into sharper view, tackled more systematically and with greater insight. Differences of structure between two languages will often mean that where English encodes a particular configuration or different feature by one structure, the new language will encode it by another.

Language enables man to orient himself to the world and its phenomena, to space and time, to people and objects and the events which characterize them. These worlds of experience are fundamentally alike for all men, but not totally identical, for each community reflects its adaptation to the environment in its language. Furthermore, this conceptual universe is not accessible except through communication.

This means that the learner can expect gross similarity between his own conceptual universe and that of his helpers. It also means that he can expect some important discrepancies, and these, of course, will constitute a major source of difficulty for him. The learner should assume that the new language structure is flexible enough to express all his ideas; the problem comes in knowing how to do it.

But while conceptual universes may be grossly similar, particular concepts are not labeled in the same way, nor do particular symbols in two languages cover an area of meaning in the same way. For example, the entire color spectrum is divided up into several areas in English: <u>white, yellow, green, orange, blue, red, brown, black.</u> In Bambara and Baoule of West Africa, however, the color spectrum has three basic divisions, corresponding roughly to what we designate by <u>red, black</u> and <u>green.</u> This does not mean that these West Africans do not perceive all the variations of color that we do; it means only that they divide the spectrum differently when they talk about color. Nor does it mean that they can talk about them only in these limited ways. Note that we make distinctions like <u>dark brown, light brown, sky blue, green as grass,</u> to increase the number of distinctions in our color differentiation when necessary.

In other words, boundary lines and relationships between concepts and symbols in any two languages may be very different. This means that the language learner cannot expect simply to find substitute symbols for his own. In fact, cases of identical matching are likely to be rare. He may assume that because he can use the word <u>afraid</u> in such contexts as

      (88) The child was afraid when the dog snapped at him.
      (89) The child was afraid of the dark.

that in the target language the same word will cover the same conceptual territory. In fact, however, two different words may be required, the first implying fear in the sense of "frightened" because of sudden attack, and the other a longer-range state without immediate cause.

Because of the sheer magnitude of vocabulary in any language, these problems loom large and perhaps constitute the greatest long-range problem in acquiring a new language. The actual number of words in any given language is unknown and probably unknowable, for the vocabulary list is open-ended, growing and changing continually through cross-cultural borrowing and through changes of meaning as well. People are continually coining new words. But this need not disturb the learner, for an alert, sensitive speaker's control of vocabulary is functional and develops progressively and continually as the demands of life dictate. If his participation in the new community is genuine, his vocabulary will grow.

The learner can begin with those words which enable him to communicate in immediate everyday situations. From there he can acquire the words which he will need in more specialized situations. Few Americans will have occasion to learn the many Tagalog words for fishhook, nor will many outsiders learn all the Eskimo words for snow. At any given moment the learner's vocabulary should

(and will) reflect his prior experiences and his widening range of needs for communication. It should be large enough and specialized enough to do his job. (Chapter 18)

The learner will tend to judge the appropriateness of a particular pattern in terms of the way in which a similar pattern is used in his native language. But this will sometimes lead to trouble, especially with English-speaking people learning non-European languages. The learner may construct a pattern correctly but it may not fit appropriately in his sequence of sentences. For example, we often tend to overuse passives and nominalizations (nouns constructed from verbs) when we speak Asian or African languages.

The construction of patterns is likely to constitute another major hurdle for the learner. The structure of the new language may require him to make drastic revisions in the organization of his sentences as compared with his mother tongue. In Tagalog, for example, an activity sentence will often begin with an event, not the agent or some other object of the action as in English. Note the relationships between English and Tagalog words in the following sentences:

> (90) Binili ko ang sapatos sa Quiapo.
>   bought I   shoes   at Quiapo.
>
> (91) I bought   shoes   at Quiapo.
>   ko binili ang sapatos sa Quiapo

The learner must rearrange his habitual way of ordering words.

In encoding sentences like

> (92) I saw three men.

the person learning Thai will tend to assume that he will need equivalents for each of these four words, but Thai structure requires him to "classify" objects like men. Note the relationships between English and Thai in the following sentences.

> (93) phŏm hĭn phûuchaay sǎam khon
>   I   see man   three person

One of the problems for persons learning Thai, then, is to remember how to classify such objects and to say things like "chair three furniture" instead of just "chairs" and "hat three leaf" instead of just "hats."

By way of further example, one might think that a simple word like we would be the same in most any language. In Hanunoo (Philippines), on the other hand, there are three distinct words which might be translated by we. One of the words corresponds most closely to the English phrase 'you (singular) and I;' another corresponds to the phrase 'we (speaker and companions) but not you (hearers);' still another corresponds to the phrase 'we--all of us.'

The unwary learner tends to assume that patterns of word-formation in the target language will correspond to those in his mother tongue. For example, related sets of words can be seen in

> (94) John is talking.

(95) John is talkative.
(96) John is giving a talk.

and in

(97) John's quickness is amazing.
(98) John quickens his pace.
(99) John is quick.

The learner should not expect such patterns to carry over into the new language but be ready to find new patterns for these configurations. In fact, he can expect considerable difficulty in adjusting to new types of word-formation.

The learner's problem in pronouncing what he wants to say may be no less serious. From what has been discussed so far, the learner can expect to encounter pronunciation problems of four different kinds: (1) those involving the melodies of sentences, (2) those involving the rhythm of words and phrases, (3) those in which the structure of syllables and transitions between them are involved, and (4) those involving particular sounds, whether consonants or vowels.

It is not uncommon to hear someone speaking English with flawless grammar and choice of words but with a very noticeable accent, which may or may not interfere with communication. If one should examine this accent carefully, it is possible to differentiate contaminations at all of the levels mentioned above.

At first the tendency is to "cover" a new language sentence with a native language melody. Bit by bit native language melodies and rhythms give way to authentic target language features. In the first weeks of study the learner may only approximate the consonants and vowels of the target language, not realizing that he is simply making slight modifications in native habits. In so doing, he may be missing contrasts which target language speakers make, but because of redundancy may be able to get his messages through even with this distortion.

As the learner discovers his mistakes and applies corrective exercises (Chapter 16), he can expect his habits gradually to approximate those of the new language. This change will not take place overnight, for in the first place, substituting native language habits for the new ones that he is learning gets results when words are chosen correctly and resulting sentences are not too far off, and in the second place, the habits of the first language are so automatic and unconscious that it is relatively harder for the learner to become aware of his problems in the area of syntax, as compared to the problem of awareness in vocabulary and grammar.

The problems which we have discussed thus far have concerned the learner's transmission of messages. He can also expect certain difficulties in the decoding process. First of all, there is the problem of hearing. As is the case with his speech organs, his ears are trained to pick up native language sound features. Therefore, he may miss distinctions which are important in decoding particular messages in the new language. The words for 'dog' and 'horse' in Thai are not different in their consonants and vowels, but only in their tone, a feature which is strange to English speaking people when used in this way. Learners need to have sentences repeated at first in order to know whether 'dog' or 'horse' was said.

There is a sense in which grammar does not constitute as great a problem in decoding as in encoding. In encoding, the speaker has to select the grammatical form he will use. On the other hand, when decoding a message, it is possible to catch just some of the units and supply what is missing by one's common sense, by profiting from redundancy. The message may come through substantially as intended, even though parts of it were missed. Nevertheless, the learner is certain to have problems at this level of decoding, for he will have to know what to do with the function words and how to assign orders and forms of words.

In trying to understand the configuration or sets of configurations with which the speaker began his communication, the decoder has a couple of basic problems. First he must remember what semantic territory is covered by the symbols in the sentence. He must also remember how surrounding symbols serve to highlight a part of that territory. With all this to remember, chances for confusion are great. Just a slight mishearing or failure to come up with the exact significance of the organization may lead to the confusion of one symbol with a similar one.

In addition to these problems of forgetting the meaning of a symbol and confusing the meanings of one symbol with another, the learner also has the more specialized problems of understanding the so-called "idiom" and the figures of speech characteristic of the new language. For example, the person learning English must certainly be surprised when he finds out that cookies are irrelevant in the sentence, "That's the way the cookie crumbles," or no wonder he is confused when he finds that the sentence, "He's a chip off the old block," has to do with fathers and sons. Furthermore, calling someone an old fox may be done partly in fun, but how does the learner decide when it is said as a joke and when it is intended as a biting criticism?

The linguist seeks to make a systematic analysis of the structure of a new language. The ordinary learner cannot do this systematically, but by being sensitive to the mistakes he makes and by doing something constructive about them, he can make progress in using the new language. That is the subject of the next chapter. Any learner, of course, would profit a great deal by learning more about language structure. He can start with one or more of the books about language learning which deal more with language structure (but less with becoming bilingual) than we do. These include especially Moulton (1966), Gudschinsky (1967) and Nida (1957a).

Chapter Twelve

Learning From Mistakes

An alien working in Thailand was well received as he stopped one day to talk to the people in a country village. As he left to go home he announced (or rather, intended to announce) that he would come again the same time the next week and bring his wife. When he arrived at the appointed time with his wife and children in tow, he found the whole village assembled, and all of the eligible young girls dressed in their finest. What he had actually said was that he was coming the next week to marry a wife!

The misunderstanding came about through a mistake in the use of grammatical structure. It was a contamination caused by interference from both English and Thai structure. (Chapter 8)

 (1) /aw phanrayaa/ 'take wife' (i.e., marry one)
 (2) /aw phanrayaa maa/ 'take wife come' (i.e., bring my wife)
 (3) /aw phanrayaa pay/ 'take wife go' (i.e., take my wife away)

In our earlier discussion of interference, we pointed out the tendency for learners to follow old habits when they try to communicate in a new language. Structural differences between the two languages cause them to speak with an "accent" at all levels of structure, in pronunciation and hearing, in the formation of sentences, and in the choice of words.

Some mistakes are obvious, as in the case of the man who said, "Sir, can you tell me if the American Embassy is where?" Others are more subtle, as "Ma'am, shall I insert the watermelon in the refrigerator?"--a question one housegirl asked her employer. They may create confusion or embarrassment as happened when a man politely tried to strike up a conversation with an American seat companion on a plane by asking, "Excuse me, may I have intercourse with you?" or they may be unintelligible, as in "The potatoes are all but the turnips are yet.

A learner's mistakes are inevitable, no matter what his language program is like, and some practical procedures are needed for dealing with them. But the alert learner does not just let his mistakes pass in embarrassment, or simply accept them as jokes on himself. He makes them the starting point for further language development.

Many a learner reaches a plateau where he is baffled by what to study next, what to do to improve himself. He should proceed systematically to profit by mistakes. The following chapters will describe various ways of organizing language data for learning, focusing on ways of correcting mistakes in structure patterns, pronunciations, sentences and words.

Learning by one's mistakes takes a lot of work, but probably begins with psychological acceptance of one's limitations. Many learners reflect, by the irritation with which they receive correction, that they are wounded by it, and the native speaker, who does not want to wound, lets mistakes go by.

Other learners are so concerned about their failure to master a detail on which they have worked long and hard that even though they do not resent correction it becomes very hard for their language helper or teacher to give them further correction. More than one teacher has said in despair, "I correct and correct, but when they start to cry, what do I do then?"

On the other hand, too many language learners endanger their own progress by accepting the praise of native speakers too quickly or by cutting off feedback from them in other ways. People are sometimes quick with a word of praise for the learner, not always for his achievement but for his effort--just to be encouraging. If learners take such praise too seriously, they may develop blind spots about their actual progress. The learner who can deal freely and openly with his mistakes will most certainly make better progress than the one who is either afraid to speak or unwilling to look at his limitations objectively.

Not all the language learner's mistakes stem from the same roots. The difficulties which arise because of linguistic interference from the mother tongue, other languages the learner knows, or even the new language itself are the ones with which we are particularly concerned in this chapter. Other mistakes will arise from cultural interference. Ways of working toward dealienation in this sphere are discussed in Chapter 21.

12.1 Cultivating Feedback

Feedback refers to all responses to messages, verbal and non-verbal. It keeps the language user on the track of communication. Although we are not always consciously aware of feedback as such, the nods, gestures, head movements, wandering eyes of our co-speakers or audiences are important clues to the success or failure of communication. Feedback signals of all kinds, bouncing back and forth continually between co-speakers, remind them to make proper adjustments in what is to be said.

Feedforward represents a speaker's adjustment ahead of time to prepare his co-speaker to understand and treat his message as he wants it treated. We see examples of feedforward, or anticipatory feedback, as it is sometimes called, in such statements as, "You may not like what I'm going to say but..." "Believe it or not..." "I don't like to gossip but..." It is a warning to prepare for a particular kind of message.

It is extremely important for the language learner to cultivate his powers of observing feedback for it may often point to mistakes which might otherwise go unnoticed. The learner who tries to understand the meaning of a native speaker's head and eye movements, shrugs of the shoulders, puzzled looks and so on, has a great edge on the person who is unaware of their significance or indifferent to them. Furthermore, by learning to use feedforward devices it is possible to elicit help with one's mistakes that less sensitive persons may be unable to get.

Both feedback and feedforward may be voluntary or involuntary. Laughs and gestures, for example, may often be involuntary but they are no less significant for the learner in helping him identify his mistakes. In most situations,

of course, it is physically impossible to pick up all the instances of feedback or to process it in any effective manner. On the other hand, in small, intimate groups where almost everyone present knows the learner's situation, the possibilities for utilizing feedback for learning purposes are much greater.

Many new feedback signals will be intelligible to the learner because they are nearly the same as those in his own previous experience, or because they stem from the very nature of communication. If the co-speaker gets a puzzled look on his face and then goes off and does something quite different from what the learner asked him to do, the meaning of the feedback is clear. If the co-speaker laughs in the right places and comes back with appropriate responses without any hesitation, this is good evidence that the message is getting through, whatever mistakes there might be.

Not all feedback signals have exactly the same meaning in all cultures, however. The nod may be a nod of understanding or it may be a nod which says, "You are a person of higher social status than I, and you have spoken. I accept it whether I understand it or not." The smile may mean, "I get what you say and approve of it," or it may mean, "I don't have the slightest notion of what you are talking about, but wouldn't want to hurt you by letting you know."

However, even here, with experience and careful observation the learner may begin to sense differences. The smile of understanding is perhaps different from the smile of covering up for a misunderstanding. Something about the nod of agreement is different from the nod which acknowledges the difference of social status.

The mouth may be smiling, but the eyes may not, and the nostrils may be dilated in anger; the newcomer does not notice some of these things, but the learner undergoing dealienation needs to begin to notice them. He needs to develop the domestic's sense of feedback, ascribing the domestic's meaning to it.

In order to profit from his mistakes, the learner not only needs to sense the feedback which comes to him in an unsolicited way, but must encourage specific feedback from his new family, friends and colleagues, asking for it, making clear that he really wants it, and showing appreciation when it comes.

At times it even takes effort to get a language teacher to give negative feedback. It may even be necessary to hire another teacher instead. It will be virtually impossible to get everyone to cooperate in these matters, but the learner should make a special effort to cultivate those who do.

A great deal will depend on the learner's over-all attitude. If he is warm and outgoing and does not easily take offense, it will be easier for him to stimulate and encourage feedback of a corrective nature. If he is austere or crusty, touchy or unpredictable, or even just shy, he will inhibit feedback of this kind.

The learner should establish his desire for correction early, and with any new friend. He should tell him frankly that he is aware of many mistakes, and would very much appreciate correction so that he can improve. When he notices a mistake of his own, if his co-speaker does not correct him, he should comment

on his mistake, asking the co-speaker for help and reminding him that he certainly would appreciate regular correction. As he asks the co-speaker for help, he puts himself in the role of a learner, and this tends to make correction easier.

Anyone will tend to give up correcting when there is failure in achieving results. The learner, therefore, should respond to any feedback. He should express his appreciation. He should try to jot down in a notebook the mistake he has made, together with the correction. This data can be studied or practiced later, but it shows that the learner is taking correction seriously. The learner should repeat the correction several times, and try to bring it into the conversation as soon as possible.

One sentence may have so many mistakes that the co-speaker scarcely knows where to begin correcting, and the learner would need an hour to note all his mistakes. This would be self-defeating. However, several corrections in an hour of conversation, handled in this way, can be very valuable. During a language lesson corrections should be more frequent, of course.

It may even be necessary to hire someone to note all of one's mistakes, and pay him for the number of errors he finds. Such an approach is particularly useful in public functions, when the learner is making a speech of some kind, or is otherwise in a situation where it would not be good to interrupt him. It could be used in conversational situations where the learner is talking with one native speaker, and a second is listening and noting the mistakes. The learner can then study his mistakes with his critic, and plan such corrective measures as are defined in later chapters.

The learner can encourage feedback in some situations by some feedforward, or anticipatory feedback techniques. A few standard sentences, for example, serve as a reminder that the learner knows that he needs special help.

> (4) My pronunciation isn't too good.
> (5) My sentences don't always mean what I intend.

Sentences like the following are especially important in the decoding process:

> (6) I don't always hear too well.
> (7) I don't always understand everything.

If one takes time to learn the target language equivalents for these sentences, it will pay dividends as he uses them to identify his mistakes, and once they are identified, remedial work can be undertaken.

12.2 Diagnosing Mistakes

Once the learner is aware of a mistake, it is important that he locate it rather precisely. This can be done in a number of ways: he can repeat what was said, trying to get a clearer picture of the trouble; he can paraphrase what he said to see if the alternative way of composing his message is an improvement; he can ask a question which will elicit more specialized feedback, such as asking what he should have said. When the learner fails to understand the correction, he can indicate this to the speaker or else ask for repetition or restatement, or he can ask a specific question which brings his problem into better view.

Unfortunately it is not always easy to tell just exactly what is wrong even when it is clear that there is a problem. The learner may think that he used the wrong word, but the native speaker may be objecting to the order of words. The learner may assume that a consonant was mispronounced, but the native speaker is confused over the tone. The learner may think his mistake was in pronunciation, but the native speaker is puzzled over the obscure meaning.

The learner should try to compare his mistake with the correction. This means that if the native speaker himself has not misunderstood what the learner intended to say, it can be re-expressed in the way that the native speaker would say it. For example, if a learner of English says, "These girls very pretty," he probably means, "These girls are very pretty."

With mistake and correction compared, the learner is ready to look more closely at the nature of this mistake. Some mistakes involve pronunciation and hearing, but not to the point that they interfere with the intended message. Other mistakes in pronunciation or hearing are such that the intended interpretation does not come through. Still other mistakes may involve meaning but not pronunciation or hearing. It is important, therefore, that the learner differentiate his mistake accordingly.

12.3 Isolating Pronunciation Mistakes

Pronunciation mistakes are sometimes related to the structural characteristics of contrast and variation. A phoneme is not always expressed in exactly the same way, although its variations may sometimes be nearly imperceptible to the native speaker. For example, the speaker of English may not be aware that his tongue is in three different positions when he makes the first sound of the words kill, call and cool. Although it takes a bit of practice to feel just what is happening, the position of the tongue is farther forward for kill and farther backward for cool, with call in between.

On the other hand, no native speaker has trouble feeling the difference between the first sounds of kill and gill, call and gall, or cool and ghoul. We can say that the difference between each of these pairs is marked by the contrast in the initial consonants and that the /k g/ are therefore different phonemes in English.

Yet each of these contrasting units appears in a variety of forms with tongue forward or back in the mouth, as we already indicated. An earlier example of such variation in a phoneme--depending on the particular environment in which it appears--we saw with the final [p t k] vs. [ph th kh] in Chapter 11.

Some of the learner's mistakes will obliterate contrasts in the new language. This is the problem with

(8) I will mate you at the corner.

The learner of English did not make the contrast between the vowels of meet and mate: /iy ey/. This was also the problem of the learner who would never use

the English word <u>sheet</u> because he could not preserve the contrast with a four-letter word which he knew to be vulgar.

Not that all obliterated contrasts are as disastrous as this.

(9) He went to the thermostat and turned up the hit.

is no linguistic calamity. The contrast is obliterated, and the wrong phoneme used, but the resulting form is not likely to give a bad meaning, and redundancy assures that the right meaning gets through.

Speakers of English who learn Vietnamese and confuse tones aften obliterate important contrasts. Sometimes the result is ludicrous, giving a false meaning; sometimes the listener cannot figure out what was meant; sometimes the message gets through, but with difficulty.

The same applies to such features as the length of vowels in many languages. In Khmu? (a language of Laos), for example, there is a phonemic contrast between long and short vowels (i.e., in the duration with which the vowel is held) such as may be seen in such minimal pairs as /pat/ 'duck,' /paat/ 'slice,' /sɔk/ 'distance from elbow to tip of hand,' /sɔɔk/ 'look for,' /moŋ/ 'moon, month,' /mooŋ/ 'watch, hour.' Speakers of English when learning Khmu? tend to wash out the contrast, because such distinctions do not occur in English.

In the following dialogue it is evident that the melodies accompanying utterances (12) and (14) are different:

(10) Where's your brother?
(11) In Michigan.
(12) Where?
(13) In Michigan.
(14) Oh. Where?
(15) In Detroit.

Judging from the responses to the questions, the melody of (12) is interpreted by the hearer to mean, 'I'd better repeat what I said.' On the other hand, he interpreted (14) to mean, 'Now he wants more information.' It is possible to maintain these basic contrasts in melody even though the structure used is otherwise very different. In place of (12), for example, we might have

(12a) Where did you say your brother was?

This sentence is considerably longer with more complex structures, yet the overall melody remains the same as in (12). In the same way, we might substitute (14a) for (14).

(14a) Whereabouts in Michigan?

The contrast between (12a) and (14a) is parallel to the difference between (12) and (14).

Other mistakes in pronunciation, though not obliterating contrasts, may involve the wrong variant of a phoneme or the use of a similar sound which is different from any of the normal varieties in the new language. Thus, French people speaking Thai or Vietnamese often use the French vowel of a word like

heure or leur for a very different sound in the new language. Since Thai or Viet-
namese have no sound like the French sound, the use of it does not obliterate a
contrast, but its substitution for the normal Vietnamese or Thai varieties sounds
strange.

We have already seen that the English phoneme /p/ has two variants at the
end of a syllable. At the beginning of the syllable, however, in American English
it normally has one variety [ph]. Learners who substitute the other variety [p]
always sound strange.

Mistakes which do not obliterate contrasts are less likely to be misunder-
stood or to result in hilarious or embarrassing interpretations. Nevertheless
they contribute to a foreign accent, are the result of interference, demonstrate
contamination, and if there are too many of them can be just as difficult to under-
stand. The learner needs to overcome mistakes of both types.

One language's contrast may be another language's variety. In Thai there
is a three-way contrast between stops (sounds made by stopping the airstream)
as represented by the symbols /p ph b/. In English there is a two-way contrast
represented by /p b/. When a Thai learns English he has trouble with this dis-
crepancy between his own three-way contrast and the two-way contrast which he
is trying to learn. He hears a difference between the /p/ of pill and the /p/ of
spill and the /b/ of Bill because his "Thai ears" perceive a three-way difference,
but his English-speaking helper does not hear the first two as different unless he
is trained to do so, and thinks that the Thai learner is confused.

From a phonetic point of view, in which sounds are studied objectively with-
out reference to the domestic's interpretation of them, these three sounds are
different in English. In many dialects of American English the /p/ of pill is
phonetically [ph] "aspirated," with a puff of air, whereas the /p/ of spill is [p],
without aspiration. /b/ is different again. However, in English /p/ in pill and
spill is the same phoneme, the same structural unit, the same entity from the
domestic's point of view, and [p ph] are different manifestations, different varie-
ties of it.

Suppose we should turn this situation around so that we see what happens
when an English speaker learns Thai. His Thai helper will insist that there is a
difference which the English learner at first fails to perceive.

The Thai three-way contrast may be seen in /pàa/ 'aunt,' /phàa/ 'cloth,'
/bâa/ 'crazy,' and many other examples. There are many minimal pairs (Chap-
ter 11) with the minimal contrast consisting of /ph/, proving them to be separate
phonemes, and not varieties of the same phoneme as in English. That is why,
from the Thai domestic point of view, they seem so obviously different but from
the English domestic point of view they seem the same. As the Thai speaker
makes the difference, the English learner has a hard time hearing and producing
the three-way contrast.

Such differences in awareness often lead to discrepancies or even disagree-
ments between a learner and his helper. In general, each is aware of the con-
trastive features of his mother tongue but less aware of the variations. (Chapter

4) When contrasts are essentially the same, learner and helper are likely to agree as to the units involved in pronunciation problems. On the other hand, the learner may fail to see contrasts where the helper insists that such are present, or the learner may insist that contrasts are present which the helper misses. These should be taken as indications that contrasts are different between the languages.

The helper will probably keep correcting the learner's mistakes involving contrasts in the new language without too much confusion. He will probably have no trouble making identifications such as, "You are saying ... but it should be ..." "You are using the wrong vowel (or tone or consonant, etc.)" "... and ... are different."

But not always. The cautions about encouraging correction made earlier apply here as well. One missionary for years thought he was saying 'chicken egg,' but he was actually saying 'horse's testicles.' People had long ago decided he just couldn't make the sound contrast, and let it go.

In a second typical situation the learner may be aware of a sound difference that the helper cannot readily perceive. This situation may arise from the fact that the learner's mother tongue has a contrast which does not have a parallel in the new language, and that the learner perceives as contrasts (projecting his own phonemic system) what are varieties in the new language.

This often happens to English speakers learning languages with very simple vowel systems, for example. In some languages there are as few as three to five contrastive vowel phonemes. Compare the variety of contrasts in vowels in English: heat, hit, hate, bet, hat, hut, hot, hoot, foot, mote, bought, and so on.

In the new language, with its three or five vowel contrasts, however, there may be several varieties of some vowels: /i/ may be manifested in the following ways:

[ɪ] (similar to the vowel of English hit) occurs before /m n ŋ/ in a syllable.

[ɨ] (similar to the first vowel in sister in some English dialects) occurs before /s z/.

[i] (similar to the vowel of English heat in some English dialects) occurs in all other environments.

[ɪ ɨ i] are varieties of the new language phoneme /i/, varieties conditioned by neighboring consonants, varieties produced by automatic rules in the grammar. The varieties do not contrast, and the helper is therefore not aware of them as being different. They are phonetically different, but not different phonemes. (Chapter 11)

The learner is aware of the differences because similar vowel contrasts occur in English. He may wonder why they are all written the same way in the new language, or why the helper is so indifferent to them. This type of situation

does not produce a severe learning problem, but the learner can avoid confusion by trying to understand the basis for the difference between his perception and that of his helper.

On the other hand, sometimes neither helper nor learner may be aware of contrasts, although the helper may still insist that the learner's pronunciation, or perhaps hearing, is faulty. What the learner says does not sound right to him, but he does not feel that the learner is mixing up any two sounds. He simply feels that the one sound is wrong. While such faults may not lead to the confusion of messages, the learner will speak with an accent if he fails to correct them.

Such situations in which neither helper nor learner can pinpoint contrasts are sometimes difficult to deal with. The problem lies in the learner's inability to produce the variety of sound unit called for in a given environment, but the helper may not be able to define the mistake or even to give a helpful example. A phonetician could tell the learner to raise his tongue or lower it or round his lips, but the helper knows nothing of this. In this situation, like all others, the learner has no valid alternative but to imitate the helper as best he can.

These examples are by no means the only kinds of misunderstandings which can arise between helper and learner who perceive the sounds of the new language from two different perspectives. Nor does the problem of sound structure and differing perspectives on it apply only to individual sounds, as we have illustrated. It applies to all aspects of the sound system: melody of the sentence (rise and fall of the voice), rhythm, the ways sounds are organized into syllables, combinations of sounds, transitions between sounds and between syllables as well.

In terms of syllable structure, for example, we notice a remarkable difference between Thai and English,[1] in the point of focus or emphasis in the syllable. English can have heavy consonant clusters at the beginnings and ends of syllables. Note such words as glimpsed /glimpst/, strength /streŋθ/, jumped /jəmpt/. The vowel center of an English syllable can be relatively complex, and there is quite a variety of vowels in English, but this nowhere nearly matches the complexity possible at the margins of English syllables. Speakers of English are therefore phonemically aware of many contrasts created by combinations of consonants at the margins of syllables: pin vs. spin vs. sprint, or him vs. chimp vs. chimps vs. glimpsed.

Thai, on the other hand, allows comparatively few clusters of consonants-- none in final position in the syllable. In fact, only nine consonants can occur at the end of a Thai syllable, and those only one at a time. At the vowel center of the syllables, Thai has nine short vowels, nine long ones, three composite vowels, all of which can occur with any one of five tones, making a total of 105 combinations. The Thai learns to focus on the center of the syllable. Speakers of English tend to miss the Thai contrasts in the center of the syllable because they are trained to look more at the beginning and the end. Thai speakers tend to miss English contrasts at the margins of the syllables because they tend to concentrate

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[1]Brown 1968:xiv

on the center.   That produces pronunciations like /glim/ for glimpsed, /cəm/ for jumped and /sətɛŋ/ for strength.

We have been discussing the isolation of pronunciation mistakes in terms of contrasts and variation, understanding what the mistake is and if possible what causes it. This process involves eliciting and interpreting feedback.   What to do about such mistakes is discussed in Chapter 16.[2]

12.4 Isolating Mistakes in Meaning

Mistakes which violate a contrast in pronunciation often affect meaning, as we have seen.   Mistakes affecting meaning also arise from the learner's difficulty with the grammatical system or the semantic system of the new language. Mistakes in meaning, as we are using the term, means mistakes in the sequencing of sentences, in the choice of words, in the use of idioms, in the things talked about and what is said about them. These are the ways in which meaning is expressed   (Chapter 18).

A Vietnamese of our acquaintance says, "He used to ... " when he means "He is used to ... " Thai children call out to a passing American: "Where do you go?" when they mean "Where are you going?" They form wrong grammatical constructions. Their meaning is intelligible because of redundancy, but they have expressed themselves wrongly as a result of interference. The man referred to earlier who offered to marry a wife, not to bring one, was making a mistake which involved a contrast of meaning, and redundancy did not help.

Furthermore, a sentence may be perfectly correct and understandable but inappropriate at a point in the sequence in which it occurs. For example, sentences like

> (16) The criminals were in possession of the police.

and

> (17) The criminals were in the possession of the police.

are both accurate sentences and perfectly understandable, but the question of which is appropriate at a given point in a sequence is quite another thing and must be understood by the learner.

Suppose someone learning English were to say

> (18) Some boys were walking along the beach.
> (19) All of a sudden, the bird hit Bill in the nose.

While (19) is grammatically correct and perfectly understandable, its form is not quite appropriate following (18) if (18) is the first sentence of a story.

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[2]For a more sophisticated and detailed treatment of pronunciation problems the learner might check such sources as Lado 1957. All we can hope to do here is to increase sensitivity to types of problems which the reader may face.

(19a) All of a sudden, a bird hit Bill in the nose.

would be better. Actually there is a slight difference of meaning between (19) and (19a) having to do with the specificity of objects which have been mentioned. Ordinarily one would not refer to a bird as "the bird" unless it was assumed as already a part of the discourse in some way--part of the shared knowledge of speaker and hearer. Such subtle differences arise more from the grammar of sequences of sentences than from the rules governing the construction of a sentence. That is to say, the natural flow of sentences in a paragraph has structure and the learner will need to master it.

In addition to the inappropriate use of otherwise correct sentences, ambiguity as discussed in Chapter 11 may arise, because the listener gives an interpretation which the learner did not realize existed. It may be that something in the sequence leads the learner to understand it in one way rather than the other, to choose the meaning which the speaker did not intend. Our earlier example was:

(20) John hit the man with the cane.
(21) John hit the man with the cane.

The helper will often correct such problems by paraphrasing, saying the sentences in another way:

(20a) John hit the man who had the cane.
(21a) John used the cane to hit the man.

Then again, the learner's grammatical problem may be meaningful only after it has been unscrambled, after the helper's revision of it. If, for example, someone telling a story in American history should say that

(22) George Washington came riding into town on a horse chestnut.

instead of "chestnut horse," any native speaker would be confused. There is nothing ungrammatical about the sentence. It is simply incongruous. In this example the problem is not inappropriateness nor ambiguity but improper execution. The configuration which the learner is trying to represent calls for the sentence to be constructed in another way. The mother tongue of persons making such a mistake might be one in which words like chestnut regularly follow object words like horse.

Learners of Tagalog often make mistakes in the construction of verb forms. Those whose background is English readily differentiate tenses as past, present and future. In Tagalog, however, the basic dichotomy reflected in the forms of verbs differentiates action which is begun from action which is not yet started. This means that the question of "present" is rather difficult to decide. The conflict between the three-way distinction of English and the two-way distinction of Tagalog disturbs many learners. One must not conclude, however, that the Tagalog language has no way to permit a person to talk about the present as we understand it. It simply means that other types of constructions are used.

Mistakes of more than one kind can be combined into the same sentence, of course. An American lady who had just undergone surgery in an overseas hospital was greeted cheerily by the nurse at seven in the morning with: "Today you will please to ambulate."

A learner's sentence may be so bad that his listener hardly has a clue to its meaning. It may be complete nonsense, only partially meaningful, or so badly confused that more information is necessary in order to know what the speaker intended. Such mistakes are common, especially during earlier stages of language study when the learner tries to generate new things to say using patterns which he has learned. In such cases the learner would probably do well to ask his helper what he thinks he was trying to say, and learn to say that.

In pinpointing difficulties more precisely, then, the learner should try to find the points at which mistakes occur. Was it mainly in the construction of the grammatical pattern? Was it in the choice of words for his intended referent? Was it in the formation of his basic configuration? Or was it some combination of all three?

For example, if someone says, "She very pretty," his problem involves the mechanics of grammar, not the planning of a configuration. On the other hand, if he should say, "I squeezed all the wisdom I could find," the problem lies in the learner's misunderstanding of normal co-occurrence of English words. We "bring it to bear" or "apply it."

On the other hand, if someone were to say, "Can you tell me if the American Embassy is where?", all of the words are completely understandable but in the wrong arrangement. There is a sense in which both grammar and vocabulary are involved in "The potatoes are all but the turnips are yet." The girl who asks if she should "insert the watermelon in the refrigerator" does not realize that insert is used only for flat or elongated objects put into narrow receptacles, such as letters in envelopes.

Mistakes in configurations are harder to illustrate but go to the very heart of intercultural communication. More than one missionary working with an aboriginal people has complained that they have no word for 'love.' On careful scrutiny it becomes evident that people can talk about mothers loving children or other similar action. When he learns to see it in terms of an event, in terms of something that happens, that takes place between people, it then becomes possible to encode episodes about love in the new language.

12.5 Isolating Mistakes in Understanding

The learner who listens to someone speaking the new language makes characteristic mistakes there also.

Normally the speaker intends one meaning, but it is possible that two meanings are received. If, for example, a person learning English should hear

(22) Her coat is light.

He might interpret it to mean light in weight whereas the speaker may actually be referring to its color. This instance of semantic ambiguity as it is technically known is different in kind from the two ways to interpret the sentence

(23) Flying planes may be dangerous.

This latter sentence may be referring to the danger which a pilot faces or to the danger which people on the ground face when planes are flying nearby. Here the problem lies in the interpretation of the organization of the sentence, which in itself may convey two different meanings as indicated.

In some instances the learner cannot decode all of the parts of a message. When he hears it correctly and still cannot interpret it, the problem may be as simple as one new word or a new meaning for an old word, or it may be highly complex with new patterns or new combinations never before encountered. Such problems, therefore, stem from grammatical difficulty or semantic difficulty or perhaps both.

To unravel the problem the learner may ask various questions and elicit further information. To clarify his mistake he will want to find the meaning of unfamiliar words or words with unfamiliar meanings, and he will want to find out the significance of new or unusual grammatical constructions. Once the speaker's intended meaning is understood perfectly by the learner, he can set about organizing exercises which will help to avoid similar problems in the future.

As the learner works methodically and seriously with his difficulties, domestics see that he is intent and eager for corrections, even in details. They too experience some sense of accomplishment when the learner makes improvement in his use of their language. A clear picture of a problem is necessary before correct habits can be developed.

Pinpointing difficulty, then, means finding out what is wrong. At times this is easy, at other times it is not, but it is always necessary if correct habits are to be developed.

Chapter Thirteen

Organizing Practice

As already indicated, second language learning, both from the standpoint of psychological processes and from the standpoint of practical techniques, is a lively area of dispute. (Introduction, Chapters 2, 10). There seems to be little doubt, however, that second language learning cannot be complete without extensive practice.

It may seem painfully obvious, furthermore, to say that in practicing we learn what we repeat, yet many language learners do not repeat what they want to learn. Practice may be misdirected. For example, many Greek students have memorized verb conjugations like the following:

luō	'I loose'	luomen	'we loose'
lueis	'you loose'	luete	'you (pl.) loose'
luei	'he, she, it looses'	luousi	'they loose'

In so doing, they learned something about verb stems and their relation to various ous endings. They hoped to learn to use the verb suffixes (-ō, -eis, -ei, -omen, -ete, -ousi) and assumed that this memorization would ultimately result in their ability to read Greek sentences. The assumption was only very weakly true.

In actual fact, students learned the stem lu- meaning 'to loose'--because that is what they repeated. To learn the suffixes they would have had to redesign practice activity so as to repeat them.

Some practice is meaningless wheel-spinning. If it is to be rewarding, it will have to be developed in such a way that normal use of the language is the natural consequence. This chapter, an overall survey of the place of practice in learning, lays the foundation for specific suggestions for practicing various aspects of structure.

13.1 Rationale for Practice

Using language fluently and creatively means that the speaker can select freely from available structures those which can most effectively convey this meaning. The fluent and creative speaker can put his entire attention on meanings when he communicates, for he controls structures automatically and unconsciously after years of practice.

In a second language, however, the learner faces a new problem. He wants to express many of the same ideas but to do so he needs what is at least superficially an entirely different set of structures. He must develop conscious control of these new structures and then continue practice until he can use them without thinking about them.

Furthermore, since language is structured on various levels, the development of habits will require practice which is sufficiently diversified for the language student to learn how to manage the entire structure, not just selected parts

of it. Furthermore, since difficulty varies according to differences between new and old languages, practice should be focused on the points of greatest difficulty, rather than spread evenly over all structural features. Finally, if creative use of language is the learner's goal, then he must practice to develop creative powers, and not simply leave this to chance.

At the early stages of language study, one cannot handle complicated con-glomerations of content and structure all at the same time. At first he must con-centrate on the development of new structural habits, especially those which cause special difficulty. Unable to use the language in normal fashion, with struc-tural features selected according to what one wants to say, the learner will have to control some of the variables of meaning in order to concentrate on the struc-ture, thus temporarily restricting what he wants to say in order to learn how to say it. Gradually he loosens control on one variable after another until he reaches the point where he can use the language naturally to say what he wants to say and with the structures which are appropriate.

As far as the content of practice material is concerned, the learner's ear-liest emphasis must be on his own survival in the new community: how to get from one place to another, how to procure and prepare food, how to acquire shelter, and so on. Once able to communicate on this level, he can begin to devote himself to learning what he needs for the role which the domestic com-munity expects him to play. In other words, at first the content of his language programs will emphasize the learner's personal needs, and later on should shift to more domestic-motivated subjects, stressing what he will need to know in order to lose some of his alien characteristics.

The learner can get started by memorizing some short, simple texts in which the language is used naturally. The content should be highly useful. He can continue with several score of useful utterances and frozen phrases (set ex-pressions heard repeatedly in the community). If a person were learning Eng-lish, for example, he would want to learn phrases like good morning, hi, how are you, it's a nice day, isn't it?, and so on. While rote memorization has limited value in language learning, it is very important in the mastery of ritual-ized expressions and short, useful texts at the very beginning.

For the very first texts the learner may find very short dialogues most useful, for at first he needs short interchanges with domestics on very mundane topics, perhaps with a fairly high percentage of frozen phrases.

For example, the short dialogue below includes only the greetings and leave takings between two people.[1] The dotted line suggests the point at which the principal motivation for the conversation would actually be manifested. This might be limited to A's simple question and B's answer. It might involve a 15 or 20 minute conversation.

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[1]Dr. Justin Abraham, Bethel College, served as informant for Hindi ex-amples.

Hindi Text

A.	Namasthe ji.	I bow to you.
	B. Namesthe ji.	I bow to you.
A.	Kaisehe.	How are you?
	B. Tikhe hum.	All right.

- -

A.	Accha.	Good.
	Maf keejiye.	Please excuse me.
	Mujhe janahe.	I have to go.
	B. Accha.	Good.
	Jaaiya.	Please go.
A.	Fir milenge.	We will meet again.
	B. Fir milenge.	We will meet again.

Also at the outset the learner can begin to extract from these short texts some of the structural features which he will need to control. He should practice them until he can use them automatically. At the same time he can try to use the vocabulary of these short texts and useful utterances in as wide a variety of situations as possible. From this modest beginning, he moves gradually through various stages of development to the point where he can speak extemporaneously and naturally.

13.2 General Principles

A number of general principles apply rather universally to language practice. First of all, it would seem rather self-evident that to imitate non-native speakers of the new language is wasteful of time and energy, yet many take at face value samples of the new language which they hear from fellow-aliens who are not completely reliable sources.

Practice, furthermore, is not simply a matter of large volumes of repetition. The structure of the practice--the frequency with which the item is to be learned is contrasted with other items with which it could be confused--is more important.[2] Although it is easier said than done, all practice activity should have the qualities of usefulness and relevance that can sustain interest and motivation.[3]

Boredom and frustration are important symptoms of inefficient and ineffective learning, pointing to progression of difficulty which is too steep, or to learning tasks which fail to offer sufficient challenge or do not seem to be directed toward his goals. Good practice is neither too steep nor too slow in progression, and its value is clear. The learner, therefore, should not dismiss the significance of any

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[2]Carroll 1966:104

[3]Carroll 1966:105

such symptoms; rather, he should look at his situation analytically, for a good diagnosis of the causes may lead to significant improvement in practice, and in learning.

Boredom may be alleviated considerably if the learner will keep in mind the significance of what he is practicing. We have suggested (Chapter 12) that the learner use his mistakes as a signal for some of the things he should practice. Remembering why he needs the practice helps motivation.

With each day's practice the probabilities of error in the use of a specific feature continually decrease. It is very important for the learner to develop practice which keeps this in mind and minimizes the chances for unnecessary error. This means that he should divide the learning load into manageable segments and should tackle the easier of two alternative practice activities (provided he really needs practice in the easier one) for the more skills which he acquires thoroughly the better his background for tackling the next ones. Furthermore, he should also move from the known to the unknown as he moves from the easy to the difficult. (Strange as it may seem, the easy and the known are not always the same.)

There is also an association between what is learned and the situation under which it is learned. Names, for example, are more easily recalled if a person is met under analogous circumstances to the ones where his name was first learned. Learning done in the formally restricted language "class" or "session" may be inhibited in other situations.[4] Learners need to practice what they are learning under as wide a variety of circumstances as possible.

Finally, the fundamental order of listening-speaking-reading-writing should guide all practice. Nothing is more wasteful of time at the early stages of language study than the hours devoted to the mechanics of the written language when these do not also strengthen the habits of spoken language. We do not mean to say that oral practice materials may not also be presented on paper or that the learner must work "blind." If the written form reinforces the oral, so much the better. It cannot, however, be a substitute for oral practice.

13.3 Framework for Practice

Practice activity should move along two paths simultaneously. On one the learner will focus on larger segments of text, seeking to understand and produce it. On the other he will concentrate on particular features, seeking to develop accuracy in details on all levels of language structure. Fluency practice with texts and corrective practice on detail complement each other.

13.31 Fluency Practice. Fluency practice is based on texts produced by native speakers of the new language. It is organized by what the speaker wants to learn--by its content, and reflects the choices which he makes from a variety of structures which enable him to put across his content appropriately.

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[4]Anisfeld 1966:112-113

This means, of course, that the learner must be content at first to practice what someone else has said; later he can work on what he himself would like to say. This might seem to be unnecessarily confining, but by getting his helper to talk about subjects which are relevant and interesting to him, this approach to fluency practice turns out to be effective and rewarding.

This focus on text from the very beginning helps the learner to avoid some of the mistakes and problems which many encounter. From the text itself the analytically untrained learner can draw materials for practice on particular features of the language, and in using such texts he is more likely to imitate authentic patterns all along the way.

A text of the kind which we are describing need not be more than a few sentences in length, such as the following Yoruba (Nigeria) text.[5]

Yoruba Text

(Y1) nígbàtí mō jí láàrɔ̀ yí mō wè

(Y2) mō tɔ́jú āràà mī

(Y3) mō sì mú āšɔ̄ wò

(Y4) kò sí ōńjē nínúu yàráà mī nítōrínâ mō ní látī lɔ̄ sí ílé ōńjē

(Y5) níbè nī mō ṯi jeṵ òfé kpèlúū ạwōn ōréè mī

Free Translation

(E1) When I got up this morning, I bathed. (E2) I took care of my body. (E3) I got my clothes and put them on. (E4) There was no food in my room, so I had to go to the dining room. (E5) There I ate free with my friends.

In any such text a learner is going to encounter many features which he does not understand. Some can be singled out for the narrower focus to be discussed below. He can handle the rest temporarily by sheer memorization until later when their structure becomes clear.

The structural features of any normal text will be distributed according to the needs of its producer. At any given point in the learner's development some of them may be too difficult or too distracting. Such a text must be simplified in certain ways if the learner is to make use of it for his own purposes (Chapter 15). This simplification involves the control of certain variables, and will, of course, introduce a kind of distortion from normal use of language. But this distortion[6] is only a temporary expedient. The learner will return to the text in its normal form as his skill increases, and the process of "transforming" it back and forth between simpler and more complex form will contribute to the development of his creative skills.

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[5]We are indebted to Solomon Abegunde, Ire, Nigeria, for his help with the Yoruba data, during December 1968.

[6]By "distortion" we do not mean incorrect or ungrammatical forms. Practicing them would be pointless. We refer to ones which are not so complex as those normally used by the native speaker in the same situation.

The difficulty of such a text can be measured in two ways (Figure 1). On one scale, a text is difficult for a learner by virtue of its structural features. Where the learner cannot himself handle the features in a normal way, we will show him how to limit the difficulties temporarily.

But on a second scale--from rehearsed to extemporaneous--any text becomes easier with rehearsal. Even a very difficult text containing many new structural features may be relatively easy to produce after practice. Both scales--artificial-to-natural and rehearsed-to-extemporaneous--must be kept in mind as practice evolves. Figure 1 suggests that as skill develops, the learner is able to handle more normal texts extemporaneously.
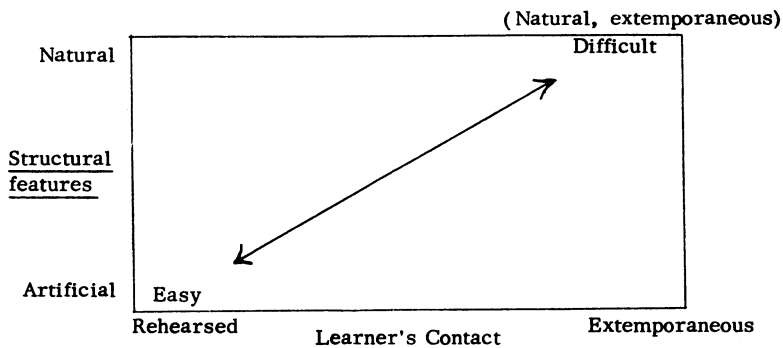
Figure 1 - Scales of Difficulty

Usefulness of a text, of course, is related to the stage of the learner's development. No text needs to be thrown away just because it seems too difficult at the moment. If he files it away, the learner can probably use it at a later stage in his development.

This discussion of the collection and processing of text is continued in detail in Chapter 15, and also in the chapters of Part Four where special features and dimensions of language are considered.

13.32 Practice for Accuracy. We have already suggested (Chapter 12) that language is structured on three principal levels: sound, grammar and vocabulary. In any text which the learner encounters in the earlier stages, he is likely to find puzzling features which need focused practice on all of these levels. Some features are best learned before others in an ideal situation, of course, but all the learner can do is to practice them as he meets them, temporarily delaying practice on the more difficult ones.

Knowledge and insight into text structure have not yet been formulated to the point where controlled exercises can be recommended for learning it. On the other hand, we can and do present a rather full-scale treatment of drills for other levels of structure in Chapters 16, 17 and 18. Such drills, organized by structure and not by content, are designed with particular objectives in mind and help the learner to move along systematically from one level of difficulty to the next.

All levels of structure should be practiced concurrently. That is, the learner should not try to attain perfect pronunciation before he begins to practice grammar. However, the focus of any particular drill will be on one level or another.

Stages of Development

Along the way to creative use of the language we can differentiate five stages of development as pictured in Figure 2.
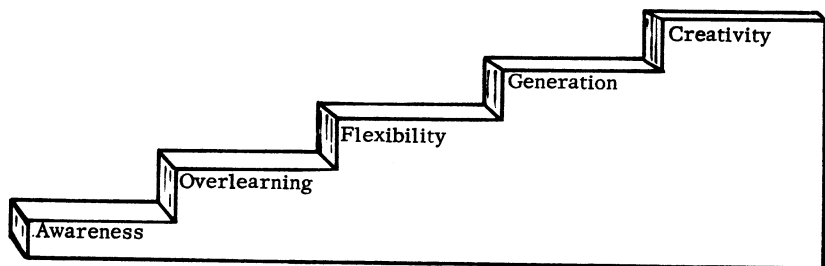
Figure 2--Stages of Development

On each level of structure practice begins with awareness of units and their relationships. For example, the person learning English can scarcely say a thing until he is able to hear distinctions between words like pill and bill or until he begins to distinguish between a and the. In the awareness stage the learner must concentrate on listening, hearing or other forms of input; then, as he becomes aware of the features, he can begin to concentrate on production of the language himself.

It is an attempt to produce awareness, actually, that motivates much of the discussion about language in traditional language courses, and it is true that talking about language structure may serve to bring some features into view. Furthermore, paradigm learning of the kind mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter helps to develop awareness. So do grammar rules. But full automatic awareness of many features of a language requires extensive practice, as we shall see.

While awareness practice serves to make difficult structural features visible and overt for the learner, he must go on to activities which force him to use these features automatically and unconsciously. In other words, once they are brought up to the conscious level of attention, another kind of practice is vital to make it no longer necessary to be overtly conscious of these language features, but to establish the new habits which make possible their unconscious use. In overlearning practice the learner works in huge quantities of controlled material focusing on a particular structural feature to make it fully automatic. Content in such practice is of necessity of secondary importance; the learner's focus is on structure.

Awareness practice and overlearning practice are often performed effectively in the same drill. For example, awareness of the difference between /s/ and /z/ will come far more quickly to a person learning English if he can hear them in pairs of words like hiss - his than if he only depends upon hearing them in their normal distribution in everyday speech. Then extensive overlearning practice of the same material helps to establish the necessary habits of production. An arrangement such as the following can serve as the focus for effective practice of both kinds.

Column A			Column B	
/s/	/z/		/s/	/z/
ice	eyes		sip	zip
dice	dyes		sink	zinc
hiss	his		seal	zeal
hearse	hers		sown	zone

Overlearning is necessary to establish new habit patterns, reduce contamination and even to anticipate the effects of retroactive interference, whereby new things learned later will tend to make the learner forget what he has not learned sufficiently well before.

One kind of overlearning practice, known as "pattern practice" in the learning materials produced by the structuralists, has been severely criticized on the grounds that it is contrary to the true nature of language behavior. Wolfe[7] cites an example of the kind of drill which leads a student to practice a series of sentences including the following:

Yesterday I went to the movies.
Yesterday I went to the play.
Yesterday I went to the game.
Last night I went to the game.
Last week I went to the game.

He points out that the sequence is unnatural and the sentences are untrue. Many learners, furthermore, have complained about pattern practice as tiring, unrewarding, boring effort. Fishman[8] makes the even more telling accusation that it contributes to the learner's psychological problems.

We accept the validity of these criticisms, but point out that our use of overlearning practice has a limited purpose in a larger framework of other kinds of practice and learning experience. It can accomplish its limited but important purpose well if the learner has the maturity and motivation to use it. Fluent and creative language use without some kind of overlearning is impossible. The problem is to make it as helpful as possible for the individual learner.

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[7] Wolfe 1967:175

[8] Fishman 1966

As a problem feature is overlearned, the learner is ready to turn a major corner: using the feature in larger and more normal contexts. Emphasis shifts to output as the learner plans and uses various sorts of flexibility practice. Controls on structure loosen as he can handle more complex kinds of input.

One type of flexibility practice at the grammatical level is seen in a learner-helper exchange built around a frame sentence. For example,

Frame Sentence: Mary threw the ball to John.

Question-answer #1: Who?   Mary
Question-answer #2: Threw what?   The ball.
Question-answer #3: Did what?   Threw the ball.
Question-answer #4: To whom?   To John.

In this kind of flexibility practice, the helper's role is to give a frame sentence and then ask a series of restricted questions based on the sentence. The learner responds to each of them. The helper then produces another sentence structured in the same way and goes through the series again.

When the learner has reached the point where he can handle a few sentence structures easily he is ready for generation practice in which he tries to produce longer sequences of normal text. Content, played down in earlier stages of practice for accuracy, comes into sharper view as the learner tries to say what he wants to say within the confines of the structures which he now controls.

For example, the following dialogue is the translation of a Thai exercise for strengthening one's generative capacity in language.

A. May I ask you something?

B. Go ahead.

A. If I want to read a book, but the room is too dark, what should I tell the servant?

B. What's your servant's name?

A. Her name is Toy.

B. Tell her, 'Turn on the light, Toy.'

A. And when I don't need the light anymore, what do I say?

B. Tell her, 'You can turn the light off now, Toy.'[9]

This sequence can actually be used as a framework for generating hours of effective practice. By simply posing different situations--wanting a drink, inquiring about some local point of interest, etc.--the learner gains proficiency in lengthening and varying his communication, generating new things to say while remaining true to authentic sequences and patterns.

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[9]Brown 1968:215

After the learner is able to generate sequences of text with good results, he is ready to combine and recombine the vocabulary which he now commands and the structures which he can use in order to say new and unusual things. In such creativity practice the content of the speech which he produces is, like that of the native speaker, determined by what he wants to say, and the structure is freely selected from whatever is appropriate to this purpose.

One can see creative use of language continually if only he looks for it. For example, is the radio commentator who refers to the Department of "Wealth and Hellfare" slipping momentarily, or is it an intentional bit of verbal play on health and welfare? The student who writes that "a tree is wood but it wouldn't be wood if it weren't for air, would it?" is obviously engaging in a bit of creativity with language.[10] It is evident, of course, that the learner cannot hope to develop his creativity with the new language until he has reached a high level of proficiency in the more normal use of structures and vocabulary.

Thus the learner starts with a text which he practices for fluency and from which he derives drills to practice for accuracy on these various levels. The final level is the level of producing new texts--saying new things. He begins with someone else's text and ends with his own. This is a learning cycle, a process repeated over and over again with new texts, new problems, new practice in the task of becoming bilingual (Chapter 15).

Practice which systematically follows these five stages of development should help to avoid some of the tangents and plateaus which plague many learners. It helps to insure a balance between decoding and encoding and a normal progression from the known and easy to the unknown and difficult. The discussion thus far concentrates on practice for the vocal-auditory channel, but it also serves as a general framework for reading and writing practice (Chapter 20).

13.4 Types of Drills

Three fundamental types of drills and exercises are especially important as the learner practices at each of these stages: (1) substitution techniques, (2) differential techniques, and (3) selection techniques. They are illustrated extensively in Chapters 16-18.

All three kinds of drill techniques are variations around a single structure --the repetition of the item to be learned in a series of different contexts. In the formulaic representation that follows, S represents the variable, the item substituted or changed, and L, the item to be learned. The variable may precede, follow, or enclose the item to be learned.

Structurally, the simplest technique is the substitution technique. A substitution drill has the form

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[10]"Love," an unpublished poem by John Olander, Bethel College, January 21, 1970.

		Example 1	Example 2
S_1	L	pit	Dogs eat meat
S_2	L	peck	Cows eat hay
S_3	L	pen	Vampires eat blood
S_4	L	push	Chickens eat corn
S_5	L	pipe	Boys eat candy

Item to be learned   p-   -s eat

The differential technique contrasts two items to be learned. It has the form

S_1 L_1	S_1 L_2	Dogs eat meat	This dog eats meat
S_2 L_1	S_2 L_2	Cows eat hay	This cow eats hay
S_3 L_1	S_3 L_2	Vampires eat blood	This vampire eats blood
S_4 L_1	S_4 L_2	Chickens eat corn	This chicken eats corn
S_5 L_1	S_5 L_2	Boys eat candy	This boy eats candy

Contrast to be learned   -s eat   This...eats

Another example is to be found in the contrast between /s/ and /z/ on page 148.

The selection technique has the form

Part 1	Part 2	Part 3
S_1 L_1	S_1 L_2	Response from Part 1 appropriate to the cue.
S_2 L_1	S_2 L_2	cue
S_3 L_1	S_3 L_2	
S_4 L_1	S_4 L_2	
S_5 L_1	S_5 L_2	

A simple example may be seen on page 149.

There are many possible variations on all of these, as the reader will find later on, and considerable ingenuity may be required to apply them to some difficult learning problems. Sometimes a drill helpfully requires the application of more than one of these techniques.

The substitution technique is primarily useful for developing awareness and overlearning. For certain structural features, it also proves useful in the development of flexibility.

The discussion of substitution tables in Chapter 18 shows how it is possible to produce hundreds of different messages all based on the same pattern simply by controlled substitution. In these cases the sample sentence structure is the constant while messages vary according to the substitution of items of vocabulary from the table.

The substitution technique is also useful for learning sets of vocabulary words. A word like green, for example, will differ in meaning depending upon its environments. In some environments it will refer to a color, as in The coat is green; in others it may refer to a piece of fruit that is unripe, as in The melon is still green. Such differences as these can be practiced effectively by the substitution technique, keeping the different meanings of green as L_1, L_2, etc.

At the level of generation, substitution within a text longer than a clause or sentence becomes a major technique.

Differential techniques are suited primarily for the development of awareness and overlearning at each level of structure by helping the learner to discriminate between contrastive units. The techniques help the learner to differentiate things which he needs to keep apart. Through their application the learner develops awareness of these units and the environments in which they occur.

Technique helps the learner to explore the differences between various features which he is either overlooking or confusing. It helps him to test his hunches, to verify his hypotheses, to diagnose his problems more effectively and to strengthen his perception of important contrasts. Applied to pronunciation problems, differential drills help the learner to hear differences more clearly, like those between sin and sing. In grammar they help him to differentiate the significance between is walking and walks, for example. In vocabulary they help to understand the subtle differences between sets of words like tree, bush, shrub.

The selection technique is more applicable to flexibility practice than to awareness or overlearning. In principle, the technique involves conscious choice between related structures. In a selection drill, the learner practices the selection between two or more alternatives on the basis of the clues which he receives as part of a stimulus. This helps him to learn how structures are appropriate in some larger environments but not others.

Levels of Structure / Stages of Development	Pronunciation	Grammar	Vocabulary
Awareness	Differential Substitution	Differential Substitution	Differential Substitution
Overlearning	Differential Substitution	Differential Substitution	Differential Substitution
Flexibility	(Substitution) Selection	Substitution Selection	Substitution Selection
Generation	(Not within learner's objectives)	Substitution in text	Substitution in text
Creativity	(Not within learner's objectives)	(Functional use of the language)	(Functional use of the language)

Figure 1.   Framework for Practice

The selection technique is also important for learning related grammatical structures, such as the difference between

(1) The dog bit the man.
(2) The man was bitten by the dog.

or, it is equally applicable for learning sets of related vocabulary such as hot-warm-lukewarm-cool-cold.

Techniques of these kinds applied to all structural levels at various stages of development provide the learner with a rather natural movement toward fluency and keep him working on problem features in productive ways. The interplay

between levels of structure stages of development, and practice techniques may be seen summarized in Figure 1. Note that the level of creativity does not involve drills at all.

13.5 Learner Roles in Practice

The learner assumes three successive roles in a practice activity: observer, mimic, and producer. His goal, of course, is production, but observation and mimicry are necessary first steps toward it, for he cannot produce something which he has not first internalized. He begins, therefore, with observation of structural features, continues with mimicry as they are produced by his helper and tries to reach the stage where he can produce them without the immediate help of a live model. In practice activity, therefore, the learner moves from one role to another, one stage to another and one technique to another, each a bit more difficult than the preceding.

13.51 Man's powers of observation are more complex than we sometimes realize. Our eyes and ears, for example, are at work even when we are not aware of it. We find ourselves singing a tune which we have heard but never consciously tried to memorize. As we are driving we look rather unconsciously for cars coming from side roads, but talk and drive simultaneously. We can refer to such observation as passive; it is subliminal and unfocused. As such it is quite different from the more general type of observation in which we look and listen deliberately. There is also a third type of observation in which we are more selective:[11] we may consciously hunt for the occurrence of some particular feature.

All three types of listening--passive listening, general listening and selective listening are important input techniques for awareness and overlearning in language learning. They provide large quantities of practice at both conscious and unconscious levels.

Passive listening is, of course, inefficient in many ways, yet the ears are operating whether we are consciously aware of it or not. This means that we should keep the radio tuned to broadcasts in the new language, ride the public conveyances, shop in the public markets, for it is here that one's ears pick up passively those language features which he will consciously try to imitate. (Chapters 3, 6)

Selective listening implies the isolation of some particular feature for which one listens. At certain stages the learner might consciously and deliberately listen for some particular melody which he has been practicing, or in everyday conversations he might try to pick out certain words or grammatical structures which he has met in the text material which he has gathered.

General observation, of course, is grounded in our own domestic distinctions: we see and hear according to the perceptual grid which we have learned

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[11]Nida 1952-3; 1957a:27-38

in our own culture. For the language learner, then, passive and selective listening are important techniques for developing the ability to hear and see beyond normal expectations to those things of which domestics of the new culture themselves are aware. General observation is the "normal" state, while passive and selective techniques are exploratory.

13.52 Mimicry, like passive and selective listening, is also a preliminary technique to prepare for normal production. Except in jest, people do not usually say what they have just heard someone else say. But this is just what the learner must do before he can dispense with models and set out on his own.

In mimicry, one carefully controls his output, imitating as accurately as possible the output of another source, often his helper. With the helper's words ringing in his ears, the learner tries to repeat in exactly the same way. This cycle of interaction between helper and learner continues until the helper is satisfied that the learner's mimicry matches his own production consistently and correctly.

13.53 In production the learner uses the new language without the helper's immediate assistance, having reached the point where he can recall the correct form.

Inner speech (talking to oneself) is a special kind of production, very useful as a practice technique.[12] The texts with which the learner works provide a good beginning for inner speech. Repeating them to himself just as he learned them, the learner can then go on to alter them slightly, incorporating different vocabulary and grammatical structures.

Inner speech is production practice carried on in spare moments. As he goes about his daily tasks, the learner can use his skills to talk to himself about what he is doing:

     (3) I am picking up my clothes.
     (4) I am reaching for the towel.
     (5) The towel is out of reach.
     (6) I am opening the door.

Whenever he is unable to talk about what he is doing, he should make a mental note that he is not ready for production here, and deal with the problem in his more formal learning situations.

Inner speech has one built-in problem: monitoring or reinforcement by a native speaker is missing. In talking to himself the learner may be using inappropriate or incorrect grammatical structures without knowing it and runs the risk of strengthening bad habits. Nevertheless, if he does not use it too early in a learning cycle, is self-critical and judges himself harshly, inner speech can be an excellent technique for practice at all stages of development.

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[12] Reyburn 1958b:154-158

13.6 Evaluating Practice

The preceding discussion of general principles and the framework for prac-
tice provides a basis for evaluating practice and for understanding the basis for
suggestions in the next chapters. With such background in mind, the learner
should try to analyze his own activity regularly to determine whether or not it is
bringing him closer to his goals. Unfortunately, some practice activity cannot
possibly lead toward normal use of language. Other activities reach this goal
only via the routes of boredom and frustration and unnecessary fatigue.

(1) Are practice models, helpers, teachers, tapes, etc. authentic, pro-
viding the kind of speech which the learner hopes to emulate?

(2) Is the content of texts used as starting points for drill appropriate to
the learner's interests and needs? Many ways of supplementing one's programs
with good material are suggested in the chapters which follow.

(3) Is practice activity following the fundamental learning order: listen-
speak-read-write? If too much attention seems to be given to reading and writ-
ing or to speaking without listening, the learner might consider the various sug-
gestions of the next few chapters for dealing with this problem.

(4) How heavy is the learning load? Does the practice try to tackle too
many things at one time?

(5) What about readiness? Is the learner adequately prepared for each new
stage in practice? The framework developed earlier in the chapter is intended
to give guidelines on efficient learning order, ways to control variables, and to
insure positive reinforcement.

(6) What does a given exercise accomplish? Is it the right kind of activity
for the present stage? Some learners spend much of their time memorizing
texts. This is a fine activity for developing awareness and overlearning, but by
itself it is not a very effective way to more advanced stages of development. Or,
if the emphasis is only on input and not on production, the learner may never
reach his goals.

Learners sometimes get bogged down in learning charts or paradigms.
Such activity is fine for the development of awareness, but by itself it cannot
possibly lead to the flexible use of these very structures in normal sentences.
Memorization of word lists, too, is a common and time-consuming activity of
language learners. Like practice on charts and paradigms, a certain level of
awareness may develop, but all too often the result is a kind of faulty impression
of equivalents between new and old languages. The learner's real problem is to
avoid the contamination of the old language when he wants to use the new one,
and this kind of practice sometimes keeps the old language in focus unneces-
sarily.

Translation exercises likewise tend to keep the old language in focus, and
for this reason alternative techniques for developing desired skills should re-
place them. The full discussion of the translation problem in Chapter 24 points
out that accurate translation requires skills that are generally beyond those of
the average learner.

Some learners, as part of their assigned work, are asked to go through a paragraph of new language text filling in blanks. Such practice requires close and careful observation and some limited production in the new language. It is, however, a slow and laborious task, and while the learner must do what he is told, he can supplement this kind of practice with types of drills which will lead him to greater flexibility faster. Filling in blanks can bring one to the stage of overlearning in due time, but it is unlikely that any great flexibility will develop when emphasis is limited to such activity.

Learners often spend a good deal of time in reading and answering questions about what they have read. Such activity may be perfectly fine for developing awareness and even overlearning many structural features. However, it falls short of developing control of the sound system of the language, for it may be necessarily confined to the grammatical forms which are appropriate to written style. Too much of this activity may lead the learner to talk like a book. Furthermore, if he answers questions in his mother tongue, he is simply showing that he understands the new language utterances. Answering questions in the new language, on the other hand, may force him to produce what he has not observed or mimicked.

Some learners simply "study" the language, whatever that may mean. Amorphous and undisciplined use of time and energy may bring the learner to some level of awareness but it can do little more.

The fear of correction seems to be a major obstacle for every learner, for everyone has his pride and self-image to contend with at all times. He has a fear of being wrong--of behaving improperly. Happiness is not being told of our mistakes and foibles.

If the learner can take correction, and make the most of it in diagnosing his problem, he is certain to make progress. Later on, as his control of the language matures, he may actually begin to fear that he is not being corrected. He notices that people are nice to him, telling him how well he uses their language.

But the learner's need for correction does not end there, for he may reach still another plateau where he can say more or less what he wants to say and understand what is said to him. This gives a rewarding sense of success, yet if he takes it too seriously, those imperfections which continue to characterize his speech may not be polished off. The learner is properly proud of his accomplishments; he can make himself understood. Once again he begins to fear correction, this time because it is a reminder that his achievement is less than complete, that he avoids words which he confuses or structures which seem too complicated to manage. Corrections are a reminder that in spite of apparent success, he has not yet really arrived.

Chapter Fourteen

Planning Learning Cycles: Preparing the Text

A learner finds the organization of his time and his language data to be two of his most difficult problems.[1] He may spend uneven and irregular amounts of time on pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and memorizing dialogues. His learning often lacks closure, an aspect of practice which is very important for a continual sense of accomplishment. The learning cycle is a device for providing such closure.

The learning cycle is a series of practice activities based on a short text, new to the learner, often prepared or adapted on the spot with the helper, and culminating in the use of parallels to it in normal situations subsequent to and outside of the practice session.[2] It is a balanced, organized sequence of learning materials and activities which can be completed in a few hours time and which builds up to generation and creativity in the learner's handling of the particular problems being practiced. Subsequent chapters deal with the more detailed organization of data in the learning cycle. The text used as the basis of any learning cycle, however, is its start and foundation.

Learning cycles should be based on authentic text, not the result of the helper's translation from English into his own mother tongue. They should be relevant to the learner as the questions or problems which prompts them. When well constructed, learning cycles provide for synthesis between control of content and control of structure, working from the standpoint both of what the learner wants to say, and how to say it.

14.1 The Text and the Learning Cycle

We have already said that practice texts should be relevant to the learner's needs at the time (Chapter 13). They should be no longer nor more difficult than he can handle in a few hours. For example, at some stage in the process of learning English, even a simple two-line text like the following can become the core of a learning cycle:

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[1] At this point, where we are beginning detailed suggestions for specific ways of improving learning programs, we would remind the reader that he will not be able to carry these suggestions out in every detail. Whatever hints he can use will be advantageous, and repeated readings of certain sections at intervals during language study will bring reminders of things to do at later stages which were not so practical earlier.

[2] Especially for his ideas on learning cycles, but also for many valuable insights, we are deeply indebted to Earl W. Stevick, Foreign Service Institute. See 1966a, 1966b, 1971. See also 1957.

Model Text T1

    (1) The bus leaves for Burgville.

    (2) It leaves about six o'clock.

Or, by changing this text from a two-sentence statement to a question-answer sequence, new features of grammar are introduced:

Model Text T2

    (3) What time does the bus leave for Burgville?

    (4) It leaves about six o'clock, I think.

At the earliest stages of language study such a change might provide enough difficulty to constitute the text for another new unit. When the learner is more competent it might be part of the process of introducing flexibility into practice (Chapter 13) within the same learning cycle as that based on T1.

Maintaining these relationships, further difficulty can also be introduced by making vocabulary changes. That is, for bus the learner can substitute train, plane, boat, limousine. For Burgville he can substitute New York, downtown, the city, home.

Another ever-so-slight increase in difficulty is seen in the following text.

Model Text T3

    (5) The bus usually stops at the corner.

    (6) There is a drug store on the corner.

    (7) Sometimes the bus goes right past.

In this example there are more positions where vocabulary changes can be made. For often, words like always, sometimes, never can be substituted. For this corner phrases like the bridge, the airport, the bank can be substituted instead. For drug store, it is possible to use grocery store, hardware store.

Any one of the texts which can be generated by these changes can be further modified by converting it into a dialogue. Simple chains of question and answer involve changes in grammatical constructions. For example, the basic text above can be developed into the following dialogue.

Model Text T4

    (8) A. Does the bus stop at the corner?

    (9) B. It usually does.

  (10) A. But not always, right?

  (11) B. Right.

(12) A. Is there a drug store on the corner?

(13) B. No, it stops by a hardware store.

(14) A. If nobody is standing there, does it go right past?

(15) B. Yes, usually.

By judiciously trying to work on differences in texts from one cycle to the next, the learner can gradually master the structures of the new language. A series of learning cycles may be based on closely related texts like these (related in content) or they may change abruptly as need dictates.

14.2 Preparation of the Text

The preparation of a short text as the basis of a learning cycle requires five steps.

14.21 Step 1--Obtaining a Text. For any cycle the learner will usually select the content (subject matter) of the text in terms of his immediate needs as he sees them. At first he must find his way around the community, talking with his helper, and with the people who serve him in the home and in the community. Later on, his needs may be determined more by what his new family advises him to study in order to lose some of his alien characteristics, or by ideas he gets in using the language to explore (Chapter 21). Any material which seems relevant and useful can be adapted for a learning cycle at one stage or another.

Some decision must also be made on the type of text to be used: dialogue, narrative, description, prescription, argument or some other variety. At the earliest stages, short dialogues are perhaps most useful because of the frequency with which the learner finds himself in conversational situations. He will soon want to interchange them with narratives and descriptions as well. At a later stage, when he is able to handle conversations, narratives or descriptions, he can try his hand at the intricacies of argument, oratory, or other types of text, and the additional complications which more specialized styles imply.

A third decision involves the source of the text itself. The learner will sometimes find texts in material already prepared, or in other resources of the type suggested in Chapter 11. If tape-recorded materials are available, the learner may be able to take out a short section--a conversation or narrative-- and use that as the basis of his learning cycle. Or, the learner can elicit his own text from his helper or any other native speaker.

The following French text occurs on the label of a popular oral hygienic.

Model Text T5 (French)

(F1) Se gargariser pendant 20 secondes le matin, apres chaque repas et avant chaque rendez-vous.

(F2) Employer pur ou diluer.

(F3) Pour soulager temperairement un leger mal de gorge du au rhume, employer un plein bouchen et se gargariser pendant 20 secondes toutes les deux ou trois heures.

(F4) Si le mal persiste ou s'aggrave, consulter le medecin.

Translation

(E1) Rinse or gargle for twenty seconds in the morning, after meals and before social engagements.

(E2) Use full strength or diluted.

(E3) Gargle one capful for twenty seconds every two or three hours for temporary relief of minor sore throats due to the common cold.

(E4) In case of severe or persistent sore throat, consult your physician.

At more advanced stages a learner would use the text as is, but earlier he might try to adapt it for his own needs with his helper's assistance because of its useful vocabulary, as suggested in Step 2.

Since natural speech is an important source of text, all learners will have to record natural speech taken at random or elicited from helpers. Skill in eliciting contributes to effective learning and comes only with experience, but a few general suggestions are important.[3]

If a learner should want to elicit a dialogue, for example, and has difficulty recording it impromptu, he should work out a dialogue with two or more native speakers. A decision on the roles which each will take should first be made. Then each should be prompted with a leading question or topic to discuss. The learner should then have his recorder ready to pick up the conversation. It might be well to advise them ahead of time about length, or the possibility of interruption when sufficient material has been gathered. If the first recording is halting, unnatural, or in other ways unsatisfactory, additional attempts may have to be made until a natural text is produced.

To obtain a narrative text, for example, the learner might ask his helper to describe what he had for lunch. Turning on the recorder and signalling the helper to begin, he might collect about 30 seconds worth of material and then signal the helper to stop. He might then ask for a repetition of the same information. A second recording often tends to give the text a more natural form, with a better introduction and conclusion. A third retelling and recording may even be necessary to eliminate unwanted hesitations and false starts.

Instead of asking a question, the learner might set up a situation: asking helpers A and B to play the roles of employer and employee, respectively, and acting out such situations as asking for time off, borrowing money, hiring, firing, etc.

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[3]Samarin 1967 is especially important for insights into elicitation procedure.

Varying this approach somewhat, the learner can urge the helper to give a longer narrative with more than one episode. He might then ask the helper to focus on just one part of it and retell it. As this part is recorded two or three times, it may become suitable for use as the basic text of a learning cycle.

The imaginative learner can experiment with many variations on these basic techniques. After he can handle larger chunks of new material, he might, for example, bring two helpers together to discuss some particular topic or theme which incorporates a set of vocabulary with which he needs help, recording their conversation for later analysis. In it he will find words useful for discussing a particular topic, and with this method of elicitation the use of the words and the sequence of ideas is likely to be authentic.

Skillful eliciting requires helpers who understand what is wanted, and to accomplish this they may need time to learn the special routines. It may be especially necessary to prepare helpers for a recording session, particularly those unfamiliar with tape recorders. Directions and cues should be clarified ahead of time.

The learner who intends to make significant use of the tape recorder should develop some workable system for identifying tapes and sections of tape by date, identifying the voices and giving a brief description of the theme and contents.

Recordings which we have described are valuable for listening when speed and intonation are normal. It is also possible to modify originals by inserting pauses for mimicry after each phrase or sentence. Some learners have even recorded background noises to force themselves to listen to the language more attentively.

14.211 Texts for Early Learning Cycles. As indicated above, the plight of the average learner at the beginning of language study is much the same everywhere. He needs to orient himself to the physical environment and to the people in it with whom he has frequent contacts, especially his language helpers, his household servants and those in the community who render him various kinds of service. In his everyday encounters with them, he will need to ask and answer simple questions, give and respond to simple instructions, make and fulfill simple requests, and so on. He must learn to do this quickly. The early learning cycles, therefore, are crucial to a good foundation for the day when the learner will roam a larger physical environment, associate with more people of diverse backgrounds and engage in more complex activity. Here follow four types of early learning cycles which are indispensable to every learner at an early stage.

14.212 Signals. In most societies a communication event often begins with certain calls and greetings. A person is considered blunt, for example, if he just walks up and says something to someone without any kind of warning. Furthermore, one does not usually interrupt someone but rather waits for clues that signal the proper time to begin speaking. Such phrases as that reminds me, but just a minute now, as far as I'm concerned may mark transitional points in the conversations of English speakers. Leave takings, too, are just as important as greetings, for a person may be considered rude if he does not announce in some acceptable way that he is leaving.

Domestics are often not specifically aware of the many signals in common use until these are brought to their attention. Sometimes such signals are incorporated into language learning materials but more often their learning is simply left to chance. The learner may have to probe around to find them, suggesting various hypothetical situations to his helper and asking him to describe what happens. For example, he might set up four situations like the following and try to elicit appropriate signals:

1. A sees B on the other side of the street and wants to talk with him. What does A do? What is B's response? What does A do next? What does B do then?

2. Suppose A and B are standing together talking about something. Then suppose that C, a friend of A, should pass by on the other side of the street. How would A get C to come over and meet B? What would each say to the other?

3. Suppose that A and B are engaged in conversation and that B has been going into detail on some point. How would A indicate to B that he had a comment to make? What would B say to indicate that he was relinquishing his sending role, if anything? How would A acknowledge B's release of the role, if he did?

4. Suppose that A and B are engaged in conversation and A wants to leave. How does he indicate this to B? How does B respond? How do they actually execute their farewells?

In one sense signals such as we have been describing are highly predictable, once known. Because of their relative frequency, they are sometimes learned quite easily. On the other hand, there are often subtleties having to do with status, rank and role which the alien might miss unless he makes a deliberate attempt to understand them.

14.213 Metalinguistic Communication.[4] Another possibility for early learning cycles is to develop them around the questions which the learner needs to be able to ask about the communication process itself. For example, suppose that the learner wants someone to talk to him even though he cannot understand everything that is said. What will he say to a stranger to get him to talk but at the same time understand that the learner will not understand everything that is said? The learner should develop the proper lines of a dialogue which will elicit speech from a stranger in a proper manner. Such questions as the following would help in English:

(16) Would you tell me a story?

(17) Would you describe this for me?

(18) Would you explain this for me?

On the other hand, it might be necessary to preface such questions with a remark like

(19) I'm trying to learn English and I have a problem that you might be able to help me with.

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[4]In other words, talking about the task of language learning, or language itself.

This would perhaps provide the necessary cushion to the question itself.

Or, the learner might have heard something that he did not understand. His problem is to understand it, and it may be that a repetition would clear up the problem. Hence, if he were learning English, he would want to be able to say things such as the following:

  (20) Would you say that again?

  (21) Would you say that more slowly?

  (22) Would you repeat that sentence? That word?

  (23) What does that mean in English?

In a still different situation the learner may have said something that he thinks was misunderstood.

  (24) Did you understand what I said?

  (25) Is there a better way of saying this?

  (26) Would you use this word in a sentence in this way?

In other situations the learner has something to say but does not know how.

  (27) Would it be proper to say this?

  (28) How would you say this to someone in your community?

  (29) Is this a nice word?

  (30) Is there a better way to say this that would mean the same thing?

In working with his helper the learner needs expressions like:

  (31) Please correct me when I mimic you.

  (32) Please speak more slowly.

  (33) Please speak more quickly.

  (34) Please substitute words from this list in this sentence.

  14.214 Immediate Context. Another problem which the learner soon faces is that of interacting with his immediate environment: the objects in it, the people in it and the activities which relate them. He will need to learn how to ask the questions to classify and name people and objects within sight. In English, some of the typical questions would be the following:

  (35) Who is this person?

  (36) What is his name?

  (37) What is his title?

  (38) What group does he belong to?

  (39) What is he responsible for?

  (40) What is this object?

(41) What is this called?

(42) What kind of thing is this?

(43) What is it an example of?

(44) What are its parts?

Another set of questions deals with the properties and characteristics of people and objects in the immediate environment. For people learning English, it would be important to learn such questions as the following:

(45) What kind of person is he?

(46) How old is that person?

(47) What do people think of him?

(48) What is that person like?

(49) What kind of thing is that?

(50) What do you use this for?

(51) How many are there?

(52) What are the properties of this?

A third important area of questioning is related to the observation of activity.

(53) Who is the person doing that?

(54) What is happening?

(55) For whom is it done?

(56) What is happening to that?

(57) What is this thing for?

(58) What causes people to do that?

(59) What is the effect of all this action?

14.215 Concrete Content. Insofar as the learner's needs for subject matter prevail, each learning cycle should be as concrete as possible. Subject matter which can be acted out and which relates to immediate environment is more useful at first than material which cannot be so treated, other things being equal.[5] Note the difference between (60)-(64) and (65)-(68).

(60) I am studying Hindi.

(61) I am sitting down.

(62) Now I am standing up.

(63) I am walking to the window.

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[5]Wolfe 1967:177-178

(64) I am opening it.

(65) Yesterday I went shopping.

(66) Everything was very expensive.

(67) Costs are going up.

(68) It is hard for poor people to live.

14.216 Spatial and Temporal Orientation. Another area of immediate concern is keeping track of what happens from one moment to the next and mapping out spatial relationships in moving from one place to another. His problem is not just talking "here and now" but also talking about before and after in relation to the moment of speaking, and to talk about where he has just come from and where he is about to go next in relation to where he is at the moment. These relationships are pictured in Figure 1. Not only does the learner need to talk about the here and now, represented by X, he also must be able to talk about where (A) he was just prior to (B) this communicative event, and where he will be (Y) when it is over (Z). Keeping track of movements, relationships and sequences through space and time are very important if he is to communicate at all.

Time Sequences
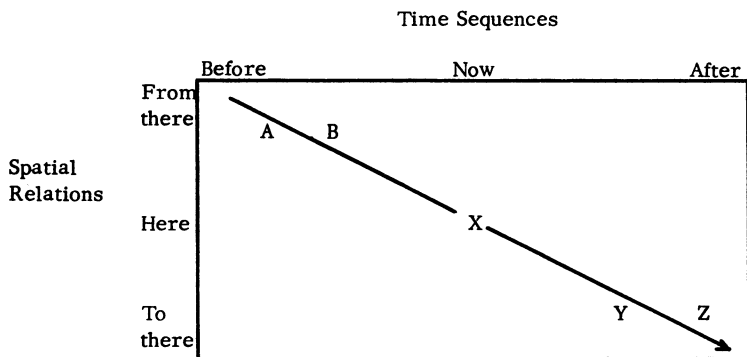
Figure 1--Spatial and Temporal Orientation

In orienting himself to space he will want to learn directions, locations of important buildings and landmarks, settlement patterns in his neighborhood and town, parts of the house and their function, names for private and public places, locations of important services, public buildings and areas, street names and routes from one place to another which he will need to travel.

In orienting himself to time, the calendar and clock will become important points of reference. He will want to talk about the sequence of daily and weekly routines, the special routines of holidays, the time of special and seasonal events. He will need to be able to talk about schedules, about routines for unexpected encounters, how to conduct himself in such unusual events as accidents, riots and so on.

On map and timetable, then, he will track some of the basic activities in which he will participate at home, at work and in the community, at least with some regularity and frequency.

This matter of tracking and timing will lead him to an exploration of still other useful phrases and sentences.

(69) Where did he come from?

(70) Where is he going?

(71) How far is it to ... ?

(72) How far is it from ... ?

(73) What is the best route to ... ?

(74) Which is the best way from ... ?

(75) Which direction is ... ?

(76) When did this happen?

(77) When will this take place?

(78) How long does it take to get to ... ?

(79) How long does it take from ... ?

These and related questions enable the learner to orient himself to space and time as they related to his communication.

It is possible to set up a great many situations, some in dialogue form, others in narrative or description form, in which such spatial and temporal relationships are practiced together. The learner can develop an outline such as the following to elicit data for a number of important early learning cycles.

Visiting a Monument

1. Wait for a bus.
2. Get on.
3. Ride.
4. Get off.
5. Walk along the street.
6. Wait for light.
7. Cross street.
8. Ask directions.
9. Hail taxi.
10. Give instructions to driver.
11. Get off.
12. Walk.
13. Observe monument.
14. Retrace steps back to #1 above.

The learner can actually draw a map showing the corner where he boarded the bus, its route, the street which he walked, the point where he hailed the taxi, and the location of the monument. This basic schedule of activity and map can then be expanded or altered to provide opportunity for talking about side trips to the bank, post office, market and so on. The helper can produce a series of texts based on it.

A number of questions can be formulated to elicit some of the schedules of everyday events. Several typical questions are given below with some possible schedules which might be triggered.

(80) What is the first thing that you do in the morning?

    1. Wake up.
    2. Yawn.
    3. Stretch.
    4. Sit up.
    5. Get out of bed.

(81) How do you take a bath?

    1. Turn on the water.
    2. Test and evaluate it.
    3. Adjust it.
    4. Retest it.
    5. Take off clothes.
    6. Get in.
    7. Scrub.
    8. Soak.
    9. Get out.
   10. Dry off.

(82) How do you clean up in the morning?

    1. Shave.
    2. Rinse.
    3. Put on lotion.
    4. Brush teeth.
    5. Gargle.
    6. Rinse.
    7. Comb hair.

(83) When you get dressed, what do you put on first, next, and so on?

    1. Underwear
    2. Socks
    3. Shirt
    4. Tie
    5. Trousers
    6. Shoes
    7. Coat

(84) How do you eat breakfast?

    1. Eat toast.
    2. Eat cereal.
    3. Drink coffee.
    4. Read newspaper.
    5. Check clock.
    6. Put on coat.
    7. Leave.

Many other questions will trigger off similar sequences, some with movements which can be plotted rather explicitly. Such sequences in simple dialogue formats provide important content for early learning cycles. Visiting friends, working around the house, preparing meals, going on trips, shopping expeditions,

celebrating holidays, and other typical experiences can provide subject matter for texts during the first weeks and months of study.

14.22 Step 2--Checking Suitability of the Text. Any text collected in the way which we have described is likely to be authentic, but its suitability for learning purposes is also relative to the learner's capabilities at any given time. As it stands, it may have too many difficult words and meanings, or constructions which are too complex to be handled efficiently at the time. One obvious solution may be to try for a different text, but often it is better to simplify the one at hand.

A narrative such as the following[6] is perhaps too difficult for the learner in this form:

Model Text T6

(85) An ambulance was traveling down a highway at 80 m.p.h.

(86) Its siren was wailing.

(87) A state policeman on a motorcycle overtook the ambulance and stopped it.

(88) The driver of the ambulance said, "I know that I was speeding, but the state allows ambulances to speed because they carry sick people.

(89) "Why did you stop me?"

(90) The policeman replied, "I was trying to tell you that there is no patient in your ambulance.

(91) "You were in a hurry when you left your patient's home, and you forgot him."

It is possible, however, with the assistance of a skillful helper to reduce its main ideas to a few simple sentences which the learner may be able to handle. For example,

(85a) An ambulance was traveling down a highway.

(85b) The ambulance was traveling at 80 m.p.h.

(86a) The siren of the ambulance was wailing.

(87a) A state policeman was on a motorcycle.

This same principle applied to a Hausa text has the following result.

Model Text T7 (Hausa)[7]

(H1) in ka ga mutum yana zaune ko a tsaye zaka
gane shi babban mutum ne ta wurin
tufafin da ya sa.

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[6]See Stevick 1963:62-63 for the original application of these ideas.

[7]Informant for Hausa materials was Mr. Chidaua, Nigerian student, Toronto Bible College, 1968.

(2) kuma sau dayawa za ka ga mutane
    suna tare da shi.

Free Translation

(E1) If you see a man sitting or standing, you will understand
     that he is an important man by the clothing he wears.

(E2) Also, many times you will see people with him.

This particular text was elicited by asking a simple question: How do you
tell an important man in your community? As it stands, a learner may find too
many difficulties with it at first, but the following simplified version shows its
main content in a series of simple sentences.

(E1a) I see a man.

(E1b) He is sitting.

(E1c) Now he is standing.

(E1d) He is important.

(E1e) He is wearing clothes.

(E1f) His clothes show his importance.

(E2a) Many people are with him.

Furthermore, it is important that texts be checked for any idiosyncratic
usages or dialect differences. Awareness of such features may be very useful
eventually, but at the early stages may be excess baggage. Whenever texts are
elicited from persons with whom the learner is not well acquainted, it is advis-
able to have them checked over by the helper before using them.

Texts, of course, may be too easy as well as too difficult. If a text pre-
sents no particular challenge in any form at the stage in which the learner finds
himself, it should not form the basis of a learning cycle.

Any short text is probably useful at one time or another. None should be
discarded hastily but preserved for the time when its full value for learning pur-
poses can be appreciated. Most texts of the kind which are discussed here can be
adapted to the learner's level without too much prior experience by following the
recommended steps.

14.23 Step 3--Transcribing the Text. Once the suitability of a text has
been determined, and if it is not a written text, it should be transcribed. This
transcription can be made from a recording, if there is one, or else it can be
taken down from dictation. The learner should make this transcription activity
a regular part of his practice until he can do it smoothly or until he reaches a
point of diminishing returns.

Transcription is a valuable step in the development of awareness and an
important aid in memorizing the text. Consequently, the learner should not
rush through this step but should attempt to pick up as many details as possible.

Mimicry at this point may also help, for in trying to imitate the helper as he takes dictation, he may discover features previously overlooked. Detailed work on mimicry, however, comes at a later stage in the cycle. Some details of sound do not always come through clearly on a tape recording, and when this seems to be the case, the learner should encourage the helper to repeat such parts until he is sure that he has heard correctly.

In the early stages the learner should do some of the transcribing himself, even when the helper is literate and the writing system presents no problem, in order to take advantage of the awareness that comes through struggling with the text. If such transcription requires more than thirty minutes a day, the text is probably too long. In such cases the helper should do some of the transcription in order to keep the learner from being lost in one isolated activity. When the learner reaches the point where he can transcribe with facility, with almost no mistakes, this type of activity can be discontinued.

The matter of the writing system and its application to problems of this kind is reserved for full discussion in Chapter 20.

14.24 Step 4--Understanding the Text. Once a text is transcribed, the learner is ready to work on its comprehension. His objective is total understanding of the text. We assume, of course, that there is a common language between helper and learner. The initial problems of trying to learn a new language without a common one are such that the average learner needs considerably more background than what the scope of this book provides.[8]

However, the common language should always be used sparingly. The new language should be used for explanations even if it takes a little longer. One of the dangerous temptations is for learner and helper to talk to each other too much in the common language.

The learner's general request of his helper is to tell what the text means. As they proceed, the learner tries to see how the text can mean what the helper says. In other words, he wants to understand how these sounds and words and sentences combine to convey the meaning given them by the helper.

As they proceed the learner will encounter opaque pieces where he is puzzled about the meaning. At such points he can ask the helper questions about the various parts involved, for further examples using this same word or phrase, testing to see whether other words or phrases which he knows are similar or different. As he does so, he keeps notes of his proceedings for they are likely to prove useful later on.

Once the learner has at least tentatively established the relationships between form and meaning, he continues his exploration to reinforce his conclusions. He explores other related usages of words. He generates sentences to see if he understands how the new words or constructions are used. He looks

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[8]Note Samarin 1967

for restrictions on how the new words can be combined. Where past experience makes him uncertain of the meanings, he checks out the problems as carefully as possible.

A residue of deep opacity may remain. For the time being, the learner can treat the unanalyzable sequences as units, simply memorizing them as such. Later on, with greater accumulation of experience, he will probably be able to analyze these sequences with more precision. If there are too many of these units, of course, he should delay the text until he is better prepared for it.

The learner's first objective is to develop a close, unit-for-unit translation, such as illustrated in the following Yoruba text, which we saw earlier in Chapter 13.

Model Text T8 (Yoruba, with unit-for-unit translation)

(Y1) nígbàtí   mō jí   láàrò   yí/[9] mō wè //
at time which I   woke up   in the morning this I bathe

(Y2) mō tójú   àràà mí //
I   take care of body my

(Y3) mō sì   mú àsò   wò //
I   also take clothes wear

(Y4) kò sí ónjẹ nínúū   yàráà mí
no is food in inside of room

nítorínâ   mō ní látr lò sí īlé   ónjẹ //
for reason that I   had to go to house food

(Y5) níbè   nī   mō tī   jẹụ   òfé /
in that place it is I   (past) eat things free

kpèlúū àwōn   ōréе   mí //
with   (plural) friends my

Free Translation

(E1) When I got up this morning, (E2) I bathed, I took care of my body, (E3) I got my clothes and put them on. (E4) There was no food in my room, so I had to go to the dining room. (E5) There I ate free with my friends.

In the unit-for-unit translation the learner attempts to make all of the meanings explicit. It should be followed then by a free translation to render each Yoruba sentence by a simple but normal English equivalent.

In doing this translation, the learner is striving again for awareness. When awareness comes at any point, and when the meaning is clear, translation is superfluous for him.

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[9]Single and double diagonals are used to differentiate short and long pauses respectively.

At that point the learner can check his comprehension in a variety of ways. He can ask the helper to ask questions on the text, one question after another, which he will then try to answer, the helper checking comprehension by the answers to his questions. Depending on the learner's skill level, questions can be made easy or hard in terms of the kind of answer expected. Some questions can be answered with a simple affirmation or denial. Others require that the learner give back the part which the question calls for as answer. Still others elicit opinions, going beyond the text itself to show that the learner understands it.[10]

14.25 Step 5--Noting and Classifying Problems. In transcription and in checking comprehension of his text the learner is almost certain to turn up problems at all levels of language structure (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary) depending on his stage of learning and his sensitiveness to his mistakes. To tackle all of them in any one learning cycle is unnecessary; instead, a few should be selected which can be handled expeditiously at one time, perhaps a couple of problems at each level.

Noting problems of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary the learner can then begin to organize them for practice according to the basic framework described in the preceding chapter and discussed in much greater detail in the four chapters to follow.

Once the learner has taken these five steps in preparing a text, he is ready to use it for detailed practice and as a basis for filling out the learning cycle.

In terms of the learner's stages of development (Chapter 13) preparing the text, as described in this chapter, is awareness activity. Its contribution to his awareness is random, but nevertheless very important. His role at this stage is largely that of observer, although mimicry is involved to some extent. In the next chapter the matter of his production is examined in greater detail.

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[10]The reader will find many helpful techniques for question-answer practice in Stevick 1963:67.

Chapter Fifteen

Planning Learning Cycles: Filling out the Cycle

Once a text has been selected, recorded, understood, and its problems noted, the learner goes on to learn it and master those problems which he noted. The learning process is then focused on particular problems in the text as related to his over-all needs at the time. It culminates in his learning to generate new texts and to use newly developed habits and rules in new situations.

For best results, the total learning cycle should be kept short. Collecting data, organizing it, and completing the practice should not take more than six hours. Therefore, texts must be short at first, and the problems selected for practice must be limited in number and complexity.

Subsequent procedures do not necessarily need to be carried out in an exact order. However, the overall progression of the learning cycle should follow the general suggestions below.

15.1 Practicing the Text for Fluency

One major goal in any learning cycle is to produce the entire text without hesitation or error at a normal rate of speed. In other words, he must over-learn it. (Chapter 13)

In preparing the text the learner has already done considerable listening and some mimicry, but now he will want to perfect his production, working toward proper fluency, rhythm, smoothness and intonation.

Model Drill T9 Mimicry Drill for Overlearning of a Text (Yoruba)

In working with a fairly long text, one useful technique is to record it in several different ways for purposes of mimicry. Then by replaying the text repeatedly, the learner can try to mimic each sentence perfectly during the recorded pauses between utterances on the tape.

One possible development, based on the Yoruba text of Chapters 13, 14 might unfold as follows:

(Y1) nígbàtí mo jí láàrɔ̀ yí mo wè.

(Y2) mo tɔ́jú araà mí.

(Y3) mo sì mú aṣō wò.

(Y4) kò sí ɔ́ṭjɛ nínúu yàráa mí nítorínâ mo ní látí lɔ sí ṭlé ɔ́ṭjɛ.

(Y5) níbè ní mo tí jẹ̄ṵ ófé kpèlúu āwōn ọrée mí.

Free Translation

(E1) When I got up this morning, I bathed. (E2) I took care of my body. (E3) I got my clothes and put them on. (E4) There was no food in my room, so I had to go to the dining room. (E5) There I ate free with my friends.

Step 1. Record the five sentences continuously and without interruption. This segment of the tape will provide the learner with the chance to hear the entire text in its natural form.

Step 2. Record the five sentences with a timed pause after each of them. The pause should be approximately as long as the sentence itself. This will provide the learner with the chance to focus his hearing on each of the sentences.

Step 3. Record each of the five sentences twice or three times in succession with a timed pause after each repetition. The replay will then provide the learner with a pause for mimicry. The pause should be short enough to challenge the learner to mimic quickly--at normal speed. His accuracy will improve gradually through the exercise.

Step 4. Find the most natural breaks in the entire text, combine sentences and re-record the text with a mimicry pause after the combinations of sentences. For example, in the Yoruba text that division might come between Y3 and Y4. The first three sentences would be recorded continuously with a pause long enough to mimic all three, and then the last two sentences would be handled in the same way. This would give the learner the added challenge to work toward the objective of mimicking the entire text.

Developed in this way, the recording provides the learner with considerable opportunity and challenge. While it cannot correct his mistakes in mimicry, it does offer the needed exposure. After spending time with it, he can then go over it with his helper to evaluate the accuracy of his mimicry. In so doing, he brings some of his major pronunciation problems into clearer view.

Some sentences may be so long and involved that mimicry will be difficult until shorter parts have been practiced first. At this point a build-up technique is in order. In this technique the learner gets his helper to break down the sentence into smaller phonological units--rhythm groups or words, dividing it wherever pauses can naturally occur. Then by recording each one of these pieces with a mimicry pause following and then combining the pieces gradually with additional pauses for mimicry, the learner works up to the point where he can handle the entire sentence.

Model Drill T10--Buildup for Overlearning of a Long or Complicated Sentence.

Suppose, for example, that a person learning English were to encounter a sentence like the following in his text:

(1) if it doesn't rain tomorrow evening, I think we'll have a picnic on the beach with some friends.

The units of one possible buildup for this sentence are laid out below:

(1a) if it doesn't rain

(1b) tomorrow evening

(1c) if it doesn't rain tomorrow evening

(1d) we'll have a picnic

(1e) on the beach

(1f) we'll have a picnic on the beach

(1g) with some friends

(1h) we'll have a picnic on the beach with some friends

(1i) I think we'll have a picnic on the beach with some friends.

By recording each of these units repeated two or three times in succession in this order, with pauses following, the learner can work at mimicry more systematically and often with better results.

Or, the same technique may be used in reverse order.

(1aa) on the beach

(1bb) we'll have a picnic

(1cc) we'll have a picnic on the beach

(1dd) with some friends

(1ee) we'll have a picnic on the beach with some friends

   etc.

A number of other techniques for producing the entire text can be employed. The learner can practice saying the text simultaneously with the tape recording, for example, or he can read aloud to his helper from the transcribed text. Reading should follow, not precede, adequate mimicry practice, especially at the early stages of language learning.

Some learners have used loop tapes to a good advantage in learning texts. The loop tape is rather simple to make. Once the text is recorded, the tape is cut in two places, just before the first word and just after the last word of the text. The two ends are then spliced together. The effect, of course, is that the text plays repeatedly as the loop runs continually through the recording head. Care should be taken that the loop does not get tangled in the recorder by keeping it from becoming too slack.[1]

15.2 Practicing Details for Accuracy

After practicing the text for fluency, the learner is ready to follow another series of steps which run the gamut of practice aimed at the development of correct habits, preparing for the ability to generate new texts on his own. This practice has a narrow focus on specific problems found with the text.

  15.21 Step 1--Practicing for pronunciation. Awareness of pronunciation mistakes fades rapidly after the first few months of language study. It is imperative, therefore, that the learner keep them in constant attention during the early weeks. A detailed discussion of this step is found in Chapter 16.

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[1]Samarin 1967:126(n)

   15.22 Step 2--Practicing for grammar. Grammar problems isolated in
the preparation of the text can be handled by the techniques recommended in
Chapter 17. When the learner fails to turn up any special problems of grammar
in a new text, it may be an indication that he is ready to elicit longer and more
complicated texts.

   15.23 Step 3--Practicing for vocabulary. Every new text is likely to con-
tain new words or new meanings. Some of these may merit the application of the
techniques recommended in Chapter 18. Should he fail to turn up any new words
in a text, it is an indication that the topic of the question put to the learner, or
the way it is framed, or the situation simulated for the helper should be changed
radically.

   15.24 Step 4--Practicing the whole text. Once the text can be produced
fluently, a number of other techniques can be employed to reinforce an under-
standing of its meaning. One such exercise concentrates on questions and an-
swers. The learner and helper go through the text sentence by sentence. For
each sentence the helper frames several questions which can be answered from
the information in the text. For example, suppose that the following sentence oc-
curred in an English text:

Model Drill T11--Selection Drill for Flexibility and Generation of Text

   (2) John picked up the book and gave it to Mary.

A number of questions can be framed:

   (3) Who picked up the book?

   (3a) John picked up the book.

   (4) What did he pick up?

   (4a) He picked up the book.

   (5) What did he do with it?

   (5a) He gave it to Mary.

Model Drill T12--Completion Practice (Yoruba)

   In another type of exercise learner and helper can go through the text sen-
tence by sentence in similar fashion with the helper giving a part and the learner
giving the entire sentence. For example, in the Yoruba text the helper might
give the first part of each of the five sentences and the learner respond with the
rest.   The length and location of the part which the helper gives might vary in
different stages of the practice. At the very beginning, it might be handled as
follows:

Helper begins	Learner completes
(Y1) nígbàtí mɔ jí láàrɔ̀ yí	mɔ wè.
(Y2) mɔ tɔ́jú	āràà mɪ̄.
(Y3) mɔ sì mú	āšɔ wò.

   (Y4) kò sɪ́ ōńjē nɪ́núū yàrá̃a mɪ̄   nɪ̄tōrɪ́nâ mō nɪ́ látɪ̄ lō sɪ́ ɪ̄lé ōńjē

   (Y5) nɪ́bè nɪ̄ mō tɪ̄ jeʈ   ɔ̀fé kpèlúū ãwōn ōréè mɪ̄

The practice activity might move toward the point where the helper gives only
the first word or so as trigger.

Model Drill T13--Filling Blanks (Yoruba)

A variation of Model Drill T12 may be possible in certain cases, especially
if the helper is experienced and if writing difficulties are not too severe. (Chap-
ter 20) In this variation, a part of the text is omitted and the learner seeks to
produce the missing part. In the Yoruba text, for example, the helper might
begin with

   (Y1) nɪ́gbàtɪ́ mō (pause) láárò yɪ́.

At the pause the learner would produce jɪ́.

Depending upon the structural features of the language, this type of exercise
might prove very worthwhile. On the other hand, it might be too difficult to man-
age for what may actually be gained in proficiency.

The imaginative learner and eager helper can come up with all sorts of
valuable exercises. The helper can produce the text with synonyms or para-
phrases of the original (ones which the learner has studied) and the learner can
respond by giving the sentence as it appeared in the text. Learner and helper
can alternate production as they go through the text. At a later stage the helper
might produce the text with a slightly altered style, the learner responding with
any changes necessary to restore its original form, developing flexibility in the
language.

15.3 Projecting the New Skills

With preparation and practice of a text along the lines which have been
recommended thus far, the learner can put his skill with the text to wider use.
Through careful selection of activities the learner can move nearer to his goal
of normal communication, as he develops flexibility and works toward generation
and creativity (Chapter 13).

15.31 Step 1--Using the Skills in New Situations. One language learner re-
ports how, while studying French in Paris, he happened to go into a small store
in his neighborhood to make a few purchases. He used his French as best he
could, got the things that he needed and headed for home. On the way, in reflect-
ing on the experience, he thought to himself, "How foolish! I bought six bars of
soap, not just one." Had he planned ahead, he could very easily have gone
through the soap-buying routine six times instead of just once.[2]

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[2] We are indebted to G. Linwood Barney for this example, as well as for
many important contributions to this book.

This element of common sense in language learning turns out to be very important in using a text in new situations. With some thought and care, the learner may be able to retell stories with variations in normal conversations, or go through his descriptions, or summarize dialogues which he has practiced formally.

One of the authors, for example, used this routine to a good advantage with taxi drivers. Making use of a prepared text on taxi trips he would make a special effort to work it into his conversation with the driver. The taxi provided an ideal situation for short, routinized conversations and an excellent opportunity for collecting and processing feedback from the driver as the story was told. Each change of audience often required slight changes of word usage and style, which, of course, is the major point of varying the material being learned in new situations.

15.32 Step 2--Alter Texts. Even the simple texts collected and practiced in the early stages of language study lend themselves to certain kinds of alteration which help to build flexibility and to strengthen one's ability to generate texts fluently.

Model Drill T14--Substitution Drill for Flexibility in Use of Texts

For example, a text like the following

(6) The children went to school one day.

(7) It was snowing.

(8) They played in the snow.

(9) They were late.

can be altered by simple substitutions and parallel changes in grammatical structure as follows:

(6a) The boss is going to his office this morning.

(7a) Will it be snowing?

(8a) Will he get stuck in the snow?

(9a) Will he be late?

The learner's guiding principle is to project acquired skills onto the new text in order to generate it in an altered form. The formula, in other words, is: old text + old skills = altered texts. In this case different grammatical structures are substituted for the original ones to produce the altered text.

Model Drill T15--Substitution Drill for Flexibility in Use of Texts.

A more involved example involves the substitution of a markedly different set of vocabulary. In the left-hand column is an original text, a paragraph from a book. In the right hand column is a parallel account in which lexical

substitutions have been made, serving as a model for what could be done in another language.

Original Text	Altered Text

Original Text

    Sitting Bear was a strong man and a famous man. He had war power; when he took parties out, they were always successful. He was one of the famous ten warriors who formed the Crazy Dog society and were so brave they were almost sacred. They wore long red sashes, and when they got into battle, they stuck the special sacred spears that they carried through their sashes and stood there facing the enemy. They were all ready to fight until they died. If one of them fought until the others thought he was going to be killed, they would yell at him, "Stay there, stay there!" and he would pull up the spear and come back, for they talked by contraries. Or, if one of the other members wanted to do a brave deed, he would ride up, pull up the spear, and let the man go.[3]

Altered Text

    Spear Girl was a beautiful girl and a graceful girl. She had weaving skill; when she wove blankets, they were always beautiful. She was one of the famous weavers who wove the ceremonial blanket and who were so skillful they were highly honored. They wore long black braids, and when they began weaving they stuck beautiful flowers that they picked into their hair, and sat there working their looms. They were all ready to weave until they were exhausted. If one of them wove until the others thought she was going to faint, they would yell at her, "Keep going, keep going!" and she would leave the loom and come away, for they talked by contraries. Or, if one of the other girls wanted to make a good showing she would sit down, work out a new design, and let people see.

It is possible to alter the original text in other ways. One way is to change the tense to present throughout; another is to substitute I for Sitting Bear and make any changes which this necessitates.

    This same principle may be seen applied to a Taiwanese text which is shorter and simpler at the start.

Model Drill T16--Substitution Drill for Flexibility in Use of Texts (Taiwanese)[4]

    (T1) Góa ū chit-ê lāu-bú.
        I have one old mother.

    (T2) Góa ê lāu-pē í-keng kòe-sin.
        My old father already is dead.

    (T3) Góa ū san-ê a-ché, chit-ê sió-tī.
        I have three elder sisters, one younger brother.

    (T4) Góan san-ê a-ché í-keng lóng kiat-hun liáu.
        My three elder sisters already all have been married.

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[3]From The Ten Grandmothers, by Alice Marriott. Copyright 1945 by the of Oklahoma Press. (Marriott 1945:41).

[4]Taiwanese materials were provided by Fred C. C. Peng, and modified by I-Jin Loh.

(T5) Góan saⁿ-ê ché-hu lóng sī i-seng.
My three elder sisters' husbands all are medical doctors.

(T6) Góa ê tōa-ché iā sī i-seng.
My eldest sister also is a medical doctor.

(T7) Góa ê ka-chok lóng tiàm-tī Taî-oân.
My family all live in Taiwan.

This text can then be altered slightly by making certain changes in vocabulary.

Taiwanese Text (Altered)

(T1a) Góa ê i-seng ū chit-ê lāu-pē.
My medical doctor has one old father.

(T2a) I ê lāu-bú í-keng kòe-sin.
His old father already is dead.

(T3a) I ū gō-ê sío-mōe, nīg-ê a-hiaⁿ.
He has five younger sisters, two elder brothers.

(T4a) In gō-ê sío-mōe í-keng lóng kiat-hun líau.
His five younger sisters already have been married.

(T5a) In gō-ê mōe-sài lóng sī chin hó ê lâng.
His five younger sisters' husbands all are very nice guys.

(T6a) In khah sòe ê sío-tī iā sī chin hó ê lâng.
His smaller younger brother also is (a) very nice guy.

(T7a) I ê ka-chok lóng tìam-tī Medobilu.
His family all live in Meadville.

In the process of making these alterations, the learner might pick up new information about kinship relationships, new idiomatic expressions or structural relationships of which he may not be aware. In addition, he is overlearning familiar vocabulary and structure.

Model Drill T17--Substitution and Expansion for Flexibility in Use of Texts

Variation on an earlier text (Chapter 14) provides differences of style for learners at more advanced stages of study. This is of very great importance (Chapter 22).

(10) An ambulance was traveling down a highway at 80 m.p.h. (11) Its siren was wailing. (12) A state policeman on a motorcycle overtook the ambulance and stopped it.

(13) The driver of the ambulance said, "I know that I was speeding, but the state allows ambulances to speed because they carry sick people. (14) Why did you stop me?"

(15) The policeman replied, "I was trying to tell you that there is no patient in your ambulance. (16) You were in a hurry when you left your patient's home and you forgot him."

The major differences between the two texts are underlined.

(10a) An ambulance was traveling down an open highway at 80 m.p.h., (11a) with its siren wailing, (12a) when a state policeman on a motorcycle overtook it and stopped it.

(13a) The driver of the ambulance protested, "I know I was speeding, but ambulances carrying patients are allowed to speed. (14a) Why did you stop me?"

(15a) The policeman replied, "That's what I was trying to tell you. (16a) You were in such a hurry when you left your patient's home that you forgot him!"

Model Drill T18--Substitution and Expansion for Flexibility in Use of Texts (Hausa)

One possibility for increasing difficulty is to add some information. For example, the Hausa text we met before can be made more difficult by adding some additional information.

Model Text T7 (repeated)

(H1) in ka   ga   mutum yana zaune   ko a tsaye   gane   shi
     if you see   man   he is sitting or standing will you understand he

     babban   mutum ne ta wurin tufafin da ya sa.
     important man   by   clothes   he wear

(H2) kuma sau   dayawa za   ka   ga   mutane suna tare da shi.
     also many times will you see people they with   he

Free Translation

If you see a man sitting or standing, you will understand that he is an important man by the clothing he wears. Also, many times you will see people with him.

There are several points at which the text might be elaborated. It is possible to describe the man more fully by telling where he was sitting or standing. It would be possible to tell about his clothing in more detail, or to mention something about the kind of people with whom an important man is seen.

The altered text picks up the same topic--the important man--and carries it considerably further, this time explaining why a man might be important.

(H3) mutum ya zama babba   bisa ga   matsayinsa   ko shi sarkiine ko
     man   he important according to his position   if he chief   if

     kuwa   mai   dukiya.
     he is rich man

(H4) yanzu kaka mai   ilmi   shi kuma baba ne   cikin garin aikinsu shi
     nowadays educated person he also important   in town   he

ne su   bada shaware   ga jamaa.
work is to   give advice   to the people

(H5) su nunu abinda   ya kamata a yi.
to show or tell   what should be done

Free Translation

A man may be important on account of his position if he is chief or if he is
a rich man. Nowadays an educated person is also important. In town their work
is to advise people.

A close look shows that the altered text is clearly more complicated than
the first. Even though there is some repetition, the learner encounters a num-
ber of new problems in the second text.

This type of exercise helps to overlearn sentence structure and vocabulary.
It helps the learner to uncover restrictions which might otherwise slip by un-
noticed. It is another step along the way toward free expression. The additions,
of course, must be based on patterns already learned in earlier cycles.

Possibilities for altering texts are many. Narratives can be turned into
dialogues and dialogues into narratives. With some ingenuity a description can
be worked into narrative form or narrative into description. As the learner ex-
periments with alterations of this kind, many variations will come to mind, some
of which are worthy of experimentation simply because they provide the means
of relaxing controls and making progress gradually.

15.33 Step 3--Altered Texts in New Situations. By combining the first
two steps above, even more possibilities for practice exist. A learning cycle,
for example, which starts out with a description of a typical house in the new
community can perhaps be followed by description of a house in the learner's
own country. This altered text can then be turned into a narrative in which the
learner takes his co-speaker on a tour through his own house, something that
both might find very interesting for the questions and comments which are thus
triggered.

For example, suppose that the learner had worked on a text concerning an
important man in a Hausa-speaking community (Model Drill T18), he might try
to ask some questions like the following of people that he meets:

(17) Are there important men in your community?

(18) How do you recognize them?

He might then prepare himself to tell them how he recognizes an important man
in his home town, perhaps by the kind of automobile he drives, or whether or
not he carries an attaché case to work in the morning. In a given community he
might get very similar answers from people, and be able to tell his own story
several different times.

Model Drill T19--Use of Text in New Situations (Taiwanese)

A text such as the following is too long and involved for early learning

cycles, but when the learner has reached the point where he can handle this quantity in one cycle (or divided between more than one), there are a number of possibilities for using it in new situations. For example, he can develop a description of his own country paralleling this one, seeking to set up situations where he can tell it to several different people.

Taiwanese Text

Tâi-oân sī chit-tè sío-sío ê tó-sū, chóng-sī jîn-kháu ū chit-chheng sì-pah bān. Kî-tiong ū Tâi-oân lang kap gōa-séng lâng. Tâi-oân lâng pau-khoat Hô-lo-lâng kap Kheh-lâng. Tâi-oân ê tōa to-chhī ū síu-to˙ Tâi-pak, Sin-tek, Tâi-tiong, Ka-gī, Tâi-lâm, Ko-hiông, Pîn-tong kap Ke-lâng. Ke-lâng kap Ko-hiông sī Tâi-oân ê káng-kháu.

Tâi-oân ê sán-but chāi sit-phín hong-bīn ū bí, han-chî, kam-chìa, thô˙-tāu, hoan-beh, chiu-chî kap chē-chē hāng ê chhài-se, kap chióng-chióng chin hó-chiah ê kóe-chí. Chāi kóe-chí hong-bīn lâi kóng, góa siāng-aì nāi-chi, sek-khia, soāiⁿ-á, si-koe, bók-koe, lêng-géng kap chin tiⁿ ê ông-lâi.

Tâi-oân ê kam-chìa tāi-pō-hūn sī iōng lâi chè-thñg. Thñg kap iâm sī Tâi-oân chú-iàu ê sán-but. Chāi kang-giap hong-bīn, Tâi-oân iā ū chióng-chióng hiān-tāi kang-giap ê siat-pī. Phì-jū lâi kóng, âng-mñg-thô˙, a-lu-mih í-kip kñg-thih to sī hiān-tāi kang-giap ê sán-phín.

Translation

Formosa is a small island, but has a population of fourteen million. Among them are Formosan people and mainlanders. The Formosan people consist of Amoy people and Hakka people. The big cities in Formosa are Taipei, the capital, Hsin-chu, Tai-chung, Chia-yi, Tai-nan, Kao-shiung, Pin-tung and Chi-lung. Chi-lung and Kao-shiung are the harbors of Formosa.

The products of Formosa used for food are rice, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, peanuts, corn, chiu-chi and many, many kinds of vegetables, and various tasty fruits. In regard to fruits, I like lichee, sek-khia, mango, watermelon, papaya, leng-geng (dragon-eyes) and very sweet pineapple best.

Formosan sugar cane in most cases is used for making sugar. Sugar and salt are the main products in Formosa. In regard to industry, Formosa also has various modern industries. For example, cement, aluminum and steel are all the products of modern industry.

In seeking to develop a text about his own country, by adapting this text to the situation, an American might want to state that it is on the continent of North America, that its population is about two hundred million, that this is comprised of ethnic groups of various kinds, that its largest cities include New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and so on.

Or, in reference to the second paragraph, he might comment on the production, distribution and use of some of the Formosan products in the United States. Sugar cane, peanuts and corn would also be grown in the United States. The other Formosan vegetable products might be rare.

In practice of this kind proficiency increases as the vocabulary of the text is reused and also the sequence of sentences is restructured.

The learner can also generate his own new texts by varying and combining those of preceding cycles. Using a wide variety of patterns and useful vocabulary, he can develop a text in rough outline, practice it with his helper and then use it as many times as possible. He can engage people in conversation and try to use the text in some way after appropriate introductions. This kind of activity can actually begin very early in language study. Once a learner can control some basic patterns and a core of vocabulary, he can begin to try to say new things.

As he generates new texts out of the patterns that he controls, the learner's ability begins to increase by geometric proportion. Each new text requires less practice ahead of time, less memorization. Each experience of successful communication builds confidence. Each experience brings new mistakes into view, which can then be systematically corrected so as to avoid them in the future.

Another technique for using patterns to say new things is to engage people in conversation, forcing the conversation into things which the learner can talk about, using familiar patterns and vocabulary. Of course, in doing this, he should also remember the importance of listening, noting the new patterns and vocabulary which he continues to hear. As new patterns are heard, he should try them himself. When new words are heard, he should try to use them as soon as possible.

If native speakers of the language control the conversation at earlier stages, the learner is soon lost. Once in a while, therefore, he needs to control it himself, and use it within his range of competence. However, he must not do this exclusively, or he will shut himself off to the patterns and vocabulary which normally occur.

Using patterns to say new things means participating in domestic situations. His growth in language competence will always be stunted if he talks only about his own needs. However, by immersing himself for periods of time in local life, and letting the language and culture wash all over him, the learner can use intensively that which he has practiced. He asks questions, repeats the answers in many forms. He gets information about life and custom. He listens continually. He takes notes whenever necessary, and when he returns to more formal work with his helper, he will have many new things for his agenda, for learning cycles.

The learner must always keep his work on grammar and vocabulary closely integrated. However, there comes a point where the learning of new patterns begins to taper off, although the learning of new vocabulary should never end. As new words are encountered, they should be used in old patterns wherever they fit; old patterns should be used in new ways. In this way old things are always being used to say new things.

In early stages when the learner is learning patterns, a minimum of vocabulary is necessary. The pattern is the constant to be drilled, and vocabulary is

the variable. As he moves into the stage of talking about new things, new vocabulary becomes the constant, and patterns the variable. As he learns new words, he uses them in as many new patterns as he can. This helps him to learn the words and overlearn the patterns in which they occur.

Model Drill T20--Use of a Text to Practice Vocabulary

Here is an English example. The new words being learned are kitchen utensils. We are assuming that the patterns used for illustration have been drilled in the kind of practice recommended in Chapter 17.

(19) Learner: What is that?

(20)   Helper: That is a frying pan.

(21) L: Did you say frying pan?

(22)   H: Yes, frying pan.

(23) L: What do you do with a frying pan?

(24)   H: You fry meat and other things in it.

(25) L: Do you fry meat in a frying pan?

   (NB: The L can ask this question even if he does not know the meaning of the word fry, because he can use it on the analogy of the previous pattern.)

(26)   H: Yes, you fry meat, steaks, hamburgers, anything.

(27) L: Do you fry potatoes?

(28)   H: Sometimes.

(29) L: Do you fry peas in a frying pan?

(30)   H: (laughing) No! You can't fry peas.

(31) L: Do you cook in a frying pan?

(32)   H: Frying is a kind of cooking.

(33) L: What are other kinds of cooking?

(34)   H: Boiling, roasting, baking in the oven ...

(35) L: Do you boil in a frying pan?

(36)   H: No! Not very often! You boil food in a saucepan.

(37) L: Show me a saucepan.

(38)   H: Here.

(39) L: Is this a saucepan?

(40)   H: Yes.

(43) L: Do you fry meat in a saucepan?

So the dialogue continues. The learner may not have known the meaning of _fry,_ but in this way he began to learn something about it and did not have to ask, "What does _fry_ mean?" Notice that he did not allow other words to distract him until he had plenty of practice with _frying pan._ Then he moved on to include _saucepan,_ another new word.

Model Drill T21--The Use of Text to Practice Vocabulary

In a slight variation on the above process consider a case in which the use of _downtown_ is giving the learner difficulty. In the situation above the learner worked the conversation around the things he was learning, and the helper's replies were matched accordingly. In the situation which follows the helper plays the game along with the learner. The helper must not use any patterns which have not been drilled, but must help to keep the new vocabulary coming in. In this example the new word is _downtown._

(44) H: I went downtown, and what will Robert do?

(45)   L: He will go downtown.

(46) H: Who will go downtown?

(47)   L: Robert will go downtown.

(48) H: Why will Robert go downtown?

(49)   L: He will buy some food downtown.

(50) H: Where will he buy the food?

(51)   L: He will buy it downtown.

Some will have the imagination to work out practice like this, and others will not, but it is usually worth a try.

While such artificial activity can scarcely be called extemporaneous communication, it does provide the learner with much-needed repetition and helps to build confidence in speaking in new situations. Working over a text in a controlled situation and then extending it in this way is a rather small advance but an important one nevertheless. Furthermore, using old skills in new texts so as to produce variations is crucial in the development of fluency. There are some dangers, of course, for if monitors are not available or if the learner is insensitive to feedback, the mistakes which he makes may go unattended.

Through such procedures fluency develops gradually to the point where much more freedom is experienced in normal situations. This achievement is important for morale and motivation, for when the learner realizes that he can communicate without the constant and direct supervision of models, he can devote more of his attention to the use of the language for fulfilling his anticipated roles in the community.

Furthermore, with every attempt at production, the possibility of isolating new mistakes from feedback increases, and this is important, for it leads the learner to those problems which need the narrow focus of corrective practice like that described in the next three chapters. Thus the extension of skills to

new situations (projection) drives the student back to his workshop to prepare new drills and review old ones. Each cycle precipitates new material for drill, and it reveals weaknesses and difficulties which can be handled in future cycles.

There are really four phases, then, to the learning cycle: prepare, practice, project, and precipitate, for as each cycle is completed it starts another as it helps to filter out those problems which continue to demand corrective activities, just as much as it culminates in some simulation, at least, of normal communication.

15.4 Progression in Learning Cycles

A feeling of urgency arising from his goal to become bilingual sometimes leads the learner to bite off more than he can chew. To avoid this, he must continually work up manageable segments of new material offering constant challenge toward his goals. Each new learning cycle, therefore, should present the learner with a new set of problems: perhaps some new cultural content, or some new type of text with its own set of grammatical structures.

On the other hand, if he should move into a totally new content area, it is best to do so with a type of text which is already familiar, so that his learning progression is not overtaxed to the point that his practice activity bogs down. If the content, with its new ideas and new vocabulary represent a big jump, the structural jump should be small.

It is impossible to provide a mechanical formula for solving the problem of progression. On the other hand, the learner who is aware of the source of his learning problems can usually make adjustments.

The techniques discussed in this chapter provide a means for moving from the stage of awareness to the point where the learner can begin to feel what it is like to communicate fluently in the new language. From the artificial and formal situation in which the learner gathers text and prepares it, he has worked it over to the point where he can use it somewhat extemporaneously as a basis for communication in a new situation. That which began as a simple exercise in listening ends as production of authentic material; formal practice culminates in informal use. By working concurrently on text and on structural details, the learner moves steadily toward his goal of fluency and correctness.

When the learner actually begins to set up learning cycles, however, he should maintain realistic expectations. Developing good learning cycles quickly (as he will have to do) is not easy, and many will not work perfectly. This is inevitable, but it is still better than unorganized study. If the learner understands the principles discussed in this book, he will have a sense of direction, and will be able to keep moving ahead.

Under skillful management, the learning cycle approach can be employed as long as each cycle can deal effectively with detailed problems by the specialized techniques to be discussed in the next chapters, and thus bring the learner toward his goal of becoming bilingual.

Learning cycles of the kind described in this chapter can be modified for various purposes, including that of learning to read and write. The learner can elicit written texts from a literate helper, go over them to check comprehension and then practice writing and rewriting with the variations suggested in the section on projecting text into new situations. (Chapter 20)

Chapter Sixteen

Practicing for Pronunciation

Especially in the first few weeks of language study, pronunciation problems of every kind plague the learner. In working with a text he finds it impossible to mimic the helper's long and gnarled sentences. In trying to use what he has learned in a new situation, he finds that his pronunciation prevents his listeners from grasping his meaning. He listens to someone and assumes that he understands, only to find out later that he did not because he missed a critical sound distinction.

No adult learner of a second language is likely to achieve perfect pronunciation, no matter how long and hard he works. Almost anyone, however, can reach a level of good pronunciation where his accent will not be disturbing to communication.

Pronunciation is the first of the major levels of structure which the beginner must immediately seek to master. The objectives of this chapter are to demonstrate and discuss a variety of ways to use the framework of practice developed in Chapter 14 for pronunciation practice. In that chapter emphasis was placed on the importance of relevance and the use of relevant and interesting material; however, it is admittedly difficult to make listening and pronunciation practice interesting. Often it is tedious and frustrating, for it involves changes in motor and neural habits which long ago were driven into the subconscious. In order to control difficulty, pronunciation practice must often focus on pairs of words or bits of sentences--with about as much intrinsic interest as reading the dictionary. On the other hand, when pronunciation practice is well-designed, the consciousness of improving abilities often provides the necessary motivation to continue practicing.

This chapter is developed programmatically but with full realization that few readers are likely to follow the program mechanically. It is important, therefore, that the reader focus on the principles which are pointed out and exemplified. They apply to a wide range of pronunciation problems, although only representative examples are given. The learner will have to exercise imagination and insight in applying them to his own situation. Obviously, a cut-and-dried solution to all pronunciation problems is impossible. At the same time, the principles developed here are within the grasp of the average learner and have been used effectively by hundreds of people in similar circumstances. The model drills in this chapter may be supplemented by studying the hundreds of drills in Smalley (1963). The major kinds of pronunciation difficulties to be found in the world are outlined there also. [1]

It is also true that the learner will not encounter all of the types of difficulties discussed here in any one language. He should not be intimidated by the

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[1] See also Nida 1957a:86-129; Moulton 1966:49-64; Gudschinsky 1967:31-56.

array of examples. The chapter can be read first for its principles and as a guide to whatever difficulties he then recognizes. It can be re-read from time to time to discover possibilities which may have been overlooked.

16.1 Awareness

The first step is to develop awareness of the units of the sound system and the structures in which they occur (Chapter 13). Learners differ in the speed with which this awareness occurs. Some analyze and isolate sound units readily; others need much more time to sharpen their perception. In general, awareness comes most easily at the level of segments such as consonants and vowels. Perhaps because of our own training in a highly literate society, segments by nature are more noticeable than features at higher levels of the sound system. We begin, therefore, by discussing ways and means for developing awareness of the smallest units--segmental phonemes, tones, etc., and then continue through the higher levels of structure: syllables, rhythms and melodies.

16.11 Segmental Phonemes.
Developing awareness of the minimal segmental sound units--phonemes--involves not only differentiating one unit from another but learning the form in which each appears in its various environments. That is, the learner must not only be able to differentiate contrasts in sound as he hears them, but must be able to produce the variants which the native speaker expects in a given environment. (Chapter 12)

Differential techniques and substitution techniques are especially applicable to the problem of learning such units. In the sample drills discussed below, these techniques are applied to a variety of learning problems, some involving consonants, some vowels. The reader should seek to relate his own pronunciation problems to one or the other of these sample drills, and then apply the principles as he develops his own drill material. In each instance the objective is the same: to become aware of the contrasts in sound perceived by the native speaker and of the different variants which characterize the phoneme.

16.111 Differential Technique.
Suppose someone whose mother tongue is Tagalog were to learn English. One problem for him is in differentiating English /f/ and /p/, for in Tagalog the distinction does not occur. Consequently, when the Tagalog learner speaks English, he tends to confuse such words as pork and fork. One time he can make the distinction; another time he misses it, never quite conscious of his fluctuation. He needs to develop sufficient awareness of the difference so that he can recognize it when spoken by someone else and to know without hesitation when he has produced the contrast correctly.

Model Drill Pl--Differential Drill for Awareness of Consonants

The basic requirement for good differential practice on any problem of this kind is a list of minimally contrastive words such as the following:

Column 1	Column 2
feel	peel
fail	pail
file	pile
foal	pole
fool	pool
fall	pall

The two consonants /f/ and /p/ contrast in identical phonetic environments in minimal pairs (Chapter 12) between the two lists. That is, feel and peel constitute one minimal pair, fail and pail another, etc. Working with the helper on such data, the learner's attention is focused directly on the problem of differentiating the minimal contrast between otherwise identical words.

In the first stage of practice the learner assumes the practice role of observer, noting his helper's pronunciation of these words. The task is to strengthen perception of the difference between /f/ and /p/. The helper produces the words--each one pronounced two or three times in quick succession-- in each list, going down column 1 and then column 2. The learner listens carefully at all times to the initial consonant since that is the problem in focus.

The helper is then asked to change direction, pronouncing the words across from left to right, down the two lists, each item two or three times in quick succession. As the learner listens, his perception of the differences grows stronger.

At the next stage the learer tests his hearing of the difference. This is done in a number of ways:

(1) The helper can produce two words in quick succession, the learner identifying them as same or different with reference to the initial consonant.

(2) The helper can pronounce one item from either list, the learner identifying it as a p-word or f-word.

(3) The helper can give two words, two from one list or one from each, asking the learner to tell which list they came from, f-list, p-list, or mixed.

At the next stage in which the learner assumes the role of mimic, the helper's monitoring function becomes important. The same directions apply, but now each utterance of the helper is followed by the learner's listening and mimicry. The learner tries to imitate the difference between f and p in each word as the helper produces it, seeking a quality of mimicry which approaches that of the native speaker. Going down and across the lists, combining in various ways, as suggested in the following sequence, the learner gradually strengthens his perceptions of the contrasts between the minimal pairs.

At the final stage of the differential drill the learner becomes producer and the helper continues to correct him. Again, the same procedures apply, although now the learner himself reads from the lists. The helper listens and corrects.

A number of variations on these procedures is possible. The lists can be used in a variety of ways, and helper and learner can interact in a variety of patterns. The following sequence suggests a basic format for the application of these principles. Some of the steps might be superfluous for such a simple problem as P1, but the learner will find that a major pronunciation problem may require all of these steps.

Sequence for Differential Drill

A. Observation Stage

1. Controlled order

   a. Down each column

      Helper reads each item, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens, selectively.

   b. Across columns (moving down)

      Helper reads each pair, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens selectively.

2. Random order (the order of words in the lists is scrambled in the process of drilling)

   a. Within columns

      Helper reads the various items of Column 1 in turn, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens.
      Helper reads the various items of Column 2 in turn, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens.
      Helper reads the various items from Column 1 or Column 2 in turn, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens.

   b. Across columns

      Helper reads various pairs in turn, pauses, repeats.
      Learner listens.

   c. Pairs from same or different columns (the two items may be from different columns, or both from the same column)

      Helper reads various pairs in turn.
         Learner calls out "same" or "different".
            Helper confirms or corrects.
      Helper reads various pairs.
         Learner calls out "Column 1" or "Column 2" or "mixed".
            Helper confirms or corrects.

   d. Single items from different columns

      Helper reads various items.
         Learner calls out "Column 1" or "Column 2".
            Helper confirms or corrects.

B. Mimicry Stage

    1. Controlled order

        a. Down each column

           Helper reads each item in Column 1 in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.
           Helper reads each item in Column 2 in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.

        b. Across columns (moving down)

           Helper reads each pair in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.

    2. Random order

        a. Within columns

           Helper reads the various items of Column 1 in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.
           Helper reads the various items of Column 2 in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.
           Helper reads the various items from Column 1 or Column 2 in turn.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.

        b. Across columns

           Helper reads various pairs.
              Learner mimics.
                 Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.

C. Production Stage

    1. Controlled order

        a. Down each column

           Learner produces each item from Column 1 in turn.
              Helper confirms or corrects.
                 Learner repeats.

Learner produces each item from Column 2 in turn.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.

b. Across columns (moving down)

Learner produces each pair in turn.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.

2. Random order

a. Within columns (helper selects item)

Helper points to various items in Column 1.
Learner produces.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.
Helper points to various items in Column 2.
Learner produces.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.
Helper points to various items in Column 1 or 2.
Learner produces.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.

b. Across columns

Helper points to various pairs.
Learner produces.
Helper confirms or corrects.
Learner repeats.

c. Within columns (learner selects item)

Learner produces any item.
Helper identifies column.
Learner confirms.

In the discussion thus far, we have been assuming that the learner's problem is one of strengthening his perceptions of a difference between /f/ and /p/. In many situations, however, the learner cannot even perceive the difference which the helper insists is present. Then, before the above procedure can even begin, the learner must probe and hypothesize and test and revise (as must any good scientist). Starting without awareness, the learner must make some hunches about the helper's perceptions, test them and try to confirm them one way or the other with the helper. Once he reaches this confirmation, he is ready to strengthen his own perception by the program of techniques suggested thus far.

To test his hunches, the learner will have to become <u>producer</u> temporarily and <u>observe</u> the reactions of his helper to his own production. Given a few pairs like those in the list, by manipulating tongue, lips and so on, by mimicry of the helper, the learner should seek to arrive at some production of the contrast

which evokes a positive response from the helper. Sensing that he is on the right track, checking out a few more words, trying to make the distinction in the same way, he watches the helper to see if he can sense some pattern of positive reinforcement. Once such tentative awareness has begun, the learner can then move on to the techniques recommended earlier.

Model Drill P2--Differential Drill for Awareness of Vowels

The procedures outlined in Model Drill P1, which dealt with two contrasting consonants, can be applied in principle to a problem involving vowels as well. Suppose, for example, that someone learning English has difficulty distinguishing the vowel sounds of pill and peel, a difference which many speakers of Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, and many other languages, find quite hard. He begins in substantially the same way: by collecting data and organizing it so that the contrasts are seen in identical or highly similar environments.

Column 1	Column 2
pill	peel
fill	feel
mill	meal
bin	bean
kin	keen
win	wean
shin	sheen

Our own sensitivity to differences in spelling might lead us to misunderstand some of these items. For example, there are two different spellings of the vowel in Column 2. The pronunciation, however, is the problem on which the learner is working, and the vowels are pronounced in the same way throughout each list. Because the drill is a pronunciation drill, not a spelling one, the differences in spelling can be ignored for this purpose.

Once the drill list is developed, the learner and helper can practice according to the sequence for differential drills.

Model Drill P3--Differential Drill with Multiple Distinction of Vowels and Consonants

It is possible to build longer and more complicated differential drills if problems warrant them.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
pill	pale	pile
bill	bale	bile
till	tale	tile
dill	dale	dial

A brief inspection of the data shows that by reading from left to right a three-way contrast in vowels is involved. In reading down the lists, contrasts in four consonants--/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/--are highlighted. That which is being drilled differentially is in constant contrast throughout the data. When there are more

than two columns the sequence for differential drill is simply extended to include them.

Model Drill P4--Differential Drill Without Minimal Contrast

Collecting suitable data for practice should not take much time, and much worthwhile practice can be derived from a limited amount of carefully selected data. Training a helper to anticipate the data which one needs and to find new words fitting the pattern of the drill can save enormous amounts of time. On the other hand, in working with a written language the helper may be thrown off by spelling. Lists should be compiled of words which sound the same, regardless of their spelling.

Occasionally it may be necessary to use nonsense syllables in order to get enough minimal contrasts for an effective drill. This is not too serious, although legitimate words are much to be preferred. Close contrasts, even though they are not minimal, may also be used. Thus for the two pronunciations of English th as in <u>thigh</u> and <u>thy</u> /θ/ /ð/, not enough minimal pairs are possible and a drill such as the following can be used.

Column 1 /θ/	Column 2 /ð/
thigh	thy
thin	then
thistle	this
three	thee

Note that the one minimal pair is placed first and that the other pairs are as similar as possible, although they have other sound differences in addition to that of the /θ/ /ð/ distinction being drilled.

With general principles and procedures for differential drills elucidated with English data, we are ready to look at examples of what the speaker of English may encounter in a new language.

Model Drill P5--Differential Drill for Awareness of Vowels (Korean)[2]

A speaker of English learning Korean can expect difficulty with the four-way contrast in vowels which are here written with the symbols /u o ü ö/. Standard Korean writing, of course, is entirely different from the Roman alphabet, but that need not affect the organization of the drill. Two of these vowels are similar to English. /u/ and /o/ are similar (but not identical) to the vowels in English soon and sewn, respectively. There is also a contrast between /ü/ and /ö/, which have no real counterpart in English at all.[3] The complete set constitutes a major hurdle for the learner.

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[2]We are indebted to Chang Hai Park, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, for the Korean examples.

[3]Smalley 1963b:174-175, 201ff, 363ff.

As the learner collects data, he can arrange it according to the problem vowels and the consonant which precedes them, as illustrated in the following layout:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
ku	kü	ko	
			kkö
cu		co	cö
		cho	chö
	tü		tö
		tto	ttö
		po	pö
mu		mo	mö
	sü	so	sö

Blank spaces mean that no word has been found with the requisite combination of vowel and consonant, for each line across has the same consonant throughout. As more data is found, it can be added to the layout at the appropriate position.

16.112 Substitution Technique. The differential drills illustrated thus far have emphasized the development of awareness through the practice of difficult contrasts in the same sound environment (if not in minimal pairs, then in very similar environments). Substitution drills, on the other hand, feature the same phoneme in a variety of environments and develop awareness of its changes in form.

Model Drill P6--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Consonants

Learners may not only fail to hear and produce the difference between such pairs as feel-peel, fill-pill, etc., but may also fail to produce the proper variant of /p/ in its different environments. The helper's dissatisfaction with the learner's production may indicate that he is not hearing or producing the subtle differences in the variant forms which /p/ takes. When American English /p/ occurs at the beginning of words like pill, there is a noticeable aspiration (puff of air) as compared with the amount of aspiration following it in the word spill. Furthermore, when /p/ occurs in word-final position it is often followed by a very short and nearly inaudible release, as in hip.[3] The same phoneme thus has different manifestations. (Chapter 12)

Subtle differences like these are out-of-awareness for the average native speaker of English until he learns something about phonetics. Then he begins to see that the phoneme /p/ in English is more complex than he had realized. On the other hand, he can recognize it at once when a non-native speaker of English produces a variant of /p/ that is inappropriate to its environment. He may not know the exact nature of the problem, but he does know that something is

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[4]Smalley 1963b:108-111

wrong. The substitution drill is designed for this sort of problem. Because the helper is usually unaware of the precise nature of the learner's difficulty, however, the learner can expect some difficulty in getting him to know precisely what he is after.

The basic data consists of words which have the phoneme /p/ in the environments which cause learning difficulties, and the learner can only know this by trial and error. With the helper's assistance, he tries to collect a number of examples of /p/ in any typical environment that is difficult for him. For example:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
Initial /p/ (aspirated)	/p/ after /s/ (unaspirated)	Final /p/ (released)
pill	spill	lip
pin	spin	nip
pit	spit	tip
pan	span	nap
pat	spat	tap

A comparison with the data of Model Drill P1 will show the difference between layouts for the differential and the substitution techniques. In Model Drill P1 the problem was to differentiate two phonemes which the learner tended to confuse: /p/ and /f/. Here the problem is to substitute the correct variant for a given environment. The /p/ in initial position is aspirated (followed by a puff of air). The /p/ after /s/ is unaspirated (not followed by a puff of air). The /p/ in final position is released (although in certain situations an unreleased form of /p/ may also occur). The learner practices for awareness of the variant in its matching environment.

Each of the columns in the substitution drill table shows one of the varieties of the sound in its environment being drilled. In going from left to right on the table, a different variant is repeated in matching environment.

As was the case in Model Drill P1, the learner begins as observer, listening to the helper pronounce the items in the substitution table. That data in the table can be handled in various ways and the interaction between helper and learner can assume a number of forms. The following sequence suggests just a few of them. Many are identical with the sequence for differential drill discussed earlier.

Sequence for Substitution Drill

A. Observation

    1. Controlled order

        a. Down each column

           Helper reads, pauses, repeats.
           Learner listens.

    b. Across columns

        Helper reads, pauses, repeats.
          Learner listens.

Note that subsequent steps in the sequence for differential drill do not apply here because we are not dealing with identical environments.

B. Mimicry Stage

    1. Controlled order

        a. Down each column

          Helper reads.
            Learner mimics.
              Helper corrects.
                Learner repeats.

        b. Across columns (moving down)

          Helper reads.
            Learner mimics.
              Helper corrects.
                Learner repeats.

    2. Random order

        a. Within columns

          Helper reads.
            Learner mimics.
              Helper corrects.
                Learner repeats.

        b. Across columns

          Helper reads.
            Learner mimics.
              Helper corrects.
                Learner repeats.

C. Production Stage

    1. Controlled order

        a. Down columns

          Learner produces.
            Helper corrects.
              Learner repeats.

        b. Across columns (moving down)

          Learner produces
            Helper corrects.
              Learner repeats.

2. Random order

> Helper points to an item in column 1.
> > Learner produces.
> > > Helper corrects.
> > > > Learner repeats.
> Helper points to an item in Column 2.
> > Learner produces.
> > > Helper corrects.
> > > > Learner repeats.
> Helper points to an item anywhere.
> > Learner produces.
> > > Helper corrects.
> > > > Learner repeats.

Model Drill P7--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Vowels (Taiwanese)

A speaker of English studying Taiwanese is almost certain to announce difficulty with the mid-back vowel. A mid-back vowel in Taiwanese (usually represented by o) is pronounced with the tongue relatively far back in the mouth, roughly as it is for such English words as old, own, over. It occurs in a number of different environments, each of which exerts a special influence on its precise formation. The substitution table shows the vowel in some of the typical environments which cause trouble. (Marks over vowels indicate differences in tone.)

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
At the beginning of a syllable	At the end of a syllable	Between a consonant and a vowel
oe	ko	koe
oá	só	sóe
oàn	chhò	chhòe
oê	lô	lôe
oē	phō	phõe

With such data collected and arranged, the learner can follow the model sequence for substitution drill. As he encounters the mid-back vowel in new environments, during the learning process when he is working on other things, or as he finds additional examples, he can revise his drill table accordingly and use it for further practice and review.

Model Drill P8—Substitution Drill for Awareness of Consonants (Korean)

An American is likely to encounter some difficulty with two variants of Korean /l/. Its environments head the columns in the following layout and items are arranged into rows according to the vowel which precedes /l/.

Column 1	Column 2
Word-final	Between vowels
pal	palita
sil	kili
kɨl	kɨlim
kul	kulita
cül	chüli
sel	sele
söl	nöli

16.12 Tone. One kind of minimal phonemic unit which is difficult for English speakers is tone. In this phenomenon the relative pitch of the voice is used in a way that is analagous to the use of consonants and vowels in English.

For example, in Thai /maa/ (with a level tone) means 'come' whereas /mǎa/ (rising tone) means 'dog' and /máa/ (high tone) means 'horse.' Learning to distinguish tones and their varieties may be particularly tricky.[5]

Model Drill P9--Differential Drill for Awareness of Tones (Otetela)[6]

A speaker of English studying Otetela (Zaïre) might encounter three words in a text all pronounced differently: toto 'drop', to'to 'stars', and to'to 'enter'. The tonal differences (here marked by the contour lines although they are not written in standard Otetela writing) would constitute a major problem for him, and it would be helpful to work on the three-way difference between mid-level (—), rising-mid (╱—) and rising-high (╱ —). (The raised dot indicates a lengthened vowel.) Tonal phenomena like this is out-of-awareness for most Americans until it is encountered in such data as these.

Assuming that the learner can perceive the differences, whether or not he can understand why they should be this way, his next problem is to accumulate data which will help him to strengthen his perception of the tonal contrasts. By searching through available materials and trying to get his helper to see what he is after, it should not be too difficult to come up with a suitable set of data such as the following:

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[5]Smalley 1963b:26-42; 118-135

[6]We are indebted to Wayne Dickerson for providing Otetela examples.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
x̄x̄x̄x̄ mid-level	x́x̄x̄x̄ rising-mid	x́x̄x̄x̄ rising-high
k̄āmā 'small pellet'	ká·m̄ā 'go ahead and doubt'	ká·m̄ā 'Kama'
k̄anja 'make smooth work'	ká·nja 'loan'	ká·nja 'you shall loan'
t̄īt̄ī 'my aunt'	t̄í·t̄ī 'evaluate'	t̄í·tī 'call'
t̄ōt̄ō 'drop'	t́ó·t̄ō 'stars'	t́ó·tō 'enter'
k̄onde 'crocodile'	kó·nde 'didn't eat'	kó·nde 'reduce'
k̄ok̄ō 'cackle'	kó·k̄ō 'didn't fall'	kó·kō 'you shall break'
k̄unja 'earn'	kú·nja 'didn't come'	kú·nja 'you shall lend'

With data collected, the learner can then follow the principles and the sequence of drills discussed earlier, first trying simply to observe the tonal contrasts, then to mimic them and finally to produce them. The three-way contrast, of course, can be dealt with in stages, first contrasting just two of the tones, then combining them in different pairs and finally practicing all three in one drill.

Model Drill P10--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Tones (Taiwanese)

In learning Taiwanese, a speaker of English not only has the problem of differentiating six tones but also of hearing and producing tonal variations influenced by environments. To learn them he can prepare a layout with each of the tones heading up a column. He would then collect numerous examples under each of the headings grouped by common environments. His layout could be framed in this way:

Vowels	'	^	´	`	‾	unmarked
/a/						
/i/						
/u/						
/o/						

The tone marks have the following names:

1. ' = high abrupt
2. ^ = long high rise
3. ´ = long high fall
4. ` = short low fall
5. ‾ = mid
6. unmarked = mid abrupt

In each of the boxes on the layout data is further grouped according to consonants which also may influence tonal variations. As the learner accumulates data he places it in the appropriate position. Here is the beginning of such an array:

		'	^	´	`	—	unmarked
/a/	t-	ta̍k tia̍p toa̍t	tâu	táng	tàn tiàm		tiat
	th-	tha̍k thia̍p		tháng.	thàn	thiām	thiat thoat
	g-		gâu giâm			gāng	ga
	k-					kā kāng kāu	
		kia̍p					
	kh-				khàn		khiam khang kha
/i/	g-	gia̍p	gîm				
	k-					kīm	
	kh-	khi̍p	khîm				
	ph-		phîm			phī	
	p-		pîn			pī	
	b-		bîn			bī	
/o/	t-	to̍h	tông tô				
	th-		thông thô				thoat
	g-	goa̍t		goá		gōng	
	k-						kong
	kh-						khong khoa
	ph-		phông		phò		
	p-	po̍h	pông		pò		
	b-	boa̍t	bông		bò		
/u/	k-	ku̍t		kún		kū	
	kh-		khû		khùn		
	g-		gû gûn				
	ph-			phú			phut
	p-	pu̍t		pú			put
	b-	bu̍t		bú			but

To practice any one tone, the learner drills in one column, environment by environment. As he does so, he encounters typical variations as they are influenced by their environments. Parts of the above material could be used in successive learning cycles until the entire set of tones was mastered.

16.13 Length. Another problem in many languages involves distinctions in the length or duration of the articulation of a consonant or vowel.[7] The terms "long" or "short" are not used in the way that English vowel differences in quality are sometimes described, with the vowel of <u>heat</u> called "long" and the vowel of <u>hit</u> called "short," but refer to differences of <u>duration.</u>

Model Drill P11--Differential Drill for Awareness of Vowel Length (Khmuʔ)

Column 1: long vowels	Column 2: short vowels
ʔaan 'read'	ʔan 'give'
paat 'slice'	pat 'duck'
caaŋ 'work for money'	caŋ (personal name)
beem 'small basket'	beŋ 'too much'
hməən 'ten thousand'	hməh 'what, any (thing)'
guut 'enter	guʔ 'like to eat'
mooŋ 'month'	moŋ 'hour'
sɔɔk 'look for'	sɔk 'cubit'

Model Drill P12--Differential Drill for Awareness of Consonant Length (Otetela)

A speaker of English is almost certain to encounter difficulty with such words as ŋ'aɲa 'mentally ill' and ɲaɲa 'doctor' in Otetela. The minimal difference between the words is the length of the articulation of the first consonant (length indicated by the raised period ˙). Once the difference is perceived, a good bit of practice is required before it is brought to full awareness and one can hear and reproduce the contrasting units freely. (Tone marks are omitted to avoid distraction in the model. They should not be omitted from any practice drill, of course.)

Column 1: long /ŋ/		Column 2: short /ŋ/	
ŋ'ulu	'Nulu'	ŋulu	'rainbow'
ŋ'uŋu	'pinch'	ŋuŋu	'hot spice'
ŋ'uwo	'clothes'	ŋuwo	'hippo'
ŋ'oɲo	'Nono'	ɲoŋo	'king'
ŋ'aɲa	'mentally ill'	ɲaɲa	'doctor'
ŋ'embe	'heavy rain'	ɲembe	'musical instrument'

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[7]Smalley 1963b:269-273

Model Drill P13--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Vowel Length (Khmuʔ)

In certain kinds of syllables Khṙhuʔ may have a contrast between long and short vowels, as already seen in Model Drill P11. In other kinds of syllables, or syllables in some positions in a sentence, vowels can be only long or only short. The following drill does not present the whole picture, by any means, but serves as a basis for learning to develop awareness of the differences of vowel length and the conditioning factors.

Vowel final always long	Vowel before /ʔ/ always short	Vowel before /h/ always short	Vowel elsewhere long	Vowel elsewhere short
	ʔaʔ 'we (2)'	ʔah 'meat'	ʔaan 'read'	ʔan 'give'
haa 'five'	haʔ 'burn up'		haan 'die'	
kɔɔ 'be also'	kɔʔ 'wait'		kɔɔn 'child'	
	lɛʔ 'and'	lɛh 'be fast'	lɛɛp 'contents of banana leaf packet'	
guu 'pair'	guʔ 'like'		guut 'enter'	lut 'be less than'
sii (personal name)	siʔ 'day'	sih 'sleep'	siin 'cooked'	sip 'ten'
	sɔʔ 'dog'		sɔɔk 'look for'	sɔk 'cubit'
	tɛʔ 'only'	tɛh 'kick backwards'	tɛɛŋ 'do make'	

16.14   Syllables. As awareness of phonemes develops, learners may dis-cover problems with the sequences in which they occur. Every language has its own rules for the order and arrangement of phonemes.

One primary ordering of phonemes is the syllable which is most frequently organized in terms of three parts: a peak (the loudest part--a vowel in most lan-guages), an onset to the peak and a coda (the part that comes after the peak. All three parts are seen in the English word cat:
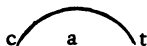
The onset is represented by the first consonant c, the peak by the vowel a, and the coda by the final consonant t. The line represents the pulse of the syllable, which is greatest at the peak.

Each language has its normal types of syllables and rules concerning the sounds which can function as onset, peak or coda and which of these parts is

obligatory or optional. Furthermore, the various parts of the syllable may be simple or complex.

cat	c⟋a⟍t	-	simple onset and coda
scat	s c a t	-	complex onset
cats	c a t s	-	complex coda
scats	s c a t s	-	complex onset and coda

Words like <u>sixths</u> and <u>strengths</u> show how complex codas and onsets can be in English. That data is written to show phonemic contrasts since orthography obscures the phonemic composition of the syllable.

sixths	s⟋ i ⟍xths
	/s i ksθs/
strengths	str e ngths
	/ str e ŋθs/

Few languages reveal complexities of coda formation any greater than these.

In an earlier Thai example (Chapter 13) on the other hand, we noted relatively simple onsets and codas and more complicated peaks than in English because of the occurrence of both tone and length contrasts.

In Otetela (Zaïre), Americans encounter considerable difficulty with certain complex onsets as indicated in the following examples:

mba	mb⟋a ⌣⌣⌢
mbosa	mb o s a
mboka	mb o k a
mbela	mb e l a

Native speakers of English tend to insert a vowel before the first consonant, and in so doing distort a one-syllable word by producing it as a two syllable word. In other words, <u>mba</u> incorrectly pronounced by the American comes out as

amba	a ⟍m ⌣b⟋a ⟍

English has no syllables with /mb/ as onset, but the sequence /mb/ occurs as a transition between syllables (coda followed by onset). Therefore, Otetela is accordingly contaminated by a native speaker of English until he develops new habits.

When English-speaking people meet Otetela words like the following, they tend to divide them into two syllables incorrectly because of the pressure of these same patterns:

Correct Division					Incorrect Division				

kamba   k ͡a ͡mb ͡a   k ͡a   m   b ͡a

somba   s   o   mb   a   s   o   m   b   a

demba   d   e   mb   a   d   e   m   b   a

For people learning English there may be difficulty with the transition from one syllable to another in such phrases as <u>new deal</u>, <u>nude eel</u> and <u>nude heel</u> (if they ever wanted to use them!). The differences lie chiefly in the transitions between the syllables as seen in the following diagram. Phrases are given in their phonemic form to make the distinctions clearer:

new deal   /n ͡ɨ   w ͡d ͡iy ͡l/

nude eel   /n   ɨw   d   iy   l/

nude heel   /n   ɨw   d   h   iy   l/

Both differential and substitution techniques are applicable to these syllable and transition problems. In the differential technique, two or more confusing syllable types are brought into sharp contrast to highlight the differences. In the substitution technique, a basic syllable type is the structure to be learned and various substitutions are made in onset, peak and coda positions.

Model Drill P14--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Onsets

Persons who speak Malayo-Polynesian languages may encounter difficulty with certain syllable onsets when they learn English. The contrast between <u>poor</u> and <u>pure,</u> for example, lies in the onsets:

poor   /p ͡u ͡r/   pure   /py ͡u ͡r/

Such a person should begin by collecting examples showing similar contrasts, such as the following:

Simple Onset	Complex Onset
poor	pure
fool	fuel
booty	beauty
hoop	huge
moo	muse
coot	cute

Drill sequences follow the suggestions already given.

Model Drill P15--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Peaks

English syllable peaks create problems for many learners. The contrast between pill and peel lies in the peak of the syllable: the one simple, the other complex.

pill: /p ⌢ i ⌢ l/   peel: /p ⌢ iy ⌢ l/

To help learners with difficulties of this kind, one can begin with a list of data like the following:

Simple Peak	Complex Peak
pill	peel
nil	kneel
till	teal
kill	keel
dill	deal
mill	meal

Model Drill P16--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Codas

The contrast between miss and mist, troublesome to some learners of English, lies in the final consonant of the complex coda.

Simple Coda	Complex Coda
miss	mist
mass	mast
pass	past
gas	gassed
lass	last
mess	messed
muss	must

Model Drill P17--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Transitions

The learner having difficulty with phrases like new deal, nude eel and nude heel, can work on these contrasting transitions with an array of data like the following:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
new deal	nude eel	nude heel
new day	nude ape	nude head
gnaw dates	gnawed acorns	gnawed hay
show deals	showed eels	showed heels

Model Drill P18--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Onsets (Yoruba)

A native speaker of English who is learning Yoruba encounters a problem which involves both strange consonants and syllable structure. He hears minimally contrasting words like <u>bá</u> 'catch up', <u>gbá</u> 'boil', <u>kpá</u> 'without hair,' and tends to confuse them because of the onsets. The double consonants <u>gb-</u> and <u>kg-</u> are not only difficult to differentiate from each other and from <u>b-</u>, but when he tries to produce them he tends to split these complex onsets and to insert a short vowel between them because of the pressure of his English patterns.[8]

The differential technique for minimal units is applicable, and one possible layout is given below.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
1. bá 'catch up'	gbá 'boil'	kpá 'without hair'
bā 'hide'	gbā 'get'	kpā 'kill'
bà 'alight'	gbà 'got'	kpà 'falling sound'
2. bó 'peal'	gbó 'bark'	
bō 'cover'	gbō 'peel'	kpō 'mix'
	gbò 'miss'	
3. bó 'drop'	gbó 'hear'	
bò 'oil'	gbò 'suit'	kpò 'plentiful'
4. bé 'jump'	gbé 'sharpen'	kpé 'late'
bē 'forward'	gbē 'dry'	
5.	gbé 'lift'	kpé 'that'
	gbē 'respond to'	kpē 'call'

The data is grouped in relation to five different vowel environments. Each of these groups is further divided according to tones. An alternative arrangement groups all high-tone words (´) together, all mid tones (¯) together and all low tones (`) together, with differences of vowels determining the subgroups.

Model Drill P19--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Peaks (Thai)

Thai syllable peaks may be short, long or complex[9] and the distinction is a difficult one for many English-speaking learners. There are three kinds of

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[8] According to one point of view, words like gba and kpa have complex onsets. From another perspective, the onsets are simply complex phonemes. Regardless of the manner in which this syllable structure is analyzed, the learner must still master it.

[9] Complex peaks may also be short or long, but short ones are rare and are omitted from this model drill. Data after Haas 1964.

complex peaks, and the following drill contrasts each with simple peaks with which they are often confused.

Column 1 short	Column 2 long	Column 3 complex
	hŭu 'ear'	hŭa 'head'
lùt 'slip loose'	lûuk 'child'	lûat 'wire'
mún 'mosquito net'	muum 'knoll'	múan 'be purple'
	mii 'have'	mia 'woman'
kin 'eat'	kìit 'obstruct'	kìat 'honor'
pìt 'close'	pìik 'wing'	pìak 'be wet'
	mɨɨ 'hand'	mɨ̆a 'when'
tɨk 'building'	tɨ̆n 'wake up'	tɨan 'remind'
sɨk 'to wear down'	sɨ̀p 'to pass on'	sɨ̀ak 'push'

Model Drill P20--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Transitions (Yoruba)

English-speaking people learning Yoruba tend to mispronounce transitions between syllables. For example, a word like nígbàtí 'when' with its three syllables is analyzed differently by the Yoruba native speaker and the American learner:

Correct division	Incorrect division
ní-gbà-tí	níg-bà-tí

For problems of this kind a learner with an exceptionally skilled helper can perhaps develop negative practice. Negative practice is a practice device in which the helper mispronounces his own language in order to help the learner distinguish.[10] In the model drill below the helper pronounces a word correctly or incorrectly to help the learner focus on the problem. A good helper can perhaps imitate the learner's incorrect syllable division and then determine if he can differentiate correct from incorrect pronunciation. The learner responds with "correct" or "incorrect."

A negative practice drill should be tried only with an imaginative and versatile helper who will not be overly embarrassed at mispronouncing his own language in this way.

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[10]Smalley 1963b:81 and elsewhere.

Column 1 Correct division		Column 2 Incorrect division
ni-gba-ti	'when'	nig-ba-ti
kpa-kpa	'field'	kpak-pa
a-gba-ra	'strength'	ag-ba-ra
o-ŋ-je	'food'	on-je
ɔ-lɔ-gb�	'wise person'	ɔ-lɔg-bʱ
o-ro-m̩-bo	'orange'	o-rom-bo
ku-lu-m̩-bo	'chubby'	ku-lum-bo
p-ŋ-la	'stork fish'	pan-la
tị̀-ŋ-ti	'small'	tị̀n-ti
o-go-ŋ-go	'ostrich'	o-gon-go
a-lo-n-ge	'thin person'	a-lon-ge
we-le-ñ-ge	'slender'	we-len-ge

The diacritical mark beneath n̲ indicates that this consonant functions as a syllable peak. The one under the vowel marks nasalization.

Model Drill P21--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Transitions (Japanese)

A word like nippon 'Japanese" is analyzed by the native speaker of Japanese as a four-syllable word, although the English-speaking learner interprets it as a two-syllable word. The difference is diagrammed below:

Correct division	Incorrect division
ni-p-po-n	nip-pon

The problem arises from the fact that consonants do not function as syllable peaks in English. Consequently, in this word the English speaking person hears only two peaks, one at each vowel. In Japanese, however, certain consonants may function as syllable peaks, and the learner must try to perceive the divisions as the Japanese do in order to avoid his mistakes.

This problem can be drilled by setting up two columns, one with two-syllable words and the other with three-syllable words. As the helper goes down each list and then across, the learner tries to identify them as two or three-syllable words. The following layout shows representative data:[11]

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[11]We are indebted to Marjorie Sorley and James Youngquist for the Japanese data.

Column 1 Two-syllable words	Column 2 Three-syllable words
suru	tatami
tsuru	bokši
tsuki	hutoŋ
mizu	čawaŋ
miso	čikay
kutsu	ašta
kore	dočira
dare	ǰidosa
iye	šikata

Model Drill P22--Differential Drill for Awareness of Syllable Codas (Tagalog)

English-speaking people learning Tagalog have serious difficulty in hearing the glottal stop /ʔ/ when it occurs as coda in word-final position. The words bata 'night gown' and bataʔ 'child' are very difficult for them to distinguish.

One way to work on this problem is to accumulate data such as the following:

Column 1 Glottal stop present	Column 2 Glottal stop absent
támaʔ	
salaʔ	sála
bataʔ	báta
samaʔ	
salaʔ	salá

As the helper moves down each list and then across and down, the learner listens for the final glottal stop. The acute accent (´) is used to indicate the prominent syllable.

Model Drill P23--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Syllable Patterns

In the substitution drill on the syllable level a syllable pattern becomes the constant, and combinations of phonemes substituted in the onset, peak and coda are the variables.

For example, a learner working on English syllable onsets might arrange a set of data such as the following:

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
pill			spill
till			still
kill			skill
pea	plea		
pay	play	pray	
pie	ply	pry	
bed	bled	bread	
boom	bloom	broom	
	glade	grade	
	glee	greed	
	glue	grew	

Model Drill P24--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Syllable Patterns (Yoruba)

The data accumulated for differentiating Yoruba syllable onsets (Model Drill P20) can.be rearranged to bring tones into more prominent view. Various substitutions of onsets, peaks and codas are then made, while the tone is held constant. Here is the revised layout:

Column 1 High-tone	Column 2 Mid-tone	Column 3 Low-tone
bá	bā	bà
bó	bō	bò
bɔ́		bɔ̀
bɛ́	bɛ̄	
gbá	gbā	gbà
gbó	gbō	gbò
gbɔ́		gbɔ̀
gbɛ́	gbɛ̄	
gbé	gbɛ̄	gbè
kpá	kpā	kpà
	kpō	kpò
		kpɔ̀
kpɛ́		
kpé	kpɛ̄	kpè

16.15 Rhythms. As in the case with phonemes and syllable patterns, languages also have their characteristic rhythmic patterns in words and phrases. In English, for example, the difference between lighthouse keeper and light housekeeper is not heard in the sequence of phonemes or syllable structures, but in the pattern of stresses, the rhythm which covers the syllables. The following schematic diagram shows differences of stress between the two words. Primary stress is marked by [´], secondary by [^], tertiary by [`] and weak by [ˇ].

líghthoùse kêepĕr

lî ght hóusekeèepĕr

Rhythms are as much a part of the learner's problem as the phonemes, for the new language may differ from the old in the types of patterns which characterize its words and phrases. Rhythm includes several variables: syllable beat, speed variations, prominence on some syllables, pause, combinations of length of syllable, etc. These qualities may be out-of-awareness for many domestics until they begin exploring their habits and experimenting with various words and phrases. In fact, the distortions which native speakers recognize in the speech of learners may bring rhythmic patterns into sharper view as they try to help the learner correct such mistakes.

The stages of the learning cycle in which whole texts are practiced are very important for learning rhythms. Some problems are so regular and persistent that they also need systematic practice.

Model Drill P25--Differential Drill for Awareness of Rhythms

People learning English sometimes have difficulty in differentiating items like black bird and blackbird. They are differentiated chiefly by the placement of primary stress as indicated by the acute accent: bláck bı̂rd, bláckbı̂rd. To help someone practice this difference, a set of data like the following is helpful.

Column 1a	Column 2a
´ ˘	ˆ ´
blackbird	black bird
redhead	red head
White House	white house
greenhouse	green house

Column 1b	Column 2b
´ ˘ ˆ ˘	ˆ ˘ ´ ˘
my great uncle	my great uncle
English teacher	English teacher
Susie's father	Susie's father
lion trainer	Boston strangler

Model Drill P26--Differential Drill for Awareness of Rhythms (Thai)

In Thai there are various important rhythm patterns, two of which are illustrated here. Unlike English, the rhythm is not based on stress, but on timing, syllable beat, and grouping of syllables. It is difficult to illustrate the exact effect in English, for the prominence of stress distorts the English examples from the Thai viewpoint. However, the two following English names have something of the same rhythm as the Thai columns 1 and 2 below (but with the addition of stress):

Model Drill P28--Differential Drill for Awareness of Melody

One statement pattern in English focuses on the last part of the sentence:

A. John is going home <u>today.</u>

A similar statement pattern puts the destination rather than the time into focus:

B. John is going <u>home</u> today.

A drill which calls attention to these close contrasts can be developed through the use of two lists such as the following:

Column 1	Column 2
Focus on Time	Focus on Destination
John is going home <u>today.</u>	John is going <u>home</u> today.
Mary is coming back <u>tomorrow.</u>	Mary is coming <u>back</u> tomorrow.
Bill is leaving Chicago <u>tonight.</u>	Bill is leaving <u>Chicago</u> tonight.
Betty is calling home <u>now.</u>	Betty is calling <u>home</u> now.

As the learner progresses, he can respond "time" or "destination" to show that he has heard the difference and classified it accurately.

Model Drill P29--Differential Drill for Awareness of Melody (Thai)

One question pattern in Thai differs only slightly from the answer which typically follows:

Question: mây yen lɛ̌. 'Isn't it cold?'

Answer: mây yen ləəy. 'It isn't cold at all.'

There is more than one difference, of course. The last word in the second case has a coda which is different from the first and has a tone difference as well. A difference in intonation also provides a difference in meaning.[13]

An effective differential drill can be laid out to call attention to this detail. Corresponding questions and answers can be placed in two lists as follows:

Column 1	Column 2
Questions	Answers
mây yen lɛ̌. 'Isn't it cold?'	mây yen ləəy.
mây phɔ̌ɔm lɛ̌. 'Isn't it thin?'	mây phɔ̌ɔm ləəy.
mây rɔ́ɔn lɛ̌. 'Isn't it hot?'	mây rɔ́ɔn ləəy.
mây yày lɛ̌. 'Isn't it big?'	mây yày ləəy.

As the learner begins to observe the difference, he can call out "question" or "answer" to indicate that he has heard the difference.

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[13]Brown 1967:41

Model Drill P30--Differential Drill for Awareness of Melodies (Yoruba)

English-speaking people learning tone languages may catch the tonal varia-
tions on individual syllables but have considerable difficulty with longer sequences
of syllables in which tone fluctuates over the entire span. This type of problem
can be handled by laying out data in two columns. In each column a tonal pattern
is the constant and the syllables themselves are the variable. For example:

Column 1	Column 2
＼ ／ ＼ —	＼ ／ — ＼
— — — —	— — — —
yàráa mī 'my room'	yàráā rè 'his room'
yàráa rɛ 'your room'	ɔ̀rɛ́ɛ rè 'his friend'
ɔ̀rɛ́ɛ mī 'my friend'	ìwɛ́ ɔ̄kɔ̀ 'ticket'
ɔ̀rɛ́ɛ rɛ 'your friend'	bàbá tīsù 'father is asleep'

The data can be expanded to drill other contrasts which the learner finds diffi-
cult. For example, the following set of contrasts with those above:

Column 3

＼ ／ — ／
— — — —

ɔ̀rɛ́ɛ ñí 'your friend'

bàbáā ñí 'your father'

ìwéē ñí 'your book'

ɛ̀mí sɛ̄tá 'I am ready'

bàbá tījí 'father is awake'

Model Drill P31--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Melody

In the following drill each of the four columns represents a variant form of
one basic melody. One melody is held constant while substitutions are made
within it which change the length of the utterance but maintain the essential fea-
ture of the intonational contour.

Column 1	Column 2
John just walked in.	Mr. Smith just walked in.
Mary just came back.	Mrs. Jones just came back.
Tom just called up.	Mr. Brown just called up.
Betty just cried out.	Mr. Fox just cried out.

Column 3	Column 4
He said that John just walked in.	Mr. Smith apparently just walked in.
I think that Mary just came back.	Mrs. Jones supposedly just came back.
It seems that Tom just called up.	Mr. Brown must have just called up.
I heard that Betty just cried out.	Mrs. Fox should have just cried out.
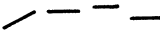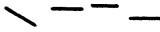
Model Drill P32--Substitution Drill for Awareness of Melodies (Thai)

This drill illustrates fifteen characteristic Thai melodies, as they come about through the substitution of five different tones in three different patterns.[14] Column 1 gives questions of the type "Is it cool yet? Is it full yet?" Column 2 gives one type of negative answer; Column 3, one type of positive answer. We give the meaning only for the word that changes as we go down the list.

Each column has five sections, for five different tones. Thus the melody of each of the fifteen sections is different, and practice for awareness of such differences is carried on by the substitution of words with the different tones in the different phrases. An approximate picture of the rise and fall of the melody is drawn for each melody.

Column 1 Questions	Column 2 Negative	Column 3 Positive	Meaning
dii lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây dii.	dii lɛ́ɛw.	'good'
yen lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây yen.	yen lɛ́ɛw.	'cool'
yaaw lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây yaaw.	yaaw lɛ́ɛw.	'long'
tem lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂- yaŋ.	yaŋ mây tem.	tem lɛ́ɛw.	'full'
rɔ́ɔn lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây rɔ́ɔn.	rɔ́ɔn lɛ́ɛw.	'hot'
lék lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây lék.	lék lɛ́ɛw.	'small'
chát lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây chát.	chát lɛ́ɛw.	'clear'
khróp lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây khróp.	khróp lɛ́ɛw.	'complete'
yày lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây yày.	yày lɛ́ɛw.	'large'
kɛ̀ɛ lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây kɛ̀ɛ.	kɛ̀ɛ lɛ́ɛw.	'old'
bɨ̀a lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây bɨ̀a	bɨ̀a lɛ́ɛw.	'boring'
tɛ̀ɛk lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây tɛ̀ɛk.	tɛ̀ɛk lɛ́ɛw.	'broken'

[14] Brown, J. Marvin 1968

╱ ─ ─ ─	─ ╲ ╱	╱ ─	
phɔ̌ɔm lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây phɔ̌ɔm.	phɔ̌ɔm lɛ́ɛw.	'thin'
sǔuŋ lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây sǔuŋ.	sǔuŋ lɛ́ɛw.	'tall'
nǎaw lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây nǎaw.	nǎaw lɛ́ɛw.	'cold'
thɨ̌ŋ lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây thɨ̌ŋ.	thɨ̌ŋ lɛ́ɛw.	'arrived'

╲ ─ ─ ─	─ ╲ ╲	╲ ─	
ʔûan lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây ʔûan.	ʔûan lɛ́ɛw.	'fat'
tɨ̂a lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây tɨ̂a.	tɨ̂a lɛ́ɛw.	'short'
mâak lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây mâak.	mâak lɛ́ɛw.	'much'
yûŋ lɛ́ɛw rɨ̂ yaŋ.	yaŋ mây yûŋ.	yûŋ lɛ́ɛw.	'confusing'

In working on a problem of this kind, once the learner develops his overall framework, a skillful helper can supply the missing data readily.

16.2 Overlearning

Once awareness occurs, the learner shifts his emphasis to the development of overlearning, as outlined in Chapter 14. Overlearning of pronunciation can take the same forms of practice as those already discussed: mimicry and memorization of text, differential drill and substitution drill. The techniques and drill models which have been discussed and illustrated thus far can also be applied to the overlearning of units and structures. The features of pronunciation which are brought to awareness are then overlearned in the process of using them.

So far as the pronunciation drills themselves are concerned, when a problem persists the learner should keep constructing new drills to avoid boredom. Otherwise, no special changes of format are necessary for overlearning pronunciation.

16.3 Flexibility

Flexibility is the stage of development where structural controls are loosened and the learner begins to switch from one structure to another. (Chapter 14) The development of flexibility in the use of the sound system is especially important when structures are related to the encoding of meaning. Hence, flexibility practice for rhythms and melodies is helpful in languages where certain kinds of rhythm are associated with grammatical phrase types of certain melodies with sentence constructions. These will be illustrated later.

On the other hand, it is possible to develop flexibility drills even on the syllable level. The differential technique is not particularly useful for flexibility practice, but the substitution technique has some minor importance at this stage. The following set of data shows how the substitution technique might be applied to certain English syllable patterns:

Model Drill P33--Substitution Drill for Flexibility in Syllables

Column 1	Column 2
life	file
leaf	feel
loaf	foal
loop	pool
leap	peal
lope	pole
lip	pill
lap	pal

In Columns 1 and 2 onset and coda are reversed. Column 2 can be seen as Column 1 with coda substituted for onset and onset for coda. If either or both patterns were causing trouble, it is likely that greater flexibility would result by practicing in this way.

Model Drill P34--Selection Drill for Flexibility of Rhythms

The selection technique for the flexibility stage is highly useful. (Chapter 14) In the following example the selection drill calls for a conscious choice between two contrasting rhythms on the basis of a clue which marks one or the other as appropriate. For example, the phrase English teacher, as we have seen repeatedly, can be produced with either of two rhythms: English teacher, English teacher. The first phrase refers to a person who teaches English; the second, to a person from England who teaches.

Column 1	Column 2
English teacher	English teacher
French professor	French professor
German student	German student
baseball player	city manager
taxi driver	state senator

In a selection drill on these patterns, a stimulus sentence, such as the following, is given to the learner:

John teaches English.

The learner then selects between the two alternatives the one which is appropriately matched to this stimulus, in this case--English teacher. If on the other hand the stimulus had been

John is from England. He teaches.

then the appropriate response would have been English teacher.

In the observation phase, the helper gives both stimulus and response. In the mimicry stage, the learner mimics both stimulus and response. In the production stage he produces the response on his own. As the drill proceeds, his ability to respond with the appropriate pattern should improve significantly.

The selection technique can be used effectively whenever two contrasting patterns can be matched to contrasting stimuli in this way.

Model Drill P35--Selection Drill for Flexibility of Melodies

In the following conversation every one of the sentences spoken by A has a different melody.

    (11) A. Where's your brother?

    (12)   B. In Michigan.

    (13) A. Where?

    (14)   B. In Michigan.

    (15) A. Where?

    (16)   B. In Detroit.

(14) differs from (12) also in the stress on Michigan. (15) differs from (13) in the direction of the final contour, which is rising in (13) and falling in (15). The importance of the difference is seen in the response in (14) and (16). When A uses the rising contour in (13), B responds by repeating what he had said in (12). When A uses the falling contour in (15), B responds by giving the information which A requested.

The melodies of these two question patterns--(13) and (15)--and the responses which they imply can be practiced by the selection technique. Data is arranged according to the model above with the helper playing A's part and the learner, B's. For example, here is the same model with a different set of vocabulary:

    (17) A. What is he doing?

    (18)   B. Selling.

    (19) A. What?

    (20)   B. Selling.

    (21) A. What?

    (22)   B. Shoes. •

Here is still another example:

    (23) A. Who's he working for?

    (24)   B. My friend.

    (25) A. Who?

    (26)   B. My friend.

(27) A. Who?

(28)   B. Joe Smith.

After considerable substitution of this kind (to develop awareness and overlearn-
ing), the helper can opt to skip (25) and move to (27). This will require that the
learner listen to his question and select the appropriate reply. When he hears
the melody of (25) he will respond in one way, and when he hears the melody of
(27), he will respond in the other.

Model Drill P36--Selection Drill for Flexibility of Rhythms

(29) John works in the lighthouse.

(30) He is a lighthouse keeper.

(31) Mary keeps house.

(32) She is a light housekeeper.

After sufficient mimicry and memorization to insure awareness and over-
learning, the helper should give a stimulus, choosing (29) or (31). The learner
selects (30) or (32) accordingly.

Model Drill P37--Selection Drill for Flexibility of Rhythms

A set like the following can be the basis of good flexibility practice, especi-
ally if some simple sketches can be drawn to differentiate the objects and their
colors:

(33) I'm looking at a black bird in a green house.

(34) I'm looking at a blackbird in a greenhouse.

(35) I'm looking at a black bird in a greenhouse.

(36) I'm looking at a blackbird in a green house.

After awareness and overlearning stages are completed, the helper should
point to various sketches as the stimulae. The learner then selects the right
melody to match the meaning represented in any sketch.

Model Drill P38--Selection Drill for Flexibility in Syllable Sequence (Japanese)

Japanese children play a word game called Shiri Tori which applies the prin-
ciple of flexibility to syllable and word structure in an interesting way.[15] The
game begins with one person calling out a word, ringo 'apple', let us say. The
next person takes the last syllable of that word -go and uses a word which begins
with that syllable, such as gomi 'trash'. The object of the game is to move
quickly from word to word, chaining them together by syllables in this way. A
person drops out when he cannot think of a word which begins with the appropri-
ate syllable. One such game ran this way: it is arranged schematically to show
the relationship of the syllables:

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[15]We are indebted to Marjorie Sorley and James Youngquist for this example.

ringo 'apple'

  gomi 'trash'

    mizu 'water'

      zurui 'trickster'

        ika 'squid'

          kabocha 'squash'

            chanto 'properly'

              tokoro 'place'

To play such a game, one needs a good vocabulary. On the other hand, an array of data like that above can help the learner to develop flexibility in the interchange of syllables. Devices of this kind, tongue twisters and rhymes, found in many languages, are useful to the learner in his pronunciation practice.

16.4 Generation and Creativity

The stages of generation and creativity (Chapter 14) are not too pertinent for the learner on the phonological level of structure. There is a sense in which generation of phonological structures is involved in poetry and in certain story-telling forms, but these are not likely to be of concern to the average language learner until he has established himself as a bilingual at an unusually advanced level. Only then does he pick up the special styles, some of which he may not ever use with the freedom of a native speaker.

The creative use of phonological structure is seen in the work of poets like Ogden Nash who ends one poem with these lines:

(37) Or better yet, if called by a panther,
    Don't anther.[16]

The control of sound structures for one's special purposes is possible within very strict limitations. Puns, of course, may involve just such creativity. Acronyms (formation of new words like Unesco out of initial letters of a name) and new trade names are areas of extensive phonological creativity these days.

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[16]Nash 1945:212

Chapter Seventeen

Practicing for Grammar

Like pronunciation, the grammar of sentences is a major hurdle for the learner and continues to be a problem long after sound features are learned. Grammar is more than suffixes on verbs or the order of words and phrases in a sentence. It is a matter of relationships which organize meaning within the sentence and also between sentences in a text.

No language is without grammar. In working with a text, the learner at first misunderstands the organization of sentences which he hears and fails to organize his own sentences so that a native speaker can understand him.

A language is infinitely more than the sum of all the sentences which a learner will encounter. Therefore, it is important for him to understand how sentences are organized and learn to organize them himself. His drill, therefore, must focus on the organization in general, not just the organization of particular sentences. By focusing properly on the organization of sentences found in short texts, he can gradually get a picture of organization as a whole.

The cumulative effect of the learner's work with such texts will make it possible to use grammatical patterns, together with phonology and vocabulary, to say and understand new things.

Because of the complexity of grammar in any language, it is helpful to organize problems and drills into four categories: simple sentences, sets of simple sentences, non-simple sentences and sets of non-simple sentences. Sets of sentences (simple or non-simple) are sentences related to each other by some regular correspondence of grammatical structure such as active and passive sentences in English.

    (1) The ball hit the boy.

    (2) The boy was hit by the ball.

Sets of sentences may be related in a variety of ways. This rough-and-ready classification of sentence structure, though different from the linguist's organization, will serve the learner's purpose as he tries to learn to use the different varieties in appropriate ways when needed.[1]

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[1]Linguists reading this book are likely to be more annoyed by this chapter than any other, for it attempts to deal with their special purview--grammar-- and with some of the hotly debated issues in current linguistic theory in an informal and rule-of-thumb way. No matter what the linguist's model of language, he will find us imprecise, inconsistent and incomplete. But we are trying simply to give the linguistically untrained learner a way of looking at language which will help him organize data for learning. We believe that he can be helped even

As with pronunciation, no learner can hope to apply our suggestions according to the rigid programmatic treatment which may seem to be implied. He must work with his needs when he realizes them. Furthermore, because meaning is related both to grammar and vocabulary, the concerns of this chapter and the following dealing with vocabulary must be integrated carefully.

The learner must then analyze his own learning problems in relation to the principles being illustrated. Since it is impossible to illustrate all types of grammatical problems, the learner will have to apply judgment and imagination to his own special problems. To study grammar more analytically as a help to language learning the learner can benefit from Gudschinsky 1967:10-24; Moulton 1966:65-86; Nida 1957a:141-199.

17.1 Awareness and Overlearning

A sentence is more than just a string of words. At first glance these four sentences seem to have nothing in common:

(3) John read four books.

(4) Mary ate three bananas.

(5) Susan cut two tulips.

(6) Tom shined one shoe.

Upon close inspection it is evident that all have the same organization. As messages they differ, but as patterns they are alike. The learner's problem is to discover the rules for shaping and combining words and sentence patterns in ways that will encode his configurations. (Chapter 11)

The observation that we tend to notice differences between our own behavior and other's applies to grammar as well. (Chapter 4) The learner will notice differences in word formation between the new language and his own language, and also differences in the order of words, and in the so-called function words (like a, the, of, might in English). These differences provide one possible starting point for grammar practice.

Since the learner cannot master the entire grammatical system at once, his problem is to find units like the simple sentence with which to start, for basic relationships and word-functions tend to be more transparent in simple sentences

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without a highly-developed model of language, which would require professional training.

Among the irritants will be the fact that we usually speak of learning sentences or sets of sentences when our objectives obviously are to learn the competence which makes the generation of speech possible. The learner cannot work with competence in the abstract. He must work with specific texts and with sentences. We are trying to teach him to do things with them which will lead to the needed competence and skills.

than in long, complicated ones. With insight into the formation of one simple sentence type and a small vocabulary, the learner can begin to communicate minimally in the new language. Once aware of a few principal types of simple sentences, he can proceed to more involved structures and their intricate combinations.

17.11 Simple Sentences. In general non-technical terms, a simple sentence is minimal in length and complexity with no missing or extra words. An English sentence like

(7) John threw Mary the ball.

is a simple sentence. It is complete in itself, requiring no more words to be a sentence. If an addition of a word like red introduces a complication from the learner's point of view,

(8) John threw Mary the red ball.

is then more than a minimal sentence.

From the learner's standpoint, the position of red in (8) may be no problem whatsoever. If it is grammatically like his native language, it is simple for him. He therefore might consider both (7) and (8) simple sentences. For our purposes, the concept of simple sentence is relative to the learner's point of view.

On the other hand, the structure of a sentence like

(9) Threw Mary the ball.

which purists might reject as a sentence, but which is common in the normal English speech in answer to a question, is not really simple because one of its parts is missing. We say a sentence shows a deletion when in relation to some other simple sentence one of its main parts is missing. (9) is related to (7) by deletion. Sentences, on the other hand, which have optional extra parts in relation to some simple sentences are called expansions. Strictly speaking (8) is related to (7) by expansion.

In general, grammar practice should begin with short simple sentences which have no apparent deletions or optional expansions. To them the learner will apply practice procedures for strengthening his perception of their organization--word shapes, word order and word functions which he must know in order to use those structures freely.

Two of the three techniques discussed in Chapter 14, differential and substitution, are especially helpful for the development of awareness of simple sentences. In the model drills discussed below, both techniques are applied to different types of problems.

17.111 Differential Technique. Early in the process of learning English, the contrast between (10) and (11) would be a problem for speakers of many languages.

(10) The man is walking down the street.

(11) The man walked down the street.

The learner, having discovered this grammatical contrast through working with text would then proceed to find out if the sentences are indeed simple ones. In checking with his helper he would find out that although you cannot delete street and still have a sentence, you can delete the street and what remains will be sentences:

(12) The man is walking down.

(13) The man walked down.

On this evidence the learner might drop (10) and (11) as simple sentences and reserve them for practice as non-simple sentences, to be built up from (12) and (13) later. However, walking down is used differently in (12) and (13) as against (10) and (11). When we think about it as native speakers, we realize that the down expresses an entirely different relationship in the two cases. (10) to (13) are all simple sentences.

If the learner does analyze something wrongly along the way, such as considering (10) and (11) not to be simple sentences, as long as his practice procedures are carefully developed, no harm will be done. The more perceptive he and his helper are, however, the better. As awareness of grammatical structure is gained, he will tend to avoid organizing things in non-productive ways. But even if he does make a "mistake" of this kind, he can still practice usefully, and use what he learns.

Then again, the learner might decide that (10) and (11) were not simple sentences because of the pair

(14) The man is walking.

(15) The man walked.

Here he can consider (10) as an expansion of (14), since none of the parts change meaning or function as they are put together. He would be right, and if he proceeded accordingly everything would be fine. However, for the purposes of this problem (10) and (11) will be considered simple sentences, and any sentence which is simple enough for the learner at a given stage may be treated as one in these suggestions for learning.

In working with two different simple sentence patterns in a differential drill the learner is striving to develop awareness of difference. Later, in sets of simple sentences he will draw them together and learn to choose between them appropriately. For the learner's objective is to develop sufficient awareness of the structural differences underlying (10) and (11) so that he can recognize and produce either pattern without difficulty or error, in whatever text and with whatever vocabulary he meets it.

Model Drill G1.   Differential Drill for Awareness of Two Simple Sentence
                           Patterns

To build differential drills, the learner will have to ask his helper to con-
struct two groups of sentences on the analogy of (10) and (11), changing only the
vocabulary.   The pairs of sentences should match as (10) and (11) match.   For
example,

"Present" (like (10))	"Past" (like (11))
a. The man is walking down the street.	a. The man walked down the street.
b. The boy is talking in the park.	b. The boy talked in the park.
c. The girl is running through the door.	c. The girl ran through the door.
d. The boy is looking around the room.	d. The boy looked around the room.

With data like this the drill sequence is ready to begin. Of course the
learner has already accomplished part of his purpose, for he has increased his
awareness of the patterns as he has developed the data. But full awareness
means drill as well. The following drills are also usable for overlearning and
eventually for drilling sets of simple sentences.

The sequence for differential drill in grammar is substantially like that for
sound (Chapter 16), and will not be repeated here in detail, although the outline
of the sequence there should be followed in reference to the discussion here.

With the learner playing the role of observer, the helper can read sentences
from the "present" list and then from the "past" list. He can then change direc-
tion, moving from left to right, repeating each sentence once or twice as neces-
sary. As the learner listens, his perception of structural differences becomes
stronger.

At the next stage, the helper elicits a response from the learner which will
indicate whether or not he is catching the differences. The helper can produce
a sentence and have the learner identify it as "present" or "past". Or he can
produce two sentences, one from each list, having the learner identify them as
same or different in structure. A variety of interaction cycles is possible.

Then the learner assumes the role of mimic.[2] The same general directions
apply, of course, except that the helper's production is followed immediately by
the learner's mimicry, not simply by listening.   While attention is focused
mainly on production of grammatical features, this type of drill is also useful
for reinforcing pronunciation skills and should be exploited for this value as
well.

At the final stage of the differential drill the learner becomes the producer
and the helper monitors. The same procedures apply, although now the learner
himself reads from the lists.

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[2]This stage can be omitted when it does not provide sufficient challenge,
especially after the learner has gained fluency.

The differential technique as described can be applied to any learning problem which involves precise distinctions between otherwise identical types of sentence structures. By controlling variables in this way, the learner's full attention can be devoted to the features which confuse him. Since awareness may come without the full array of stages and substages, the learner will have to make his own judgment as to the proper stopping place.

<u>Model Drill G2.</u> Differential Drill for Awareness of Two Simple Sentence Patterns (Tagalog)

Tagalog sentences encoding activity configurations (Chapter 12), in which verbs are pivotal elements, create special problems for the English-speaking learner because of their different formations. For example, in

> (16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.
>   'John bought shoes.'

the word <u>bumili</u> is a verb and its approximate English equivalent is 'bought'.
In

> (17) Bumibili si Juan ng sapatos.
>   'John is buying shoes.'

the word <u>bumibili</u> is the verb and it is rendered by 'is buying' in the translation.

The difference in the shape of the two verb forms is seen more clearly in the following diagram:

b		i	li	'buy'
b	um	i	li	'bought'
b	um	i	bili	'is buying'

On the surface, of course, it would appear that <u>bumili</u> is simply like an English past tense and <u>bumibili</u> like an English present tense, yet a deeper look shows that important differences are involved. The stem <u>bili</u> 'buy' can take an infix -<u>um</u>- to mark action that is past, as in (16), but it also permits reduplication of the first syllable <u>bi</u>- to mark action which continues over a span of time. Hence, <u>bumili</u> refers to an event 'buying' which from the point of view of the speaker is past, whereas <u>bumibili</u> is past but still continuing as the speaker refers to it.

The learner, therefore, has two problems: first, to become aware of the formations of verbs themselves, and secondly, to learn how and when to use them to express action configurations. The differential technqiue discussed earlier is applicable to the first of these. The second problem--learning to use the structures appropriately--is more adequately dealt with by other techniques at more advanced stages of practice later on in the chapter.

Column 1--bumili	Column 2--bumibili
a. Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.	a. Bumibili si Juan ng sapatos.
b. Kumuha si Maria ng saging.	b. Kumukuha si Maria ng saging.
c. Kumain si Jose ng bangos.	c. Kumakain si Jose ng bangos.
d. Kumain si Maria ng saging.	d. Kumakain si Maria ng saging.
e. Kumuha si Juan ng bangos.	e. Kumukuha si Juan ng bangos.
f. Bumili si Jose ng saging.	f. Bumibili si Jose ng saging.

Translations of the sentences are as follows:

Column 1	Column 2
a. John bought shoes.	a. John is buying shoes.
b. Mary brought a banana.	b. Mary is bringing a banana.
c. Jose ate bangos (kind of fish).	c. Jose is eating bangos.
d. Mary ate a banana.	d. Mary is eating bananas.
e. John brought bangos.	e. John is bringing bangos.
f. Jose bought a banana.	f. Jose is buying bananas.

In each of the sentences the verb appears first. The same formations are involved in each of the two lists, even though the stems are different. Each of the sentences is organized in precisely the same way, so that variables are controlled and focus of learning is on the contrastive features.

Model Drill G3--Differential Drill for Awareness of Simple Sentence Patterns (Tagalog)

The data in Model Drill G2 can be adapted for developing awareness of the difference between another pair of patterns, one focusing on the actor or agent in an event and the other focusing on the object or goal acted upon. In Column 1, which is identical to that of Model Drill G2, the focus is on the agent. In Column 2, it is on the goal. The difference in meaning is indicated in the translations by the underlining; in Tagalog it is shown in the verb form and the particles si/ni, ng/ang. Note the difference in the structure of the verb.

b	um	i	li	'bought' (actor focus)
b	in	i	li	'bought' (goal focus)

Column 1--bumili	Column 2--binili
a. Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.	a. Binili ni Juan ang sapatos.
b. Kumuha si Maria ng saging.	b. Kinuha ni Maria ang saging.
c. Kumain si Jose ng bangos.	c. Kinain ni Jose ang bangos.
d. Kumain si Maria ng saging.	d. Kinain ni Maria ang saging.

e. Kumuha si Juan ng bangos.   e. Kinuha ni Juan ang bangos.

f. Bumili si Jose ng saging.   f. Binili ni Jose ang saging.

Translations

a. John bought shoes.   a. John bought shoes.

b. Mary brought bananas.   b. Mary brought bananas.

c. Jose ate bangos (fish).   c. Jose ate bangos (fish).

d. Mary ate bananas.   d. Mary ate bananas.

e. John brought bangos.   e. John brought bangos.

f. Jose bought bananas.   f. Jose bought bananas.

As helper and learner move through the early stages of observation, the significance of the difference can be reinforced by having the learner signal in some way whether the emphasis is on agent or goal. Pictures or actual objects can be used.

17.112 Substitution Technique. The substitution technique, intrinsically more difficult than the differential technique, requires the learner to work with several units simultaneously.

Model Drill G4--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Simple Sentence Pattern

A learner of English might, for example, encounter such sentences as:

(18) John dresses conservatively.

(19) Paul dresses nattily.

(20) Tom dresses stylishly.

(21) George dresses comfortably.

Properly concluding that sentences (18) through (21) have the same underlying pattern, he prepares a substitution table as follows:

(18) John	dresses	conservatively
Paul		nattily
Tom		stylishly
George		comfortably

The table implies that any combination of one word from each column is a grammatical sentence in English. From the table such sentences as George dressed stylishly can be correctly generated.

Making good substitution tables is sometimes difficult. If the learner should substitute talks for dresses, he would find some sentences to be rejected as follows:

Acceptable   John talks conservatively.

Unacceptable   (a) John talks nattily.

               (b) John talks stylishly.

               (c) John talks comfortably.

When the learner checks these with his helper, he finds that (a) is rather out-
rageous, that (b) may be possible and that (c) can be used only in special con-
texts. Seeking permissible substitutions and having his helper evaluate sen-
tences as acceptable or unacceptable, the learner finds that single-word
substitutions for dresses are relatively hard to find.

In pronunciation drills the problems created by meaning were not so acute.
But in grammar meaning is always involved. For example, in working with the
previous substitution table the learner might encounter

        (22) Mary dresses dolls.

Native speakers of English immediately recognize that this grammatical pattern
is different from

        (18) John dresses conservatively.

but the learner might not be aware of any difference, and the helper might not
understand the drill procedures well enough to reject the sentence. Obviously
it makes sense. So the learner might continue to develop the substitution table
like this:

        (18) John   dresses   conservatively

             Paul   nattily

             Tom   stylishly

             George   comfortably

        (22) Mary   dolls

        (23) Betty   up

        (24) Mother   chickens

To be sure, the learner cannot always avoid mixtures of structures in a substi-
tution table. Even if he avoids mixing such different structures as (18) and (24),
he will never avoid all of the more subtle ones. For example, few native speak-
ers of English would quickly recognize that

        (25) I cut my hand in a lawnmower.

        (26) I cut my meat in a pan.

are structurally different for they would not note the difference in the relation-
ships between the parts. The lawnmower is the instrument by which the hand is
cut, but the pan is not the instrument by which the meat is cut. In (26) I cut
is a deliberate act by an agent. In (25) it is passive in meaning, equivalent to
I was cut.

Whether the structural differences which may creep into a structural drill are of the glaring kind to be seen in (22) - (24), or are the more subtle kind to be seen in (25) - (26), the learner should practice them anyhow. Later one he may realize that they were different. In the meantime his awareness has increased.

Nevertheless, in developing substitution tables the learner should watch for differences of structure, and in the case of our expanded substitution table, a simple test would show that different patterns were involved. (18) and (22) can be combined into a single sentence:

> (27) Mary dresses dolls conservatively.

We can also get

> (28) Mary dresses up dolls.

But we do not get

> (29) *Mary dresses chickens conservatively.

nor

> (30) *John dresses nattily conservatively.

(30) is more problematic than (29) because we can say

> (31) John dresses nattily, conservatively.

But if we say (31) we say it with a different speech melody from (27), and if speech melody has to change, this is indication that structure has changed. (31), furthermore, is the same in meaning as

> (2) John dresses nattily and conservatively.

whereas we cannot say

> (33) *Mary dresses dolls and conservatively.

This all means that sentences which seem to be alike in structure because of surface similarities may really be very different, and that differences can sometimes be seen by combining or changing them in some way. This is often seen even more clearly in sets of sentences and in non-simple sentences. When such differences are perceived, any aberrant substitutions should be removed from the table, and any new structures discovered can become the bases for other drills.

Model Drill G5--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Simple Sentence Pattern

Sentence (22), discarded from the substitution table of Model Drill G4, can become the basis for a new drill:

> (22) Mary dresses dolls.

The learner can start first by substituting for <u>Mary</u> other names for girls:

(22) Mary   dresses   dolls.

      Sue

      Jean

      June

      Lou

Verbs like <u>plays,</u> <u>loves</u> and so on can substitute for dresses:

      Mary   dresses   dolls

      Sue   plays

      Jean   loves

      June   buys

      Lou   makes

From this we get such acceptable sentences as

      (34) Mary plays dolls.

      (35) Mary loves dolls.

      (36) Sue buys dolls.

Returning to the original sentence, we find that many words will substitute in the last column:

      (22) Mary   dresses   dolls

                                 babies

                                 children

                                 infants

                                 twins

If these substitutions were made in the table we are developing, 125 grammatically correct sentences involving its various combinations could be produced. There would be no problem involving different structures, as in Model Drill G4, although there would be such nonsensical sentences as:

      (37) Sue plays children.

      (38) Jane buys babies.

      (39) June makes twins.

Practicing such sentences unrelated to normal life is not worthwhile. By restricting the last column to the one word <u>dolls,</u> or the middle column to the one word <u>dresses,</u> the table will be more satisfactory.

Model Drill G6--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Simple
          Sentence Pattern

	(23) Betty	dresses	up.
	Jean	walks	
	Jane	rides	
	Mary	cleans	
	Lou	picks	

When the learner tries to substitute for up in developing a table based on (23),
he encounters problems immediately. He finds that he can walk down and ride
down, walk out, clean out, ride out and pick out and so on. But the possibilities
for more substitutions are greatly limited. In any case, he can practice 25 sen-
tences with the table as it stands alone.

Model Drill G7--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Simple
          Sentence Pattern

	(40) Mother	dresses	her down.
	Father	took	me
	Sister	called	him
	Auntie	drove	us
	Uncle	carried	you

In this case the learner encounters a problem in finding substitutions for down.
One might think that up, out, in, around and so on would fit in its place, but the
learner finds that possibilities are relatively limited if he begins with (40) as is.

    If he revises his frame sentence (the sentence in which the substitutions are
made), however, possibilities for substitution increase, and the structure is
more homogeneous.

Mother	took	her	down
Father	called	me	up
Sister	drove	him	out
Auntie	carried	us	in
Uncle	brought	you	over

    The final pitfall to be avoided in the preparing of substitution tables con-
cerns substitutions which require other changes in the sentence. For example,
if we should substitute a for some in

        (41) Mary is sending some souvenirs to John.

it would require a change from souvenirs to souvenir. If will were to be sub-
stituted for is, sending would also be changed to send.

As a general principle, whenever a substitution involves any other changes in the form or arrangement of words, it is best to treat the two sentences as a set with different underlying patterns, as we will discuss later on. For example, the following would be treated as different related frame sentences and separate substitution tables would be developed for practicing them:

(42) Mary will send some souvenirs to John.

(43) Mary will send a souvenir to John.

(44) Mary is sending a souvenir to John.

At certain stages in development the learner might understand these differences thoroughly and be able to generate messages based on any of the patterns. Nothing would be gained by trying to decide whether the patterns were the same or different. In other words, the learner separates things which confuse him and practices them independently before he works on their relationship. Once he is able to use sentence patterns correctly, there is no practical need for further analysis.

The substitution table, then, is the focal point of substitution practice for grammar. By filling several slots in a simple sentence with six to eight items it is possible to provide for scores of repetitions of a single pattern with a different message each time. That is, the substitution table is the basis for producing a constant pattern with variable messages. By repetition of the pattern in this changing environment, the pattern itself is learned.

Preparing good substitution tables takes effort, but the process of collecting data heightens awareness of the grammatical structures. Furthermore, lists of words collected for one slot in a particular frame sentence can often be used in other patterns as well, conserving time and effort.

To comment on relevancy, some readers at this point may be troubled by the trivial nature of sentences generated through the substitution technqiues and used for examples. Some may also object to practicing artificial material.

These are undoubtedly important cautions, and the learner should review what was said about the place of drills in the learning process (Chapters 13-15). Grammar drills should be used only when needed on structural problems which cause difficulty, where patterns are difficult to master, where words are put in the wrong order, or formed incorrectly. Such drills are only part of the learning cycle, and it is in the selection of the text that relevancy is assured. Here the learner will find his own examples. He will use simple sentences found in text, or reduced from them, as the frame sentences for his drills. He will use only those which cause difficulty.

17.113 Sequence of Substitution Practice. The sequence of practice based on the substitution table must be developed carefully for the best results. Here is a typical substitution table.

Model Drill G8--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Simple
                    Sentence Pattern

A substitution table like the following can become the basis for a sequence
of closely graded drills on the structure of a simple sentence:

(45)	Mary	threw	a ball	to John
	Susie	gave	toy	Bill
	Betty	brought	pencil	Joe
	Norma	sent	doll	Dick
	Linda	sold	book	Tom
	Martha	handed	paper	Jack

With six items in each of four slots, this table will yield 1296 different mes-
sages, an ample supply for learning the underlying pattern. As practice takes
place, a variety of cycles of interaction between learner and helper are possible.
The following sequence outlines just one of the possibilities.

The sequence for grammar substitution drills, different from the procedures
of pronunciation drills, needs explanation. A "trigger" is used as the signal by
which the learner knows what to substitute. Thus, in the observation stage
(when the learner is listening) the helper produces the frame sentence and adds
a trigger. The learner then hears him place that trigger into its appropriate
slot in the frame sentence. For example, here is how the drill would get under
way. The helper would say:

        Mary threw the ball to John. Susie.

        Susie threw the ball to John.

He would then pause momentarily and then say:

        Mary threw the ball to John. Betty.

        Betty threw the ball to John.

After going through the first slot and list, he would start with the second as fol-
lows:

        Mary threw the ball to John. gave.

        Mary gave the ball to John.

As the pattern continues item by item and slot by slot, and as substitution items
are matched with their appropriate slots, awareness improves. Gradually the
learner becomes familiar with the characteristics marking the proper position
of the trigger in the frame sentence. As the helper moves to another slot, new
features come into focus.

Once each of the slots and lists has been used to supply triggers, the helper
can begin to give two triggers at a time, one from each of two slots, requiring
the learner to make quick discriminations between two items and to remember
the position of each. The significance of triggers appears most clearly in the
production stage of the sequence:

Helper: Mary threw the ball to John. gave.

Learner: Mary gave the ball to John.

The learner himself substitutes the trigger in the appropriate slot.

Sequence for Substitution Drill

A. Observation

The learner listens as his helper produces one sentence after another by reading from left to right from the substitution table. This stage has two purposes: (1) to enable both learner and helper to establish the sequence of procedures clearly, and (2) to provide valuable listening for the rhythm and melody accompanying the pattern before the student's own mimicry begins. All reading should be done with the speech melody normal for this kind of sentence. The observation stage should be carried on only until both have the swing of the drill. There must, of course, be adequate representation of each column in the table.

1. Controlled order--down each column

a. Helper says frame sentence, adds trigger, says frame substituting trigger. Learner listens.

b. Helper says frame sentence, adds pair of triggers (one from each of two different columns), pauses, says frame substituting both triggers. Learner listens.

2. Random order--within each column

a. Helper says frame sentence, adds trigger, pauses, says frame substituting trigger. Learner listens.

b. Helper says frame sentence, adds pair of triggers, pauses, says frame sentence substituting both triggers. Learner listens.

B. Mimicry

In the second stage as the learner develops a feel for the rhythm of the pattern and its structure, he begins to mimic the production of his helper. The same basic model guides their interaction. The helper uses the table in the same general manner. The learner mimics the frame sentence and trigger each time, as well as the response. The helper makes corrections, of course, whenever necessary.

1. Controlled order--down each column

a. Return to frame sentence each time.

Helper says frame sentence, adds trigger. Learner mimics both. Helper substitutes trigger. Learner mimics.

b. New sentence each time.

Helper says new sentence (taken from the substitution table being used as the basis for the drill), adds trigger. Learner mimics both.

Helper substitutes trigger. Learner mimics.

      c. Same cycle with two triggers.

   2. Random order--within columns

     Repeat steps a and b above, but now in mixed order.

C. Production

    At the final stage of the drill, the learner produces sentences himself from the substitution table. He can move rather slowly through the various stages suggested below, or as rapidly as his skills permit. Each time he produces the frame sentence and a trigger and then substitutes the trigger in the appropriate position.

   1. Controlled order--down each column

      a. Return to frame each time.

        Helper says trigger (without frame sentence) or points to a trigger. Learner produces frame substituting trigger. Helper corrects, or confirms. Learner repeats.

        Helper says or points to trigger pair. Learner produces frame substituting pair. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

      b. New sentence each time.

        Helper says or points to trigger. Learner produces sentence other than frame sentence, substituting trigger. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

        Helper says or points to trigger pair. Learner produces sentence substituting pair. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

   2. Random order--within columns

      a. Return to frame each time.

        Helper says or points to trigger. Learner produces frame substituting trigger. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats. Helper says or points to trigger pair. Learner produces frame substituting pair. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

      b. New sentence each time.

        Helper says or points to trigger. Learner produces sentence, substituting trigger. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

        Helper says or points to trigger pair. Learner produces sentence, substituting pair. Helper confirms or corrects. Learner repeats.

Model Drill G9--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Simple Sentence Pattern (Tagalog)

    The problem for which Model Drill G2 was constructed also lends itself to a substitution drill. The learner's first step with his helper is to develop a substitution table. The data accumulated for Model Drill G2 is a beginning. Taking

(16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.
'John bought shoes.'

as the <u>frame sentence,</u> the learner can seek out substitution items for three slots: <u>bumili, Juan</u> and <u>sapatos.</u> Substitution for the other words involves grammatical relationships which introduce unnecessary complications. The following table provides sufficient practice for the pattern of this particular·simple sentence.

(16) Bumili	si Juan	ng sapatos
kumuha	Jose	saging
kumain	Maria	mangga
humingi	Rosa	bangos

Vocabulary:

bili	'buy'	Juan	'John'	sapatos	'shoes'
kuha	'bring'	Jose	'Joseph'	mangga	'mango'
kain	'eat'	Maria	'Mary'	saging	'banana'
hingi	'beg'	Rosa	'Rose'	bangos	'kind of fish'

It should be noted that <u>sapatos</u> 'shoes' is an item that might cause certain unacceptable combinations, for the helper would not want to produce a sentence that would combine <u>eat</u> and <u>shoe.</u> The undesirable combinations can be avoided in drilling, or one of the words (either 'eat' or 'shoe') can be replaced by something which would work better.

With such data collected and arranged, the learner is ready to follow the drill sequence.

Model Drills G10-12--Substitution Drills for Awareness and Overlearning of Three Simple Sentence Patterns (Ilocano)

A comparison of three substitution tables for Ilocano (Philippines) shows an overall similarity in the lists of substitution items. For the learner this means that the items accumulated in one list for one table can perhaps be taken over intact and used for other drills. It is necessary, of course, to check acceptability to see that items in the various lists do not conflict.

Model Drill G10

Frame sentence: <u>Adda aso ni Bill.</u> 'Bill has a dog.'

Table: Adda aso	ni Bill
pusa	Juan
baboy	Ric
nuwang	Taning
kabalyo	Tony

Vocabulary:	adda	'there is'	baboy	'pig'
	aso	'dog'	nuwang	'carabao'
	pusa	'cat'	kabalyo	'horse'

Note: Personal names can substitute for <u>Bill</u>.

Model Drill G11

Frame sentence: <u>Ginatang ni Maria diay aso.</u> 'Maria bought that dog.'

Table:	Ginatang	ni Maria	diay aso.
	dinigos	Lina	pusa
	sinapol	Rosa	nuwang
	inala	Celia	baboy
	pinakan	Loreta	kabalyo

New vocabulary:	gatang	'buy'
	digos	'wash'
	sapol	'look for'
	ala	'take'
	kaan	'eat'

Note: Personal names can substitute for <u>Maria.</u>

With only a small amount of new vocabulary, therefore, a different pattern can be practiced.

Model Drill G12

Frame sentence: <u>Ginatang ni Maria diay aso ni Bill.</u> 'Maria bought Bill's dog.'

Table:	Ginatang	ni Maria	diay aso	ni Bill.
	dinigos	Lina	pusa	Juan
	sinapol	Rosa	baboy	Tony
	inala	Celia	kabalyo	Ric
	pinakan	Loreta	nuwang	Taning

New vocabulary: none

By keeping his material carefully organized, the learner can avoid the time-consuming task of collecting new data for each drill. In fact, the three drills above might arise from problems in the text of a single learning cycle.

Model Drill G13--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Simple Sentence Pattern (Thai)

Frame sentence: <u>khǎw khǎay rót hây phǒm.</u> 'He sold the car to me.'[3]

Table: Meanings:

khǎw	khǎay	rót	hây phǒm	'he	'sold'	'car'	'me'
	sòŋ	còtmǎay	luûk		'handed'	'letter'	'child'
	yɨɨm	kafɛɛ	khun		'loaned'	'coffee'	'you'
	sɨ́	naŋsɨ̌i	raw		'bought'	'book'	'us'
	sîa	dèk				'dress'	'kid'
	rɔɔŋtháaw	naay				'shoes'	'boss'

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[3]After Chalao 1965:66-67

Model Drills G14-15--Substitution Drills for Awareness and Overlearning of Two
Simple Sentence Patterns (Yoruba)

It is possible to develop substitution tables for tone languages so that they
reinforce pronunciation drills on rhythms and melodies. The following tables
differ only in the tones on the items comprising the second list, and the tones
are uniform on each list. At one stage of practice, it might be helpful to use
both tables separately. Later on, the two could be collapsed into one.

High tone is marked by ´ , mid tone by ¯ and low tone by ` .

Model Drill·G14

Frame sentence: mō jeɖ lâarò yí.   'I ate this morning.'

Table: Meanings:

mō jeɖ lâarò yí.
ó   lō   'he'   'went'
ò   gō   'you'   'hid self'
      hū   'call out'
      mū   'drink'

Model Drill G15:

Frame sentence: mō jí lâarò yí.   'I woke up this morning.'

Table: Meanings:

mō jí lâarò yí.
ó   yó   'he'   'am full'
ō   gbɔ́   'you'   'heard'
      fé   'wanted'
      mɔ́   'cleaned'

17.12 Sets of Simple Sentences

In the process of working with differential and substitution techniques on
simple sentences, the learner is certain to encounter sentences which are almost
identical in pattern.

For example, differences between the following sentences seem rather in-
significant to the native speaker of English, yet to the learner the subtle differ-
ences between a and the are often troublesome.

        (46) John saw the ball on the table.

        (47) John saw a ball on the table.

        (48) John saw the ball on a table.

        (49) John saw a ball on a table.

Once the learner is able to produce each of the four types of sentences with the help of differential and substitution techniques, he is ready to concentrate on the whole set. The learner's problem is to learn to use each of them, so he now shifts his attention to the functional differences between two or more formally related sentences.

For a working definition, then, a set of simple sentences is a group of two or more simple sentences differentiated by some formal and functional feature, that is (roughly speaking), a difference in grammar and meaning or use. According to this definition, the sentences (16) and (17) differentiated in Model Drill G2 constitute a set.

There are four major relationships in sets of simple sentences: (1) One of the sentences may be a deleted version of another; (2) one may be an expansion of another; (3) one may have a different arrangement of the same words: a re-arrangement; (4) one may have certain replacements of grammatical features. For example,

(50) He went yesterday.

(51) Yesterday he went.

are identical except for the arrangement of words. Whereas the difference between

(52) John went shopping

and

(53) He went shopping.

involves a replacement (the pronoun he replacing the proper noun John). This is more than a substitution, for it involves a change in the classes of the items.

(54) Mary went shopping.

on the other hand, does not involve any change of pattern from (52) but simply the substitution of one item for another.

A sentence like

(55) My uncle is sending me.

might occur in response to a question such as

(56) How are you getting through college?

It shows a deletion in relation to a sentence such as

(57) My uncle is sending me to college.

Once the learner has practiced simple sentence patterns alone, he is ready to work with them in sets. Both differential and substitution techniques can be employed to good advantage. With the differential technique the emphasis is on differentiating each of the simple sentences from every other one in the set. With the substitution technique, the emphasis is on interchanging the different kinds of patterns.

Model Drill G16--Differential Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Set of
Simple Sentence Patterns (Tagalog)

The simple sentence drilled in Model Drill G9 forms a set with a similar
sentence in which word order is changed:

(16) Normal order: <u>Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.</u> 'John bought shoes.'

(58) Rearranged order: <u>Si Juan ay bumili ng sapatos.</u> 'John bought shoes.'

The subtle differences in meaning, difficult to translate clearly in English, have
to do with the part of the sentence which the speaker wishes to emphasize. The
emphatic order is represented by the <u>rearrangement,</u> together with <u>expansion</u> by
addition of <u>ay.</u>

A differential drill on this set can be based on the substitution table of
Model Drill G9. The helper can produce either the normal or the rearranged
order from the same body of data. At first he should produce the normal fol-
lowed by its rearranged counterpart:

Column 1	Column 2
(16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.	(58) Si Juan ay bumili ng sapatos.
Kumuha si Juan ng sapatos.	Si Juan ay kumuha ng sapatos.
etc.	etc.

He will continue in this fashion and then reverse directions, giving the rearranged
and then the normal order:

(58) Si Juan ay bumili ng sapatos.	(16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.
Si Juan ay kumuha ng sapatos.	Kumuha si Juan ng sapatos.
etc.	etc.

The learner can identify a given stimulus as <u>normal</u> or <u>rearranged.</u>

From the observation stage, the drill moves on to mimicry and then to pro-
duction.

In a certain sense this activity fades into a substitution drill in the produc-
tion stage, for the learner produces the differences himself from the substitution
table, using the same set of items in both normal and rearranged orders.

Model Drill G17--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning a Set of
Simple Sentence Patterns (Tagalog)

In many languages, differences in tense formations can be practiced effec-
tively by the substitution technique. The set is comprised of simple sentences,
each in a different tense. In Tagalog, one such set is as follows:

(16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos. 'John bought shoes.' (past)

(17) Bumibili si Juan ng sapatos. 'John is buying shoes.' (present)

(59) Bibili si Juan ng sapatos. 'John will buy shoes.' (future)

Strictly speaking, these should not be classified as past, present, future, for the differences between them are not adequately described by these terms. The learner, however, may not be able to make a more satisfactory distinction.

The key to the difference between the sentences lies in the formation of the verbs: bumili, bumibili, bibili, so that the set involves replacements.

The substitution table of Model Drill G9 can serve again for this set. Reading one sentence at a time from the table, the helper gives it in its past form, present form and future form as the learner listens. The same vocabulary items can be used. He then reads another sentence from the table in its past, present and future forms.

The helper can also change the order to future-present-past or future-past-present and so on. When the learner has had sufficient exposure, they can move to the mimicry stage and later production.

In the production stage, however, there is a basic difference between practicing a single sentence pattern and a set. Part of the trigger may now be a label for one of the different kinds of sentences. In this case the helper might say, "bili, past, " or "kuha, present, " and the learner would then produce the appropriate sentence:

> (16) Bumili si Juan ng sapatos.

or

> (60) Kumukuha si Juan ng sapatos.

Or again, the helper can give a sentence in one tense and the learner respond with the other two, or the helper can give two and the learner the third. The helper can control the order, moving gradually from past to present to future or give them in random orders. Many ways can be devised for applying these general principles.

If in a substitution drill on a set of this kind the learner should continue to have difficulty, he can move back a step and spend more time differentiating each of the tense formations in pairs--past versus future, past versus present, present versus future--using the differential technique discussed in Model Drill G16.

Model Drill G18--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Set of Simple Sentence Patterns (Thai)

The following Thai question pattern and two answer patterns form a set and the underlying patterns can be practiced effectively by the substitution technique.[4]

> (61) Q. hâŋ yùu thîi nǎy.   'Where's the room?

> (62) A. hâŋ yùu thîi nôon. 'The room is over there.'

---

[4] after Brown 1967:27

A substitution table based on the answer pattern provides the basic data for the drill.

Frame sentence: <u>hɔ̂ŋ yùu thîi nôon.</u>   'The room is over there.'

Table: Meanings:
    hɔ̂ŋ   yùu thîi nôon   'room'   'over there'
    ráan   nîi   'shop'   'here'
    ʔaahǎan   'food'
    khǎw   'he'

The question pattern involves only a replacement in the last slot. It may, therefore, serve as frame sentence for another substitution table with the same substitution items in the first slot as in the answer.

Frame sentence: <u>hɔ̂ŋ yùu thîi nǎy.</u>
                   ráan
                   ʔaahǎan
                   khǎw

In answering the frame question, a second answer pattern involving a deletion is also possible.

    (62) A2. yùu thîi nôon.   'It is over there.'

The substitution possibilities are in the final slot:

    Table:

    (61) yùu thîi nôon
               nîi

Sequence for Substitution Drill on Sets of Simple Sentences

1. Follow the sequence for a simple sentence on each substitution table in the set, insofar as is necessary. Because the sets will have a great deal in common, awareness and overlearning may come with relatively less practice after the first substitution table.

2. Continue the production stage by adding another trigger to the ones in use. This trigger would be of a sort to indicate which of the patterns in the set is wanted. In Model Drill G18 triggers might be "question," "full answer" or "short answer." Such triggers should, of course, be given in the new language and worked out between helper and learner.

In the advanced production stage, the helper might say:

    ráan. Question.

The learner would come back with:

    ráan yùu thîi nǎy.

The helper might then say:

    khǎw. Short answer.

to which the learner would respond:

yùu thîi nôon.

17.13 Non-simple Sentences. Every language has the means for combining two or more simple sentences into   long and relatively complex non-simple sentences. For example, two simple sentences in English like

(63) John is going home.

(64) John's feet are cold.

can be combined into one:

(65) John is going home because his feet are cold.

In (65) the second part gives the cause of the first part. Two sentences like

(66) John goes home.

(67) John's feet get cold.

can be combined to show a temporal relationship between the two parts (clauses).

(68) John goes home when his feet get cold.

Treating non-simple sentences and simple sentences separately is an aid in learning to use a pattern, and also in learning the processes of joining smaller parts together. Learning to build non-simple sentences out of simple sentences is an essential part of the task.

Model Drill G19--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Non-Simple Sentence Pattern

Non-simple sentences like those above can be practiced by substitution techniques discussed earlier in this chapter. Such drills are considerably more involved, of course, because of the additional slots in which substitutions can occur. For the sake of comparison, here is a substitution table which might be used for (65).

(65) John	is going home	because his	feet	are cold.
Mary	walking in	her	legs	sore
Bill	running away		hands	tired
Joe	crawling there		ears	scratched

The entire gamut of substitution drills recommended earlier can be applied to a sentence like this without reference to the fact that it is a non-simple sentence consisting of two principal clauses.

In most instances, however, a selection technique for the set of three sentences involved (the two simple ones and the non-simple one) in this particular problem would be more profitable because it would focus better on the combining process. (Model Drill G24).

Model Drill G20--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Non-
Simple Sentence Pattern

However, there are other kinds of non-simple sentences which do lend them-
selves to substitution technique, especially when they are not made of two or
more simple sentences in such a straight-forward way as (65).

(69) I ate a big, fat, juicy tomato.

by our definition would not be a simple sentence for many learners of English.
Not only is it not a minimal sentence like

(70), I ate a tomato.

But also the order of the adjectives is somewhat restricted. We would not be as
likely to say

(71) *I ate a juicy, fat, big tomato.

or

(72) *I ate a fat, juicy, big tomato.

If (71) or (72) were to be said, the speaker might be corrected by someone, and
certainly a learner should master the order of (69).

If the learner used (69) for a frame sentence he and his helper could develop
a substitution table like this:

(69) I	ate	a	big	fat	juicy	tomato
You	saw	an	enormous	plump	delicious	orange
He	bought	a	large	ripe		grape
She	threw	a		red		plum
	squashed					peach

There are problems with this substitution table. The learner might eventually
find that he can say

(73) I ate a big, fat, ripe, juicy, red tomato.

If he did so, he might want to leave ripe and red out of the table, or add another
column for them, but if not, his practice would still be of value.

When he reached the production stage, the helper would concentrate on trig-
gers from the "big," "fat," and "juicy" columns because there is where the
learning problem lies. The learner would produce the drill sentence with the
adjectives in order.

Model Drill G21--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Non-
Simple Sentence Pattern (Otetela)

An example of a non-simple sentence in Otetela to which the substitution
technique can be applied is the following:

(74) meŋeɲa lele lu nde m˙a eko či˙če.   'The hunter who is eating
                                                    food is small.'

From the translation it seems that there are two basic configurations, one centering in an activity--the hunter is eating--and another in a description--he is small.

Table:

meŋeɲa	lele lu	nde	m˙a	eko	či˙če
ona		no	aši		wuke
untu		kate	foka		mundu
umbeča		memba	weñe		olo˙lo
ŋaɲa			maŋe		utale
usambiša			keŋe		utaku

Vocabulary:

aši	'water'	nde	'eating'
či˙če	'small'	ndi	'he'
eko	'is'	no	(see aši, foka, weñe)
foka (with no)	'smoking'	ŋaɲa	'doctor'
kate	'eating'	olo˙lo	'nice'
keŋe	'axe'	ona	'child'
lele	'who'	umbeča	'teacher'
lu	'in'	untu	'man'
m˙a	'food'	usambiša	'preacher'
maŋe	'manioc'	utaku	'proud'
memba	'carrying'	utale	'tall'
meŋeɲa	'hunter'	weñe	(with no) 'dancing'
mundu	'short'	wuke	'big'

Model Drill G22--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Non-Simple Sentence Pattern (Thai)[5]

The following drill is laid out in the form of some actual sentences which would be used in practicing rather than in the form of a substitution table, but the learner can readily reconstruct the table which lies behind it.

khǐan tɔɔn sǎay	Write in the late morning,
lέʔ ʔaan tɔɔn bàay.	and read in the afternoon.
khǐan tɔɔn bàay.	Write in the afternoon,
lέʔ ʔaan tɔɔn sǎay.	and read in the late morning.
thɔ̂ɔt tɔɔn yen	Fry it in the evening,
lέʔ kin tɔɔn cháaw.	and eat it in the early morning.
thɔ̂ɔt tɔɔn cháaw	Fry it in the early morning,
lέʔ kin tɔɔn yen.	and eat it in the evening.

---

[5] Brown 1967:219

sɨ́ɨ tɔɔn thîaŋ	Buy at noon,
lɛ́ʔ khǎay tɔɔn bàay.	and sell in the afternoon.
sɨ́ɨ tɔɔn bàay	Buy in the afternoon,
lɛ́ʔ khǎay tɔɔn thîaŋ	and sell at noon.
ʔàan tɔɔn sǎay	Read in the late morning,
lɛ́ʔ khǐan tɔɔn cháaw	and write in the early morning.
ʔàan tɔɔn cháaw	Read in the early morning,
lɛ́ʔ khǐan tɔɔn sǎay.	and write in the late morning.
faŋ tɔɔn bàay	Listen in the afternoon,
lɛ́ʔ phûut tɔɔn thîaŋ.	and talk at noon.
faŋ tɔɔn thîaŋ	Listen at noon,
lɛ́ʔ phûut tɔɔn bàay.	and talk in the afternoon.
khǎay tɔɔn cháaw	Sell in the early morning,
lɛ́ʔ sɨ́ɨ tɔɔn yen.	and buy in the evening.
khǎay tɔɔn yen	Sell in the evening,
lɛ́ʔ sɨ́ɨ tɔɔn cháaw.	and buy in the early morning.
thɔ̂ɔt tɔɔn sǎay	Fry it in the late morning,
lɛ́ʔ kin tɔɔn yen.	and eat it in the evening.
thɔ̂ɔt tɔɔn yen	Fry it in the evening,
lɛ́ʔ kin tɔɔn sǎay.	and eat it in the late morning.
khǐan tɔɔn thîaŋ	Write at noon,
lɛ́ʔ ʔàan tɔɔn cháaw.	and read in the early morning.
khǐan tɔɔn cháaw	Write in the early morning
lɛ́ʔ ʔàan tɔɔn thîan.	and read at noon.

17.14 Sets of Non-Simple Sentences. A set of non-simple sentences con-
sists of a non-simple sentence or related non-simple sentences, together with
the simple sentences related to them. For example, (63), (64) and (65) consti-
tute a non-simple set, as we pointed out before.

(63) John is going home.

(64) His feet are cold.

(65) John is going home because his feet are cold.

The substitution technique, valuable for practicing sets of simple sentences,
is equally useful for practicing sets of non-simple sentences. The basic prin-
ciples and procedures are the same, although certain modifications are neces-
sary because of the difference in the phenomena themselves. Practicing sets of
sentences is especially valuable for developing flexibility and generative capa-
city. Before flexibility is possible, however, awareness and overlearning must
be achieved.

Sequence for the Substitution Drill on a Set of Non-Simple Sentences

1. The simple sentences of a set should be practiced according to the se-
quence already suggested until they are overlearned. The learner then is
ready to practice the set.

2. The first stage in drilling a set begins with the learner observing as the helper gives a non-simple sentence followed by its underlying simple sentences:

(65) John is going home because his feet are cold.

(63) John is going home.

(64) His feet are cold.

Working from the substitution table, he produces another set:

(75) Bill is walking away because his legs are sore.

(76) Bill is walking away.

(77) His legs are sore.

The drill continues in similar fashion with the learner listening carefully to each set.

The drill can move in either of two directions: the helper can give (1) the long sentence followed by the short, simple ones, or (2) simple ones followed by the non-simple one. Both directions are valuable, although the drill should begin with the easier of the two, whatever that may be. Usually substitution tables prepared for practicing non-simple sentences need only be adapted slightly for this kind of practice.

Model Drill G23--Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Set of Non-Simple Sentence Patterns (Otetela)

The Otetela non-simple sentence pattern discussed in Model Drill G21 involves a non-simple set consisting of the following:

(74) Non-simple: meŋeŋa lele lu nde m·a eko či·če.
      'The hunter who is eating food is small.'

(78) Simple: meŋeŋa eko či·če. 'The hunter is small.' (matrix)

(79) Simple: ndi eko lu nde m·a. 'He is eating.' (constituent)

The first simple sentence serves as a matrix for the second which is embedded in it. Each of the two simple sentences can be drilled with the substitution technique described earlier, using the following tables (for meanings see Model Drill G21):

Table 1 (78)	meŋeŋa	eko	či·če	
	ona		wuke	
	untu		mundu	
	umbeča		olo·lo	
	ŋaŋa		utale	
	usambiša		utaku	
Table 2 (79)	ndi	eko	lu	nde	m·a
				no	aši
				no	foka
				no	weffe
				kate	maŋe
				memba	keŋe

After completing substitution drills on each of the two simple sentences, the learner should move to the non-simple set. He can approach this in a variety of ways such as by using the table shown in Model Drill G20, instructing the helper to produce a non-simple sentence from the table and then the two simple sentences in succession, continuing sentence by sentence in this fashion.

Or he can reverse the procedure. Using the two tables above, the helper can generate one sentence from each and then combine them into the non-simple sentence. These patterns of interaction can be continued right through the observation and overlearning stages.

The helper can give the non-simple sentence as stimulus and have the learner respond with the two simple sentences. Or the process can be reversed: he can give the two simple sentences and have the learner respond with the non-simple sentence. After considerable preparation in mimicry, the helper can generate a sentence from one of the two tables and have the learner generate one from the other and combine them into a non-simple sentence.

17.2 Flexibility

In the presentation of differential and substitution drills, awareness and overlearning have been stressed, but the development of grammatical flexibility calls for more specialized practice. Once individual patterns are learned, the learner can begin to work on longer sequences of patterns, for one cannot simply use any pattern at all for conveying a particular message, but must rely on those which are appropriate in the larger context in which they take place.

Flexibility practice, therefore, involves longer sequences of natural text-- at least two sentence patterns in succession in normal relationships. The foundation of such practice is laid in practice with some kinds of sets as illustrated earlier. Question patterns, for example, are usually followed by answer patterns, and the particular type of question pattern may determine which of several possible answer patterns is appropriate. Hence, by practicing question and answer patterns together the learner develops greater flexibility than practice on single sentences or formally related sets may provide. Any association between sentence patterns in normal sequences of text material can be adapted for special flexibility practice.

Fundamentally, flexibility practice is based on one large substitution table from which many sentences with related patterns may be produced. For example, to practice a question pattern like

　　　　(80) Would you like some soup?

together with an answer pattern like

　　　　(81) No, but I would like some coffee.

would require a sufficient vocabulary to produce a proper sentence based on the pattern of (81). On the other hand, if the answer pattern to be practiced were

　　　　(82) No, thanks, I don't care much for soup.

then the stimulus sentence contains all the information in it necessary for a response.

Essentially, flexibility practice employs the substitution technique over a span of two or more sentences in normal sequence in which some selection between alternative responses may also be required.

A question pattern like (80), for example, can be answered in a number of ways:

(81) No, but I would like some coffee.

(82) No, thanks, I don't care much for soup.

(83) Yes, thanks, I love soup.

(84) Soup would be fine.

In the normal speech situation, depending upon the preferences of the person being questioned, several responses are equally appropriate. The selection technique drills a range of appropriate responses to a particular sentence.

Flexibility practice begins with the substitution technique with various modifications. For example, if a table has four slots in which substitutions can be made, as in Model Drill G8, it is possible to control progression very tightly by the order in which triggers are given. At the earliest stage, the helper can move from the first list to the second and so on. At a second stage, he can select a trigger at random from any of the four slots in such a way that the learner cannot predict the slot to which the next trigger belongs. At a later stage, the helper can give two triggers at a time, one from the first slot and the other from the second. Various combinations of slots can be used. At a still later stage, three or four triggers can be used at a time, requiring the learner to make multiple substitutions.

The selection technique, however, is even better for drilling flexibility. Selection is inherent in the natural process of responding to a previously uttered sentence. All selection drills involve sets of sentences, so we are no longer concerned with drilling single sentences except as preparations for using them in slots.

Model Drill G24--Selection Drill for Flexibility in Use of a Set of Simple Sentence Patterns

Frame sentence: (45) Mary threw the ball to John.

Question-answer #1: Who? Mary.

Question-answer #2: Threw what? The ball.

Question-answer #3: Did what? Threw the ball.

Question-answer #4: To whom? To John.

The fuller questions and answers are as follows:

Question-answer #1a: Who thre the ball to John?

Mary threw the ball to John.

Question-answer #2a: Mary threw what to John?

Mary threw the ball to John.

Question-answer #3a: Mary did what to John?

Mary threw the ball to John.

Question-answer #4a: Mary threw the ball to whom?

Mary threw the ball to John.

The set is based on a single frame sentence. Related to it are a set of questions in full and deleted form. In the full form the difference between the answers is indicated by the stress on the information being offered by the speaker. The stressed word is underlined.

With the model substitution table, an effective selection drill can be used to practice this entire set of related simple sentences.

In the observation stage the helper reads a sentence from the substitution table and asks one of the four questions, answering it appropriately. At one stage he can ask the question and answer it in its full form. Later he can ask it in its full form and answer it in its deleted form. At a still later stage he can ask and answer it in deleted form. A few sets of stimulus and response might run as follows:

a. Mary threw the ball to John. Who? Mary.

b. Susie gave the toy to Bill. Gave what? The toy.

c. Betty brought the pencil to Joe. To whom? To Joe.

The drill can be simplified by controlling the number of item changes from one stimulus to the next. Throughout this procedure, the learner observes the relationship between question and answer patterns, learning to match an answer pattern with its question pattern.

As he moves through the mimicry stage and production stages, the set as a whole and the functions of each member are learned.

An exercise of this kind, though complicated, is rewarding because it moves toward more normal communication than differential or substitution techniques allow. Before a set like this can be tackled successfully, however, its smaller pieces must be dealt with by differential and substitution techniques.

The key to the effective use of the selection technique is the pairing of a stimulus with an appropriate response. Depending upon the situation, the response may have to be triggered in some way by special words or mutually understood pre-arranged directions for helper and learner. The helper, for example, may trigger "short answer" or "long answer" in the drill just discussed.

Model Drill G25--Selection Drill for Flexibility in the Use of Simple Sentence Patterns (Yoruba)

The selection technique can be used to learn a simple question pattern in Yoruba[6] and two possible answers to it. Here is the question pattern:

(85) šé ó rí ilé. 'Did he see a house?'

This question can be answered affirmatively:

(86) bẹ́ẹ̀ni, ó ri'ilé. 'Right, he saw a house.'

It can also be answered negatively with a correction:

(87) bẹ́ẹ̀kọ́, a já l' ó rí. 'Wrong, it was a dog he saw.'

A drill on this set of three simple sentences can be based on the following substitution table:

Table: (88)	ó	rí	ilé
	mo	wá	aja
	fé	okó	
	jí	owọ́	

Vocabulary:	ó	'he'	rí	'saw'	ilé	'house'
	mo	'I'	wá	'looked for'	ajá	'dog'
			fé	'wants'	okó	'hoe'
			jí	'stole'	owq	'money'

Since the question can be answered in either of two ways, the helper and learner will have to agree on a trigger for cuing the response. This could be done by the helper's nod or gesture of affirmation or denial, or it could be done by adding a trigger word if a denial were intended.

The question differs from the frame sentence by an expansion with the word šé. The affirmative answer is also an expansion of the frame sentence, adding bẹ́ẹ̀ni 'right'. The negative answer has more formal complications, expanding the frame sentency by bẹ́ẹ̀kọ́ 'wrong', rearranging the word order and adding the word l'.

Before handling the entire set, the learner may have to drill its parts by differential and substitution techniques. The selection drill begins with the helper producing a question from the table and eliciting either an affirmative or negative answer, depending upon the prearranged cues. Following the answer, he produces another question from the table and elicits another answer. Depending on the learner's level of skill at the time, they might want to move slowly, working with the affirmative pattern and then the negative pattern and then with both together in random order.

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[6]Welmers 1963

Model Drill G26--Selection Drill for Flexibility in Use of a Set of Simple Sen-
        tences (Thai)

A Thai question like (89) - (91) may receive an affirmative or negative reply,
with the complication that the answer consists of the verb of the question.[7]

(89) A. khun mây chɔ̂ɔp aahǎan thay rɨ́? 'Don't you like Thai food?'

(90) A1. chɔ̂ɔp. 'Yes, I do.' (literally: 'Like.')

(91) A2. mây chɔ̂ɔp. 'No, I don't.' (literally: 'Don't like.')

A selection drill can be devised to give the learner practice in answering both
ways.

    The drill is based on a substitution table with items in two slots, one refer-
ring to the activity and the other to the object toward which the activity is di-
rected.

Table: (89) khun mây chɔ̂ɔp aahǎan thay rɨ́? Glosses: 'like'   'Thai food'
                      sɨ́ɨ   sɨ̂a   'buy'   'clothes'
                      aw   kafɛɛ   'want'   'coffee'
                             phǒnlamáay   'fruit'

    The drill begins with the helper generating a sentence from the table and cu-
ing one of the responses. At first the learner can alternate between affirmative
and negative answers, and later on other variations can be employed.

Model Drill G27--Selection Drill for Flexibility in Use of Non-Simple Sentences
        (Thai)

    A question pattern like the following and the answer patterns to which it is
related constitute a non-simple sentence in Thai.[8]

(92) Q1. yàak ca pay rɨ́ plàaw. 'Do you want to go, or not?'

(93) A1. yàak ca pay. 'I want to go.'

(94) A2. tɔ̂ŋ pay. 'I have to go.'

(95) A3. mây yàak ca pay, tὲɛ tɔ̂ŋ pay. 'I don't want to go, but I have to.'

(96) A4. mây tɔ̂ŋ pay, tὲɛ yàak ca pay. 'I don't have to go, but I want to.'

The problem is to learn the full set of possible answers to this particular ques-
tion and its implied alternative possibilities. A substitution table can be built
on (93):

(93) yàak ca pay
              maa   'come'
              kin   'eat'
              sɨ́ɨ   'buy'
              duu   'look at'

----

[7] Chalao 1965:49
[8] Brown 1967:199-207

After practice on the simple sentences and sets, some decision will have to be made concerning the means for selecting the appropriate response. Small sketches with stick figures can sometimes be used to represent different situations.

If other question patterns similar to this one have been encountered, the learner can then try to respond with the answer pattern which is most appropriate by setting up two question patterns as stimulus. One such question would be

(97) Q2. tôŋ pay rĭf plaàw. 'Do you have to go or not?'

Model Drill G28--Paraphrase Substitution Drill for Flexibility

Another valuable type of drill for increasing flexibility is paraphrase substitution. This differs from substitution drill types discussed earlier in that meaning is controlled, while different ways of expressing the same meaning are substituted. It is thus a kind of practice with sets of sentences, each of which is a paraphrase of every other.

Starting with the sentence taken from the text of the learning cycle,

(98) I like to watch snow falling.[9]

a related set of sentences could be developed:

(99) I like to see snow fall.

(100) I enjoy watching snow as it falls.

(101) I like to look at snow coming down.

Now, instead of using each of these sentences as the frame sentence for a substitution table, they are used to substitute within each other:

Helper: I like to watch snow falling.

Learner: I like to watch snow falling.

Helper: to see

Learner: I like to see snow falling.

Helper: snow fall

Learner: I like to see snow fall.

Helper: enjoy watching

Learner: I enjoy watching snow fall.

Helper: as it falls

Learner: I enjoy watching snow as it falls.

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[9]The example and the type of drill is from Bender 1967:210, quoting Newmark et al. 1964.

Helper: snow coming down

Learner: I love to look at snow coming down.

Model Drill G29--Paraphrase Substitution Drill for Flexibility

Another example of a set of English sentences which would lead to this kind of flexibility drill would be

(102) I need to see a doctor.

(103) I want to have a checkup at the dentist.

(104) I must be examined by a specialist.

(105) I have to' go to an ophthalmologist.

17.3 Generation

Once the learner reaches the point where he has developed flexibility in the use of grammatical structures and can handle longer sequences such as those illustrated in the last section, he is ready to focus on the meanings which he wishes to convey. In other words, as control of grammar becomes habitual, conscious attention can be shifted to the content of communication, not simply by its structure.

Generation practice is based on a text. It involves making changes in the basic text so that a variety of different things can be said, but all deriving from the same text structure.

Model Drill G30--Generation Practice (Thai)

A text such as the following[10] can become the basis for continuing the development of one's generative capacity in language. The text may be the basis of the learning cycle or one selected especially for this purpose.

(106) A. chǎn thǎam ʔaray nɔ̀y dâay mǎy. 'May I ask you something?'

(107) B. chəən. 'Go ahead.'   'Go ahead.'

(108) A. thâa chǎn yàak ca ʔàan naŋsɨ̌ɨ   'If I want to read a book,
          tὲε hɔ̂ŋ mîit pay,   but the room is too dark,
          tɔ̂ŋ bɔ̀ɔk khon cháay wâa yaŋŋay. what should I tell the servant?'

(109) B. khon cháay chɨ̂ɨ ʔaray   'What's your servant's name?'

(110) A. chɨ̂ɨ tɔ̂y.   'Her name is Toy.'

(111) B. bɔ̀ɔk wâa pə̀ət fay sî tɔ̂y.   'Tell her, "Turn on the light,
                                             Toy."'

(112) A. lέεw, thâa mây tɔ̂ŋkaan fay   'And when I don't need the light
          lâ, bɔ̀ɔk wâa yaŋŋay.   anymore, what do I say?

(113) B. bɔ̀ɔk wâa pìt fay dâay lέεw   'Tell her, "You can turn the
          ná, tɔ̂y.   light off now, Toy."'

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[10]after Brown 1967:215

By substituting a variety of activities for 'read a book' and other conditions for 'the room is too dark,' and other instructions for 'turn on the light,' the learner can use this basic model for generating similar dialogues. Some substitutions may necessitate certain structural changes, but for the most part the sequence remains intact, giving the learner the needed repetition of the sequence, and at the same time the increased challenge to use the structures to say new things.

Some of the earlier suggestions for projecting a practiced text (Chapter 15) involved generation practice as it has been described above. In addition to generation practice involving substitution of vocabulary, it is also possible to make a slight alteration in the spatial or temporal setting of a dialogue or narrative. In so doing, all the tenses of verbs might have to be changed, and this kind of manipulation done in rapid-fire manner is another aid in the development of generative ability. By changing the characters in a dialogue slightly, the markers of status and respect might have to be changed throughout, another type of useful practice in languages with complex systems of honorific terms.

17.4 Creativity with Grammar

Creative use of grammar is the goal of the entire range of activity discussed in this chapter, yet no simple technique for developing it as such is known. Rather, creativity comes from the habitual use of language rules through the generation of more and more text, with more and more combinations of structures and larger and more involved sets of vocabulary in more and more situations. Creativity with grammar is reached when the learner is able to select from all of the grammatical structures available in the language those which can best encode his intended meaning.

In Chapter 21, on "Using the Language to Explore," many practical suggestions for the use of the new language and for exploring its resources will be given. These suggestions, together with those in the following chapter on "Learning Appropriate Styles," should contribute to creativity when coupled with the cooperation of a sensitive helper. The helper at this stage must be alert not only to grammatical "correctness" but also to nuance, style and effectiveness, and be ready constantly to make suggestions.

Grammar drill is not an end in itself, and only part of the total learning process, although a valuable one. Its profitable application depends upon the learner who is willing to dig for himself and a helper with natural curiosity about the structure of his own language, some verbal facility and a good bit of common sense and motivation. Given these ingredients, the learner can experiment with the techniques discussed and illustrated in this chapter and shape them to the particular structural features which he needs to learn.

Chapter Eighteen

Practicing for Vocabulary

A service station in the United States once sported a sign reading We speak Volkswagen here. This use of Volkswagen following speak may well have been a first in the history of the English language. And from another perspective, Eugene A. Nida has remarked, "What language could be more complicated than English in which "horsefeathers, applesauce and baloney all mean 'nuts'!"[1]

The repertoire of words in a language seems unlimited, and the new combinations in which they occur is almost endless. The language learner cannot hope to use all of the words, nor all of their meanings, for the inventory in any language is expanding all the time, and gradual changes in meanings are perpetual.

The vocabulary of a language is more closely related to differences of perception and thought in various cultures than is grammar or phonology. This means that in studying vocabulary the learner not only must cope with structural differences between languages, but also with differences in the way meanings are organized by language and culture, or in effect, in the way life is lived.

For example, consider the different terms used for relatives. One of the authors was talking in English with a Thai friend about his sister, whom the friend had met. "Is she your older sister or your younger sister?" asked the Thai friend.

This is an important question to a Thai, for there is no single word for 'sister' in Thai. A sister is either an older sister (phîi) or a younger sister (nɔ́ɔŋ) and even twins refer to each other as older and younger. Furthermore, the 'older' and 'younger' distinction is more likely to be stressed than the 'male' or 'female' distinction, which the terms cited above do not indicate. Thai will often talk about their 'older' or their 'younger' without making the sex clear, although it is easy to do so if they want to. The Westerner, as he listens to the Thai speakers, is constantly asking himself, "Is it a brother or a sister?"

So with the Thai friend. The information that she was female contained in the English word sister (as opposed to brother) was not so essential as the relative age distinction.

Grammar and sound systems, as we have seen, have an internal structure in each language which must be learned. This is also the case with meaning, but its structure of meaning is complicated by the fact that the learner must think differently to a certain degree as he begins to communicate.

There are, furthermore, limitations on words which can go together well in a language. Two words may occur in sequence in the learner's language, but their

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[1]Nida 1945

equivalents may not co-occur in the new language. In English we can say I will
be right back. But if we were to use the Tagalog words for right and back to-
gether, we would totally confuse our listeners. It is not enough to learn words
and meanings; the learner must also know how to combine them. On the other
hand, the creative use of language will always involve such unusual combinations
as in the speak Volkswagen case cited earlier.

Language learners in traditional programs, not clearly seeing the problems
involved in vocabulary learning, have employed procedures which cannot pos-
sibly bring them to their goals. Many have tried to learn vocabulary by sheer
memory, recording new language words on one side of a card with their own
language equivalents on the other side. In so doing, they have overlooked the
fact that we speak in sentences, not individual words, that meanings are arranged
in sets, that there are rules in every language governing combinations of words,
and that these rules differ from language to language. The learner must use
words in correct combinations in natural sentences in order to make sense.

Another problem with the learning of vocabulary, already intimated, is its
sheer bulk. Few languages have more than fifty phonemes, although this is
enough to produce all the words needed in any language. Grammatical patterns
are many and varied, but with a dozen or so well selected ones and the ability to
switch from one member of a set to another (Chapter 17), the learner already has
a basis for saying an enormous number of things. But how far will only a dozen
words--or even fifty words--go? The bilingual needs several thousand, and even
though he does not have to learn them all at once, the task constitutes a major
part of the process of becoming bilingual.

Fortunately, our natural ability to organize new things into patterns helps us
to learn vocabulary. We structure new vocabulary as we learn it. Note how we
will mistakenly say right when we mean left or up when we mean down, but not
table when we mean left or smother when we mean down.[2] Every speaker senses
a relative closeness between certain meanings and certain syntactic forms, and
the learner can systematically capitalize on this ability in organizing his prac-
tice of vocabulary.

The approach recommended in this chapter has three underlying principles:
(1) Vocabulary should be practiced primarily in full sentences or text, not in
lists. (2) Vocabulary should be practiced in such a way that new language words
are associated with their referents in the new language situation, not with old
language equivalents. (3) Vocabulary should be learned in authentic, natural
combinations, such as one derives from texts produced by new language speak-
ers, and in sets of related meanings, not in the contaminated combinations
brought over from the learner's native language.

Imaginative and successful learners are coming up with new gimmicks to
tackle the problem of remembering vocabulary all the time. One man attempting
to learn French, for example, found it difficult to remember the classes to which

[2] Anisfeld 1966:114-115

certain words belonged. In his closet he used the top shelf for ordinary household objects which belonged to the masculine class in French, and the bottom shelf for the feminine class. Then as he used the objects and replaced them, he was continually reminded of the class of each item. He even used small labels pasted all over his kitchen to remind him of the words for the objects common there.

At early stages the language learner has many sources of vocabulary. He may, for example, look in a dictionary, or ask people the word for something he wants. There are, however, two main sources which one would emphasize. One is the text used as a basis for learning cycles. On the basis of such a text, with its useful vocabulary, the learner can branch out, finding other meanings for words and other words related in meaning. Later on, as he handles the language more fluently, and uses longer and more varied texts (Chapter 20), he can select vocabulary to match those areas of culture about which he seeks to learn.

The second source will be words which come to his attention in everyday life. Many of them will not have to be studied consciously, especially those met in everyday use. Others will have to be practiced systematically.

Through exposure to the texts based on useful topics and to people in everyday contacts, the learner's receptive vocabulary (vocabulary which he understands) increases continuously. From this input, he selects those words which he wants to use and gives them special attention in practice.

18.1 Awareness and Overlearning

Learners are often tempted to be satisfied when they can identify a new word with a corresponding one in their own language. Instead, the learner should seek to develop awareness of the relationship between the word (i.e., the symbol) and the concept to which it refers in the new language setting. In many cases, there will not be a profound difference from his own language. Often, however, the concept may only be <u>partially</u> the same in the two languages.

An English-speaking person learning Thai, for example, is told that <u>sanuk</u> means 'fun.' Thai speakers of English seem universally to agree on that. Yet the perceptive learner is likely to be puzzled when he hears a Buddhist temple service described as <u>sanuk</u>, even though everyone sits around with solemn faces. Even a funeral can be <u>sanuk</u> in Thai. Working only with an English translation, the learner is naturally tempted to conclude that the Thai has a distorted sense of fun. However, Thai <u>sanuk</u> does not mean English 'fun' in any simple, direct sense, but refers to a Thai concept which cannot be equated exactly with any single English word. Sometimes 'fun' is a good translation, but then again, it may be closer to 'satisfaction.'[3]

Awareness of vocabulary comes through analysis of texts, observation of use, and discussion with native speakers. The dictionary is useful, of course, but its

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[3] Phillips 1965:59-61

information must be discussed with people in terms of a word's particular contexts. In respect to accuracy, dictionaries cover a wide range from excellent to poor (Chapter 10). Even the best, however, can never give the complete range of situations in which a word is used. Discussion is essential to an awareness of meaning.

In developing this awareness, the learner will find that some words create more problems than others. Concepts vary in their complexity, as do words, which may be relatively simple, monosyllabic structures or long and complicated constructions. (Compare bad and unmanageable.) Furthermore, each individual speaker, because of his own uniquely personal history, may have a slightly different understanding of the conceptual territory mapped by a particular word.

In this book we have not stressed record-keeping as a part of the learner's task, but a simple dictionary file for notes on words and meanings has some importance. If good published resource materials are plentiful, he may not need to develop his own complete file of the words which he is learning, but only the bothersome ones. For words on which there is considerable discussion, or to which the learner must repeatedly return, a record should be maintained as an aid to awareness and subsequent overlearning. The most convenient form is a file, one word to a slip of paper of some convenient size. On this slip (or on other slips filed with it) notes may be kept on usage, range of meaning, etc., as information is gained in discussion with native speakers.[4] Figure 1 shows samples of the contents and arrangement of such slips.

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                                                    10-12

   wa      they    3rd. pl. subj.

           wa dűŋ na

           they are sitting




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   raw    we    you and I

          I (superior speaking, particularly
             royalty)

          N.B.   There are problems in the use
                 of raw when it does not include
                 the person spoken to, because it
                 may be mistaken for 'I' spoken
                 to an inferior
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Fig. 1 - Sample File Slips[4]

Discussions about meaning will follow many diverse tracks, and only some suggestive illustrations can be given. For differentiating words for objects the learner will need data which shows them in activity, identification and descriptive configurations. (See Chapter 11) Words for two objects might be differentiated in terms of the events in which each participates. Questions such as the following may help to clarify the difference: What event does A participate in but not B, B but not A, neither A nor B, both A and B? For example, one way to differentiate dog and cat is in terms of their characteristic sounds: bark and meow. Dogs, that is, participate in barking, but cats, in meowing. Neither peeps, but both may howl.

Objects may also be differentiated in terms of the classes to which they belong, so that a question like the following will help to get at minimal differences: What class does A belong to but not B, B but not A, neither A nor B, both A and B? Both cats and dogs belong to the class animal, but neither belong to the class fish. A dog is a canine and a cat is a feline.

Objects may also be differentiated in terms of their properties. What property does A have but not B, B but not A, neither A nor B, both A and B? For example, another way to differentiate dog and cat is in terms of the properties which characterize them. Both dogs and cats may be characterized as friendly or tame. Neither is likely to be scaly or tall. It is perhaps more common to speak of a hairy dog than a furry dog, yet a cat is more likely to be furry than hairy.

Words for 'refrigerator' and 'oven' in Thailand are interesting for the answers they reveal to some of these questions. Both items are borrowed from another culture, yet neither is used in exactly the same way as in America, at least. For example, both are objects into which one puts things, in the one case to make them cold, in the other to make them hot. The former has caught on among Thai much more widely than the latter.

But there are some important differences in the way that these items are classified in the two cultures. To the American, both are "major appliances," essential to any household and usually kept in kitchens. In Thailand the refrigerator is classified as a special kind of 'cupboard' or 'storage chest', and the oven as a 'stove.' The kitchen is not usually considered an appropriate place for either refrigerator or modern oven. The refrigerator is likely to be found in the living room in many homes. Many Thai consider the kitchen (located outside the main home to avoid getting charcoal smoke in the house itself) too dirty for such a beautiful and prestigious item. A modern stove is not likely to be found even in a wealthy home, unless there is a modern supplementary kitchen inside the house, as well as the traditional kitchen.

For differentiating events the learner will need data which shows them in terms of the set of objects which participate in each, or the properties which differentiate them or perhaps spatial and temporal differences between them. What objects can be involved in A but not B, B but not A, neither A nor B, both A and B? For example, one way to differentiate bark and meow is in terms of the objects which emit these sounds. Dogs bark and cats meow. Seals also bark. Ducks neither bark nor meow. Perhaps there is no single species which both barks and meows.

Events may also be differentiated in terms of the properties which character-
ize them. What properties does A have but not B, B but not A, neither A nor B,
both A and B? For example, both barking and meowing may be done repeatedly,
but neither is likely to be done slowly. Barking is more likely to be done loudly
than meowing, although the latter might be done softly, which would not seem
appropriate for barking.

Applied, for example, to the differences between walk and swagger, the sec-
ond question might be put this way: How can you tell when a person is walking
but not swaggering? Swaggering but not walking? Both walking and swaggering?
Show me. This then raises the question of whether in English a person can swag-
ger without walking, and helpers may differ on the answers.

For differentiating abstracts the learner will need data which shows what ob-
jects and events the abstracts characterize.

1. What objects can be characterized as A but not B, B but not A, neither A
nor B, both A and B?

2. What events can be characterized as A but not B, B but not A, neither A
nor B, both A and B?

In Thai, for example, two words are often used to translate English cool or
cold. The two words, yen and năaw are listed here with an indication of some of
the typical objects and events with which they are associated.

yen	năaw
water	--
weather (pleasant)	weather (unpleasant)
air conditioned air	air conditioned air
stone, metal	--
ice	--

Essentially, năaw is used of unpleasantly cool or cold weather, yen of pleas-
ant coolness in a tropical setting. năaw may often, in fact, be physically warm-
er than yen, as when yen refers to ice. The temptation to consider yen to mean
'cool' and năaw to mean 'cold' is therefore not always accurate.

For most of the thousands of words which will be acquired in the process of
becoming bilingual, no special drills will be needed for awareness. Occasion-
ally, however, the learner will be frustrated by his inability to keep the mean-
ings of two or more words apart. The differential and substitution drills demon-
strated below can help to develop awareness of differences in meaning in such
cases.

Once he is aware of them, the learner usually has little trouble in remember-
ing them. They suddenly seem to be a part of his vocabulary, although he has
not consciously learned them. Other words come hard and practice is needed to
make them available for immediate and automatic recall. Overlearning such
words requires deliberate effort.

Some of the model vocabulary drills suggested seem to have a superficial resemblance to pronunciation drills. However, in a vocabulary drill we assume that the learner can already pronounce without any particular difficulty. His problem is remembering the right word for a situation, or using it in the proper way.

18.11 Organizing the Problem of Vocabulary and Meaning for Practice. In discussing the practice of grammar (Chapter 17), we suggested that the learner could organize his learning progression in terms of such rough categories as "simple sentences," "sets of simple sentences," "non-simple sentences," and "sets of non-simple sentences." (226) These categories were not rigidly defined, but provided a general framework into which certain aspects of practice could be systematized.

In the practice of vocabulary and meaning the learner can divide his problems into three general categories: words, sets of words, and multiple meanings. The problem with a word like box in English is that it has one "basic" meaning which has to do with a rectangular receptacle used as a container, but many other meanings as well, as may be seen in a private box at the theater, batter's box, jury box, They've got him in a box, box the compass, to box in the ring, etc. One person may explain these differences by claiming that different words are involved, although spelled and pronounced the same way. Another may group them together and distinguish meanings by contexts.

The learner needs a way to approach this problem of words and meanings regardless of the conflicting judgments of native speakers, and from the standpoint of the classification system we are suggesting, he will handle the many meanings of box as a problem of a word with multiple meanings, whereas the relationship between box, crate, carton, bag, bundle, etc., would involve the problem of a set of words. The ramifications of these categories will be taken up in turn below.

18.111 Words. The first and simplest stage is to deal with individual words as though they had individual meanings. This presents no problem when words have narrow ranges of meanings. A word like typewriter, for example, does not have a wide variety of meanings in English.

A word like box, however, has a wide range of meanings, although at the earliest stage only its particular meaning in a given text needs to be practiced. Other meanings can be investigated under the category of multiple meanings.

Model Drill V1.   Differential Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Words

A typical problem in the learning of vocabulary comes from the tendency to confuse two or more words. One of the authors, for example, had a difficult time with two Thai words: sîa 'shirt, blouse, coat,' and sǐa 'tiger.' The audible difference between the two words was the tone, but the problem was to remember which one was which.

A very simple differential drill can be used effectively. First, the learner draws rough sketches of a shirt and a tiger. The helper then says the words in

turn, pointing to the appropriate picture. Then the helper says the word without pointing, and the learner responds each time by pointing. Next, the helper puts the words in short sentences, the learner listens for the problem word and points to the appropriate picture.

This practice can be repeated until the learner can recognize the two words without any hesitation. If the problem words are events, not objects, they can perhaps be acted out instead of pictured. The fact that much vocabulary is not picturable or actable, of course, limits the usefulness of this kind of drill, but with ingenuity the helper and learner can often find ways to cue the correct response.

Model Drill V2. Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Words

Until words are overlearned it is a struggle to recall them. Someone learning English, for example, might have trouble with the meaning of participate. A substitution drill should help.

The same principle applies as in all substitution drills: the learner repeats what he wants to learn. In the case of participate, a series like the following might be developed as the substance of the drill:

(1) I like to participate in games.

(2) I am participating in a vocabulary drill.

(3) To participate is not to be left out.

(4) Participate in the privilege of voting.

(5) How often do you participate?

A model drill like this assumes that the learner can already handle a variety of grammatical structures.

Model Drill V3. Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Words

A drill for a learner at an earlier stage who has trouble with enjoy might consist of the following data:

(6) I enjoy learning Japanese.

(7) We enjoy eating lunch.

(8) They enjoy playing the piano.

(9) You enjoy riding a motorcycle.

The sequence for substitution drills (Chapter 17) is followed. In practicing vocabulary, contexts are varied and the word remains constant, and as the word is repeated, it is learned.

Model Drill V4. Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of Words

The learner might find it useful to develop a number of special texts for learning new vocabulary. One, for example, can be designed for words for objects which are new to the learner in the new culture.

(10) L: What is this?

(11)   H: It is an abacus.

(12) L: Abacus. Am I saying it right? Abacus.

(13) L: What do you use an abacus for?

(14)   H: We use it to add figures with.

(15) L: We use an abacus to add figures.

(16) L: This abacus is made of wood, isn't it?

(17)   H: Yes.

(18) L: Is an abacus ever made of anything else?

(19)   H: Sometimes. Ivory, or metal, or plastic.

(20) L: An abacus is sometimes made of ivory or metal or plastic.

(21) L: Abacus. Am I still saying it right?

In this model abacus is repeated in a variety of contexts. The learner finds out what it is for and what it is made of. For other situations the opener might be:

(10a) L: What do you call what you are doing?

(10b) L: What was that word you used a minute ago?

Procedures for learning words in a new language are not unlike those which the child uses to learn new words in his mother tongue. For example, in tackling the following paragraph, one might encounter considerable difficulty with some of the words:

"The first liquid laser based on a chelate structure was successfully operated by our group at General Telephone and Electronics in January, 1963. The active component was a europium ion at the center of a cage consisting of four benzolacetonate ligands."[5]

One's ability to understand this paragraph depends not only on his familiarity with this specialized area of science, but also on his understanding of such words as chelate, europium and benzolacetonate. The person who could not understand such words would probably have to ask questions like the following:

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[5]From "Liquid Lasers," by Alexander Lempicki and Harold Samelson. Copyright © 1967 by Scientific American, Inc. All rights reserved. (Lempicki and Samelson 1967:81).

1. What kind of structure is a chelate structure?

2. Are there solid or gaseous lasers?

3. What is an ion?

4. What kind of ion is a europium ion?

5. What kind of ligand is a benzolacetonate ligand?

The learner must develop the ability to ask the right questions in the new language to solve problems of this kind.

Eliciting ranges of meaning. The learner's first problem is to collect data which illustrate the variant meanings of a particular word, arranging them according to the environments which make the difference. Generally, it is best to get examples in short, simple sentences in typical environments. He asks a set of questions which enables him to conceptualize its range of meaning and the determining features in the environment.

To find the range of meaning of an object, such questions as the following may be helpful in collecting data:

A. In activity configurations:

   1. In what events does it occur as agent? What does it do?

   2. As goal of an event?

   3. As instrument? What is it for?

   4. As beneficiary? For whom is it done?

   5. As location of the event?

   6. As termination of the event?

B. In classification configurations:

   1. To what class or classes does it belong?
      What classes is it included in?

   2. To what class or classes is it related?

   3. What classes of things are included within it?
      What is included in it?

   4. Where is it found?

C. In description configurations: What are the various properties which describe it?

To find the range of meaning of an event, the learner needs another set of questions, such as the following, to aid in eliciting useful data:

A. In activity configurations:

   1. What events tend to occur simultaneously with this event?

   2. To what class of events does this event belong?

   3. What are the common chains of events in which this one is likely to occur?

   4. What are the components commonly associated with this event?

      a. Who acts in the event?

      b. What is acted upon in this event?

      c'. What are the instruments commonly used in the event?

      d. Who are the common beneficiaries?

   5. Where does the event usually occur?

   6. At what point does the event usually terminate?

B. In description configuration: What are the various properties which describe this event?

To find the range of meaning of an abstract, the learner needs a different set of questions to elicit data. Such questions as the following are useful in English:

A. In event configurations: What are the common events which are described by this abstract?

B. In description configurations: What are the common objects described by this abstract?

This set of questions aims at helping the learner to find statements in which the term in question occurs. In other words, he is seeking to make various statements about objects, events and abstracts somewhat as follows:

A. For objects:

   1. Object X is a member of classes (is part of) Y, Z, etc.

   2. Object X participates as agent in events Y, Z, etc.

   3. As goal in events D, E, etc.

   4. As instrument in events F, G, etc.

   5. As beneficiary in events H, I, etc.

   6. As location in events J, K, etc.

   7. As terminal in events L, M, etc.

   8. Object X is a class (is a whole) including such objects as N, O, etc.

   9. Object X is related to such other objects as P, Q, etc.

   10. Object X is characterized by such properties as R, S, etc.

   11. Object X is found in location Y.

B. For events:

1. Event X occurs with such objects as Y, Z, etc.

2. Event X has such properties as D, E, etc.

C. For abstracts:

1. Abstract X is true of such objects as Y, Z, etc.

2. Abstract X is true of such events as D, E, etc.

18.112 Sets of Words. What we have illustrated for the learning of individual words will be useful whenever a particular word must be learned. The procedures also apply in a general way to the learning of sets of words. Often the members of a set will reinforce each other in the learner's memory. Practicing vocabulary at higher levels of development is virtually impossible without working on sets of words together.

Sets of words are groups with an important meaning in common. This definition, like that for sets of simple sentences (Chapter 17), is limited and somewhat vague, partly because present knowledge of the structure of meaning is limited and partly because the relatively untrained learner would have difficulty with concepts which were more precise.

The parts of the human body form one obvious set: hand, arm, leg, head, trunk, etc. Items like knuckle, joint, fingernail, finger, thumb, index finger, pinkie, are part of a sub-set, as well as part of the over-all set of body parts.

Other obvious sets include the days of the week, numbers, verbs of motion (like go, come, walk, run, etc.), relatives (uncle, aunt, cousin, etc.), kitchen utensils, words for different kinds of roads, different feelings, etc. A classification of some of the major kinds of sets is given later.

Synonyms--words which mean almost the same thing in some contexts--form sets. But no synonyms, no two words, have identical meanings in every respect. Large and big mean the same thing in a large house and a big house, perhaps, but large somehow seems more appropriate with buildings such as the Pentagon or Yankee Stadium than it does with the Empire State Building, whose bigness lies in its height rather than in its expanse. Big applies appropriately to all these.

In dealing with sets of words the learner is working on two dimensions of meaning at once: the components of meaning which bind the set together, and those which distinguish between the related words in the set.

Differences between words are generally seen most clearly in minimally contrasting environments. It is easier, for example, to recognize the difference between two shades of red cloth--vermilion and scarlet--when they are close together and seen against a common background. Words may appear to be very similar in meaning, yet when one probes their structure and use more carefully, it is apparent that there are genuine differences between them. When similar words can be set into similar environments with distracting variables controlled, their real differences are usually perceived more clearly.

The learner's fundamental problem is to find those componential features which set every word off from every other. But the problem is not quite so complicated as it may seem. One is not likely to confuse <u>elephant</u> and <u>cup,</u> or their near equivalents in another language, simply because there is so little similarity between them that they do not readily form a set.

Awareness of the minimal differences in sets of words is basic to normal use. For example, if one is not aware of the features which distinguish <u>bark</u> and <u>meow,</u> he is likely to produce phrases like <u>dogs meow</u> and <u>cats bark.</u> Differentiating two confusing words means learning them in their normal contexts.

18.1121 Functional Sets. In organizing sets of words for more effective learning, it is useful to group them by a common functional relationship. A natural functional   set is <u>knife, fork,</u> and <u>spoon. Cobra</u> and <u>elephant,</u> however, seem to have little in common, although in a text in Thai or some language of India both might occur in the same event or story. Likewise, in a trip to a zoo they might form part of a functional set.

Model Drill V5. Differential Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Func-
                tional Set

The articles of furniture which are typical of a certain room constitute a functional set. For a learner of English, for example, living room furniture would constitute one such set. A typical differential drill for such a set would involve sketches of the items of furniture (as in Model Drill V1) or pointing to them, if possible.

Another kind of differential drill for this set could be based on any subgrouping, such as the following:

Column 1: seats	Column 2: not seats
chair	table
sofa	stand
stool	television set
rocking chair	rug
couch	cabinet

In the response stage of the differential drill the learner would respond with "seat" or "not a seat" as the helper gave a word.

Another division could be as follows:

Column 1: hard surface	Column 2: cloth surface	Column 3: either
stool	sofa	chair
rocking chair	couch	
table	rug	

stand   easy chair

television set

cabinet

If a particular living room were being used, then even more specific characteristics could be used, as for example, the color of the furniture. The point is to create an opportunity to make repeated associations between a word and its underlying concept.

Model Drill V6. Substitution Drill for Awareness and Overlearning of a Functional Set

Words for foods constitute a functional set. A short text like the following can provide for a wide variety of practice:

(22) I had a hamburger for lunch.

(23) My hamburger is made of beef.

(24) With my hamburger I had French fries.

(25) I had a Coke to go along with my hamburger.

Various substitutions give considerable variety to help in overlearning: meat for beef; onions, relish, catsup, mustard for french fries; coffee, Seven-Up, milk for Coke, etc. Hamburger is being learned, because hamburger is being repeated.

However, at the next stage other words may be substituted for hamburger:

(22a) I had a sandwich for lunch.

(23a) My sandwich was made of bread and cheese.

(24a) With my sandwich I had pickles.

(25a) I had iced tea to go along with my sandwich.

Many of the same substitutions can now be made in this new text. After these have been learned, he can continue with the following:

(22b) I had roast beef for dinner. etc.

(22c) I had fried eggs for breakfast. etc.

(22d) I had coffee cake for a midnight snack. etc.

The learner's problem of gaining awareness of sets of words is similar to the situation which arises when one meets a new word in his mother tongue. Suppose, for example, that one should encounter an English sentence like the following:

"There was good in plenty for two people; and we ate well:
rice for morning and evenings meals; dahl..."[6]

The word dahl is likely to be unfamiliar to most native speakers of English out-
side of India. If someone were to show us dahl, we could presumably differen-
tiate it from other objects by its properties, but apart from seeing it in the non-
linguistic environment, we cannot conceptualize it without more linguistic infor-
mation. We can assume from the context that it is something to eat, but we will
need other descriptions to differentiate it from other edible substances. In
short, we look for those defining features which group dahl with what it resem-
bles, yet which differentiate dahl from everything else.

18.1122 Structured Sets. With little or no training in linguistic analysis, the
typical learner will have to rely on functional sets in learning vocabulary. There
are, however, other sets in which the meanings of words are interrelated in
structured ways. Such sets may or may not be so common as functional sets.

18.11221 Developing Awareness of Structured Sets with Contiguous Meanings.
One type of structured set consists of words in which some components of mean-
ing of each member of the set are the same, and some are different. The same-
ness or difference, furthermore, is of a very specific kind, not of the broad
type of cobra and elephant, both belonging to the "animal family."

For example, man, woman, boy, girl form a structured set with contiguous
meanings, having meanings of 'human being' in common. They are different by
the components of 'male' vs. 'female' and 'adult' vs. 'non-adult.'[7] 'Male'
groups man and boy as against woman and girl, while 'adult' groups man and
woman against boy and girl. Thus the differences between these words may be
charted in terms of their differences of components:

	'male'	'female'
'adult'	man	woman
'non-adult'	boy	girl

That this is a structured set is to be seen in the systematic nature of the
meaning differences. That it shows contiguous meanings (as opposed to other
kinds of structuring discussed below) will become clearer as other kinds of
structured relationships are examined. Essentially, however, our intuitive
sense of structure in this set undoubtedly springs from the fact that the meanings
have major components in common, and the differences consist only of two struc-
turally related components. The term contiguous (adjacent to) suggests that the
the difference in meaning is minimal. Nida diagrams this kind of structural re-
lationship between words as in Figure 2.

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[6] Markandaya 1954:13

[7] Obviously, these words can be used in other ways in English as well. Dis-
cussion of the problems of multiple meanings comes later, however.
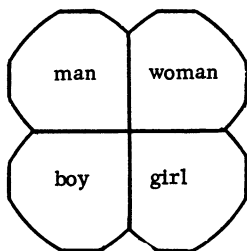
Figure 2. A structured set of words
with contiguous meanings.[8]

As with other vocabulary, awareness of structured sets comes largely through discussion of meaning and trying to isolate the common components of meaning in a set and to identify the differences.

A person learning English, for example, may encounter a group of words like nightgown, pajamas, bathrobe, and negligee. Is it only a functional set (words for informal clothing worn primarily at night and in private) or is it also a structured set with contiguous meanings? In either case his problem is to fuse the symbol with its reality. To do this he must analyze similarities and differences among the words, and closely scrutinize details. How does the native speaker of English differentiate such words? What is it about a nighgown that differentiates it from pajamas? How does one decide whether to refer to an object as nightgown or pajamas? What are the defining characteristics of each? The distinction for native speakers seems to be based on answers to questions about sleepwear or bedroom wear, as for example:

1. Does it have legs?

2. Is it worn next to the body?

3. Is it diaphanous?

4. Is it worn for sleeping?

Discussion would soon reveal that a component like 'has legs' separates pajamas from all the other words in the group. 'Worn for sleeping' and 'worn next to the body' separate nightgown and pajamas from the others. 'Diaphanous' is unique to negligee. But there is no over-all systematic set of components which groups these words into a structured set with contiguous meanings. Nightgown and pajamas can be seen as a structured set, as can housecoat and negligee. The four words, however, do not all belong to the same structured set, although the learner might see and practice them together.

18.11222 Developing Awareness of Structured Sets with Hierarchically Included Meanings. A second type of structured set is one in which meanings are

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[8]After Nida, forthcoming.

related by inclusion. For example, in the set which consists of <u>animal, canine,</u> <u>dog, poodle,</u> the meaning of <u>poodle</u> is included in the meaning of <u>dog,</u> which is included in the meaning of <u>canine,</u> which is included in the meaning of <u>animal.</u> Since we are talking at this stage about individual meanings, and not the variety of meanings which a word like <u>dog</u> may have, we can say that the meanings of the included items are wholly included within the meaning of the inclusive items.

Another structured set with hierarchically included meanings consists of English verbs <u>move, go, travel, walk, stroll.</u> A picture of this hierarchical inclusion can be seen in Figure 3.
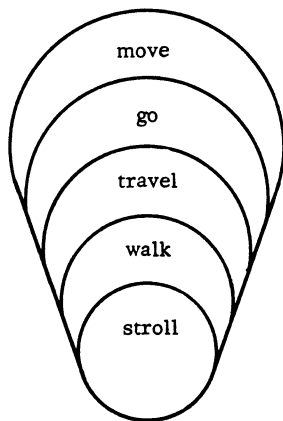
Figure 3.   A structured set with hierarchically included meanings.[9]

At any level but the very lowest (the level of <u>stroll</u> and <u>poodle</u> in the above sets), meaning may be inclusive. For example, <u>walk</u> includes not only <u>stroll,</u> but also <u>amble, saunter, lope, stride,</u> etc. These latter form a set with contiguous meanings. Individually, they form hierarchical sets with <u>walk, travel,</u> <u>go, move.</u>

Words which include the meanings of other words are called <u>generic.</u> Those which are included are called <u>specific.</u> <u>Walk</u> is more generic than <u>stroll,</u> but more specific than <u>travel.</u>

Learning the structure of sets with hierarchically included meanings is extremely important in becoming bilingual. Note how stilted the monotonous use of one word is:

Pete walked off down the street. He walked in a relaxed manner, noticing the details of the old-fashioned houses. He walked to the corner,

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[9]After Nida, forthcoming.

waited an instant, and walked across the street when there was no traffic. He walked past the restaurant and wished he had the money to buy a steak. From the leisurely way he walked one would never have suspected that he planned to walk to Jacksonville.

Compare the same text with other hierarchically related words used:

Pete walked off down the street. He strolled in a relaxed manner, noticing the details of the old-fashioned houses. He went to the corner, waited an instant, and walked across the street when there was no traffic. He went past the restaurant and wished he had the money to buy a steak. From the leisurely way he moved one would never have suspected that he planned to go to Jacksonville.

18.11223 Developing Awareness of Structured Sets with Opposite and Gradient Meanings. Sets with opposite meanings are common: good and bad, hot and cold, tall and short. Such sets tend to consist of abstracts (Chapter 11) although not all abstracts occur as opposites. There is no opposite for red, for example, in English.

Sets with strictly opposite meanings have only two members. Many sets, however, have gradient meanings between the extremes. One such set is hot, warm, lukewarm, cool, cold. There is no such gradient set to move from good to bad in English, but the same gradients can be accomplished by attributives: good, quite good, not bad, average, not good, quite bad, bad. The set can further be extended, of course, with very good, extremely good, very bad, extremely bad. Such expressions with attributives can be used for practicing gradient meanings.

In developing awareness of a graded series of meanings, the learner will frequently have to investigate the range of use of each term in order to get a feel for the entire set.

In the following chart the vertical axis shows the set arranged from hot to cold. Along the horizontal axis are various objects which may have some component of temperature included in their meaning.

	water	ice	steam	fire	sun	wind
hot	+	-	+	+	+	+
warm	+	-	-	+	+	+
lukewarm	+	-	-	-	-	-
cool	+	-	-	-	-	+
cold	+	+	-	-	-	+

Some of the properties apply to certain objects but not to others. The plus (+) indicates normal co-occurrences, and the minus (-) indicates that such combinations are not normal. The matrix then shows hot and warm to be differentiated by the fact that steam may be hot but not warm. Warm and lukewarm are

differentiated by wind.   Cool and cold are differentiated by ice.   From the matrix it is possible to generate a set of sentences in which the entire set is used and their differences established.   For example:

(26) The water is hot.

(27) The water is warm.

(28) The water is lukewarm.

(29) The water is cool.

(30) The water is cold.

(31) The ice is cold.

(32) The steam is hot.

(33) The fire is hot.

(34) The fire is warm.

(35) The sun is hot.

(36) The sun is warm.

(37) The wind is hot.

(38) The wind is warm.

(39) The wind is cool.

(40) The wind is cold.

In the following matrix a systematic set of abstracts, wet-moist-damp-dry-parched, is differentiated in terms of the objects to which they may apply.

	water	ink	soil	weather
wet	+	+	+	+
moist	-	-	+	-
damp	-	-	+	+
dry	-	+	+	+
parched	-	-	+	-

Beginning with a set, the learner seeks to establish common contexts in which each is differentiated from every other.

18.11224 Developing Awareness of Structured Sets with Overlapping Meanings. As we have already seen in the earlier discussion of large and big, words with synonymous meanings can perhaps be differentiated only in certain contexts. The meanings overlap to a high degree, but not entirely.

If we look at the behavior involved, spit and expectorate, for example, are close synonyms. He expectorated out of the window seems highbrow or ludicrous, except in very formal or technical contexts. Head, noggin, and coconut are synonyms, but interchangeable only in very informal contexts.

Model Drill V7. Differential Drill for Developing Awareness and Overlearning of Structured Sets with Overlapping Meanings (Thai)[10]

In many languages where there is strong social stratification there may be levels of vocabulary appropriate for some classes of people but not others. Everyone who learns Thai, for example, needs to learn several levels of vocabulary. Two of these are illustrated in the following model drill. Neither of these is slang (which forms still another level). The simple level is used informally, as between friends. The elegant level is used on formal occasions with or about high-status people (except royalty and other sacred beings) according to a complicated set of rules governing usage.

Column 1: simple	Column 2: elegant	Meaning
lûuk	bùt	child
phɔ̂ɔ	bidaa	father
mɛ̂ɛ	maandaa	mother
mia	phanrayaa	wife
phua	sǎami	husband
phɨ̂an	mít	friend
ráanʔahǎan	phattaakhaan	restaurant
mɔ̌ɔ	phɛ̀ɛt	doctor
mǎa	sunák	dog

In such cases the major problem is to know when to use one level or the other, but the learner must also have a clear sense of the distinction and automatic ability to select a word from the desired level. A differential drill like this, used when pairs of synonymous words give trouble, should help to build that skill.

Another kind of situation involving overlapping meanings may be seen in words not normally thought of as synonyms. Take, for example, the following words for different kinds of washing in English, together with the kinds of objects involved in the various actions.

	clothes	children	hair
launder	yes	no	no
bathe	no	yes	no
shampoo	no	no	yes

Awareness involves the sorting out of different kinds of relationships between the words for washing and the things washed. Investigation would show, for

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[10]After Smalley, forthcoming.

example, that some small rugs can be laundered, but that most rugs are shampooed on the floor. A dog may be either shampooed or bathed, but not laundered.

Dishes, on the other hand, are not laundered, bathed, or shampooed. They are simply washed. The word wash, strictly speaking, does not belong to this overlapping set, but is a more generic term which includes these words, as discussed earlier.

18.113 Multiple Meanings. From what has been said thus far, one might assume that a word has only one meaning. However, we have intentionally delayed the discussion of the multiple meanings of a word, but every learner must cope with this problem sooner or later.

Nida, for example, lists the English word for head in a variety of contexts which the learner of English would eventually encounter.[11]

(41) head of a man	(59) hardheaded
(42) head of the house	(60) head of the valley
(43) head of the class	(61) head of the table
(44) head of lettuce	(62) headline
(45) head of the line	(63) head office
(46) head of a pin	(64) head of steam
(47) head of the business	(65) head of water
(48) head of cattle	(66) the head on a ship
(49) head of a bed	(67) head him off
(50) the issue came to a head	(68) head of beer
(51) head of a river	(69) head of a coin
(52) head of a screw	(70) head of wheat
(53) head of a nail	(71) he has a head on him
(54) head of an axe	(72) he uses his head
(55) head of a staircase	(73) head of the list
(56) head of a pimple	(74) head table
(57) head of cheese	(75) head of a dog
(58) headhunters	

Speakers of English sense that some of these phrases are similar in meaning. Head in (41) and (75) is the same meaning, in spite of the fact that the shape of a man's head and a dog's head is different. Whereas (41) is part of the human

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[11]After Nida, forthcoming.

body, (42) is a whole human being in a particular role, and (44) is neither human nor animate.

18.1131 Marked and Unmarked Meanings. In dealing with multiple meanings in such sets, certain insights about meaning prove to be valuable. The learner, for example, may be tempted to ask what the real or basic meaning of a word is. In the above example he might consider head as part of the body to be the basic meaning with all the other meanings dervied from it in some way. Such questions are often very difficult to answer. Which is more basic as a meaning of box, the meaning in to box in the ring, or to pack books in a box?

The distinction between marked and unmarked meanings may be very useful to the learner in this respect. The unmarked meaning is the one which people would ordinarily think of if they encounter the word out of context, or in a completely neutral context. For example, most speakers of English would probably agree on the implied meaning of the word head in the following expressions, given without further context:

(76) head

(77) It's a head.

However, if these expressions were used in a conversation about what part of a broken screw Junior had swallowed, their meanings would be marked by the situational context as the head of a screw.

In general, the least marked meaning of a word is the most prevalent meaning, the one most widely used. Other meanings may or may not be extensions of it, used only when contextually marked either in the text or in the situation.

In the case of box, the meaning of rectangular container is the unmarked meaning as a noun, and what fighters do in the ring is the unmarked meaning as a verb, although the other meaning may be used in marked form:

(78) I want to box those books this afternoon.

Other marked meanings include those mentioned earlier in this chapter, like

(79) her box at the opera

(80) pitcher's box

(81) box the compass

(82) He's boxed in by his own mistakes.

18.1132 Grouping Meanings. Awareness of multiple meanings also increases when it is possible to group the various uses of a word by a common meaning. For example, [12]

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[12]After Nida, forthcoming

A. (unmarked meaning): body part

    (41) head of a man

    (75) head of a dog

B. authoritative control

    (42) head of the house

    (47) head of the business

    (63) head office

C. prestige position

    (43) head of the class

    (61) head of the table

    (74) head table

D. lump shaped

    (44) head of lettuce

    (57) head cheese

E. front of horizontal series

    (45) head of the line

F. knob-shaped object at end of a
    relatively thin object

    (46) head of a pin

    (52) head of a screw

    (53) head of a nail

    (54) head of an axe

    (70) head of wheat

G. numerical "empty word" used
    for counting only

    (48) head of cattle

H. object associated with a body part

    (49) head of a bed

I. upper part of an inclined object

    (51) head of a river

    (55) head of a staircase

    (60) head of the valley

J. top and central part of an object
    rising above the surface

    (56) head of a pimple

K. measure of pressure and/or
    volume

    (64) head of steam

    (65) head of water

L. toilet on a ship

    (66) the head on a ship

M. change of direction

    (67) head him off

N. top of a vertical object or series

    (68) head of beer

    (73) head of the list

O. the side of a coin showing the
    shape or image of a head

    (69) head of a coin

In such preliminary classification of meanings, compound words and idioms from the initial list are generally eliminated and handled separately. The compound words were:

    (58) headhunters

    (59) hardheaded

    (62) headline

The idioms were:

    (50) the issue came to a head

(71) he has a head on him

(72) he uses his head

The term <u>idiom</u> is usually applied to words in a relatively fixed order whose individual meanings do not add up to the meaning of the whole. For example, in (5) one cannot say anything but "come to a head"--never "go to a head" or "come at a head," etc. Idioms, like compound words, should be practiced as single words. The idiom <u>uses his head</u> could be included as an overlapping member of a structured set along with <u>thinks,</u> <u>cogitates,</u> etc.

After the various uses of the word <u>head</u> have been grouped in this way, further systematization may increase awareness. Starting with the unmarked meaning, the other meanings ascribed to the groups of uses can be arranged to show their relative degree of interdependence:

A. body part

    G. numerical empty word

    H. object associated with body part

    O. the side of a coin showing the image of body part

B. authoritative control

C. prestige position

X. (physical position)

    E. front of horizontal series

        M. change of direction

    N. top of vertical object or series

    I. upper part of inclined object

    F. knob-shaped object on the end of a relatively thin object

Y. (shape)

    D. lump-shaped

    F. knob-shaped object on end of relatively thin object

    J. top and central part of object rising above the surface

K. measure of pressure and/or volume

L. toilet on a ship

Not every speaker will agree with these arrangements and there is no absolute right or wrong to apply. It is not based on any real or assumed history of the development of the meanings. It is simply an attempt to arrange meanings in such a way that their relationship makes as much sense as possible. The learner should discuss all such attempts fully with his helpers and try to follow

his intuitive feel for relationships. An exercise of this kind gives the learner wide opportunity for the use of the language in the exploration of culture (Chapter 21).

18.2 Flexibility

Under the heading of awareness and overlearning only a few model drills have been provided simply because the problems of vocabulary learning do not lend themselves too well to practice by differential and substitution techniques. The phenomenon of meaning seems to be too varied and complex for such practice, at least with our present knowledge.

In working at the level of flexibility, however, controlled practice is not only possible, but selection drills prove to be very valuable in vocabulary learning. All vocabulary sets may be practiced by the selection technique.

Model Drill V8--Selection Drill for Developing Flexibility in a Vocabulary Set

For the person learning the set of English ordinal numbers (first, second, etc.) and the set of the days of the week, a calendar provides an excellent context for practice. With a calendar in front of them, the helper begins to ask questions requiring the learner to respond with dates.

	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1			1	2	3	4	5
2	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
3	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
4	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
5	27	28	29	30	31		

Here are some typical questions:

(83) Q. What day is the 14th?
(84) A. Monday.
(85) Q. What is the date of Monday in the third week?
(86) A. Fourteenth.
(87) Q. In what week does Tuesday the 15th fall?
(88) A. Third.
(89) Q. On what day does the 1st of the month fall?
(90) A. Tuesday.
(91) Q. Then what day is the 3rd of the month?
(92) A. Thursday.
(93) Q. What day is in between?
(94) A. Wednesday, the 2nd.

Model Drill V9--Selection Drill for Developing Flexibility in a Vocabulary Set

Arranging the months of the year on a table such as the following can be helpful for selection practice with the names for seasons and months.

Winter	Spring	Summer	Fall
December	March	June	September
January	April	July	October
February	May	August	November

Here are some typical exchanges:

   (95) Q. When does winter begin?
   (96) A. In December.
   (97) Q. When does it end?
   (98) A. In February.
   (99) Q. What are the summer months?
 (100) A. June, July and August.

Model Drill V10--Selection Drill for Flexibility in a Vocabulary Set (Yoruba)

In Yoruba a number of words are commonly translated as 'wash' in English. As he begins to differentiate the events in terms of the objects involved, a matrix like the following begins to emerge. On the vertical axis are the words which are somewhat related to 'wash.' On the horizontal axis are some common objects which are washed in one sense or another. A plus (+) indicates that this combination of event and object occurs. Where there is no (+) the words are not normally used together.

	'hands'	'child'	'wife'	'corpse'	'head'	'face'	'feet'	'body'	'hair'
	ɔwɔ	ɔmɔ	iyawo	oku	ori	ojú	ɛsɛ	ara	irʉ
wɛ	+	+	+	+					
fɔ					+				
bɔ						+			
si							+		
tɔju								+	+

The chart may be used in either direction. The helper may give one of the words for 'wash' and the learner respond with the corresponding term for what is washed by that term. Or, the helper may give the object and the learner respond with the appropriate word for wash.

The selection drill is only one type of practice leading to flexibility, of course. To develop flexibility in vocabulary, the learner also needs to use it in many slightly different contexts and in longer and longer sequences. He needs to develop the ability to talk about the same reality in more than one way, to talk about a dog, for example, as man's best friend, as a domesticated canine and as a constant companion. He needs practice in all sorts of paraphrasing.

Model Drill V11--Using Text for the Development of Flexibility in Vocabulary Sets

In learning a set of words like <u>breakfast, lunch, dinner, supper,</u> for example, the person learning English should try to get them in texts where each of the words is used in a variety of ways. Suppose someone learning English should ask his helper these questions: (1) How many times a day do you eat? (2) At what time do you eat each meal? (3) What do you call these meals? His helper might answer with a paragraph like the following:

We eat three meals a day. We eat at three different times. We eat in the morning. We eat at noon. We eat at night. In the morning we eat at about 8:00, at noon about 12:00, and at night at about 6:00. We have names for these meals. When we eat in the morning, we call it breakfast. When we eat in the evening, we call it dinner. Some people call this supper. When we eat at noon, we call it lunch. Some people call this dinner.

A text like this provides the framework for excellent flexibility practice. The terms to be learned occur in a natural context where they are clearly defined, and the sentences are relatively simple in construction. This same information can be encoded in a variety of ways. Here is one of them:

We eat three meals a day: breakfast, lunch and dinner. Some people call lunch dinner and dinner supper. We eat breakfast in the morning, lunch at noon and dinner at night. Breakfast is at about 8:00, lunch is at about 12:00, and dinner is at about 6:00. Some people eat at 12:00 and call it dinner. We call it lunch. Some people eat at 6:00 and call it supper. We call it dinner.

In comparing the two paragraphs, it is evident that they are nearly identical in content, yet exercise in saying nearly the same thing in a different way is especially helpful in developing flexibility.

Model Drill V12--Using Visual Aids for the Development of Flexibility in Vocabulary Sets

Pictures and photographs provide the basis for good flexibility practice. A picture can be described from a number of different viewpoints, each involving much of the same information. Going through each description in turn, the learner repeats the same set of vocabulary in slightly different contexts, and this activity helps to reinforce his understanding and appropriate usage.

A detailed analysis of these activities shows that both substitution and selection techniques are involved. The learner substitutes vocabulary in sentence structures, one item for a descriptive phrase, one way of saying something for a slightly different one. From the permissible range of alternative ways to say things, the learner practices by selecting first one way and then the other. Activity of this kind is extremely valuable for the development of flexibility in using both grammatical structures and vocabulary.

18.3 Generation

Given a set of vocabulary, it is possible to use it for encoding a variety of messages, depending upon the grammatical structures which one employs. Generation practice deals with just such activity. In Chapter 15, where principles were recommended for projecting texts in various ways, several of the examples involved generation. It is possible, for example, to take a text as it stands and replace its set of objects, events and abstracts with a different set. It is also possible to take a given text with its set of vocabulary and radically redesign the structure and sequences of the text. Both types of activity involve generation.

Model Drill V13--Using Different Texts for the Development of Generative Skill with a Vocabulary Set

In generation practice on sets of vocabulary, the learner can try to talk about a set in a variety of ways, each requiring a particular grammatical sequence. Each of the ways may require slight modifications in the use of the set and may call for paraphrases of various kinds. For example, a mother might give her daughter instructions on the preparation of certain foods for a meal:

Mary, I want you to prepare some things for supper. First, peel the potatoes. Then scrape the carrots, shell the peas and scale the fish. Then later, pit the cherries.

The daughter, in reporting this later to her mother might say something like this:

I prepared the things for supper. First I peeled the potatoes. Then I scraped the carrots, shelled the peas and scaled the fish. After that I pitted the cherries.

Another adapation might be the following:

Mary prepared things for supper. First she peeled the potatoes. Then she scraped the carrots, shelled the peas and scaled the fish. After that she pitted the cherries.

In practicing each of these slightly different texts, the learner gains practice in using this particular vocabulary set because that is what is repeated each time.

Model Drill V14--Using Different Vocabulary Sets for the Development of Generrative Skill with a Text

In the short texts of Model Drill V13, certain elements of vocabulary were repeated each time:

(101) scrape carrots
(102) peel potatoes
(103) shell peas
(104) pit cherries

The events--scrape, peel, shell, pit--are similar in many ways and constitute a functional set. Closely related to it is the following set--noun forms related to these events:

(101a) scrapings of carrots
(102a) peelings of potatoes
(103a) shells of peas
(104a) pits of cherries

Another set of events involving the change of surfaces of objects is the following:

(105) pare
(106) husk
(107) shave
(108) strip

The first set (101a-104a) above can be used with only minor modifications in the texts of Model Drill V13. The second set (105-108) may require a new set of objects, although the structure of the text in general may be used in nearly the same form. Chapter 15 chould be consulted again with the concept of generation in mind as it pertains to vocabulary.

18.4 Creativity

There is perhaps no way to teach a person how to use his vocabulary creatively, although it is apparent that many are experts at it. Some seem to sense the limitations in the normal use of words, yet know just how far they can go in stretching them over new conceptual territories. The advertiser, for example, who joined Volkswagen to speak, was showing true signs of creativity: the use of words in new, idiosyncratic yet meaningful ways. Creativity involves more than the size of one's vocabulary; it is also a matter of testing and experimenting to see just how much one can stretch its use. The learner has reached the level of creativity when he can use his proficienty--at all levels of structure--to do what he wants it to do.

Chapter Nineteen

Learning to Make Sense

Except for a brief excursion in Chapter 15 into the content of learly learning cycles, Part Three has dealt almost exclusively with the mechanics of acquiring a new language. We can speak fluently and at great length, however, and make little sense. Making sense involves, among other things, knowing the associated culture.

Communication is a sine qua non of culture. No community can exist without it. Language is one specialized form of communication. Language and human life are inseparable.

Dealienation has been one of the fundamental themes of this book. In Part One we tried to show how lack of language proficiency may keep the alien from significant participation in a community. Yet learning the mechanics of language is not enough, for if the alien hopes to abandon some of his alien ways, he will have to use the language effectively in his adopted community.

Authenticity is a recurring theme in this book, as seen in the emphasis on authentic text material as the basis of one's program. The alien's own world view must be kept out of the picture as much as possible. The underlying assumption is that language is both a reflection of world view and one of its shapers.[1] Through language the learner gets a view of the world as it appears to his helper and other members of his new family, and as he acquires the language he comes to see and talk about that world in a similar way.

Language reflects a kind of folk-scientific view of the world, the common-sense view to which most people subscribe. Language acquisition involves a confrontation with this perspective on reality. For example, in any language one can probably state that the world is round, but whether or not it is really thought to be so will depend on the common-sense view held by the community. The feeling that such a statement may be interpreted as a deception or a mistake is part of what the learner seeks to acquire in order to function in that community as an adopted member.

Loewen[2] recounts how the highly intelligent Choco Indian leader, Aureliano, first understood that the earth was round, that land consisted of great "islands" in one enormous sea and so on. Aureliano's dealienation from the West took a big step forward when he learned this new geography. Loewen's dealienation from Aureliano's people likewise advanced when he understood what Aureliano's previous conceptions had been.

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[1] We do not mean this in any highly deterministic sense. People do learn new value systems, do change their minds. Language exerts its pressures, but does not guarantee conformity. See Carroll 1964b; Frake 1964.

[2] Loewen 1962:131-132; 1966

In this chapter we look closely at the content of what is talked about, at the culture of the people whose language we are learning, seeking ways of incorporating cultural insights into learning cycles. Such selection becomes more and more important as the learner develops other skills.

19.1 Culture and Cultural Perspective

A few years ago in West Africa one of the authors happened to notice at a dinner party that as the waiters were serving pie to each of the guests, pieces were places in front of the guests in random fashion with the point in any direction. Each of the Americans, he noticed, turned the pie so that the point aimed right at his stomach and then began to eat. The Africans and the British, however, began to eat without changing the position of the pie. From the author's point of view, they ate their pie backwards.

An American may be unaware of the existence of a pie orientation rule in his "plan for behavior" until it is brought to his attention. Yet it is learned just as thoroughly as the ABS's or multiplication tables or ways of tying shoes. It is one manifestation of the learned, shared, symbolic behavior which we call American culture; and cultural perspective (Chapter 4) is that particular way of looking at the world and everything in it as a particular cultural system defines it.

Awareness of one's own cultural perspective may never arise until the cultural perspective of others is studied, or until one becomes an alien. Then comes the vigorous clash of perspectives that at first drives many aliens to distraction. It is partly to reduce this clash that we need to build cultural perspective into learning materials.[3]

But just what does cultural perspective consist of? How is it organized? We can talk in terms of trivial examples of cultural behavior, like the feeling that pieces of pie should be oriented in a particular way, but how can the learner of a new language and culture get at the tremendous problem of the complexity of the patterns of human behavior? How can he use them in learning to make sense? In becoming bilingual?

We suggest a simple classification of cultural behavior designed to help the learner to see himself and the new culture more systematically and to begin his search for greater awareness. A full discussion of why we suggest this particular organization or outline of cultural systems is beyond the scope of this book. The classification, however, should prove useful to the learner.

The following classification is not intended as pigenholes for behavior. No example of behavior belongs to any single category. Normal behavior, rather, is

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[3] A periodical devoted to increasing cultural insight in people who are not professional anthropologists but are living abroad is Practical Anthropology (Box 1041, New Canaan, Connecticut 06840, U.S.A.). It is edited with Christian missionaries in mind but is often highly relevant to other overseas residents and language learners as well.

so complex that it may consist of components from all categories at the same time. Sets of "components" of culture are analogous to components of meaning (Chapter 18). We give an outline of our categories first to help the reader see their structure and scope.[4]

I. Cultural systems (structures, patterns, competence)

    A. Individual (systems of which the individual is the fundamental human unit; used by the individual at all times)

        1. Orientation systems

            a. Spatial
            b. Temporal

        2. Internalization systems

            a. Learning
            b. Ideological (mood, knowledge, values, meaning, religion, sense of history)

    B. Interactional (systems in which a unit of interaction larger than the individual is the fundamental unit; systems that make groups possible, that give them cohesion or destroy them, that provide their nature and function; used by group at all times)

        1. Linkage systems (communication systems in a specific sense; language, codes, gestures)
        2. Protection systems (by which identity is defended against someone or something outside)
        3. Projection systems (by which identity is expanded or imposed on someone or something outside)
        4. Ecological systems (relation to non-human environment)
        5. Social systems (relation to individuals and groups)

II. Cultural Behavior (realization, manifestation, performance)

    19.11 Cultural Systems and Cultural Behavior. The first dichotomy in the above outline is that between cultural systems and cultural behavior. To illustrate this important distinction with an example from language, suppose someone is talking and, in a slip of the tongue, says:

    (1) *It was a brilliant breen.
    (2) *Jim mas asleep in the living room.
    (3) *... the peck of pickled pepper Peper Piper picked.
    (4) *etcetera

instead of what he "intended" to say:

    (1a) It was a brilliant green.
    (2a) Jim was asleep in the living room.

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[4] This attempt at analyzing a set of interlocking, highly generic systems was stimulated by Hall 1959:171-176.

(3a) ... the peck of pickled peppers Peter Piper picked.
(4a) etcetera

If he notices his own mistake, he may correct it. If he does not notice it, he will assume that he said what he intended. If someone else notices it (or even if he does not), he will mentally correct what was said to what he thinks was intended, if he can figure out what that was.

The speaker's normal intention is to behave according to the system. He carries a "plan" of his language and cultural systems in his head. This plan specifies how the systems are to be used. It is for the most part learned, but may in part be hereditary (Chapter 2).

Speaking, then, is the realization or manifestation of one's attempt to say what he means in an appropriate form, although it frequently falls short of complete accuracy. Language is one of the linkage systems of culture. When spoken or heard, language is a manifestation of culture in behavior.

A coach may be a brilliant strategist, but be unable to play his game well because of his age or stature or lack of skill. He has high competence in the cultural system, the plan of the game, but very little potential in its behavior.

A driver has a learned pattern of rules including not only traffic laws, but also informal rules governing his proximity to another car as he passes (spatial system permits closer proximity in Bangkok than in New York), how long he waits before starting after a traffic light turns green (temporal system specifies longer wait in New York than in Bangkok), and even how he sits in the driver's seat (spatial system permits bus and truck drivers in Thailand to sit with their right shoulder considerably nearer the windshield than the left). Such rules are all parts of a driver's technique, his competence, what he expects to do. Often, of course, he does not do it. He may be daydreaming and allow more time than he intends when the light turns green. He may pass "too close" or swing out "too wide." His manifestation of the cultural plan in behavior varies within specified limits.

We cannot understand a new cultural system apart from its manifestation in behavior. In many parts of the world a man would feel that it is very wrong to marry one's father's brother's daughter, but to marry one's father's sister's daughter may be considered very desirable. His feelings may be very strong, and he may share them with other members of his community. As a child he learned by example, by emotional reaction and by direct injunction, through observation and imitation of adult behavior.

The learner has no way of discovering underlying cultural patterns unless someone explains people's behavior. He can get at the structure only through an examination of behavior.

When behavior is inconsistent, sporadic or complicated, or when there is considerable variety in the systems followed by different members of a community, the learner may have a great deal of difficulty sorting things out. But considerable sorting must be done. Dealienation involves the learning of major parts of

the blue print underlying the manifest behavior of the domestic and determining how the domestic interprets and evaluates the learner's behavior.

19.12 Cultural Behavior Manifesting Cultural Systems. Any particular behavior may be a manifestation of many cultural systems operating simultaneously. For example, imagine a street scene in Paris of 1949 when one of the authors lived there. A man enters a sidewalk café, sits down and orders a Coke, somewhat uncommon in Paris at that time. The Coke is delivered by a waiter. This event seems simple and commonplace. But what is really happening?

Customer and waiter belong to two different social systems. Buying a Coke in Paris in 1949 marked the buyer as an American. It set the buyer and seller off by the well-defined label of nationality.

There were also other aspects of appearance and behavior that marked the customer as foreign. He spoke French, but it was with an accent. His mannerisms, his gestures, the cut of his clothes, his choice of necktie, even his haircut, could have marked him as a foreigner. Ordering a Coke helped to reinforce other signs of his alienness.

Ordering a drink in a sidewalk café is not a common practice of the average American. At home, when he is tired and thirsty, he might order a Coke at a soda fountain or in a small restaurant. Seeing people ordering drinks in the sidewalk café, he senses that it serves similar functions to the drugstore, and applies his own rules accordingly in the new setting.

The waiter serves the Coke, and assuming that the function of the café is similar to those at home, the American prepares for a simple economic transaction. Although customer and waiter represent two different social systems, economic systems of their respective cultures are similar enough at this point to permit interaction. The American notably translates the value of the price scribbled on the check back into cents as he pays the bill, relating it to his economic system.

This economic transaction is based on the two economic systems (French and American), and is part of a large complex of systems which are called ecological, because of the way in which they are involved in relating people to environment and their basic need for food, clothing and shelter.

Placing the order involves the use of linkage systems. If the American speaks French or the Frenchman English, the linkage in this case may be largely through linguistic systems. On the other hand, the American might have to point to the words "Coca Cola" on a price list, or to a bottle on another table, or in some other way identify his need.

Linkage systems are special communication systems which make it possible for meaning to pass from one individual or group to another. There is a sense in which all cultural systems are communication systems. Linkage systems, however, give specific structure and form to messages.

The casual observer of this incident might think that the French and American systems mesh very well. The American gets his drink, the Frenchman his money. However, in ideological systems, there is significant clash, usually unstated and often out-of-awareness to the American. The Frenchman looks on the American's choice of drinks with scorn, and the incident reinforces his stereotype of the not-quite-civilized American.

The Frenchman knows he does not like Coke, knows that it is a terrible drink, whether or not he has tried it. Furthermore, it is extremely expensive. The two ideological systems are strongly different with respect to beverages, and the Frenchman tends to be quite intolerant of Coke drinkers. The scorn may show itself in linkage behavior--a look, a supercilious tilt of the head, and so on. Or it may be carefully masked because of the role behavior required by the social and economic systems.

Alcoholic beverages fit into the American's system of values in a very different way from those of the French. The American considers milk a suitable drink for adults, and may like it with a meal. He dislikes plain mineral water, but soft drinks are his favorite thirst quenchers. Furthermore, he drinks more soft drinks in Europe than at home because he has heard that the water will make him ill. Wine is something very special, if he uses it at all.

The Frenchman drinks more wine than water. Except for water, it is the cheapest drink available, and as a child he was told that water gives him frogs in the stomach.

The meaning, the emotional coloring, and the ideology surrounding different drinks is strikingly different in the two men.

When the waiter brings the bill for the bottle of Coke plus ice, and the customer finds that it is nearly equivalent to an American dollar, he immediately becomes angry and assumes that the waiter, or the café, or French people in general, or everybody outside the United States, is trying to cheat him. Stories of tourists' being overcharged are recalled, his defensive systems are aroused, and he wants to protect himself.

He may follow one of several courses of action. He might pay the bill, vowing never to stop there again and carrying away daydreams of retribution. His defensive reactions may provoke him to aggressive behavior, activating his projection systems, and may cause him to share this experience with other tourists as an example of how the French are out to get him. Years later, he may still be using it as a standard reason for not giving the French economic aid.

Or his protective systems may be manifested in an inquiry about the price, with demands to see the menu or the manager. In some cases he will then pay the bill with an aggrieved air that lets the world know that somebody has been guilty of aggression toward him. In other cases he will argue loud and long, manifesting his own projection systems in return.

The other patrons who were sitting in the café when the American arrived and watched the proceedings were perhaps still sitting there when he left, because

they were operating on a different time system from that of the American. Sidewalk cafés are intended to be used for watching the passing scene, conversing, even reading. Soda fountains are for consuming drinks and running.

Sidewalk cafés are still rare in the United States. There are a few imitations, of course, in New York, on terraces or other private property. To an American a café on the sidewalk seems to interfere with pedestrians! Private business should not be conducted in a public thoroughfare! Even the spatial systems of the Frenchman and the American are different.

All of the systems involved in this incident have been learned. Both the Frenchman and American have been reared in environments where other people typically held values similar to his own and expressed them in similar forms of behavior. In fact, the learning process itself was a system, as seen in the fact that French children learn somewhat differently from American children.

This system for learning, the internalization system, is of course active in the encounter of the American and Frenchman. The American has learned that Frenchmen are cheats and liars, charging exhorbitant sums for a soft drink, wasting their time sitting in cafés drinking all afternoon. Or, perhaps, he has learned that in 1949 Coke is expensive in a French café because it is a drink imported chiefly for tourists. Perhaps he learns that cafés are not soda fountains, that boulevards are not just for traffic, but for beauty and entertainment and rest. Learning can deepen stereotypes or bring fresh insight.

In the outline and the examples above, we have only begun to illustrate how cultural systems operate. A full definition and discussion is beyond the scope of this book. If the learner can at least gain some feeling for the investigation and organization of culture through the use of this model, perhaps it can bring greater relevance to his learning cycles.

19.13 Individual Systems (and Behavior) vs. Interactional Systems (and Behavior). The second major dichotomy in the outline of Section 19.1 has to do with the fundamental unit in which the system or its manifested behavior operates. We distinguish individual from interactional.

The concept of father is unthinkable in relation to one person alone. A father implies at least two people--the person who is father, and the person of whom he is father. A relationship to a second person is implicit. As part of a social structure, father implies the interaction of more than one person.

The concept of happiness, on the other hand, is intelligible in relation to one person alone. It is an internal state of an individual.

These two examples given above are not cultural systems as such, but are intended to illustrate the use of the terms individual and interactional in this context. A linkage system is a cultural system which links members of a group, a form of interaction. A protection system is a cultural system by which the group or individual protects himself (usually against another group or individual), and so implies interaction with others.

A person's sense of time and space, however, does not depend on interaction with others in this same primary sense. We can know something whether this knowledge is related to someone else or not. We cannot communicate without someone else.

In saying this, we must also point out again, however, that all cultural systems are internal within the individual. They are all learned. None of them would be possible, furthermore, without groups, and without interaction. However, the fundamental unit or locus of one type or system would seem to be the individual, and the other as some unit of interaction larger than the individual.

19.2 Interrelations of Cultural Systems

To show their interrelation we organize Cultural Systems and Cultural Behavior from the outline above, as in Figure 1.

The chart differentiates 81 typical system manifestations in behavior, or looked at the other way, 81 types of combinations of systems underlying behavior. AA, for example, refers to the manifestation of spatial system in spatial behavior as when someone moves his chair a more comfortable distance from the person to whom he is talking. The distance between speakers differs from culture to culture[5] (Chapter 22). Latins stand closer when talking than do North Americans. Lovers stand closer than do strangers.

Cultural System \ Cultural Behavior	Spatial	Temporal	Learning	Ideological	Linkage	Protection	Projection	Ecological	Social
Spatial	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI
Temporal	BA	BB	BC	BD	BE	BF	BG	BH	BI
Learning	CA	CB	CC	CD	CE	CF	CG	CH	CI
Ideological	DA	DB	DC	DD	DE	DF	DG	DH	DI
Linkage	EA	EB	EC	ED	EE	EF	EG	EH	EI
Protection	FA	FB	FC	FD	FE	FF	FG	FH	FI
Projection	GA	GB	GC	GD	GE	GF	GG	GH	GI
Ecological	HA	HB	HC	HD	HE	HF	HG	HH	HI
Social	IA	IB	IC	ID	IE	IF	IG	IH	II

Figure 1. Chart of interrelations between cultural systems and cultural behavior

[5]Hall 1966:106-122

But the spatial system is seen in other behavior as well. When people move closer together, the loudness of the voice diminishes and speech styles change slightly. Notice how difficult it is to deliver a lecture to someone three to five feet away, or to talk intimately with someone across a large room, even if no one else is likely to overhear. The intersection of A and E, then, refers to the spatial system manifested in language behavior.

But spatial behavior can be part of the manifestation of a linkage system, too (intersection EA). The lecturer who has been droning on moves out in front of his desk, nearer the class, and sits down on the corner of the desk. The atmosphere is immediately more relaxed, students much more likely to ask questions and interact. Spatial behavior was used (along with change of voice and other signals) to indicate that the lecturer is open to accepting discussion now.

Probably all cultural events involve intersections of several systems simultaneously. This was illustrated crudely in the incident at the café. In many events, one intersection or another seems to predominate when looked at from any given perspective.

A simple meal, for example, may be seen primarily in terms of the underlying ecological systems. A human being needs so much food each day and is involved in intricate economic networks which enable him to acquire it. The food is processed and delivered through other elaborate networks. These behaviors can be seen in terms of HH: ecological behavior manifesting ecological systems.

When a friend is invited for a meal, it becomes social behavior and manifests the social system. If a legislator is invited by a lobbyist, the meal may manifest a projective system, and protective systems as well, as each tries to get his own way. A meal may also be a manifestation of an ideological system, as seen in the frustration, or even rage, of the American in Thailand who says, "I'm always inviting Thai to our house for dinner, but they never invite us back." He has a set of values relating to eating in the home to which the Thai does not respond.

This analysis of sets of systems is by no means complete, and improved organizations are badly needed. On the other hand, it is offered as a device by which the learner can ask himself, "How much of the map of culture am I covering? How much of life's complexity is included in my plan of study?"

For each of the intersections the learner can generate a set of questions. For GI, for example, he can ask specific questions on the theme: How does social behavior demonstrate projection systems? In the social interaction of individuals or groups, how can I see the patterns of aggression, of aggrandizement, of expanding one's boundaries, of getting the best of the other person, of social climbing and so on. And for IG he asks himself: How does projective behavior demonstrate social system? Who yells at whom? Who pushes whom out of the way? In effect, what is the pecking order?

19.3 Clash of Cultural Perspectives

The concepts of interference and contamination, discussed in Chapter 8, are also important in understanding cultural systems and cultural behavior. The extension of these concepts into other areas of life was hinted at in the earlier discussion. With the matrix in mind, we can look more closely at interference and contamination in the other cultural systems.

Spatial interference is seen in the behavior of an American in Tokyo. Traffic patterns are different there, so that when he steps off the curb, he tends to look in the "wrong" direction before crossing the street. He automatically turns his head to look for oncoming cars from the left, when for safety's sake, he should look to the right.

One of the authors in his overseas residence uses a car with righthand drive and quite naturally goes to that side to enter the car. This habit used to stay with him for weeks when he returned to the States where he uses a car with lefthand drive. When he returned overseas, once again he had to change his orientation. It took a few weeks to correct the pull of his habits--up to the level of a second cultural system--and enter the car on the right side. In more recent years, however, the change has been easier. He has largely lost the effects of interference and become largely bisystemic in this regard.

Ideological interference is seen in the clash between world views. Some see the world essentially in personalistic terms, while for others it is conceptualized in terms of a mechanical model.[6]

The American who is still influenced by the Protestant ethic, in which work is almost sacred and idleness is immoral, may even characterize as "lazy" people who do much more actual physical labor than he does. The fact that they prefer not to work hard, that they are not troubled by taking off two hours and socializing in the middle of an unfinished job, sometimes leads him to make harsh judgments about their attitude toward work.

The concept of economic interference helps to explain the confusion which often arises when a person raised in a cooperative society tries to get along in a society where competition is an important economic theme. For example, Americans living in the Philippines are often heard to comment on the practice of sidewalk vendors. One often sees several selling the same goods on the same corner or next to the same building. To the American this seems silly. Why not split up and locate near another vendor selling something different? For the American, selling involves the profit-making motive, but for the traditional Filipino there is a strong sense of pleasure and companionship derived from associations with vendors of the same goods, perhaps even stronger than the desire to make a profit.

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[6]Honigman 1959:533

Conflicts stemming from social interference are seen in reactions to marriage rules, polygamy and concepts of adultery. Certainly the widely-reported practices of wife-lending among the Eskimo generate considerable social interference for many Americans. To many the very thought is repugnant, and one's own participation in such a practice, either as borrower or lender, is beyond the wildest imagination. The roles of husband and wife differ radically among Eskimos and Americans.[7]

Americans living in Latin America may experience difficulty in adjusting to the pattern of afternoon siestas, a problem of temporal interference.

Cultural interference can be seen in all of the systems which have been differentiated. At any point where new and old cultures call for different kinds of behavior, confusion may arise. In Figure 2 the space between the domestic-emic matrix and the alien-emic matrix represents cultural interference. In developing an etic view of the similarities and differences, the alien seeks to bridge this space, imitate domestic performance, and gradually acquire the competence which the domestic matrix implies.
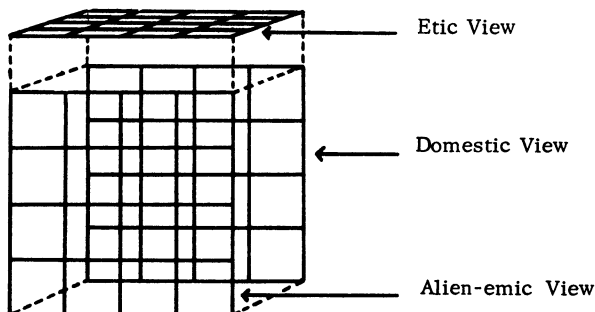
Figure 2. Cultural interference

Developing cross-cultural perspective is more than a perfunctory change of cultural behavior. It requires a rather thorough-going revision of one's normal ways of perceiving the world. Like all of the learning which we have been discussing, reducing the clash and becoming bicultural begins with awareness, and its development involves eliciting the right kind of data and processing it for learning cycles.

19.4 Awareness

Cultural awareness, necessary if one is to make sense with a language, comes in ways which are similar to those discussed earlier with reference to language. What was said in previous chapters only needs further expansion and illustration

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[7]See Goldschmidt 1951: "The Case of the Borrowed Wife," one of a series of radio programs designed to teach some of the basic concepts of anthropology.

to see how it applies to cultural data as well. In Chapter 21 there will be further elaboration of ways to develop cultural perspective on a broader scale.

Model Investigation C1--Developing Awareness of Culture

An incident in which the learner notices unusual behavior can open the way to cultural insights with the right kind of questioning. Shortly after his arrival in the Philippines a few years ago, one of the authors was in a supermarket at the check-out counter paying for a roll of film. One clerk put the film into a bag and another took it and started to carry it to the car. Taken by surprise, the writer took the bag from the clerk, telling him that he was quite able to carry it. Struck by the "unusual behavior" of the clerk, later on the learner discussed the experience with his helper. .The story of status and role and social organization began to unfold, and many new insights came into view. Actually, in not accepting the offer of the clerk, he had created a problem for him with his co-workers, for the alien had not allowed him to do his job. Experiences such as this--things which strike the learner as "odd"--can provide a basis for developing awareness if they are followed up with care.

Model Investigation C2--Developing Awareness of Culture

In reading ethnographic material, the local newspaper, a novel by a local writer or other culturally oriented material, the learner is likely to encounter interesting details of many kinds. With the right kind of exploration, many useful insights may be gained and developed for use in learning cycles. For example, in the following paragraph about Hal-Farrug, a village in Malta, the American reader is likely to notice and react to the relationship between social standing, education and public behavior. For many, these seem to be strange restrictions. On the other hand, stumbling onto a paragraph like this is valuable, for it may lead to a discovery of why eating in public is felt to be "not nice."

A well-educated person should not eat in public. This also is considered to be a typical village--therefore, "low"--trait. Neither should a person of standing be seen carrying tools or groceries, unless they are very thoroughly wrapped and their contents disguised. This was brought home to me when I bought half a dozen 10-inch spikes in a shop that was a few steps from where we were living. As I was returning home immediately, I was going to carry them unwrapped in my hand. Several friends said that this was not nice. I should wrap them. They insisted this was the way a person of my social standing should behave.[8]

Many cultural questions are evoked by these few sentences--and perhaps hundreds more may be aroused as the answers to these are followed up:

1) What is a well-educated person? Does the term include people with traditional training or only those who have had formal schooling? How much education is necessary to be well-educated? Does it take more than formal education?

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[8]Boissevain 1969:49

What? Is social standing required? Financial position? What is the attitude of non-educated people to those who are educated?

   2) What does it mean to "eat in public?" With whom may one eat? Is the same group acceptable under all conditions? Are there special occasions when the group may be larger or smaller? What does it consist of in such a case?

   3) And what about people who are not well-educated? What is the attitude toward their eating in public? Are there no restrictions? Will some villagers avoid eating in public? What is the attitude of others toward them if they do? Would it be seen as putting on airs, or as evidence of real quality and upbringing?

   4) What are other "low" traits? What is the opposite of a "low" trait? How is this difference expressed in the language?

   5) Are there no well-educated villagers? Is the equation low trait = a village trait absolute? How big must a community be in order not to be a "low" village? What characteristics must it have?

   6) Is a "person of standing" identical with a "well-educated person"? If not, what are the avenues by which someone becomes a "person of standing"?

   7) If there were no danger of such a person being seen, would he still refrain from carrying unwrapped things? Or would his sense of status be such that he would be likely to wrap them whether he were seen or not? What are the typical articles that would be similarly wrapped? Are there prestige objects which the person would want to be seen carrying--camera, tape recorder, briefcase?

   There is no need to elaborate these illustrative questions further, except to point out that they should also be extended to the alien. What allowances are made for aliens of various classes? Are these allowances resented? What is the feeling toward aliens who violate such cultural rules?

   Of course, many of these questions might be answered by the author in his development of his theme: the one paragraph is only a small part. However, the discussion with helpers can provide the basis for several good learning cycles.

Model Investigation C3--Developing Awareness of Culture

   Figure 1, the chart of interrelations between cultural systems and cultural behavior presented earlier in this chapter, gives the learner a framework by which to search for many ramifications of cultural differences and similarities.

   Take, for example, cultural information which comes in the following form:

> A serious wife will be a hardworking, reasonable and moderate woman. She will keep her house neat. She will feed and clothe the family economically and well. She will be on good terms with her neighbors but will not spend too much time gossiping. She will know how to stretch a hundred-franc note without having the reputation for being stingy. She will supplement her husband's income by making clothes, raising

chickens and rabbits. If the need for money is desperate she will even take over the arduous task of raising silkworms or working in the grape harvest without neglecting her regular household duties. She will not object if her husband goes to the café so long as he does not spend too much money or drink too much or come home too late for meals. She will not even object if he is moderately immoderate --that is, if now and then he goes on a bit of a binge. She will keep the children from running the streets when they are young and she will keep them clean. She will teach them good manners and will encourage them to love and fear their father. She may expect her husband to cooperate in disciplining the children, but except on rare occasions she may not ask him to spend his free time taking care of the children.[9]

At first, perhaps, only such questions as the following will come to mind:

1) Why is raising silkworms such an arduous task?
2) What does the husband do in the café?
3) Where does the wife draw the line on his binges?
4) Why do the children fear their father?
5) Why does he care for them so infrequently?

Such questions may seem irrelevant to the helper, yet they reflect the American's bias and his normal interests and concerns. In exploring the problem, he is likely to uncover helpful insights which the paragraph itself does not furnish.

The chart suggests many lines of investigation. Some of them may not generate helpful insights; others, however, are likely to be very productive.

The first step is for the learner to ask himself what cultural systems of Figure 1 are most obviously suggested by the cultural behavior described. In this account, for example, we immediately see indication of information relating to social systems (wife's behavior, husband's behavior, neighbor's, and so on), ecological systems (feeding the family, stretching the money, raising silkworms), linkage systems (gossiping, teaching good manners), ideological systems (stinginess, attitude toward husband's behavior, good manners, attitude toward father), protection systems (keeping the children from running in the streets, keeping them clean), learning systems (children learning to love and fear their father), projection systems (teaching and disciplining the children), temporal systems (free time, too much time, late for meals), spatial systems (going to the café, running in the streets).

Next the learner can begin to follow up the hints which he has had of one or more of these systems. In this case, for example, perhaps he is intrigued by the ideological system and the information which he may be able to acquire. He can begin by trying to gain more information about how much time is acceptable for gossiping and passing the time of day. Here he sees the value system in

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[9]Wylie 1964:126-127

relation to the use of time, or temporal behavior as it reflects a part of the ideological system (intersection DB in Figure 1).

Once a frame of reference has been established, the learner can begin to ask specific questions and make specific observations of behavior in this area. Given two or three individuals who are considered to be on good terms with their neighbors, but who are not considered to spend too much time gossiping, what is the apportionment of their time in relation to neighbors? Whom do they visit, when and how often? Where do they meet friends regularly? At market? In the office? In a café or restaurant? On the front porch in the evening? At religious observances? The learner can discuss such questions with members of his new family or other helpers.

As he does so, of course, he is dealing with several intersections of Figure 1 simultaneously. On the question of who meets whom and how often, he is in intersection BB, and on how often they meet for a meal in the restaurant he is in AB.

But he is interested in the values placed on all of this for the moment. The women should not spend too much time gossiping, but the men can go regularly to the café. Are other places equally good for the man to spend his leisure time (DA)? Is going to a café better than going to a movie, or a cock fight? Why?

How much time may a man reasonably spend in a café or in other forms of relaxation and social behavior (DB)? What do people think of someone who spends too much time? Too little?

Is there a sharp difference between childhood behavior and adult behavior in such things, both for men and women? How and when do young people begin to make the transition? How does a young man learn to fit into men's company in the café or elsewhere, and how is he received by elders (DC)?

What do people think about the discrepancy (to the alien) between attitudes toward male leisure and female leisure (DD)? How do they view alien women or alien men who have different patterns? How are the differences between the sexes rationalized?

The reader may have noticed the movement of our discussion across Figure 1, considering the possibilities of investigating each intersection.

What standard expressions are used to characterize people who follow the norms in this particular area of behavior, and those who deviate (DE)? What kind of gossip centers around the deviants? What is said to and about those who conform to the ideal and those who do not?

If there is an extreme deviant, such as a man who spends all of his time in the café, or is completely irresponsible in use of leisure time, how does the wife, or the community, go about protecting his family (DF)? How does the wife protect herself and her children when he is wasteful and fails to provide? What if a woman is like this?

To what degree does the husband or wife feel obligated to force conformity to these values on the spouse (DG)? What means are taken?

How do people see economic position in relation to leisure time? Which is the greater value? Is greater income seen as a way to increased leisure? Can a wealthy person safely spend more time in gossip or in the café? What opportunity does work provide for social interaction, and how important is this (DH)?

All of these questions have been related also to DI--social behavior as manifestation of the ideological system in regard to the proper amount of leisure-time social interaction.

The questioning has led across the chart at one particular level. It could have led up or down. In actual practice it will jump around. But in any case, after a session of discussion the learner can return to the chart and evaluate just what intersections he was exploring. He can then push into areas previously overlooked by noting intersections which he has missed.

Model Investigation C4--Developing Awareness of Culture

We might generalize the questions which arise from the different intersections of Figure 1 as follows:

1) What does cultural behavior A tell us about cultural system B?
2) How is cultural system C manifested in cultural behavior D?

> Sidda, four years old, is playing in the front of his house with his cousin, Bugga, aged five. Sidda is sitting on the ground holding a stone and pounding. Bugga is piling the sand up like rice for the pounding. Bugga says, "Sidda, give me the stone. I want to pound." Sidda puts the stone on the ground, "Come and get it." Bugga says, "Don't come with me. I am going to the godhouse to play." Sidda offers, "I will give you the stone." He gives the stone to Bugga, who orders him, "Go into the house and bring some water." Sidda goes and brings water in a brass bowl. Bugga takes it and pours it on a heap of sand. He mixes the water with the sand, using both hands. Then, "Sidda, take the bowl inside." Sidda takes the bowl and returns with his mouth full of peanuts. He puts his hand into his shirt pocket, finds more peanuts and puts them in his mouth. Bugga sees the peanuts and asks, "Where did you get them?" "I got them inside the house." "Where are they?" "In the winnowing basket." Bugga gets up and goes inside the house, returning with a bulging shirt pocket. Both sit down near the pile of sand. Bugga says to Sidda, "Don't tell mother." "No, I won't." Sidda eats all of his peanuts and moves toward Bugga holding his hands out. Bugga wants to know, "Did you finish yours?" "I just brought a little, you brought a lot." Bugga refuses to give up any peanuts and Sidda begins to cry. Bugga pats him on the back, saying, "I will give you peanuts later on." They get up and go into the house. Because they are considered to be brothers, Sidda and Bugga do not fight. When he is wronged,

the older Bugga threatens to desert Sidda. When the situation is
reversed, the younger Sidda breaks into tears.[10]

In the foregoing description, Beals ends up with some general statements
which, in effect, tell us what the cultural behavior described reveals about cul-
tural systems and how the behavior is the manifestation of cultural systems, par-
ticularly projective and protective systems. This will not be enough for the
learner. He will want to explore further. Why are the cousins considered to be
brothers? What other kinsmen do not fight? With whom does one fight? What
other projective and protective systems may be used between people who cannot
fight?

In all such cases, however, the investigation is a particular case of one or
other of the more general questions above. If we ask, for example, about ways
in which brothers may act aggressively toward each other, we are asking, "How
is social system manifested in projective behavior?" Or if we ask why these
boys have such peculiar ways (according to the alien) of getting their own way,
we are asking what the projective behavior tells us about social system.

Model Investigation C5--Developing Awareness of Culture

With a problem brought into view by means of the matrix; the learner next
wants to develop more detailed understanding of what is involved.

It was suggested earlier (Chapter 11) that three or more fundamental types of
configurations underly the sentences of natural languages: (1) activities, (2)
classifications and (3) descriptions. This analysis provides some basis for dif-
ferentiating questions for getting at the cultural meaning of activities, classifica-
tions and descriptions.

Activity questions can be differentiated in terms of (1) the total context and
(2) components, as the following examples illustrate:

1. Context of activity itself.

    a. Simultaneously occuring events.
       What else happening concurrently is significant to this particular ac-
       tivity?

    b. Sequentially occuring events.

       (1) What causes or precedes this event?

       (2) What event is likely to follow, or what are the likely effects?

       (3) What is the schedule of details within the event itself?

2. Components of activity.

    a. Who are the actors? How are they related?
    b. What are the objects acted upon?

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[10]Beals 1962:16

    c. What are the typical activities of each?
    d. Where does the activity take place?
    e. Where does it terminate?
    f. What are the instruments involved, if any?
    g. Who are the beneficiaries, if any?

The conversation below, which the learner might have taped (in the new language, of course), represents an embedded part of a larger sequence of activity connected with arrangements for weddings. It lends itself to a wide range of activity questions which would help to give the learner an understanding of behavior associated with weddings, and the cultural systems of which this behavior is a manifestation.

Mr. Valdez, employee: Good afternoon, Mister Buenaventura.

Mr. Buenaventura, employer: Come in, Mister Valdez. Pull up a chair. Anything I can do for you?

V: I might be interrupting something, sir.

B: No. Why? Do we have a problem?

V: Not really, sir, but I would like to ask you something, sir.

B: Anytime.

V: Well, you know, sir, Junior, my son, will be married next month.

B: Good news. Congratualtions.

V: Thank you, sir. Uh ... last night my wife and I were talking about who would be male sponsor. And we were hoping that you would consent to be the sponsor.

B: Me?

V: Yes, sir.

B: But why me?

V: You are the best choice, sir.

B: It might be ...

V: Uh ... Mister Buenaventura, I would like to explain something.

B: Of course.

V: You might think, sir, that the reason why we chose you to be the sponsor at Junior's wedding is because you're the vice-president of the company. That is not true, sir.

B: I know. You're not a stranger to me.

V: That's why we were not sure. You might be offended, sir.

B: Why?

V: Uh ... uh ...

B: Don't worry. I'm broad-minded. When is the wedding?

V: The first of the month, sir.

B: And how's the missis?

V: Fine, sir. She's running around in circles.

B: Of course. How old is Junior?

V: Twenty-seven, sir.

B: So it won't be long now before you have a grandchild, huh?

V: I guess so, sir.

B: Don't worry, and tell your missis everything is okay.

V: Thank you, sir.

B: Glad to do it.[11]

For simultaneously occurring activity, the learner will want to question his helpers about just how the father and his boss typically act in this situation. We already get some clues in the deferential language of the father and the assurances of the boss. But how loudly does each speak? How do they hold themselves? Where do they look? How close to each other do they sit? If the learner does not have a chance to observe such interviews as this, perhaps his helpers and friends can act out one for him, and perhaps they will enter into the spirit of looking for and explaining the small and subtle manifestations of behavior which show the relative roles and other significant aspects of this interchange.

Many previous and subsequent events will be forthcoming from questioning--the whole calendar of activities involved in the decision to marry, wedding preparations, the wedding itself and the activities immediately following. The learner's systematic inquiry is thus based in part on his need to obtain a clear picture of the sequencing of events, and in part on his digressing into their implications through the intersections of Figure 1.

Model Investigation C6--Developing Awareness of Culture

Information needed concerning <u>classification</u> includes these major types of questions:

1) What are the name(s) of this object?
2) What is the class to which it belongs?
3) What are some of the other objects which belong to this class?
4) What does this object consist of? What are its parts or constituent elements?
5) What is this object used for?

In the text of Model Investigation C5 there is reference to a "male sponsor," and the purpose of the interview is for the father of the groom to ask the vice-

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[11]Originally recorded in Tagalog and translated into English by a Filipino, this dialogue is adapted from Lynch 1961.

president of the company which employs him to serve in that capacity. This high-
lights the need for exploring the classification configurations involved. By what
other names is this male sponsor known? What is a female sponsor called, if
there is any such thing? Is the male sponsor a relative? Must he be a non-
relative? Should he be rich? Should he be an important person? Such questions
as these are suggested by the dialogue itself and they need to be pursued so that
a proper classification of this individual in his role can be made. What does it
involve to be a male sponsor? What are the requirements? The duties? The
privileges? What is the purpose for naming such an individual?

Model Investigation C7--Developing Awareness of Culture

Information needed concerning the description of an object or event includes
the following:

1) What are the characteristics of this object or event?
2) What objects or events are characteristically described this way?

In this same text the bridegroom, referred to as Junior, can be the subject of
further description. We already have some clues: he is 27 and male. But what
are the characteristics of a bridegroom in Tagalog society? Is this age charac-
teristic? What social position has he normally achieved? Economic position?
Is he ready to go out and live on his own, or will he still be economically depend-
ent on his parents. Is he likely to be nervous, shy? Will he enjoy the wedding,
or endure it?

Obviously, some questions lead to both description and classification, and a
rigid separation is pointless. In classification we are more concerned with in-
formation about how an object fits into a group or is distinguished from other ob-
jects or groups, whereas in description we are interested in the details charac-
teristic of the event or object.

19.5 Incorporating Cultural Awareness in Learning Cycles

Techniques for overlearning, the development of flexibility, the ability to
generate and so on, are not yet developed in areas of culture. However, any
awareness gained in the process of cultural investigation should be incorporated
in learning cycles. This means the use of culturally relevant and interesting
texts as the bases for learning cycles.

Texts which we have illustrated so far in this chapter may be narrative, de-
scriptive or expository. Any type can be used as the basis of a learning cycle.

In addition, however, the learner should not overlook the value of contrastive
and comparative texts for learning cycles.

Material written from the domestic perspective can be the basis for a short
text dealing with analogous behavior in the alien's own culture. A similar situa-
tion or theme or topic, seen first from the domestic point of view and then from
the alien perspective, can yield interesting similarities and differences. The
learner may see things overlooked earlier or reinterpret earlier observations.

Furthermore, as he tells his helper about his own country, not only is this likely to be of interest, but it may actually improve their working relationship.

By way of example, the earlier dialogue might become the basis for a series of learning cycles based on texts which describe his own culture[12] and reveal points of contrast. For example, he might describe a situation in his own community depicting the way in which employers show concern for the problems of their employees.

It is possible to develop a cycle in which domestic and alien points of view are compared. Another text can be developed around generalizations about their two cultures, or differences which are seen more clearly. Earlier similarities may turn out to mask genuine differences, or apparent differences may turn out to be true similarities. A text in which this new consensus is reflected may deal, for example, with the helper's advice to the learner on how he might find an unobtrusive way to be himself in the domestic community, something which may have escaped him earlier.

In the discussion of progression in learning cycles (Chapter 15) mention was made of pace in moving from cycle to cycle. To elaborate on this movement, a given nest on the matrix involves many themes, each of which may comprise many distinct topics. This distinction of nest-theme-topic suggests several directions of movement as the learner considers what to do next.

One alternative is to move from one nest to another. A learner might set about the study of protective systems, for example, in a set of learning cycles to be used over a period of a couple of weeks. Each day he might concentrate on a different nest involving protection.

Another alternative is to move from theme to theme within a particular nest. He might move sequentially for a time--A-B-C-D--and then develop a cycle which recaps or summarizes what he has done: ABCD, all in one cycle. Or if he should run into a topic which is significant to him, he might even develop successive cycles around particular subtopics: Aa-a' - Aa-b', and so on.

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[12] For background reading on the anthropologist's use of the term culture see Goldschmidt 1960; Honigmann 1959; Hymes 1964; Kroeber 1953; Nida 1954; Powdermaker 1966; Tax 1964; Taylor 1969; Williams 1967; Wilson 1963.

Chapter Twenty

Learning to Read and Write

Language learners who are strongly book oriented want to do their language study by laboriously deciphering the written language, making only sporadic attempts to speak. At the other extreme, some learners may succeed in learning to talk well, but remain relatively illiterate so far as the literature of the new community is concerned. At the one extreme, learners talk as though they are reading from a book, using the characteristics of written style in the spoken language. At the other, the learner may use conversational, colloquial language fluently and communicate readily on a personal basis with his own class of people, but may find the millions of printed pages around him to be relatively inaccessible.

Some long-term residents of an adopted country may gain a brilliant knowledge of literature in the new language, but remain unable to speak well enough to participate in a committee meaning. Other people with an excellent command of the spoken language, noted for their abilities as conversationalists and even as public speakers, may have to ask a servant with a fourth-grade education to read a letter in the new language.

People whose language program is of the traditional kind may be book oriented, whereas those whose orientation is like that of the present volume may be more oriented toward speech. If a community has a strong literate segment and a strong literary tradition, it is important for all learners to enter into that part of life also, as part of their dealienation.

Only one chapter in this large volume is devoted to the learning of written language, and perhaps this distribution of emphasis needs explanation. More of the learner's previous experience and education has been with books than with the techniques necessary to learn to speak a second language. The average learner is already better equipped to learn to read and write than to speak.

Furthermore, the techniques of drill and exercise by which habits can be made can be adapted for learning to read and write, and do not have to be repeated. Also, where materials are not available to help with the spoken language, we suggest techniques for the construction of the necessary learning cycles, drills, and exercises. Some construction of new reading materials can be done with the help of a talented language helper, but for the most part the learner must depend on what is available. Once he has reached the advanced stage of literacy, this is no problem, as he should be able to handle all normal written material. At the earlier stages, however, he may find very little helpful material. Suggestions have already been made for evaluating and selecting materials of this kind in Chapter 10.

There is sometimes a far greater difference between languages in the difficulty of their written language than in their speech. Obviously, some languages are easier to learn to speak than others, although all are difficult for the first few weeks. In learning to read and write, however, some languages are

extremely simple, once the learner is able to speak. The "fit" between written and spoken language may be so close that learning to read and write poses few problems.

In other languages, learning to speak and learning to read and write constitute almost separate, distinct tasks. The shape of the letters may be different. The letters may represent the sounds of the language inconsistently. The style of written language may vary considerably from the style of spoken language.

In this chapter discussion is aimed more toward the difficult written languages than the easy: Chinese, Arabic, Thai, and Tamil, for example, rather than Spanish, Indonesian and Swahili. Some of the pit-falls of the easier situations are also discussed.

One pitfall concerns the common expression heard of many languages all over the world: "this is a phonetic language."[1] The statement, made by aliens who have learned the language, is often intended to encourage the new learner to feel that his task is not an impossible one, or not to bother with some of the complications of a linguist's esoteric transcription of the language. For example, when some Westerners who are literate in Thai see Roman letter transcriptions used in modern teaching materials, they protest that there is no need for this nonsense because "Thai is a phonetic language."

People making such statements are simply reflecting the fact that they have found less inconsistency of spelling in the new language than they are used to in their own language. It is amazing, however, that people will tolerate considerable inconsistency and still feel that a language is a "phonetic language." The fact is that because they have learned the language through the written form and relied upon the traditional writing system to give them clues to pronunciation, they have missed some of the distinctions in pronunciation.

No writing system is a perfect representation of any language, but many are excellent as practical representations of the language for native speakers. Such systems can be used by the learner from the beginning. Some writing systems are such poor representations of the spoken language that the learner is well advised to postpone their use until he already knows something of the spoken language so as to avoid the delay, confusion and frustrations which the inconsistencies cause. The following criteria should be helpful in making decisions about learning procedures.

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[1] We should perhaps point out that if literally taken, the statement is tautological, and that all languages are "phonetic language" in the sense that all languages are spoken with sounds. The statement concerns the fit between writing and pronunciation, and doubtless comes from a vague realization that theoretically speaking "phonetic writing" is writing in which each sound is uniquely represented by a single symbol.

20.1 Spoken and Written Language Are Not Identical

The basis for similarity and difference between the spoken and written media of any language is presented in Figure 1.

			a
The domestic's knowledge of his own language, his "feel" for it, his "intuitions" about it.	**a'** Language structure: meaning, usage, grammar, sound system	→	**a''** Writing system: written language structure, usage, etc.

		b
The domestic's "behavior," his production, what he says or does.	**b'** Speech	**b''** Writing
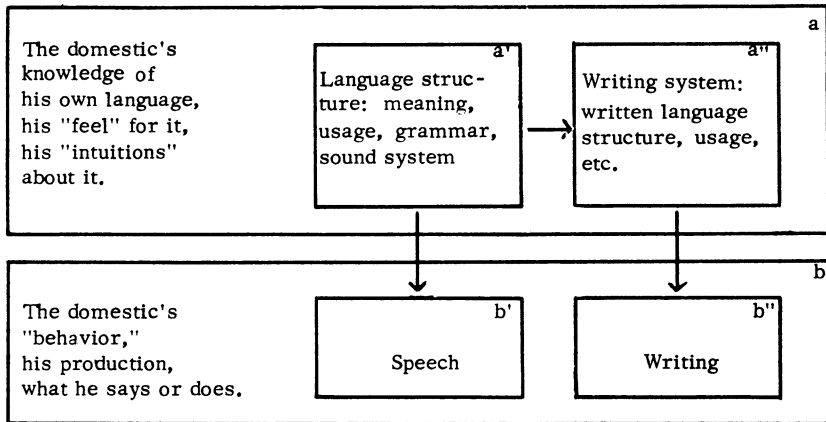
Figure 1. Relation of Speech and Writing[2]

Figure 1 represents the language abilities of an educated domestic, with the normal adult's feel for his own language structure, meaning and use, and feel for the writing system and written language based upon that structure. The upper box in Figure 1 is the conscious and subconscious knowledge which the domestic has of his own language. It is the language as an internalized cultural system (Chapter 19). It reflects the fact that written language is derived from the spoken language, but is different from the spoken language in detail, as discussed below. The arrow between box a' and a'' shows the derivation.

For an uneducated domestic without a knowledge of the written language, the right-hand box (Box a'') simply does not exist. For some languages Box a'' is not greatly different from Box a', but for other languages it is quite drastically different, as we have already intimated.

Box b represents what the speaker does with this knowledge. It is his linguistic behavior. The speaker uses his language knowledge to speak and to understand the speech of others. He uses his knowledge of the writing system and the written language to write and to understand the writing of others. Speech and writing, then, are activities which are the products of psychologically different phenomena, of partly different language conventions.

The differences between Boxes a' and a'' are varied. With reference to the stylistic level, some things which are completely natural when spoken are not

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[2]After Ritchie 1967:58

quite appropriate when written. There will be differences in this respect also according to the audience for which one is writing (Chapter 22).

Such differences may also arise from differences of dialect. The writing system and written language may be standardized, based upon a dialect which is different from the spoken dialect in the learner's community. Sometimes such differences are minor, as between educated speakers in New York City and Boston. Both have the same language, the same writing system, but Box a' is slightly different for those two areas.

The difference can be much sharper, as between London Cockney and Standard English as spoken in Britain. Box a" is more nearly like Standard British English than Cockney. It is likely that an alien learning English in London from Cockneys would find this to be a considerable problem. In order to become literate, he would also have to learn Standard British English as well.

What is often called a dialect difference may sometimes be so great as to constitute a language difference. In many countries the written language is based upon one of several closely related languages, and all well-educated speakers of other languages adapt to it. Thus an alien learning Myang, the language of Northern Thailand (only partly mutually comprehensible with standard Thai) will find that to be an educated person he must in effect learn an additional language (Standard Thai, which is quite similar) in order to be able to read and write.

Some of the differences come about simply because of long literary traditions. Some of these conventions may have also existed in the spoken language at an earlier time. Others may have been borrowed from other languages into the written language, but not into the spoken language.

One of the main differences between written and spoken languages arises from the very nature of the media. Because spoken language is ephemeral, temporary,[3] produced more rapidly, and with less opportunity for reflection and correction, it has a looser, more redundant character than does written language. The person who writes has more opportunity to reflect on what he wants to say, to eliminate repetitions which seem tautological or unnecessary, to tighten up his discourse, to omit incomplete sentences or ideas if he notices them, and in other ways to produce a more condensed, more integrated text than the person who speaks.

So far these differences have to do with a' and a", but there are also fundamental differences between b' and b", and their implications are not always realized. Speech involves muscles of the chest, throat, mouth and especially of the tongue. Hearing involves the ears. Writing involves muscles of the hand and arm. Reading involves the eyes. In other words, the performance skills are radically different. The motor habits involved have almost no relationship.

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[3] The advent of the tape recorder has not changed the truth of this statement, although it is very useful in capturing and replaying spoken texts.

In all languages Boxes a' and a" are more alike by far than are Boxes b' and b".
The differences between a' and a" are differences in degree--in some languages
very small and in others very large. Yet what the two boxes have in common is
very much greater than what separates them. Boxes b' and b" have nothing in
common except that they both involve motor skills and neural connections.

For the learner who comes from a literary tradition in which the Roman al-
phabet is used, and who is learning a language which uses it also, however, the
problems in Box b are of relatively little significance in learning to use the writ-
ten language. He may have a few habits to change, but none are extensive. In
a language like Thai where the system in Box b" is quite different from what the
alien learner is used to, where he has to learn new motor habits in forming new
letters, the significance of the difference is greater.

However, in all cases it is the degree of difference between a' and a" (the
structure of the language and the structure of the writing system) that is most
important. One must learn what they have in common, and where they differ,
and be able to switch from the one to the other with little conscious effort if he
is really going to enter the literate community.

20.2 Writing Systems as Learning Problems

Taking Spanish as an example of a writing system with relatively few compli-
cations for the English-speaking learner, we can compare it with other writing
systems to illustrate a variety of problems. If we compare Spanish and English,
for example, we see that writing systems may differ considerably in the degree
of consistency and complexity. The use of the written symbols in Spanish is
considerably more consistent than in English. A given letter of the Spanish al-
phabet has a high probability of representing the same unit in the sound system
(in any one dialect) every time it occurs. Some English letters have that same
high probability. ⟨m⟩, for example, represents the sound /m/ with high con-
sistency in English. Furthermore, the pronunciation /m/ is represented by
⟨m⟩ with high consistency. However, in English note the different spellings of
/j/ in George, James and fudge (in the latter case being represented by ⟨dge⟩,
The letter ⟨g⟩, on the other hand, represents different sounds in George and
get. The combination ⟨th⟩ represents different sounds in thin, then, and Thai-
land. For many English speakers the vowels of each of the following words are
the same: through, soon, you, new, hue, too, two, to.

In addition to problems of consistency, English shows additional complexity
due to the fact that it does not have enough single symbols to represent all of
the vowel sounds. Thus it uses combinations of vowel symbols in various ways.
If one compares hat with hate, one can see that the /ey/ vowel is written by a
discontinuous symbol ⟨a..e⟩. In hay, it is written by a continuous combination,
⟨ay⟩. In hey, it is written by a continuous combination, ⟨ey⟩. If we compare
mete with met, rote with rot, fine with fin, and many other words we can see
the typical use of a final ⟨e⟩ to help write the different vowel quality from words
which have no final ⟨e⟩. Yet these are not the only ways to write some of these
sounds.

The fact remains that the English spelling system is enormously complicated for the alien learner, and the Spanish spelling system is not. Lack of consistency and complexity in English are factors that make the difference.

If we compare the Spanish writing system with that of Vienamese, on the other hand, we find that the Spanish system is considerably easier to learn, but for different reasons. The basis for the Vietnamese complexity lies in other areas than inconsistency.

For one thing, Vietnamese is a tonal language in which tones are represented by the presence or absence of marks over or under the vowel letters. For example, ma, má, ma̧, ma, mà represent five different words meaning 'ghost,' 'cheek,' 'tomb,' 'rice seedling,' and 'but,' with tones which are mid-level, high rising, low rising, low glottalized and low falling, respectively (in one of the dialects). In addition, the five vowel letters of the Roman alphabet are not enough to symbolize all Vietnamese vowels, so that Vietnamese has the following additional symbols, each of which represents a different vowel quality: ⟨ê ư ô ă ơ⟩. In some cases these vowel symbols carry a diacritical mark, as for example ⟨ê⟩, and when this is true, the addition of the tone mark means a three-layered symbol, as in ⟨ế⟩ or ⟨ề⟩, and even ⟨ệ⟩.

A sentence in written Vietnamese reveals many complexities (by comparison with Spanish or English) created by these additional diacritic marks and alterations in the shapes of letters: Ông có hiểu đều tôi vừa nói không? However, these complexities are relatively easy to learn in time, and do not cause as much long-term difficulty for the learner as do the complexities caused by lack of consistency in English.

The learner of Vietnamese is at first likely to feel that its inconsistency is similar to that of English. He finds, for example, that the combination of sounds /et/ as spoken in Central Vietnam is represented by ⟨êt êch⟩ in Vietnamese spelling. There are many other examples of multiple spellings for the same pronunciation. A single spelling, however, does not often represent a multiple variety of pronunciations as is sometimes true in English. From the reading standpoint the spelling is fairly consistent, although from the writing standpoint, it is not. In fact, the organization of the Vietnamese writing system is highly efficient, for people speaking a wide range of dialects from North Vietnam to South Vietnam are all able to use the same writing system with relatively little ambiguity. Each has some spelling problems, but only few reading problems. The Vietnamese writing system, therefore, represents a system which takes time and effort to learn, but its complexity is largely systematic, and once learned new words are encountered and read with relative ease as compared to English.

A comparison of Spanish with a language like Ranau Dusun, as spoken in Sabah, Malaysia, reveals another kind of learning problem. For Spanish there is an established tradition, a standardized spelling, an accepted norm taught in school to which everyone subscribes. For the overwhelming majority of the words in Spanish, there is only one acceptable way to spell a word.

Ranau Dusun, however, is typical of a large number of the minority languages in the world where literacy is relatively recent, where schools are not deeply rooted in a literary tradition, and where standardization is not fully developed. In such cases people do not always agree about spelling. Differences of opinion arise from a variety of factors, one of which is illustrated below. The problem stems from the structure of the Ranau Dusun language.

The following chart gives the basic information about one minor aspect of the spelling problem in Ranau Dusun.

Base Form	Pronunciation	Spelling No. 1	Spelling No. 2
1a. dot	dot	dot	dot
2a. -CdotC-	2b. -C.do.C	2c. -C dot C-	2d. -C do C-
3a. -CdotV	3b. -C.do.tV-	3c. -C dot V-	3d. -C do tV
4a. -VdotV-	4b. -Vd.tV	4c. -V dot V-	4d. -Vd tV-
5a. -VdotC-	5b. -Vd.C-	5c. -V dot C-	5d. -Vd C-

In this chart, the first column represents the base form of a grammatical element dot as it occurs between two words. In this series the letter C represents any consonant, and V represents a vowel. -C or -V indicates that a word ends with a consonant or a vowel, respectively, and C- or V- indicates that the word begins with a consonant or vowel, respectively. Thus we see by the first column that the word in question (dot) can occur between two words with any combinations of final consonant or vowel on the preceding word and an initial consonant or vowel on the following word.

However, when people speak Ranau Dusun, they do not speak as though they were reading from the base form column (a). Instead, the grammatical element dot is pronounced in different ways depending on its environment in relation to the preceding or following consonant or vowel. This is seen in the second column. Where dot occurs alone (as when people are discussing it as a word) or preceded and followed by a pause, it is pronounced /dot/. We see in 2b, however, that when it is followed by a consonant, there is no /t/ pronounced. (The periods in the examples indicate syllable boundaries.) In 3b we see that if it is followed by a vowel, the /t/ is pronounced, but the /t/ is syllabified with the following vowel, the syllable break coming in the middle of the dot particle. In 4b we notice that if it is preceded by a vowel, the initial /d/ is syllabified with the preceding vowel, the final /t/ syllabified with a final vowel, and no /o/ occurs at all. Then, in 5b, we see that if a vowel precedes and a consonant follows, the initial /d/ is syllabified with the preceding vowel, but no /ot/ occurs at all.

A learner approaching the language through its writing system would not see these facts, but would instead be puzzled by the different spellings for the combinations shown above, and the inconsistency in spellings. In discussing this problem with literate Ranau Dusun speakers, he would find heated differences of opinion about right and wrong ways to spell this word, and he would find such differences reflected in the missionary community which has developed and espoused the writing system as well, except that there he would find some people with a

sophisticated understanding coming only after many years of trial and error and after consultation with linguists.

To be consistent, either one of two spellings, No. 1 and No. 2, would have been possible in Ranau Dusun. Spelling No. 1 is based on the base form. It is a kind of "grammatical" (often called "morphophonemic") spelling. The dot particle is spelled the same way every time it occurs, no matter how it is pronounced, and the preceding and following words are not changed in spelling, whether /d/ or /t/ attaches onto them in natural speech. Spelling No. 2 reflects what people actually say, or the surface structure of Ranau Dusun. When people in their normal speech attach the initial /d/ or dot to the final vowel of a word, it is so attached in the spelling. When they attach the final /t/ to the initial vowel of a word, it is so attached in the spelling. As outlined in our Spelling No. 2, it is possible to apply the spelling system consistently to Ranau Dusun as well.

Because these factors were not understood, however, in the history of the development of Ranau Dusun spelling, every writer has tended to spell in a different way. He will spell sometimes with a final /t/ and sometimes without; sometimes attached and sometimes not. Some writers emphasize the pronunciation in isolation, and some emphasize pronunciation in context. Some spell one way for some words, and other ways for other words. In recent years there has been an attempt to reduce the chaos, but so long as the varying paths have been started, and so long as there is no authority for standardization, or schools teaching one pattern, the variety is not likely to disappear.

The inconsistency and complexity in the Ranau Dusun writing system, like that of other non-standardized systems, results from the complex nature of language together with the lack of an established tradition. These questions never arise for a learner in Spanish because traditions have established what is "right" and "wrong."

The learner of Hindi faces another kind of problem. The writing system is made up of symbols which do not resemble Roman letters. The characters, the system of arranging them, and the writing conventions are different.

In addition to the obvious dissimilarity in the shapes of letters, the learner faces the fact that the writing system is organized differently. Symbols represent a consonant pronunciation plus a vowel pronunciation together. Other vowels are written in relation to the original consonant-vowel symbol, by cancelling out the value of the original vowel. The placing of such a separate vowel symbol in relation to the consonant, however, may not be in the same order that it is spoken. A vowel spoken after a consonant may, for example, be written above it. Also, if there is a final consonant in the spoken word, there may be a symbol to cancel the inherent vowel with which the consonant would otherwise be pronounced.

In Arabic there are still other kinds of complications. The language is written from right to left, and in much of the literature vowels are not written at all. In simpler material where they are written, they are often written above or below the consonants, not in the sequence in which they are spoken.

Thai has even more problems for the learner. Thai is a tone language in which tones are represented by a combination of diacritic marks and changes of initial consonant symbols and the syllable structure. Few readers need to know the intricacies of this very complicated system, but Thai illustrates the extreme complexities in an alphabetical writing system. To make matters more difficult, there is a considerable degree of inconsistency of spelling.

In Chinese, there is another entirely different system, not alphabetic at all. Here there is a large number of symbols representing words or ideas, with combinations of symbols representing even more words or ideas. For the learner this means an enormous load on his memory.

A learner, then, can anticipate different kinds of problems. Many languages fall within the range of simplicity indicated for Spanish. There is no serious learning problem with the writing system although communicating through the written language may generate serious ones. Many learners will meet more complicated systems. Some of the complications can be traced to the language structure, others to the lack of fit between writing system and language, and still others to the kind of writing system in use. Fuller discussion will make the nature of these problems more explicit and indicate what the learner can do to help himself.

20.3 The Problem of Fit

The matter of "fit" between the writing system and language structure is a central issue. Figure 2 indicates major points of linguistic structure at which fit between writing system and language occurs. An alphabetic system is one in which the fit is between symbol and sound, usually the phoneme. Some of the major exceptions (when alphabetic symbols represent something else than phonemes) are indicated in the chart, as, for example, when in English ⟨q⟩ represents /k/ with lip rounding before /w/ spelled ⟨u⟩ in queen, whereas /k/ is represented by ⟨k c⟩ elsewhere. An alphabetic symbol may occasionally represent no structural element at all or the deletion of a structural element.

On the other hand, the structural element of language which is symbolized may be the syllable. Syllabic writing systems have been used for various languages, but the only one of importance today is Japanese. It is a secondary characteristic in Chinese where symbols for phonological syllables are used as auxiliary symbols to help the reader know how to pronounce unfamiliar words or to distinguish some characters from others.

The basic system of Chinese, however, involves fit between symbols and words, or ideas, not sounds or syllables. This does not mean that every symbol is entirely unique. Many are composites which recur in other symbols with much the same meaning. In a sense, some symbols are a kind of visual sentence. But so far as the fit with the language is concerned, these symbols, whether simple or complex, represent morphemes, or words, or concepts.

All languages have these so-called logographic (word symbol) elements, but they have only a secondary function in all languages except Chinese. The following is an English sentence:

$$1 + 2 = 3.$$

For any reader of English it is completely equivalent to "One plus two equals three." The second rendition of this sentence is alphabetic; the first is logo-graphic.

Type of writing system	Structural element with which there is fit	English example	Characteristic languages where type is primary	Characteristic languages where type is secondary
Alpha betic	none[4] allophone phoneme cluster	⟨'⟩ in <u>he's</u> ⟨q⟩ in <u>queen</u> ⟨p⟩ in <u>pill</u> [p^h] and in <u>spill</u> [p] ⟨x⟩ in <u>extra</u> /'ɛkstra/	Most languages of the world, e.g. all those using Roman, Cyrillic, Arabic, or scripts of India or derived therefrom	
Syllabic	syllable		Japanese, Cree, Cherokee	Chinese
Logo-graphic	morpheme/ word ------------ concept ------------ grammar	1, 2, +, $ ------------ ⟩ 'greater than' ÷ 'divided by' ------------ punctuation	Chinese languages Almost all languages	All languages

Figure 2. Linguistic units symbolized by orthographies

A punctuation mark is an example of logographic symbol. We generally use punctuation not to represent phonological entities, but meanings like "question" or "exclamation," or grammatical structures.

Some of the logographs used in mathematics and logic represent a single word or sequence of words in English. For example, note the unitary concepts "greater than" and "divided by" in Figure 2.

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[4]Some linguists would consider that the ' represents a grammatical process of deletion.

The three basic types of writing systems present different problems for the learner. Assuming that each is consistent, and that the fit with the language system is good, the syllabic system requires a greater memory load than the alphabetic, and the logographic a greater load than the syllabic. Alphabetic systems run from twenty to seventy-five symbols at the most. A syllabic system must theoretically have a different symbol for every combination of consonants and vowels, usually running into several hundred symbols for a language. The logographic system must have symbols for every word or morpheme to be written. Once learned, the syllabic and logographic systems have just as high a communication value as the alphabetic system.

Some linguists have occasionally suggested that in an ideal writing system every phoneme should be represented by one and only one symbol. By this standard no writing system found today is ideal, nor does it need to be. Phonemes with limited function (low functional load) in the language system, for example, do not need to be represented in the writing system, for they do not bear much of the weight of communication. The contrasts of difference between the two English phonemes represented by the initial sounds of thin and then is a contrast of low functional load in English. The contrast between m and n is of high functional load. We cannot go into the technicalities of this question here, but to summarize briefly, we might say that the /ð/ of then is such a rare consonant and occurs in such a limited class of words that it does not cause the user of the language any great difficulty to spell it the same way in which /θ/ is spelled in so many other words. The learner, of course, has a slight learning problem because of the confusion of the two in spelling.

In some cases of low functional load, speakers vary widely in their pronunciation. When this is true, it is often much more efficient if the writing system does not attempt to represent any difference in the problem areas at all.

The factor which makes communication possible even when writing systems do not represent all of the contrasts which are theoretically needed is redundancy (Chapter 7). In the use of language, the native speaker or the person who has learned the language reasonably well is able to supply what is missing in the written form from the context. The ⟨th⟩ in lath is pronounced differently from the ⟨th⟩ in lather, but we are never seriously tempted to interchange the two pronunciations because we know the two words. This presents a problem to the learner who does not yet have the native speaker's feel for what exists and what does not exist in the language. He has to compensate for such problems as these as he meets them. The fit which is appropriate for the native speaker may not meet all that the learner needs. The fit which the learner needs may be more than is necessary for the native speaker.

20.4 Difficulties Caused by the System

Another set of dimensions has to do with the complexity of fit or lack of fit. The correspondence between writing system and language unit (whichever unit of Figure 2 it might be) may be one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one, or many-to-many. The possibilities can be seen in Figure 3.

Functional Load	Phonemes Symbolized	No Symbols	One Symbol	More than One Symbol
High functional load of phoneme.	One phoneme symbolized.	**1a** Underdifferen- tiation. Decod- ing a problem.	**1b** No problem.	**1c** Overdifferen- tiation. Pos- sible spelling problem.
	More than one phoneme symbolized.	**2a** Undifferentia- tion. Decoding a problem.	**2b** Undifferentia- tion. Decoding a problem.	**2c** Possible spelling and decoding problems.
Low functional load of phoneme.	One phoneme symbolized.	**3a** Probably no decoding problem, but "pronouncing" a problem.	**3b** Possible problem of "cluttering"	**3c** "Cluttering." Possible spelling problem.
	More than one phoneme symbolized	**4a** Possible decod- ing problem; "pronouncing" problem.	**4b** Possible decod- ing problem; "pronouncing" problem.	**4c** "Cluttering." Possible spell- ing and decod- ing problem.

Figure 3. Complexity of the system of fit.

At this point we are <u>not</u> referring to digraphs, composite symbols where two letters by convention stand for a single sound, as with ⟨sh⟩ for /š/ in <u>she</u> or <u>ship.</u> (Other digraphs in English include ⟨ph⟩ for /f/ in <u>Philip,</u> ⟨gh⟩ for /f/ in <u>cough,</u> etc.) Nor are we referring to discontinuous digraphs, ⟨a..e⟩ for /ey/ in <u>mate,</u> ⟨u..e⟩ for /uw/ in <u>tune.</u>

Instead we are dealing with more than one symbol ⟨f ph gh⟩ for /f/ in <u>fun,</u> <u>Philip,</u> and <u>cough,</u> for example, where three symbols represent one sound. This apparent haphazardness makes for poor fit in all cases but ⟨f⟩. In some languages there may be three symbols for the same sound in a rather consistent relationship so that once the learner knows the rules he has no further problem.

In Figure 3 we distinguish first between phonemes of high and low functional load. Of course, there is no sharp distinction but a continuous graduation. We will use two extremes only for illustration, for many intermediary situations are more difficult to analyze. Under both high and low functional load we take up first the situation where a single phoneme is symbolized: with no symbol, one symbol, or more than one symbol. Thus, for example, in many languages the glottal stop is simply left unsymbolized. No notice of it is taken in the writing system at all. In other languages it may be consistently represented by a single symbol, such as ⟨q⟩, ⟨'⟩, ⟨'⟩, or ⟨-⟩. When we speak of one phoneme being symbolized by more than one symbol, we refer to a situation like that of the glottal stop phoneme represented in a given language by ⟨'⟩, and ⟨-⟩, and ⟨q⟩, either haphazardly or in defined situations. Thus, ⟨q⟩ might be used at the beginning of a word, ⟨-⟩ within a word, and ⟨'⟩ at the end of a word.

By "more than one phoneme" symbolized by no symbols, we refer to situations where several distinctions, perhaps one or more tones, or vowel length, or two or three vowels, or some consonants, are not symbolized at all, but simply ignored in the writing system. A few writing systems have been devised in which thirty or forty percent of the significant distinctions of the language are not represented. Needless to say, learning problems are quite severe.

An example of more than one phoneme symbolized by one symbol would be English use of ⟨th⟩ to symbolize /d̶/ and /θ/ in this and thin. Note, however, that this contrast has low functional load. It has often happened that languages with seven or more vowel phonemes have been written with five symbols by symbolizing more than one vowel with the same symbol.

Where more than one phoneme is symbolized by more than one symbol, a set of phonemes--for example, vowels--is represented by a set of symbols in such a way that there is no one-to-one correspondence, but some symbols represent more than one phoneme in different words or phonological environments, and some phonemes are represented by more than one symbol under different circumstances. Part of the problem of the fit of English writing system is of this nature. The symbol ⟨i⟩ represents more than one phoneme, for example, in the word tin and machine, and the phoneme /iy/ is represented by more than one symbol in machine, see, sea, she.

The Thai language has a much more consistent, yet very intricate, case of the representation of more than one phoneme by more than one symbol. For example, both ⟨ค⟩ and ⟨ข⟩ represent /kh/, but ⟨ค⟩ represents /kh/ with mid-tone on the syllable, and ⟨ข⟩ represents /kh/ with rising tone on the syllable (unless this is counteracted by some tone mark or a final stop consonant on the syllable). In other words, the initial consonant symbol represents consonant and tone simultaneously. To represent all of the tones there must, therefore, be more than one symbol for each initial consonant phoneme.

When we look at the contents of the intersecting categories just described, we find different types of learning problems. In boxes 1a and 1b, for languages in which phonemes of high functional load are not symbolized, there is a problem of underdifferentiation. Important distinctions in the language are not indicated. This creates a problem in reading. Until the learner is able to use the

contextual cues, he will have reading difficulties. This is also true in box 2b where more than one phoneme is symbolized by a single symbol.

In box 1c we see the opposite situation where a phoneme is symbolized in more than one way. If this is done consistently, there will be only minor reading problems once the rules of occurrence are learned. If the rules are simple, spelling problems may be minor. However, in many cases inconsistency creates a serious problem. Reading may or may not be a problem. In Vietnamese (central dialect), for example, /w/ is symbolized by ⟨u⟩ or by ⟨o⟩, or by combinations of letters, such that ⟨ông⟩, for example, symbolizes /awŋ/. For a short time the reader may be somewhat confused, but the system is quickly learned. It takes considerably more time to learn to spell words correctly.

Where more than one phoneme is symbolized by more than one symbol, as in 2c, both spelling and reading problems may be acute. This is one of the reasons why Thai is difficult to read, and much harder to spell. It may take several months for the learner to make the system a part of his subconscious habits. Where this problem occurs haphazardly, as in English, learning to spell requires a large memory load, and some words must be recognized by sight rather than by the fit between writing system and the language.

The learning situation may be very different in many of the boxes where phonemes of low functional load are involved. In fact, the writing of phonemes of low functional load sometimes creates reading problems. This is what we have called "cluttering" in Figure 3. The problem of cluttering may be especially acute when the phoneme of low functional load is tone, stress, or length of vowel.

Cluttering is a special kind of overdifferentiation. Normally by overdifferentiation we mean the representation of one phoneme by more than one symbol. In this case it refers to the representation of a phoneme which does not need to be symbolized at all by one or more symbols. Writing systems should be as uncluttered as possible for easy learning and efficient reading.

A typical example of cluttering may be seen in a language where tone distinctions almost never contrast in context, but yet are symbolized in the writing system. For example, in many languages if a given sentence is written without any indication of tone, there is almost no probability of confusing it with any other sentence. To symbolize the tones might well be an instance of "cluttering."

For the learner, however, when phonemes of low functional load are not represented, he may have problems in knowing just how to pronounce new words as he reads them, although he should have no problem with words that he already knows. If tone marks, for example, are not indicated in a language where they carry low functional load and are not needed for native speakers, the learner may be unable to pronounce a word correctly when he sees it written, even after many months of study. He has to check every new word with someone who will pronounce it for him. This is what we mean in the chart by "pronouncing problem," the problem of reading new words with the correct pronunciation. Techniques will be suggested to help compensate for this difficulty.

Any one language may fit into Figure 3 at several points, depending upon what aspect of the writing system is in view. The vowels may be underdifferentiated and the consonants overdifferentiated. The writing of tone may be underdifferentiated and the writing of length "cluttered."

20.5 Problems Arising from the Difficulty of the Language

Certain writing system problems stem directly from the difficulty of the language and not from the writing system itself. Word length and word structure, for example, affect the difficulty of learning to read and write. If words are short, one or two syllables, the task is essentially simpler than if words are long and complex. If the language has a complex syllable structure, with elaborate consonant clusters or vowel combinations, this also is reflected in more difficult reading and writing problems. Languages with tone systems, vowel length, nasalization, and complicated stress patterns likewise are somewhat harder to learn to read and write than ones in which these do not occur regularly.

20.51 The Learner's Initial Transcription Problems. The learner's first decision concerns which of alternative writing systems to use, if any. Is it best to learn the traditional writing system immediately and follow it through the course of study? And if so, how is this to be reconciled with the learning order of "listening, speaking, reading and writing" advocated in this book? If he is to keep notes, how will he transcribe them? How does he develop learning cycles if he cannot write the language?

Whether the traditional writing system is simple or complex, the transcription problem needs his immediate attention. The solution to the problem depends on the individual situation, the major types of which are defined below, together with suggested procedures.

In the first place, if the learner has access to high quality textbooks for learning the spoken language (Chapter 10) which use special writing systems other than the traditional writing system, the learner should use them. In cases where the special transcription is not really needed, or is used longer than necessary, the learner can sometimes work into the traditional writing system before he is brought to it in the textbook. There is no point, however, in losing the advantages of a good textbook simply because it does not introduce the writing system soon enough. If necessary the learner can develop his own program for learning to read and write on the side. The advantages gained by using a good learning textbook are overwhelming and should be of primary consideration at the earlier stages.

It may seem reasonable to avoid special transcriptions and to tackle the traditional system from the start. However, the transcriptions developed for the learner in a good language course do not add appreciably to his learning load, but do, in fact, facilitate the learning of the spoken language in many cases. We would lean toward the use of the traditional writing systems whenever it does not interfere with learning to speak.

Many readers of this book, however, will not have such textbooks available and will have to adapt materials from other sources, often written in the

traditional writing system, or occasionally with attempts at "phonetic spelling" which may or may not be helpful. Or, in situations where resources are limited, the learner may be on his own so far as transcription is concerned. What should be done in early stages if materials do not contain a transcription designed specifically for his use?

20.52 **Where Transcription Problems are Slight.** For languages written traditionally in a Roman alphabet, with a good fit between writing and sound systems, a high consistency of usage between writers, standardization of spelling, and other factors which make transcription problems very slight, the learner should try to follow the traditional writing system.

There are some pitfalls to be avoided. The learner should not base his spoken language on written language or learn to pronounce from the written form. The techniques for learning to speak language apply just as fully as though the language were less adequately written. The learner simply has the advantage that the writing system presents few complications for him, and he can use it from the outset.

The learner follows the spelling of his textbooks and his helper. He quickly learns to spell because the fit between speech and writing is close. Yet there are often a few minor writing problems, even in an ideal situation. Perhaps due to dialect difference some words are pronounced differently from what one would expect from the spelling. Perhaps a phoneme or two of low functional load is not included in the writing system, and the learner needs to have some way of reminding himself how to pronounce it. In Iban of Sarawak, Malaysia, for example, final glottal stops are not indicated in an otherwise very simple writing system.

When the learner begins to notice points at which the traditional writing system does not match speech, and where he needs written reminders of pronunciation, he should develop his own additional marks to help keep things straight. Thus in Iban an apostrophe ⟨'⟩ in those cases where glottal stops occur consistently will help to avoid frustration until he can remember words which contain them and no longer needs to record the distinction.

The learner should also watch for the written symbols that represent more than one pronunciation. In Spanish ⟨d⟩ represents [d] in initial position and [đ] (as ⟨th⟩ in English then) in medial position. These automatic differences need not be represented in the writing system, but the learner must learn to make the difference in its appropriate environment (Chapter 16). If rules are especially complicated, or if the learner finds that he tends to forget them, he can temporarily mark the different pronunciations by his own devices until the habit of using the right pronunciation in the right environment is established. Then extra marks can be dispensed with.

20.53 **Situations with a Lack of Standardization.** In writing systems with good fit, there may still be fluctuation between writers. In Tagalog, for example, there is no fixed tradition nor standardization on many points, especially the glottal stop. Some writers will leave it out, some will indicate it medially by a hyphen and leave it out elsewhere, and other writers will use other devices. The

problem is in part due to the fact that in English, the language in which they gained their education, there is no glottal stop to be represented on the phonemic level.

This kind of fluidity may also be due to conflicting influences. Spanish and English influences in the area, through Roman Catholic and Protestant mission-aries, as well as other factors of colonial history, helped to shape different or-thographic traditions. No real standardization has ever been achieved. In other cases lack of standardization is due to the poor fit between writing system and language.

Under these circumstances the learner is well-advised to follow the transcrip-tion in use by native speakers, adapting the conventions used by his principal helper, and gradually learning to accommodate to others as well. Where there is difference of tradition, native speakers may be very sensitive and insist that their own way of spelling is the only correct way. The learner should try to please his principal helper without fighting the issue. At a later time he may want to switch over to some other convention or follow a more consistent pattern discovered over a period of time.

However, modifications of a temporary kind may be acceptable to the helper. Thus, the learner may be able to add diacritical marks to indicate distinctions for temporary use. So long as the helper sees the rationale for using them tem-porarily, he is not likely to resist. If the learner tries to reform the spelling system, he may be resisted. This is clearly not a part of the learning task.[5]

A situation presenting similar problems is to be found in languages where the fluctuation in writing is due to more than one tradition in use. There may be both a Roman Catholic transcription and a Protestant transcription; a mission transcription and a government transcription; regional transcriptions; there may be older spelling systems and newer ones being presently taught. If possible, the learner should select for his helper a person who uses the tradition which will give him the widest range of communication in the long run, and then follow his conventions.

However, if the learner misjudges this, or cannot find a helper who follows what will ultimately be the better writing system, he should spell as his helper spells and change later. Ultimately he may even have to learn to use multiple systems.

20.54 When the Writing System is Overdifferentiated or Underdifferentiated. At the beginning, the learner may not know whether the writing system fits speech closely or not, even with assurances that "this is a very phonetic

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[5]Of course, some spelling systems do need reforming, and occasionally, where there is not a long written tradition, the learner may reach a point where he has some influence on that problem. It is a highly technical and complex problem, and he should seek professional help if he ultimately gets into this question. See Smalley et al 1965.

language" and there are absolutely no problems about "speaking just like it is written." He still has the practical problem of detecting points at which the writing system presents problems. As he is working along, however, the helper may make a remark that two different words spelled differently are both pronounced the same way. Or, in practicing a pronunciation drill the learner may notice that two different words which are spelled differently sound the same to his ears.

When clues of this kind come, the learner's judgment of what he should do next will depend a great deal upon his assessment of the helper. If the helper is new, or is inclined to accept uncritically everything he was taught in school, or the learner is not quite sure as to what his attitude toward the language is, then certain tests should be followed. If through experience the learner has come to realize that the helper has a keen sense of his own language, and does not try to falsify it in any way, does not try to make the spoken language match the written, and can recognize sameness or difference of pronunciation whether or not it is matched by sameness or differences of written language, then it often is enough simply to ask the helper whether two forms are alike or not. If the learner has heard two things spelled differently to be pronounced the same, he simply asks the helper if they are pronounced the same or not. If the helper says "yes," this confirms the learner's hearing. If the helper says "no," then further steps are required.

If a further check is necessary, the learner should test to see whether or not the different spellings are correct in terms of the standardized form of the language, and whether the two words really do have the same pronunciation. He can check standardization by asking other speakers about the spellings, and he can check for the sameness of pronunciation through simple differential tests.

A differential test is usually simple to conduct. For example, the learner can write the two words using the two different spellings in random order in a list containing seven or eight occurrences of each. He then can ask the helper to read the list to another native speaker and ask him to write the words which he hears. If the writer reproduces the spellings of the original list consistently, chances are that the learner has missed something which he should be hearing. If the person writing cannot reproduce the original list, then the process can be reversed. That person can read off the list to someone else, perhaps the original helper (unless he has memorized the list by then). It is probable that the words are pronounced the same and spellings are overdifferentiated.

At this point the learner should, with his helper's assistance, make up lists of words which contain the problem sound which is spelled in more than one way and sort out the different spellings in order to gain a clearer picture. If the situation is complicated, the learner may need to devise some orthographic device for his own use to help him remember temporarily that these various spellings represent the same sound. If, on the other hand, there is a difference of pronunciation and the problem is in the learner's hearing rather than in the spelling, he should at this point build pronunciation drills (Chapter 16).

Underdifferentiation, although usually a more serious problem for the learner than overdifferentiation, does not require any different technique. Again

hints come in the process of learning, and the learner needs to sort out the problem through exploring it with his helper and through tests where necessary. Once the problem has been discovered, then a consistent system of noting the difference should be used in the learning materials until the learner has mastered the spelling.

20.55   When the Writing System is Really Difficult.   So far we have assumed Romanized writing systems, basically efficient, with various degrees of fit, needing only minor modifications by the learner for his initial learning. Writing systems which are inconsistent or heavily under- or overdifferentiated, or both, present a serious barrier to learning. In such cases the task of learning to read and write in itself is a major task. It is distracting, time-consuming and frustrating. In misrepresenting speech, the learner who is not able to distinguish between speech and writing may be rather seriously misled. The learner may have to modify the writing system extensively in his initial work.

Earlier we suggested that the learner make modification by unobtrusive marks which did not change the basic spelling, such as underlining, dots, accent marks, apostrophes, etc. Some systems, however, may require more devices.

In the first place, features of the writing system which are consistent should be used as they stand. Apart from this, the learner will have to develop his own consistent pattern of transcription. Usually helpers who have sensed the inconsistencies in their own writing system are glad to cooperate and learn to use the conventions which are temporarily adopted. Where there is overdifferentiation, the most commonly used symbol should be used for all cases. Where there is underdifferentiation, some other symbol should be brought in. Some of these may be devised with diacritics on existing letters, and others may need to be entirely new symbols. Ideas for such symbols may come from any language which the learner knows or from textbooks on phonetics or linguistics. Since the symbol will be used only temporarily, and since it is not going to be adopted by others, any symbol can be used, if it is used consistently. If the learner's material is likely to be used by someone else, the issue becomes more complex, and the question of devising writing systems for wider use is beyond the scope of this volume.

20.56   When the Writing System is Not a Roman One.   When the writing system is not a Roman one, there is a strong temptation to learn to read and write before learning to speak, unless there are textbooks available with built-in Roman transcriptions. In order to resist this temptation, the learner either has to get along without any reference to written materials or else use his own temporary transcription.

For the most part learners who are well educated learn better with the support of written material. Furthermore, learning cycles (Chapters 14, 15) can be devised more efficiently if materials can be written. Some transcription is therefore essential, and if the learner is going to begin with emphasis on speaking, the transcription must then be a Roman one.

The untrained learner should try to write as consistently as he possible can. He should spell the same sound the same way whenever he finds it, and as he

discovers new distinctions in sound through the process of learning to speak, he should represent these new distinctions with new spellings. Much of the discussion of Chapter 16 has a bearing on the development of transcription.

Initial attempts will inevitably be inconsistent. The learner will overdifferentiate and underdifferentiate. Refinement, however, will come with use. The purpose is simply to give the learner a mnemonic device. The traditional writing system, of course, should be phased into the learning cycle just as soon as possible.

If the learner develops a fairly consistent means of transcription, a good helper may quickly learn to use it, and even correct it at certain points. On the other hand, the helper may tend to reflect the inconsistencies of the traditional writing system so that the learner will have to distinguish between his different reactions and respond accordingly.

20.6 When to Learn the Writing System

When a writing system presents so little difficulty that it does not have to be handled as a special task, reading can follow closely after listening and speaking in each learning cycle. In each drill the learner listens, then mimics, then makes associations of visual symbols afterwards. This can perhaps be done from the very first.

When a writing system lies at the other extreme, the task of learning to read and write occupies weeks, months, or even years of time, and its integration within the total language program becomes a more serious consideration. Between the extremes are several degrees of difficulty. When the learner has to make his own decision on timing, several factors should be kept in mind.

One factor to be considered is the program itself. If a system of transcription other than the traditional writing system is used, but one which is sufficient, worked out by competent linguists, there is less pressure to switch over to the traditional system. If, on the other hand, he must develop his own, there may be problems in it of which he is not aware. Occasionally he may have to stop and rethink his transcription when he notices areas where the mechanics of his system do not work properly.

Much depends upon the temperament of the learner. Some learners are insecure without a stable spelling system. Such people, who must work without outside help, may get along better by using the traditional system. Others are able to sense the difference between speech and writing, to get the feel of learning the spoken language, and to let their temporary transcription serve simply as a mnemonic device, without caring whether it is completely accurate or not. Such people may move much faster without the traditional writing system at the early stages.

Sooner or later everyone must tackle the written language, and aside from factors already discussed, the principal criteria to be applied have to do with the learner's increasing competence and progress in the spoken language.

For one thing, the learner should avoid learning to read and write things he cannot pronounce. This means that once basic pronunciation skills are mastered he can begin to learn the writing system, other things being equal. No learner is going to pronounce the new language perfectly; therefore, he can begin when pronunciation is no longer a struggle or a serious problem.

Learning the writing system becomes a task of learning to represent on paper what the learner can already hear and say. Of course, some details of the sound system are learned before others, and in a well-integrated course, the symbols for these might well be introduced before the more difficult pronunciation problems, but for the typical learner who has to guide his own program, it is usually simpler to wait until pronunciation is no longer a problem and phase into the writing system after that.

Another important principle concerns the practice of reading and writing materials which the learner cannot understand. Learning to read and write is enough of a problem in itself; it should not be further compounded by the additional complications of having to learn vocabulary and grammatical structures at the same time. This is not to say that the learner should drop everything else when he is learning to read and write. It does mean that the materials used in practicing reading and writing should not present other problems than those of reading and writing, even though he may be learning new structures and vocabulary in the time devoted to other continuing aspects of language learning.

For some languages the difference between the written and spoken language is so great that it is difficult to apply this principle. There are cases in various areas of the world, including India, Arabic-speaking countries, China, etc. where a given spoken language differs markedly in content from the written language. When this is true, learning the written language is comparable to learning another dialect, if not another language. In such a case, once he is off to a good start in the spoken language, the learner can begin to devote some time to learning the written language as such, including the new vocabulary and grammatical constructions which are involved in it.

The third factor to be considered in deciding when to start learning the written language concerns its appropriate place in learning cycles. In Chapter 9 charts were given to indicate different proportions of time typically devoted to various aspects of language study at different periods in the learner's development. Learning to read and write should be phased into learning cycles as other aspects of learning are phased out. Time devoted to reading and writing can be increased as the need for pronunciation practice decreases.

20.7 The Helper's Role in Reading and Writing

In any language with a literary tradition, an educated helper is likely to feel qualified to teach the learner to read and write. His own education and later learning is often based on the written language. In many parts of the world a ritual has developed for teaching these skills. The helper may pride himself on his ability to follow the same rote procedure normally used with first graders. Some of the devices may be pedagogically effective; others may simply waste

time. The learner may be able to exert some influence on his helper, but he may simply have to endure the helper's way of progressing.

Certain traditional conventions of teaching people to read and write should be observed closely. In learning a non-Roman writing system the learner may be impatient with the helper's insistence on the method for writing a given letter or character. For each of the following characters, for example, the Thai starts with a small loop: ⟨ๆ ก ถ⟩ . The learner may feel, "What difference does it make how I draw it, so long as it looks right when I'm finished?"

Yet this bit of conformity is fairly essential, even in English. Imagine, for example, someone learning English who insisted on writing the dot of the ⟨i⟩ before he wrote the stroke, or the cross-bar of the ⟨t⟩ before the main body of the letter, or who started an ⟨e⟩ at the lower right-hand corner and moved to the left and upward, making the loop last, etc. Such idiosyncracies would be evidences of one's "foreigness."

In many parts of the world such lack of conformity on matters like this is serious. Only a minority knows how to read and write, although a considerable number of people may have begun the process without ever reaching mastery. People may struggle with letters or characters like first or second graders. In such situations adults who write in unconventional ways are often considered illiterate, uneducated, ignorant. If the learner wants to become a part of the literate segment of the new community, he should adopt the necessary conventions, knowing that some leeway is given for mistakes on minor matters.

The helper may insist on other learning conventions which are less important. He may want the learner to memorize a great deal of random information, even though it is inefficient. Usually at least a token effort should be made to follow the helper's pattern, while trying to restructure material into a more efficient pattern. The learner's tolerance here may mean more rapid progress at points where the traditional approach has no significance.

20.8 Following the Line of Most Resistance

Practicing a new writing system, like all language practice, should follow the line of most resistance, concentrating on that which gives the most difficulty. Some aspects of some writing systems cause few problems. Some characters are quickly learned and readily recognized. Others are extremely difficult to remember. The learner continues to practice that which gives trouble. If he turns the loop on a letter the wrong way when he writes, he practices until he can do it the right way. If he confuses two letters, he should practice discriminating between them.

Paralleling the listening-speaking order in practicing the spoken language, the learner practices recognition and learns to draw new characters. Several devices can be employed, parallel to those used in learning to speak. The media are different--pencil and paper, and the psychological and physiological processes involve the eye and hand.

New symbols can be introduced with flash cards, the helper flashing the card and the student giving its pronunciation (not its name). The literate adult should know the names of most symbols, even though it seems to be extraneous information. In order to give the pronunciation of a consonant symbol, it has to be accompanied by a vowel. This means that the flash cards should consist of simple syllables, not just single symbols. If the problem is one of consonants, the vowels should remain constant. If it is one of vowels, the consonant should remain constant. Later on controls should be diminished.

For example, the following list of syllables might be used if English were the language being learned and if such problems as recognizing the difference between ⟨b d p q⟩ ⟨P R⟩ ⟨m n⟩ were in focus. Note that ⟨b d p q⟩ have identical shapes, but are oriented in different directions.

bee	dee	pee	quee
bin	din	pin	quin
Pat	Rat		
Put	Rut		
must	nut		
mine	nine		

A parallel example from Thai would be the following:

มา	นา	ค่ำ	ด่ำ	ผี	พี
maa	naa	kham	dam	phǐi	phii

หมู	หนู	คง	ดง	ผง	พง
mǔu	nǔu	khoŋ	doŋ	phǒŋ	phoŋ

The Thai letters in the pairs above differ only in the position of small loops.

One characteristic of many non-Roman writing systems is the fact that the letters representing a given sound will be different in shape according to whether they occur in initial, medial, or final position. This requires practice in identifying variant forms of the same symbol.

Shape of printed letters also differ from those written by hand. Some handwriting, of course, imitates the printed form, and teachers tend to use this in teaching young students and foreigners. In some languages the alien learner never gets beyond the printing stage. Handwriting may always be a chore, slow and difficult, and he may always find it difficult to read the handwriting of others. Following the line of most resistance involves learning to read handwriting as well as the printed shapes of letters.

Practice in recognition means learning capital letters as well as lower case: such special symbols as $, *, etc., the altered or distorted forms of letters used in display signs, billboards, and other advertising media. Signs along the roadway provide opportunity for practice in reading, although many of them have such fancy letters that considerable effort is required to distinguish them and recognize their printed counterparts. Special practice, therefore, is required.

Practice in recognition is related to learning to form letters as listening is related to mimicry. Copying characters and written material for fluency parallels the mimicry of spoken material for fluency. Many hours in copying practice is necessary for the development of fluency, and time spent on well-structured copying exercises can save large amounts of reading time in the long run.

Drills for copying can be set up rather easily. Copying drills are designed to conquer visual recognition and manual reproduction problems. Secondary learning cycles can be developed in which the text is transcribed in the traditional written language, copied for fluency, with copying and recognition drills focused on the problems which appear.

Learning to use the writing system is parallel to learning to pronounce, whereas learning to use the style appropriate to written material is parallel to other aspects of learning to speak. With reference to Figure 1, the arrow running horizontally between "language structure" and the "writing system" within the domestic's knowledge should be noted. As the learner approaches the task of learning the writing system, he is involved in learning to make identification between Box a' and Box a" by first making associations between b' and b".

Learning the writing system starts with the association of sounds already mastered and symbols which he does not yet control. There are two ways of approaching the practice of sound-symbol association. One is through visual stimulus, coming in the form of Box b", with oral response, production in the form of b'. This is done by practicing reading aloud, either simple syllables or connected discourse. The learner sees the written material and responds with speech.

The other procedure involves an aural stimulus (Box b') and written production (Box b"). The helper dictates syllables and/or connected text to the learner who writes what he hears. Both procedures are a step beyond the recognition and copying discussed above. They may be carried out first with controlled materials and then with uncontrolled materials. They are excellent for fluency practice, and a few minutes in each learning cycle should be devoted to them after the learning of the writing system begins. It should continue until there is no longer any problem in reading and writing on any level.

20.9 Corrective Drill

Another way in which the technique of learning the writing system parallels techniques for learning to speak lies in the distinction between fluency drill and corrective drill. In the practice of recognition, in copying for fluency, in practicing sound-symbol association through reading aloud and dictation, in discrimination drills on symbols which are very much alike, etc., we have been emphasizing the learning of essential distinctions made in the writing system. Just as in the learning of the spoken language, there will be the need for corrective drills on specific problems.

Some of the problems are due to contamination resulting from interference. Certain symbols of the learner's own language may have a visual similarity to

symbols in the new language and the learner is tempted frequently to confuse their values. There may be old values for new symbols, new values for old symbols. In Greek, for example, some of the symbols are deceptively similar to letters in the Roman alphabet:

Greek symbol:	γ	η	ν	ρ	σ	ω
Looks like:	y	n	v	p	o	w
Pronounced like:	g	e	n	r	s	o

Writing systems often present problems which do not arise in the spoken language. Some of these are due to the fact that some borrowed words are spelled as they are in the lending language. Others are spelled as they are pronounced. Proper names may be a law unto themselves, sometimes being spelled in seemingly bizarre ways, only partly related to their pronunciation. Where such problems occur, special corrective drills have to be used. Irregular spellings may have to be memorized, and rules applying to small classes of words have to be learned as such.

20.10 The Question of Gestalt

In learning a non-Roman writing system, a large part of the task involves the learning a new gestalt, a new sense of shapes and relationships. There may be no spaces between words. The order of the letters may not follow the order of the sounds. Vowels may be written above, below, or even preceding the consonant which they follow in speech. The progression of messages on the page may follow any one of the three patterns in Figure 4.

Roman   Arabic   Chinese
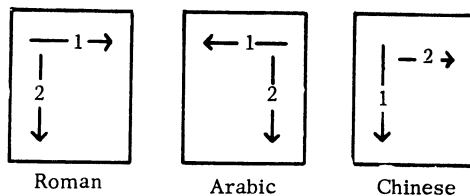
Figure 4. The three forms of reading progression used in languages.

In the Roman system movement is from left to right in a sequence that goes downward. Arabic and Hebrew are exactly the opposite in the first step, moving from right to left. Chinese, however, is exactly opposite in reversing the sequences, moving down the page and then across in sequence. These differences of arrangement of messages on a page go beyond the learning of sound-symbol association, the memorizing of an alphabet, and the ability to identify letters and to copy them.

As a new sense of relationships begins to deepen, habit patterns begin to take on the form of Figure 1. Fewer and fewer identifications are made between

Box b' and b", and more and more follow the arrows of the total Figure 1. At this point techniques are needed for deepening this sense of overall gestalt, transforming the mechanisms of surface reading into subconscious habits characteristic of literates. The fluent reader bypasses speech as he reads. The learner is not really literate until he can do the same thing.

The primary technique for deepening the mechanics of reading skills is that of reading large quantities of easy materials. Easy reading materials are those which can be read with fluency and comprehension without more than one or two hesitation points per page. By hesitation points we refer to new words, difficult idioms, grammatical constructions, or ideas, which cause the reader to hesitate or slow down.

A minimum of 1,000 to 5,000 pages of such material, depending upon the difficulty of the language, is probably necessary. One doctor in India resolved that for one year he would read nothing in his own language except necessary medical references and journals needed for his practice, doing all other reading in the new language. He read novels, magazines, newspapers and religious material, all in the new language. This experience left its indelible mark on his language competence.

There are practical problems in "reading large quantities of easy reading materials." Reading materials are easy or difficult in relation to the learner's competence at the time, and this means that graded readers would be very helpful (Chapter 11), although rarely available. Elementary school books may have to be substituted for early stages, but because such books are written for children who already know a great deal about their own culture and language, there may be too many hesitation points even in this simple material.

Where easy material is not available, a helper may be able to prepare some, especially if he can assess the learner's level of language competence. Even a limited amount of such help would be valuable. If it is done, it should not be artificial or translated material, but written naturally by a helper who is skillful in writing.

More typically, the learner may have to take material and adapt it to his level of competence. This means that he must figure it out, decode parts which are difficult, annotate them, discuss them with his helper, gain a clear understanding of a selection, and then reread it repeatedly until he no longer hesitates.

There are, of course, languages where the total library is limited, making it impossible to read material in large quantities. In such cases the writing system is usually a Roman one and reading habits are not so difficult to establish as in a non-Roman system. On the other hand, if there is no literature, becoming literate may not be so serious.

In the matter of penmanship and spelling skills, practice in copying and taking dictation should continue until the learner can take notes from speeches given in the new language, with the same ease as he does so in English. He might even practice note-taking in the new language from speeches given in English.

At this point the learner has the basic mechanical tools for becoming a liter-ate member of the new community. This does not mean that he can express him-self in the written language, with its special features of usage and style, idiom and appropriateness. These will be discussed in Chapter 22.

PART FOUR

WIDER COMMUNICATION

Chapter Twenty-One

Using the Language to Explore

Except for a few digressions, the first three parts of this book have been concerned with the basics of becoming bilingual, dealing largely with the first few months of study. In the first section it dealt with the learner himself, his motivation, aptitude, and opportunities for learning, his frustrations, and the new community of which he needs to become a part. Subsequent sections then dealt with language learning programs and with detailed techniques for learning. All of this is a foundation for establishing essential skills and developing the potential for growth in proficiency.

Anyone who develops these basic skills will be able to communicate in normal situations requiring only a limited vocabulary. He will be functionally bilingual to a limited degree, able to understand a great deal of what is spoken to him (but much less of what passes between native speakers of the language) able to go about his life and work. There will be moments when he gets completely lost in the use of the language, to be sure. Helpful people, however, will usually straighten him out, simplifying their sentences as they do so and explaining things that he does not know.

It is a strong temptation for the language learner to be content when he reaches this point. To be sure, he learns a new word once in a while, and his vocabulary slowly increases, but he is also conscious of the fact that he sometimes forgets words that he once knew but does not use frequently. In listening to native speakers he realizes that he would never have said what they said in their way himself, but continues to say things in his own way. The rapid growth in competence during early weeks and months is followed by a levelling off. The learner reaches his first plateau.

At this point his bilingualism is very shallow. In terms of vocabulary, idiom, usage, appropriateness of expression, pleasing style, the learner has only begun. Figure 1 pictures his situation.
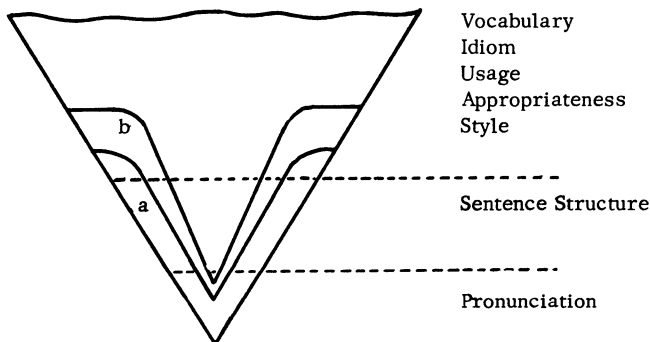
Figure 1. The Language Learner at Two Stages

Stage a represents the learner's ability to use the second language after approximately three months. He has mastered as much of the pronunciation as he ever will. He has made a good start on sentence structure, and has a small vocabulary. Stage b represents the learner at the beginning of an early plateau of bilingualism. He understands most sentence structures, and his knowledge of vocabulary and idiom has considerably increased. This is the stage where he can get along for most normal purposes. The diagram, however, portrays the fact that in the realm of vocabulary, idiom, usage, appropriateness and style, he is only marginally bilingual, sharply restricted to messages within a very narrow range of experiences. The problem now becomes that of building from his acquired basic skills into a much more complete bilingualism.

Many language learners are content to stay at this primitive, imprecise and awkward stage. Many others are frustrated in not knowing how to move on to something better. This section of our book concerns the enrichment of one's use of the language, the widening and deepening of bilingualism aiming toward fuller membership in the new community.

In Part Four, "Wider Communication," drills and exercises are not emphasized as they were in previous sections, although there will be many times when the learner will find features of grammatical structure, pronunciation or vocabulary which he does not yet control. When this is the case, drills are certainly required. But on the whole, our suggestions in this section do not imply highly-structured learning situations, but apply in a general way to all that the learner does.

In this chapter we are dealing with the use of language to explore. Already able to communicate to a degree, the learner should now use that ability to explore with the language and thereby enrich his knowledge.

Using the language to explore consists mainly of talking to people and of reading. However, it does not simply mean passive talking or reading, but a deliberate and structured attempt to push back the boundaries of knowledge, to keep track of new information as it is discovered, and to keep expanding daily language use. The techniques of Chapter 19 should stimulate learners to follow up lines of inquiry and enrichment which are relevant and satisfying to them.

21.1 Exploring People's Experience

People are the language learner's richest resource. Massive doses of communication and learning from others will help to move him beyond the early plateaus.

Older people with little to do but talk, so long as their minds are still clear and unimpaired, may be excellent resources for the learner. Their reminiscences of times past, irritating to the people who hear them every day, may be fascinating to the newly bilingual person who is trying to learn more about cultural values, attitudes, and relationships between people in the new community.

Young people, too, are excellent resources. Their language is uninhibited, full of current slang and touched with expressions which belong to the present and

future rather than to the past. Their aspirations, emotions, and prejudices are keys to trends and developments in the culture.

No category of normal people need be overlooked. Friends, members of the new family, their relatives, hired helpers, servants, neighbors--each is a potential source of enrichment.

But in such explorations it is important to avoid any appearance of exploitative attitudes, for the people whose experience he explores are not commodities, but members of the new community which he is seeking to join. As an initiate, an immature member of that new community, he needs to draw on their more perfect development, richer participation in the community, and sensitive use of language to become more like them in these respects.

To do so he must learn how to express his curiosity in acceptable ways. It may be necessary to work through people who already trust him, who can show him how to be "nosey" in a nice way, how to ask people about themselves in a way that will be inoffensive, how to show his interest in them, but stopping short of prying.

In seeking his own socialization he needs to share himself and his own experience with others. If he expects people to talk freely about themselves, he must do likewise.

In exploring, the unobtrusive (but not concealed) use of a recorder is of great value. If it can be placed somewhere so that the informant can easily forget it, and left running during an interview, much good, natural material can be collected. When people are interested in the recorder, the learner should let them hear themselves and explain his purposes in making the recordings.

In such informal explorations of experience no attempt should be made to call attention to the recording process. Later on we will outline more formal procedures for gathering specific kinds of material from selected people.

21.2 Exploring Life Histories

One excellent way of exploring people's experience is to discover their life histories. In the course of a conversation, through leading questions the learner can encourage them to tell about some of the significant events in their lives, perhaps even the whole story. To help them realize the scope of what he wants, he might suggest that they tell about their parents, where they were born and under what conditions, life in early childhood, customs that they can remember; about their brothers and sisters, what they were like as children and what they have become since; about their playmates and friends, the trips they took, their education; about their old school teachers, their religious instruction, the work which they did as children in helping out in the home and in their fathers' businesses or farms; about their own professional lives, their friends and contacts, their marriages, their children.

Some people may respond by giving their life stories in two or three paragraphs. The learner can then expand their accounts with questions such as "What

about the older brother that you mentioned? How did you get along with him? Did you do things together? Did you fight? Tell me about your relations with him and your other brother." Little by little, with promptings and reminders, the brief outline can be expanded into hours of narrative. To many people it is a new experience to tell their life stories, yet with a little encouragement, they may recall many interesting details that they had presumably forgotten.

During such a recital the learner's attitude, his facial expressions, his look of interest, his grunts of encouragement, can all have a great deal to do with the effectiveness of the telling. If the learner does not continue to show his interest, the speaker soon becomes uncomfortable and begins to run down. By appropriately showing his interest the learner can often induce a person to speak for considerable periods of time once he gets warmed up to his subject.

A recorder can pick up the entire recital, of course, but the learner can also make brief notes from time to time on questions which he would like to ask when the flow of information begins to lag. He can also note items for later investigation and closer listening when implications can be studied at his leisure.

The question of how much time to spend on any one life history is something which the learner will have to judge for himself. If the speaker moves along fluently in an interesting story in an interesting way, there is no need to impose strict limits, although the value may tend to diminish after about an hour. If he is willing to return and continue on subsequent days, a long, full life history from one individual may be of great value. However, if he tends to be repetitive, to have a rather dull and uninteresting approach, or to show no particular enthusiasm about the project, there is little value in pushing the exploration very far.

On a second occasion the learner should be ready to pick up where he left off, reminding the informant of what he was saying, letting him hear the last few minutes of what had been recorded, or in other ways making it possible to catch the spirit of what he was doing on the previous occasion.

Recording a life history in this way can serve many purposes. The learner can work with the more valuable parts, assimilating their content and learning to use those features of the language which are discovered. The first step is, therefore, to transcribe those parts of the tape which have the greatest interest. He should do a part of the transcription himself, in order to catch sound features which he may have missed, and to practice writing from dictation. His language helper, however, can do most of it.

The recording should be transcribed either by typewriter or by hand and re-copied as necessary. Ideally, it should be triple-spaced in several copies so that notes may be made of problems for subsequent discussion, or of other important matters. The text should be marked with the number of the reel of the tape, and the reel should be marked with the page numbers of the text. All texts should be paginated consecutively and at least one copy should be kept in that

order so that it can be found easily through a table of contents or through the numbering on the tape recording.[1]

The task of transcription will take considerably longer than the original telling. For this reason it is good to keep notes during the recording session of those parts which are most interesting--new expressions, new vocabulary, new idioms, new ways of saying things. On some recordings the learner will want to have only those parts transcribed. But in at least some cases, however, the whole life history should be transcribed and studied as a unit in order to get a feel for the way in which movement is handled, the way in which transitions are indicated, how new topics are started and finished, and so on.

After the transcription is completed, the learner should listen to the recording several times, following the transcription as he does so. When he hears discrepancies between his transcription and the recording, he should discuss them with his helper. Perhaps the helper, who made the transcription, has simply corrected an obvious mistake; perhaps he has misunderstood. Perhaps there is a difference between the way the helper would say it and the way the speaker said it. In talking extemporaneously, people often begin sentences and don't finish them. This will be characteristic of many sentences in recorded texts. Perhaps the helper "edited" the transcription, writing down something that he felt was more suitable than had been spoken. Some of these differences will need to be checked with the original speaker. He can listen to what was said; and then revise it accordingly. In this process the learner can discover a great deal about the difference between what people intend to say and what is actually said. This varies between speakers and under different circumstances, and at times the differences can be very significant.

Furthermore, comparing the recording and the transcription will tend to reveal elisions (words run together, like can't) or ellipses (omissions). In transcribing, the helper will often write out some of the forms that are contracted in the spoken version, or supply missing words in ellipses. The learner can make notations of these things in the space provided between the lines. Differences between spoken and written language will sometimes be reflected in these ways, and when they are discovered, the learner can discuss them with his helper until he comes to a satisfactory understanding of the problem.

There may be points in a life history which the learner does not understand. He can discuss such passages with his helper, or with the original story teller. The learner needs to become increasingly sensitive to his lack of understanding and probe the reasons for it. If they involve linguistic features, he can drill them by techniques already described. If they involve custom or behavior, he may need further exposure into other aspects of community life.

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[1] An excellent, brief discussion of tape recorders, recording technique, and transcription will be found in Samarin 1967:88-105. Throughout this book there are many excellent suggestions which can be adapted to the process of exploring which we are now discussing, as well as other phases of language learning for those people who have to organize their own learning units. See also Polunin 1965.

After listening to the text repeatedly until it is understood, the learner should spend considerable time practicing it in the ways suggested earlier in the book. Beyond this, however, the learner should constantly seek to use what he has discovered. He should look for opportunities to insert it into his speech, sometimes while working with his helper, and other times in more random conversation with others.

Once he obtains a good life history, the learner can then seek to get a more formal version by asking the speaker to retell the story for a special recording to be shared with other learners who would like to hear this interesting life history. This time the tape recorder and microphone should be more conspicuous, the speaker should be asked to speak directly into the microphone, and attention should be given to its best placement. The learner should sit farther away and give attention to the operation of the tape recorder, listening, and watching the speaker, but not responding with the little signs which indicate "I am with you" which is part of the consultative relationship (Chapter 22). He should act as audience, not co-speaker. In fact, it often helps to have a few others present on occasions such as this.

The success of such a recording depends on selecting someone who is not afraid of the recorder and who is accustomed to speaking in more formal situations. A study of this new recording might reveal subtle differences in style, as discussed in the next chapter.

The learner should try to collect life histories from people of different ages and social strata. He needs to watch for differences of usage and discuss them with his helper who may be able to identify the principal markers of regional and social variants or styles.

So far as content is concerned, the learner should look both for common themes runing through life histories, and for contrasting themes which show differences of outlook that may correlate with differences of position in life or personal experience. All such things can be fully discussed with friends as part of the process of exploration.

The learner should look especially for points which contrast with his own point of view. Reyburn[2] tells of an incident in which his language helper learned that his nephew had fallen from a bicycle and was being treated at the dispensary. He says, "At the same instant my African assistant and I reacted with two different remarks. I asked whether he was hurt badly, and my assistant merely said, 'Huh,' took from his pocket a small soiled notebook and jotted down the nephew's name and the date, then launched into a diatribe with the visitor on how awful the mission was for not allowing goats to be kept on the mission property." This difference in reaction led to an exploration of the fact that in the Kaka culture where Reyburn was then working, a payment in cash or animal must be made to the nearest maternal uncle when a nephew is injured. Because the helper could not keep goats on mission property, he was at an economic disadvantage. Thus his

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[2]Reyburn 1958a:79-80

unexpected reaction (to Reyburn) provided a clue to cultural differences needing further exploration.

21.3 Exploring the Life of Friends

Life histories, revealing as they are, are only one avenue for exploring people's experiences. Reciprocal visits with friends are very natural ways of exploring many facets of life in many cultures, as Loewen[3] has emphasized. If the language learner would like to have the homes of friends opened to him as a guest, then his home should be open to them. If he would like to sleep on a mat on a farmer's porch when he is traveling in the country, then his guest bedroom should be available to the farmer when he comes to town.

But establishing patterns of reciprocal visits with friends may not be easy in some cultures. There are people who are reticent to invite a Westerner for a visit because of obvious differences in living standards, feeling that the Westerner might secretly ridicule him.

Or the learner may be disturbed because he is never invited to a friend's home. In Western society inviting people in for a meal is a way to cement friendships and to get to know them better, but this is not so in all parts of the world. In some cultures one never invites people in for meals, but if they happen to be present at mealtime, they are always included. In some societies people do not eat together, but as individuals whenever it is convenient. In some societies formal feasts may be community occasions with significant social implications, while ordinary daily meals are simply taken on the run with no implications of friendship.

In some societies visits may never be announced, whereas in others they must always be announced ahead of time. In some societies they can only be made by invitations arranged through intermediaries.

Before the learner can explore other people's experience through the medium of reciprocal visits, he must discover all such conventions and discuss the problem with language helper and with friends. Once reciprocal visits are established, the learner should try systematically to get into deeper aspects of community life. Part of the conversation, of course, will be very general, but the learner should be ready with aspects of life, culture, and language which he would like to discuss, and inject these into the course of the conversation at appropriate points. If he has already established the right to use his recorder, his friends will soon forget about it as he records the conversation.

Ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, coming of age, birthday parties, and other established occasions when people get together are events which often merit exploration. The learner may not be invited to such occasions until he becomes a part of a new family and is automatically included with them. At times he may have to hint that he would like to be invited. People may not purposely want to exclude him, but wrongly assume that he would not be interested.

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[3] Loewen 1964a

There are certain aspects of friendship which are perhaps common to all cultures. Sharing, doing things together, common interests, genuine concern for others--these and many other things seem to have universal value. However, in every society there are rules governing the way in which one behaves with friends, talks with them, and treats them. Exploration becomes easier when friendships are established, and the spiraling effect of bilingualism and community membership becomes deeper and more effective.

21.4 Exploring the Neighborhood

The learner can also explore physical space and patterns of settlement and use. Neighborhoods, points of interest in the city, the countryside, small towns and villages, can all stimulate new language experience. In a small town or village exploring the neighborhood may approach the exploration of people's experiences, whereas in city neighborhoods exploring will mean new and relatively superficial contacts. Obviously, joining a new community means becoming a neighbor, and part of the purpose of exploring the neighborhood is to learn to play that role appropriately in terms of local patterns.

To get started the learner and his language helper can walk through the neighborhood systematically with recorder and notebook, noting important observations and details through one medium or the other. In preliminary walks the learner should try to learn the names of all streets and alleys and their locations. Some Westerners, of course, are afraid of narrow, congested alleys in alien cities because of their feelings about space and privacy. With people crowded together, living so much "in public" from his own point of view, the Westerner often feels that he is intruding. But public alleys are not private, although Westerners may not be wanted simply because they are not liked. The learner should avoid these until he understands local feelings and values, not just his own. Language helpers can usually give guidance on this matter.

On the other hand, when a learner starts to explore the neighborhood of some non-Western cities he may find domestics loath to help him, feeling that Westerners look down on the "native" aspects of their cities and even despise them. To overcome this, the learner may have to prove by his character, his reactions and his transparent, open interest in people of all classes and types that the fears are unfounded.

One of the authors was struck by this problem during a visit in an Asian city. Wanting to visit the public market, he was given directions to a large air-conditioned store which sold local art and crafts. He explained, however, that he wanted to visit the market where local citizens bought their goods because he had found them to be interesting in other Asian cities. The local man, however, could hardly believe that a Westerner would want to go to that "dirty and disderly" place. "Don't you want one that's laid out like a proper store?" he asked.

With time and tact and the right helpers, difficulties like this can be overcome and explorations can be inoffensive to local people. The deeper the feelings of this kind, the more important it is that the learner be able to use the local language as he explores.

The learner may continue to be surprised by discoveries in his neighborhood for months or even years. On the first few trips the language helper may not think he would be interested in, or deliberately avoids telling him about, the house on the corner where an important shaman lives, to whom people go to find out about spirits causing illness, or to communicate with recently deceased loved ones. It may not be mentioned that a certain grubby store in the middle of the block is a front for a smuggling ring which pays off hundreds of thousands of dollars to the police each year to stay in operation. Everyone in the neighborhood may know this, but feel that they cannot trust an alien with the information. It may take months to learn that the woman living with her husband and family next door is a prostitute, and that the very distinguished woman living down the street in an imposing residence is one of two dozen wives of a leading government official.

Precise details of the composition of the neighborhood may not emerge in the first few exploratory trips, but will depend on how well the language helper himself knows the neighborhood and on his relationship with the learner in the past. If the helper has learned to trust the learner and rapport has been established, and if he realizes that the learner is honestly interested in understanding the neighborhood, it will not take long to find out much of what is happening. If the helper himself does not know the neighborhood well, it may be helpful to cultivate a neighbor and ask him to serve as guide.

In some cities neighborhood boundaries are easily recognized. Each neighborhood is named. The basis for these boundaries arise from historical factors no longer relevant and often obscure. At one time the neighborhood may have been a village surrounded by rice fields. As the city grew and the perimeters of growing villages met, they marked the boundary between separate neighborhoods, each bearing the name of the old village.

In other situations the "neighborhood" will be defined more loosely, only in terms of the three or four blocks surrounding an important house, or a group of shops that sell most of the simple daily necessities. A given individual's neighborhood may be only the general territory in which he normally moves about, in which his children play, his wife gossips, and so on. There may be signs which indicate his trip outside the neighborhood, like changing his clothes, riding his bicycle, driving his car, taking a bus, or in some other way indicating that he is leaving his own territory and going a considerable distance. Unformulated feelings and unconscious behavior of this kind may be very difficult to discover.

The learner may be unable to find a special word for "neighborhood" as he begins his exploration. However, he may notice that there is a term for "houses" nearby," and he may discuss with people just how many houses are included in the "houses nearby." Or, he may hear it said that "they live near us," and he may discuss with people just how far away people can live and still be considered to "live near us." By observation and by talking with various residents, the learner can get a feeling for the territory that domestics consider to be their neighborhood.

Exploring the neighborhood to learn the role of neighbor can include the discussion of how one should behave toward his neighbors. But when one's helper is

from the same neighborhood, the learner can observe what the helper does. Does he always speak to everyone from the neighborhood whom he meets? What does he say? How long does he talk? Who speaks first? Do people call out and invite him to stop in for a minute? When the learner and helper drop in on somebody, are they served something? What is it and how is it served? If it is only a glass of water, is it always on a tray? Are apologies always made over its inadequacy, no matter what it is? What differences show up between people of different educational levels and different social classes in this respect? When the learner notices such things, he should discuss them with his friends, his helper, his new family, and try to understand as fully as possible the range of behavior for different circumstances. He should then begin to use the appropriate expressions and behavior when he meets neighbors himself.

Inevitably, intensive exploration of a neighborhood will lead to exploration of some people's experience. Some will be the very ones whom the learner may want to get to know more fully. For others the contacts will be superficial and less intensive, though cordial. The learner should get to know some of the families in his immediate vicinity. In many societies, to address people by their names is an important sign of one's interest in them.

Of course, there are societies where kinship terms or other designations are used instead of names. Titles other than kinship are more likely to be used in larger cities than in rural communities, and the learner may find the extensive use of names to be restricted to relative strangers, while friends and neighbors use kinship terms or other designations. In such a case the learner should begin by learning the names and gradually switch over to other designations for the people he knows best, moving into the system used by neighbors. Language helpers and his new family will know the appropriate terms.

People who have never heard a Westerner use kinship terms with them before may think such usage undignified or inappropriate. They may therefore ask him to use their names, yet when he does use kinship terms correctly he may sense a greater warmth of response, a deeper feeling of "being included" than when he called people by name. It is hard to know when to make transitions of this kind in one's own culture and even harder in another. We can feel the difference in relationship very well when we think of a new faculty member returning to teach at his Alma Mater after having spent two or three years away in graduate school and now calling his former professors "Tom" and "Harry" instead of "Professor Jones" and "Professor Smith."

Names and addresses are two fundamental bits of information about neighbors, but it is not always easy to know where everybody lives. Young people passing by the house every day on their way to and from school gradually get sorted into different households nearby. The distinguished gentleman who bows every morning as he rides his bicycle to work obviously lives in the neighborhood, but where? A neighbor would know.

To many aliens, preoccupied with their own interests, learning to adjust to a new life with professional responsibilities, and with friends from their own backgrounds, the people who live in the houses around them may remain faceless.

A major reason for exploring the neighborhood is to turn these faceless creatures into real people.

Exploring the neighborhood, therefore, means visiting at least some homes according to local patterns. Perhaps it begins with the learner's slowing down as he passes a gate when a member of the household is in the yard, stopping to pass the time of day, expressing interest in the family, asking about the children, telling about his own family, asking for names, perhaps even jotting down notes inoffensively.

Perhaps the local visiting pattern is to stop briefly and sit on the porch. On the other hand, it may require an invitation arranged through a mutual friend. In some societies rules require that the settled residents open their homes for visits; in other societies it is the newcomer who must open his home. This means that the learner will have to follow the rules, whatever they are.

If the learner wants to visit but is not willing to be visited, he is exploiting his neighbors. Visits with neighbors should be occasions in which the learner becomes more and more of a participant in the new community.

If the learner finds that there are many names to remember, many intricate and complicated relationships, he might, as he gains rapport with his neighbors, ask for permission to photograph the household with all of its members in front of the house. He should, of course, give the household a print of the photo. Then, on his own print he can number individuals in the photograph, record names, occupations, education, and other interesting things about them. With a helper who knows his neighbors, he can then discover the kinship relationships between people in different households throughout the neighborhood.

There are many stimulating and interesting questions to use in exploring a neighborhood. Where do the people come from in a city neighborhood? How many were born in the houses in which they now live? How many were born elsewhere in the same city? How many come from the country? From other cities? Are there discernible differences of behavior and outlook between local people and those who have moved to town?

What about marriage patterns? Is there any tendency to marry within the neighborhood? Are there two or three families through which many in the neighborhood are related?

What about ethnic backgrounds? Do the people in the neighborhood represent a single tribe, nationality, or other kind of ethnic group, or are they of diverse backgrounds?

When there are different ethnic and linguistic groups in the neighborhood, how can one tell them apart? How good is the language competence of the aliens? Is there something about the facial appearance, size, hair, stance, gestures, way of walking, which mark one's ethnic background? If there are, the local people can help the learner to interpret many of them.

What tensions and antagonisms are evident in the neighborhood? Who does not speak to whom? How do people take sides in disputes? How long-lasting are they? What causes them?

In exploring the neighborhood the learner can perhaps pick up something of its history from older residents especially. But other sources should not be overlooked; police officials, politicians, and other local officals may know a great deal about the neighborhood's development. Many neighborhoods in big cities, of course, have short histories because of their rapid growth. Was the area simply agricultural land? Was it a country village? Other neighborhoods will have roots going back several hundred years.

A huge residence, now nearly falling apart, was obviously a magnificent home in its time. Its present residents, renting its many rooms, probably will not know, but the elderly, aristocratic lady living in a humble but pleasant home down the street might be the granddaughter of the man who built it or might have been the playmate of his granddaughter, and perhaps she remembers the opulence that was characteristic of it in an earlier day.

The white-haired gentleman, too feeble to walk but able to sit and to talk, may be able to tell about the neighborhood's early residents.

The learner may find it hard to follow the bits and pieces of the history as it is told. Knowing so little of the country and its people he may find it hard to put things together--one more indication of his alienness. He needs to learn more and more of what the community knows. This means that he must know enough to catch allusions and references, to laugh at jokes, to feel what his neighbors feel. Exploring the neighborhood is part of this learning process.

In exploring the neighborhood the learner can begin with an investigation of what seems strange. Why is a particular house set in a yard overgrown with weeds when other yards are neat? Why is a particular street newly paved for 100 yards, but gravel on both ends of the asphalt strip? Why do people who own refrigerators keep them in their living rooms? Why do people polish their floors daily but think nothing of the grime caked on their walls? Anything that is puzzling can be explored.

The resulting data can be handled like the data from explorations of people's experiences. Tapes can be transcribed and studied. Recordings made during neighborhood explorations will contain examples of greetings and chit-chat. New areas of content and vocabulary will appear. Listening to tapes, transcribing them, studying the transcriptions, practicing the reading of the transcriptions along with the tapes, asking questions and following up lines of inquiry--all are part of using the language to explore the neighborhood.

One's own neighborhood deserves intensive exploring, although points of interest in other neighborhoods can be sampled. Differences can be noted and discussed as the learner tries to get a feel for the characteristic of neighborhoods in general and the peculiarities of each.

Points of historical and cultural interest and of religious devotion are all worth exploring. These are vital to the community, and the learner should try to sense their importance. There are certain facts about them which he needs to know in order to sense their significance. Part of this exploration can often be done by reading, and by extensive discussion with a variety of people who may have common knowledge about them.

Exploring these places involves leisurely visiting with one's helper, discussing what is seen, talking with attendants, hearing their accounts and asking questions. After tapes are transcribed and discussed with the language helper, the major points of interest can be reviewed and discussed in the new language. Questions can be asked to deepen knowledge and impressions of the visit.

21.5 Exploring the Countryside

Westerners, especially those who are reared in cities or major towns, can benefit greatly from their explorations of the countryside. Repeated trips to small communities, spending several days at a time in a small town or village, can open up new areas of experience, new vocabulary, and new dialects (Chapter 23).

Exploring a strange community in a rural area may require a different approach from that used in a city neighborhood. Someone who is locally known and trusted may need to serve as sponsor.[4]

The general agency under whose auspices the learner is in the country may not be enough. Someone else may need to vouch for the trustworthiness of the stranger and explain what he wants to do, helping people to see that he is really interested in them, and enlisting their cooperation in learning their language.

If one's helper comes from a rural town or village, he himself may be an ideal sponsor on a trip, or if the learner's new family has relatives in the country, they may be able to help. A sponsor can mean the difference between hostility, fear, resistance, and even arrest on the one hand, and warm, friendly openness on the other. In countries where people are polite to strangers it may mean the difference between guarded responses and false information and freer interchange and more accurate information.[5]

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[4]On sponsorship see Loewen 1964b.

[5]It should be clear that sponsorship is involved in the kinds of exploring we have already discussed. No one can probe into the lives of other people unless they are ready to trust him to a certain degree. In our discussion of exploring people and neighborhoods we have assumed that the helper himself serves as a kind of sponsor and that the new family of which the learner is a member, his new friends, people whom he has learned to know and who have learned to know him in earlier stages of gaining language skills, serve to vouch for him and to explain to others the rationale for some of his behavior.

In addition to his need for a sponsor, the language learner may need a role or function which the people understand. That is, he needs a reason for being there which will not inhibit the quality of his contacts, or his freedom to explore, or the learning which he hopes to accomplish. For the best results in some societies, he should not go in a dominant role such as teacher, missionary, or administrator. Even though people may know his role at home, in their village they should in some way see him as a learner.

Perhaps his role will simply be that of visitor, getting to know the relatives of his helper or his new family. Coming from a farm background in the United States, he might express an interest in farming in his new country. Or as a city boy, knowing nothing about farming, he may show that he is curious about it.

The role must be genuine, not deceptive, but believable in local terms. One purpose for such a trip might be the preparation for working in the country and learning rural dialects. In many societies, however, this is not a believable role for an educated Westerner. Announcing such a purpose casts doubt either on the intelligence or the veracity of the learner. On the other hand, if he says that he has been learning the language but finds it hard to understand country language, this will be easier to believe in some situations.

Effective exploration of a country village may require a period of several days, or repeated visits. The learner must have enough exposure to the language of enough people to make the experience significant.

Exploring the countryside can focus on the yearly agricultural cycle, daily activity and burning issues such as land ownership, taxation, the need for irrigation, the handicaps which the country person has in getting a good education. Or the topic might center on language differences. In many countries there will be a difference between rural and urban speech, and differences in villages from one area to another. Village people will be able to talk about some of these differences, although what they say may not be scientifically exact. Their impressions and stereotypes, however, will give leads which can be explored. In the meantime, by recording village speech and making notes, the learner can begin to understand and speak in the villagers' way.

Attitudes toward city people make interesting topics for exploration. Would country people rather live in the city? Why? Why not? Do many people from town go to the city to live? Who specifically? Do they return? How do they like it? Do they talk differently when they return?

Recordings of rural speech should be transcribed and studied in the same way as other recordings although the learner probably will study them for understanding and not for production unless he wants to learn the rural dialect. If he is going to work in a rural area, it is well to learn both rural and urban dialects (Chapter 23).

21.6 Exploring Government and Politics

The subject of politics can bring an immediate response, a torrent of excellent material for language enrichment. To be sure, in some countries, with

ticklish political situations, the learner will want to have rapport with people be-
fore he broaches the subject. He will want to sense whether or not people want
to discuss the subject and not push it too far.

In discussing politics the learner will sometimes find himself on the defen-
sive regarding his own country, whether he agrees with its policies or not. He
should be ready to explain those policies, indicating his own agreement or dis-
agreement, clearly and rationally to correct any severely distorted ideas. The
learner in turn should be willing to find out how his friends feel about the poli-
cies of his own country.

The learner can read school textbooks, newspaper editorials, and other
written materials which stimulate further discussion with his friends. University
courses given in the new language dealing with the politics of the new country,
its government, or world politics may provide stimulus for exploration.

The learner can record political speeches and talks by government officials.
These can be transcribed in toto or in part and used as models for oratorical
public speaking style.

Points which arise in the exploration of government and politics can be dis-
cussed with people of different ages, backgrounds, economic status, in order to
get a feel of the range of point of view.

21.7 Exploring History

A member of a community should know something of its history. University
courses in the language taught by local historians, school textbooks, and popular
histories may prove useful. For countries without long written traditions and
few written materials in the new language, discussion of what people remember
from accounts of their ancestors can contribute to language enrichment.

When exploring history, what matters is what people think happened, for
this is what guides judgments and outlooks on contemporary events. To be sure,
a person may also want to turn to more objective sources that give an "accurate"
account of history. The assumptions about the community's history are what the
learner needs to know in order to participate more fully in it. If these assump-
tions do not cohere with historical facts known independently, this is irrelevant
from the standpoint of membership in the community.

21.8 Exploring Customary Behavior

A new member of a community finds occasions when he is puzzled over cus-
tomary behavior. A friend's grandmother has died. What should he wear to the
funeral? His language helper's brother is being married and he has been invited
to the wedding. Should he take a gift? What kind? When should he go? How long
should he stay? What is expected of him? He wants to rent a house. How does
he go about it? Someone gives him a gift. What should he do in return? A holi-
day is coming up on which people visit each other. How should guests be re-
ceived? What pattern of visiting should he follow himself?

At weddings the learner may have noticed that close friends of the family are in and around the home in which the marriage takes place for days before and after the event. When the brother of his best friend is being married, what role should he play before and after the ceremony?

In the course of a basic program one may learn how to address friends, teachers, and other people met in daily contact. He knows, however, that high officials are addressed differently. How should he address them?

How should he call a waiter? A clerk in a store? How should he speak to the servants in the home where he is a guest? How should he speak to the children?

How should the learner treat drunks? Or children who are bothering him? How should he handle chronic borrowers? Beggars?

Each culture has its own ways of going about these ordinary tasks. After he is more fluent in the language, the learner may be proud of his ability to "bargain," but may find that his technique of bargaining is ridiculous or offensive to local shopkeepers, who normally find bargaining a satisfying and pleasant game, an avenue of social intercourse with people of their own culture.

Normally exploration of such areas is not difficult. The learner can ask his friends about the proper thing to do. If he has already developed bad habits and is doing things wrong, the issue may be more delicate and friends may be more reluctant to speak, but with the proper rapport and encouragement, such difficulties can be overcome.

In learning customary behavior, role playing may be valuable. The learner can ask two friends to take the parts of host and guest at a wedding, studying their behavior as they do so. Then he can take each of the parts and they can correct his mistakes. By recording the role playing and ensuing discussion the learner can refer to it in case of doubt. He may have noticed, for example, that the guest wishes happiness to the married couple. By finding the wishes on the tape and learning them, he can enrich his own stock for such situations.

21.9 Exploring Values and Attitudes

People's values or attitudes, those principles by which they decide what is important, their opinions, feelings and ideas, provide significant topics for exploration. Since these areas are relatively intangible, the learner can only hope to gain some feelings and general impressions. They are nonetheless important for him as a participant in the community.

Note, for example, the reactions to foreign and local news events. What seems important to people? What do they talk about? What do they like and dislike? What do they fear? How strongly do people differ on things? Does the general feeling of friends and members of the new family coincide with attitudes reflected in editorials, books, political analyses and official public pronouncements? Do people trust official statements?

Another line of attack is to check out his stereotypes of people in the new community. His feelings that they are "fun loving," "childlike," "tricky" are doubtless based on what he heard from other foreigners or his own initial impressions.

But what are people really like? How do they behave in a given set of circumstances? Is there a difference in their "trickiness" when they deal with members of their own family, people in the neighborhood, and outsiders? Are they "hot-tempered" with age-mates but impassive with elders? By discussing how they should behave and watching how they match their own models of good behavior, the learner can gain many insights.

What values appear in inter-ethnic attitudes? What are the stereotypes of different classes or groups? Of foreigners? What kind of evidence is given for these stereotypes? How do they tally with the learner's observations of actual behavior?

What values and attitudes regarding religion appear in the person suffering from an illness? In the discussion of war? In humor? In the treatment of animals or children or people of different social classes?

What are the ambitions of young people? Education? Security? Wealth? How do they state these ambitions?

21.10 Using Literature to Explore

Thus far in the discussion of exploration we have emphasized the use of oral sources. At a more advanced stage of bilingualism the learner can explore literature (Chapters 1,22). Some modern, simple, direct prose can be handled earlier, but in many of the languages of the world literature is full of obscure references, couched in a somewhat archaic language, and often in poetic style that requires special training for understanding.

A university course in local literature can be of very great value. Extensive reading, of course, is essential, and should be discussed with friends who can help to explain the complications of literature. Care should be taken to avoid literary styles in non-literary use of the language.

21.11 Exploring the Learner's Specializations

If the learner is a doctor, exploring local medicine is an extremely important source of enrichment. An agriculturist should explore local agriculture; a teacher, local education; a missionary, local religion; a musician, local music. Such exploration should search out modern influences on such fields in the new country in contrast to traditional values and practices.

The doctor needs to know the rationale underlying traditional medicine. It is not enough to dismiss as a useless superstition the local custom of keeping the mother of a new-born baby lying beside a hot fire for several days. The doctor needs to know why the custom persists, what there is about the domestic's understanding of life, health, and personality that makes this custom important.

By reading modern technical books in the new language and by taking courses in the university, the learner can find out how his specialization is handled, and can learn the vocabulary associated with it in its modern form. For traditional practices and traditional understanding of the universe, he will have to turn to the traditional practitioners. He will have to go to temple schools, to farmers, to musicians in traditional orchestras, to "quack doctors," and learn from them.

And as he learns and explores, he can share. The traditional farmer may feel that modern techniques are just as ridiculous as the agriculturist feels that traditional ones are inefficient. If the agriculturist knows the traditional techniques and has earned the friendship of the farmer, he may have the right to make suggestions on changes that the farmer might be able to make for his own good.

21.12 Exploring Cultural Life and Behavior

It should be evident in this discussion that we have been suggesting the use an anthropological method on an amateur basis--a wider and more generalized extension of the investigation of cultural systems and behavior outlined in Chapter 19. For some learners such anthropological investigation can be carried on in a more systematic way, essential for deepening knowledge and enriching use of a new language. The discussion of systematic exploration which follows is limited to readers with personal inclination or need to go into a greater detail.

As in other categories of exploration this anthropological study should be done entirely in the new language. Recordings should be made of interviews and discussion and studied later not only for their content but also for the language patterns of those interviewed.

Extensive investigation in a semi-anthropological way involves extra reading in anthropological method. It would be also entail the systematic keeping of notes and files of anthropological data.[6]

21.13 Making Exploration a Way of Life

Curiosity, the inquiring point of view, the habit of making notes of interesting new things that come along and talking them over with friends should continue forever. As exploration continues, learning to use what is discovered must continue or it will level off on new plateaus.

New expressions should be used deliberately with several people each day. A new word can be purposely brought into conversations each day. A new custom can be discussed with several people daily.

To profit fully from exploration throughout his life, the learner needs a systematic way of recording discoveries. Notes on customs, attitudes, values,

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[6]Some sources with which the learner might start are Loewen 1965, Royal Anthropological Institute 1929, Murdock, et al.1950, Smalley 1960. For testimonials of the values of anthropological investigation as a stimulus to language learning see Henry 1958 and Mohrlang 1968.

people, places, points of interest, and other discoveries can be made on slips and filed under appropriate topics. New vocabulary and idioms can be noted and filed until the learner is confident that he uses them correctly. New grammatical constructions can be noted and filed until drills can be developed and utilized. Notes on dialect and class differences can be filed until he understands the varieties encountered regularly and can switch from one form to another as participation requires.

Everyone explores, but some do it more effectively than others. Some show more insight; some are more persistent. Those with persistence and insight should write up their notes--amateurish though they may be--and share them with new learners that follow. This will help to make their exploration more productive as insights of others are checked out.

In some cases such insights can lead to publication and wider use. The primary fruit of the learner's exploration, however, is in the enrichment which comes to him as a new member of the community. He puts to use what he learns and participates more fully in community life.

Chapter Twenty-Two

Learning to Use Appropriate Varieties

One of the authors learned a form for certain "adjectives" in Thai, only to find that men did not use that form. His language helper, model for his speech, happened to be a woman. Differences of style between men's and women's speech are common in most languages. Selection of vocabulary, intonation, and grammatical constructions may differ. Languages manifest a wide range of other varieties, too.

In our discussion of becoming bilingual, we may have given the impression that learning a new language involves only a single new system added to those which we already know, and implied that if the learner could master that one new thing well enough, he would become bilingual. On the other hand, the varieties of speech which characterize communities are often a source of anxiety for the learner (Chapter 5).

At the outset of study, seeing language as a single new challenge has considerable validity. By contrast with his mother tongue, French or Swahili or Thai is another language with characteristics sharply different from his own.

Soon, however, the sensitive learner realizes that this new language is not a single entity, but a collage of different varieties, a group of interdependent communication systems. Except for a few languages where varieties of written media (prose, poetry, essay, etc.) have been studied by literary critics and rhetoricians, little is known about varieties within the world's languages. The range and complexity of varieties probably differs from language to language, although certain distinctions are perhaps common in many languages. One probably talks to old people and to children differently in all languages. Perhaps all languages show varieties in terms for respect, and so on. Most of the varieties discussed in this chapter are assumed to be universal or nearly so.

Complexity of social structure affects the range of varieties. In simple societies with small populations and little social stratification, varieties seem to be fewer and less complicated than in highly complex societies. Language is a kind of cosmetic which people use to "put their best foot forward." The greater the number and variety of different relationships, the more likely there will be varieties of language use.

For example, this prayer was offered by an eleven-year-old from the inner city at a summer camp:

> Dear Lord, we thank you for giving us one hell of a good time
> today.

The boy had asked permission to "say the prayer" at the end of the program. The reporter comments that "the sincerity of the prayer was felt so strongly that

nobody laughed."[1] Under the circumstances, the variety of language used in this prayer is not only touching and convincing, but also appropriate. The same variety used by an educated leader at a social in a suburban church would probably be objectionable.

No one uses all of the varieties of his mother tongue, but only those which are characteristic of his own sex, age, and social roles. Note, for example, how silly a fifty-year-old man sounds when he tries to use teen-age varieties. The sensitive learner will be kept busy with the varieties that he needs in sending messages, but will also need to understand other varieties in order to understand other people.

22.1 Dimensions of Social Distance

Suppose a man who has been away on a business trip returns on pay day. He is badly in need of money.

Situation 1:

He returns home, opens the door, and says to his wife, (1) "Hi, Honey! Check come?"

His wife is reading the newspaper and answers, (2) "Mm."

Situation 2:

He returns to the office in the late afternoon and passes the desk of his secretary who has worked for him for some time:

(3) "Hello, June. Did I get my salary check?"

(4) "Yes, you did!"

Situation 3:

He goes to his desk, looks at the mail, does not see the envelope with the check and calls the recently-hired mail clerk:

(5) "Miss Jones, did my salary check arrive from the Accounting Department today?"

(6) Yes, Mr. Brown. I have it right here."

Situation 4:

Unable to find his check on the desk, he goes to the door and calls out to the secretaries in the outer office:

(7) "Does anyone know whether or not my salary check has arrived from the Accounting Department today?"

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[1]Burke 1968:19

Mail clerk in the back of the room: (8) "Yes, it just came. I have it right here."[2]

Each of the situations represents a different social distance between him and the people with whom he is talking. When he spoke to his wife, it was to someone with whom he was on intimate terms, who shared his concern over the check. His term of address, "Honey," reflects their intimate relationship, and his sentence, stripped to its bare essentials, "Check come?", shows that full context and explanation is unnecessary because of their shared experience. This intimate variety of language represents closeness on the scale of social distance.

When the businessman spoke to his secretary, he used an informal and familiar form of address, but not an intimate one. His question was phrased as a full sentence, but without extra information. This is the personal zone along the dimension of social distance.

When Mr. Brown spoke to Miss Jones, it was the first time he had done so on this subject since she was hired. His use of title, last name, and fuller form of the question reflects a greater social distance, called consultative.

Another case of the "consultative," this time with a larger audience, appears when Mr. Brown pokes his head out of the door and asks the group of secretaries about the check. The form of his question is more general because the audience is larger and the distance is greater.

Another measure along this dimension of social distance comes later in the evening when Mr. Brown rises to make a speech before the Rotary Club. He now uses a public variety appropriate to speech-making where social distance is even greater, and where the audience is not expected to respond to every sentence.

Cultures differ in the manner of marking physical distance between people; in fact, for all mammals there seem to be certain established distances which are important in interaction with other creatures.[3] With human beings such differences in distance can be seen in many aspects of behavior, although we are concerned primarily with language. Imagine, for example, Mr. Brown coming home and finding his wife in the yard weeding the flower garden. When he raises his voice to call to her from the back door, he is more likely to call, "Did the check come?" rather than simply, "Check come?" The fuller form of the sentence is needed to carry across the greater distance.

We do not mean to imply that the fuller form could not be used in the first instance when he came in the door. The shorter form might also have been used with June in the office. However, it would have been unlikely with Miss Jones. Part of the problem in the studying of variety of languages associated with various

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[2]Hall 1966; Joos 1962; Gleason 1965:357-361

[3]Hall 1966

dimensions is an apparent lack of a fixed quality. Language helpers and infor-
mants will differ as to what they think is best under different circumstances.
The point is, however, that there is a series of fine distinctions which the native
speaker uses subconsciously, and that some of them are inappropriate under cer-
tain circumstances. Our attempt to classify is admittedly crude, but it is an at-
tempt to give the reader some sense of the possibilities.

By way of further example, notice the difference in distance between the fol-
lowing pairs of quotations.

(9) "The novel which you are reading seeks to portray the inner turmoil..."
(appropriate for a lecture in class and public distance).

(10) "I think it's trying to show how much emotional upset..." (appropriate
to a consultative conversation).

(11) "You've got a cute nose!"

(12) "Your nose is nicely proportioned."

(13) "Honey, I love you. Would you marry me?"

(14) "Miss Jones, I sense a deep and abiding love for you; could I prevail up-
on you to consider marriage?"

(15) "I think I lean toward that eight-cylinder station wagon."

(16) "Boy, I sure do like that wagon."

From these examples we can sense the difference in social distance between
speaker and hearer. By our choice of variety we can hold people at arm's length
or draw them closer.

Even in English, not to mention other languages, the details of variety are
still poorly understood. Investigation of this aspect of language is in its infancy.
But by using the right models, and by learning to respond to such usage, the
learner can begin to make some of the distinctions of social distance.

Varieties of social distance are often correlated with tone of voice and loud-
ness, degree of voice projection, posture, and often with actual physical distance
between speaker and hearer. All of these details need to be observed by the
learner.

The consultative distance is of primary importance, and must be learned
best, although some language helpers prefer to concentrate on public distance
and speech-making style, for this is what they learned in school. The consulta-
tive distance is normal with relative strangers or casual acquaintances. It is
used even with close friends when there is discussion of unfamiliar subjects.

At this distance there is constant inter-communication between two parties
even if one does all the talking. The second one will respond with grunts or brief
interjections: "Uh-huh...yes, I know...no kidding?...H-m-m...," with visual
expressions, head movements, changes in bodily posture, and so on.

In the consultative distance sentences tend to be more complete than at the more personal and intimate levels. More information is given because less knowledge is assumed on the part of the hearer. The speaker governs what he says at any moment by the feedback coming from the co-speaker. A puzzled look causes him to back up and revise an explanation. Resistance to his ideas makes him raise his voice or revise his argument.

Mastery of the consultative distance makes it possible to communicate appropriately in conversational situations with the widest range of people. To learn nothing but that style is fine if the learner never hopes to speak in public or make any close friends.

Styles appropriate to public distance involve a different tone of voice and greater projection. Since there is less response from the hearer, they require a different organization of subject matter and presentation. The audience does not indicate its reactions as regularly or as fully as at the consultative distance. The speaker has to anticipate audience reaction and prepare for it. Explanations are therefore fuller, sentences are more complicated, with greater subordination of clauses and greater similarity to written language. There are often words and constructions that sound very pedantic at the consultative distance. Conversely, some expressions appropriate to the consultative distance seem colloquial, substandard, and even coarse at public distance.

Language helpers may be eager to help the learner master public style. Part of their formal education aimed at the development of sensitivity to the points where the use of forms appropriate to the consultative distance are not appropriate to public distance.

However, language helpers may be unaware of the style appropriate to personal distance. They learned it early in life, but in school it was never brought to their attention in a formal manner. Furthermore, they may have the feeling that aliens never really become personal friends. They may never hear them talk like friends. They expect to hold the alien at arm's length and be similarly treated by aliens.

Such difficulties must be overcome if one is to become bilingual and a member of a new community. The effort can be intensely rewarding, for learning the styles for personal distance means making friends who learn to trust the learner and sense his need for sharing more informally in community life. This is sometimes easier for younger people than older ones, for younger ones can more realistically take the role of learner and make friends more easily with people their own age where status inhibitions may not be so great. It is, of course, easier for out-going people than for introverted ones.

The use of intimate style, on the other hand, will only be possible and appropriate when the learner becomes part of a new family. If through marriage, informal adoption, or the cultivation of people who will accept him, he is brought into the life of a new family, he will hear intimate styles of language from models and will find it appropriate to use them.

The techniques which we suggest for learning to shift styles are similar to those which will be suggested later for shifting between written and spoken media. Model texts need to be recorded, practiced, transcribed, and studied. Then practice needs to be developed for shifting the content of a speech to a style appropriate for conversation, and vice versa.

In learning varieties appropriate to social distance, role playing is crucial. If the helper becomes a good friend and is intelligent and sensitive to his own verbal behavior, he may be able to help the learner with a variety of roles. At one point they can agree to be comparative strangers, discussing a topic in the newspaper. They they can agree to be close friends or business colleagues discussing the same topic. In any exercise of this kind care must be taken to establish personalities and roles and the relationship between the two participants. The conversation can be recorded and then studied critically later from a fresh vantage point to see whether roles have been misplayed and to catch mistakes in the learner's use of the language. Another native speaker sitting in on the discussion of the replay may be able to add important insight.

22.2 Dimension of Social Status

The daughter of one of the authors took a summer job as a maid in a motel and quoted herself one day as saying, "Sir, may I do your room now?" Her father recalled that she previously used "sir" as a term of address only in mock seriousness, "Yes, sir!" with a salute, when being given instructions which seemed overly severe. But this term of address was appropriate to her new role as maid although it correlated with a type of English which she did not otherwise use.

Sentences beginning, "Your Honor," or "Jimmy," are likely to have different forms and reflect differences in status, as for example:

(17) "Stevie, move your feet. I want to vacuum here."

(18) "Dad, would you mind sitting somewhere else for a few minutes so I can vacuum here?"

Some languages reflect the dimension of social status far more than English does. In Thai there are status particles which occur at the end of sentences. One is used with superiors, another with equals and inferiors, another with people whom one wants to insult, or none are used at all if one wants to be impolite. At the same time, a series of pronouns and titles also mark status distance. A Thai speaker uses a different "pronoun" for "I" when speaking to the king, a high government official, superiors in general, intimate equals, and inferiors. There is a matching set of "second-person pronouns" to reflect the same distinctions.[4]

Social status and social distance are different. At the same consultative distance one may talk "up" to someone or "down":

(19) "I'm sorry it is all gone, sir!"

(20) "I have nothing left here for you, boy!"

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[4]Cooke 1968:27-34

There may be differences of social status at the same distance, and differences of social distance at the same status. We may speak to a child in a consultative style or in a personal style if we know him well enough. We may speak to a distinguished and respected friend in both styles as well. The linguistic markers, however, will be different in these two cases.

Although social distinction is less common in simpler societies, it is probably marked in some ways in all societies. If older people, chiefs, or religious leaders are at the top of the heap, somebody--children, women, mentally or physically abnormal people--will be at the bottom. A child is perhaps never addressed in the way that one talks to a chief. Terms of address, tone of voice, expressions used, the politeness of the phrasing, all appear as important markers of social status. In some languages there are grammatical and vocabulary distinctions as well.

Beginning language courses tend to emphasize the use of language between equals. Of necessity, only a limited number of variables can be introduced. Few of them make more than a start at introducing differences of status dimension, leaving the language learner to proceed on his own in this area. By recording suitable models and studying them, by looking for the identifying markers of differences of social status, and by role playing the learner can become bilingual in this realm, too.

22.3 Dimension of Social Value

Varieties of social value provide a third dimension in language use. Some forms of language are preferred to others. Learning to sense the appropriate value has an important bearing upon one's effectiveness in different situations.

To "buy a car" and to "purchase an automobile" may refer to the same event but do not give it the same value. Once a plumber was told that there was a "bad smell around the sink," and the plumber agreed that there was a "disagreeable odor." The plumber's use of the term with the higher social value is significant.

Figure 1 shows some differences of social value in English vocabulary.

Social Value	Examples			
Elegant	dine	officer	automobile	buttocks
Simple	eat dinner	policeman	car	seat
Slang		cop	buggy	fanny
Vulgar		pig		ass

Figure 1. Some examples of differences in four social values of
English vocabulary. (Values are indicated in first
column.)

All vocabulary cannot be classified into these four categories as shown in Figure 1. Furthermore, there may be subdivisions under each category, with various slang terms as "cop," "fuzz," to correspond with "policeman" and "officer." The chart merely points out social values reflected in vocabulary, something to which the learner needs to become sensitive in the use of a new language.

Social value is obviously related to the earlier dimensions. The more elegant terms are likely to be used at greater public distance, and private distance is often marked by the use of slang. An interesting phenomenon around the world is that vulgar terms, if used at all, tend to be used with close friends of the same sex at private or intimate distance, or with non-friends in an insulting or degrading way.[5]

Elegant terms likewise are common with high and slang with low status varieties of language. All such correlations, however, are only partial because the dimension of social value cuts across other dimensions semi-independently.

As with other dimensions, differences do not only lie in the selection of vocabulary. "Would you be so kind as to ... " is more elegant than "Please ... " "I would like to ... " is more elegant than "I want to ... "

Some of the less elegant forms of English are taboo in certain situations. Elegance, however, cannot be equated with communicative effectiveness, as this prayer indicates:

> Make us slow down and cool it, but good, God,
> So we can get with it.
> We need to find out where we is going.
> To find out how to be happy
> And do good things.
> We want to be a good guy and in a way we don't.
> Mostly 'cause we don't see any point in it.
> What's the use if we still live in a dump
> And all that happens is you get beat up?
> These is the things we ask you.[6]

Language helpers will usually be sensitive to the social value of vocabulary and expressions, reacting when an expression is not polite. In teaching the foreigner, therefore, they may give exaggerated weight to the more elegant forms which are thought of as preferred. The indiscriminate use of elegant forms in ordinary situations, however, may seem ludicrous, like the plumber talking about the "disagreeable odor" in the sink.

Good dictionaries may label the less prestigious forms like slang and vulgar terms. The learner will perhaps never need to use vulgar terms in becoming a

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[5] Brown and Gilman 1960

[6] Burke 1968:54

member of most normal communities. However, a judicious sprinkling of slang may be useful for many occasions, and the ability to switch appropriately between elegant and simple speech may be very important.

22.4 Other Dimensions

Sex is another common dimension in language varieties. Men and women do not speak exactly the same. In some languages sex differences are marked by grammatical features; in others, by choice of vocabulary. Women may use certain adjectives more frequently than men and thereby give a "feminine" or "masculine" flavor to what is said.

The speaker's age is another dimension. Grandparents, for example, tend to use forms going out of use, where grandchildren tend to use those which are coming into use, if there is a difference. In some languages the use of slang often correlates with age as the younger generation introduces new slang which the older generation does not fully adopt.

Related to this is the fact of archaism. Particularly in societies where there is a literary tradition, old forms may be preserved in writing and occasionally in speech. Archaisms are characteristic of the style of some English-speaking Christian ministers.

There are doubtless many other dimensions of language use as well. Some of these are universal; others are restricted to particular languages.

22.5 Jargons

Languages also exhibt more specific and localized varieties called jargons. The language of newspaper writing is not identical with that of essays. Note, for example, the differences between the style of an editorial page and news items. Religion, medicine, military, education, these and all other fields have their own jargon.

Jargons differ from dimensions in terms of their specific subject matter, often associated with people having particular skills. They are varieties used by particular in-groups, with variations for different kinds of social situations. Jargons are sometimes great barriers to communication, tending to exclude the non-member.

Like any other community member, the learner needs only those jargons which are appropriate to his roles. He should try to understand (a consumer knowledge) some jargons, such as newspaper language, even if he cannot produce it. He may need to understand some of the jargon of doctors, but no more than he needs in his mother tongue. He needs the jargon of his own professional field, and perhaps that of some of his good friends in order to understand what they are talking about.

22.6 The Appropriate Variety

At this point it is apparent that becoming bilingual is a complicated task. One

must learn to discriminate between many different ways of saying the same thing thing; he must know what is appropriate in any multi-faceted situation in which he finds himself. Some alternatives would be intelligible; others would be ludicrous; others simply not suitable.

The complexity of these varieties cannot be discounted, yet no adult learner will ever fully acquire the native speaker's feeling for them. It does not take long, however, to begin to sort out the differences.

The learner who is caught up in the everyday life of a new family will soon begin to sense the difference between the variety appropriate for one's grandmother, for beggars at the door, and so on. By intense listening, judicious sorting of information, discussion with language helpers, mimicry of good models, role playing, and growing sensitivity to everyday use, the learner can begin to utilize the flexibility, variety, and power available in the different styles of language. Without them he can make himself understood, but his language is a weak and powerless shadow of the real thing.

22.7 The Media: Spoken and Written Varieties

Differences between spoken and written language become apparent quickly. Having already discussed the mechanics of writing systems in Chapter 19, we are now concerned with the varieties of language appropriate to written material.

Many observers have noted that when a language is written for the first time, distinctions quickly emerge between the spoken and written styles. Investigators have noticed the tendency for people to listen to recordings of their own speech, to transcribe them, and then want to make changes. Even where literary traditions are short, such changes tend to fall into patterns.

Such varieties, therefore, are appropriate to their medium. Communication through writing is more permanent; there is more time to reflect on it; it can be read and reread. It does not contain the clues of voice intonation and visual feedback and compensation must be made for this lack. Thus, the written medium has its own constraints which produce differences from spoken language.

Nida's list of some of the differences between oral and written style can be taken as suggestive of many more which would be found in an exhaustive, worldwide comparative survey.[7]

Oral Style	Written Style
1. Parallel structure of simple sentences	1. Greater imbedding and subordination
2. Psychological atmosphere provided primarily by intonation	2. Psychological atmosphere provided by the selection of terms having fitting connotations

[7]See Nida 1967:156. For general background see Sebeok 1960.

3. Numerous onomatopoetic expressions and frequent use of sound symbolism	3. Much less sound symbolism except in poetic utterance
4. Relatively frequent syntactic abnormalities	4. Greater syntactic consistency
5. Less careful sequencing	5. Studied sequencing
6. Limited vocabulary	6. Richer vocabulary
7. More words in proportion to the number of ideas	7. Fewer words in proportion to the number of ideas
8. Frequent changes resulting from feedback from receptors.	8. Not subject to sudden shifts as the result of feedback (but sometimes with anticipated feedback as the writer imagines the reactions of his audience)

What we do with our hands and eyes, paper and ink (the right-hand column) is different from what we do with our mouth as light waves are different from sound waves. Where literary traditions are established there tend to be standardized characteristics of written language which create greater differences from spoken languages than those mentioned above. Sometimes these differences reflect the language of an earlier period, as in written classical Arabic, preserved in writing, but not in speech. In other cases they represent extensive influence of other languages through translation and borrowing, as in the strong influence of Sanskrit on written Thai, or Chinese on Vietnamese, or English on scores of languages.

In cases such as these, of course, the line between written and spoken style is not always sharp. Educated people may bring some characteristics of written style into their formal use of spoken language, and novelists may attempt to reflect certain characteristics of spoken language in the speech of their characters. Neither of these attempts is completely successful because of the difference in medium, but they do tend to blur the boundary lines between them.

The learner will need to recognize major differences between written and spoken style and use them appropriately. This is not easy, for language helpers may be unable to identify and explain differences clearly, even though they use them quite naturally. Controlled drills in this area of language learning are difficult to devise, and we can only suggest some exercises which can help to develop awareness of major differences. It is not only a question of learning to write per se, but also of learning to distinguish between forms appropriate to speech and to writing so that both may be used properly and not intermingled in unacceptable ways.

Helpers who can provide excellent help in learning the spoken language may not have any particular skills in writing. Thus they may not be so valuable in

in teaching the written variety of the new language. It may be that different helpers may be required.[8]

22.8 Techniques for Learning Spoken and Written Varieties

Little has been said thus far about techniques for learning varieties. The following suggestions apply with modifications to learning the varieties illustrated so far. The first exercises which we suggest are built around examples of spoken and written style and are as nearly parallel as possible.

1. A recording of an extemporaneous, unrehearsed story or speech (spoken with vividness and animation) should be transcribed. If it can be made by the same person involved in the later stages of the exercise, so much the better.

After reading over the transcription several times, the helper should then put it aside and write it, not attempting to reproduce what was spoken, but imagining that he is preparing to publish it. Or, he can take the transcription of the original recording and edit it for publication, if he knows how to do so.

The original transcription, the edited version, and the written version should be studied and compared for their differences. Some will be purely coincidental, for people rarely say anything the same way twice unless it is memorized. However, if this process is followed with several short texts, some of the characteristics listed above will emerge and still others may be noted.

Another useful step is then to record the helper's reading aloud, first the transcription of the original speech, then the edited form, and finally the written form. These recordings then can be compared with the original recording and the differences in intonation, pacing, and other characteristics of reading written material aloud can be noted. The difference between the original recording of the extemporaneous story and the reading of the text of that story may be particularly instructive.

When characteristics have been isolated, they can be practiced. If, for example, a series of short sentences in the spoken form is matched by a more complicated sentence with subordination in the written form, the learner can practice switching from one to the other, mimicking both texts, speaking the spoken texts, and writing the written ones.

2. The helper can read through a short literary selection two or three times to familiarize himself with it, and then read it aloud and record it. The next day he should try to tell the story in his own words and record his telling, without reference to the written text as he does so. The written story read aloud and the extemporaneous narration can be compared by listening to the recordings,

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[8]Conversely, at an earlier stage, the learner may have had to reject someone who could help him learn a good writing style, but unable to help him learn to speak.

and the transcription of the spoken story can be compared with the original writ-
ten story. After the differences have been studied, switching between them can
be practiced in the same fashion as in the previous exercise.

3. The learner can study the recording and transcription of an extempora-
neously spoken text and undertake to write it in good style. The draft should be
studied and criticized by the helper, and all problems should be thoroughly dis-
cussed. After the learner has made the corrections, he then should attempt a
brand-new draft without reference to the previous one, continuing this process
as long as it proves profitable.

22.9 Kinds of Written Text to Practice

The above suggestions should help to develop sensitivity to the differences
between spoken and written style and should be followed repeatedly with differ-
ent texts over a considerable period of time. Learning written style is no small
task in any language. In languages with an established literary tradition and a
standardized school system educated native speakers work on written style for
many years in school, and even afterwards. Just as English courses in Ameri-
can schools focus on the use of written style, courses in the mother tongue in
other school systems have much the same objective.

As the learner moves on to original writing, it should be with three major
categories of writing in mind, although many bilinguals will only have limited
need for the second and third.

1. He will need to be able to write letters. Letters to friends, business
letters, and instructions to service people present the simplest, most immedi-
ate and common kind of written language for his purposes.

Letters, fortunately, do not require the elaborate and artistic written style
of other categories. They do have their distinct form, however, and this in-
volves more than address and salutation. An English letter differs from a Span-
ish letter in its tone. A Spanish letter translated into English seems flowery
and effusive. An English letter translated into Spanish seems cold and curt.

The first step in learning to write letters is to find a variety of models. In
some languages there are books designed to help people to write good letters.
These may contain excellent models and a great deal of essential information,
even though they are not oriented directly toward the bilingual's need.

The learner can keep letters from friends written in the new language, or
letters printed in newspapers. Often, however, it may be necessary to get the
helper to write model letters. The learner will need a variety of letters to re-
flect different kinds of social situations: letters to superiors, to equals, and to
service people, perhaps even to children. Occupational factors may govern the
style of a letter. He will need models on different topics, and models for in-
formal letters and business letters, letters to strangers and acquaintances. He
will also need models for letters that have fixed forms, like invitations, an-
nouncements of funerals and weddings, and so on.

The models can then be used as patterns along the lines suggested in Chapter 21 for using recorded texts to learn to say new things. Each draft should be corrected by the helper, discussed, and rewritten until a satisfactory draft can be produced without reference to a previous one. At this point, when an acceptable letter has been written, it should then be copied and written extemporaneously over and over again until its pattern has been learned.

Whenever the learner has occasion to write a letter, he should have it checked by his helper, using the opportunity to develop skill in using written language.

2. A second major category is professional writing. Often people such as doctors, missionaries, anthropologists write their articles first in their own mother tongue and then have them translated into the new language. Without control over the written language they have no other recourse. Such an option, however, hardly reflects true membership in the new community. Where the bilingual person needs to communicate on a professional level, he should use the written style which is appropriate.

Procedures for learning professional writing resemble those for learning to write letters. The style, of course, is different and new models are needed. The doctor will look to the medical journal for his models; the missionary, to the writings of local Christians. Care should be taken with the help of qualified people to select as models articles which are simple and in good style, not translations. The models should be studied and used as a basis for writing other things for the same audiences. The suggestions above concerning drafts and the correction of drafts, writing and rewriting, apply here as well.

3. The third category toward which a few bilinguals may want to strive is that of literary writing. Few adult bilinguals achieve success in this area. In fact, only a limited number of native speakers have unusual literary skills. Yet even if the learner never expects to write publishable literary pieces, practice toward this end may be valuable in helping him to express himself in new ways. Of course, he must avoid transferring the literary form into spoken language or other varieties of written language which may not be appropriate. Sensitivity to variation must remain sharp.

In the literary use of language not just information, but color and feeling and self-expression are significant. Voluminous reading and much practice will be required. Courses in literature and writing at the local university may be very profitable.

Many varieties of spoken language apply to written language as well. Furthermore, within literary language, and to some degree in other forms of written language, there are varieties written to be spoken as if not written (as in speeches), varieties written to be read aloud, etc.[9] Only the most skillful writers control all such varieties, although any normal person controls those which match his particular social position. It is for these common and widespread varieties that the learner must strive.

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[9] For more complications see Jones 1962:162, and some of the references in his footnotes.

Chapter Twenty-Three

Learning More Dialects or Languages

The varieties of language discussed in the preceding chapter form a kind of repertoire in which a person may (1) write a letter to a friend, using the written medium and a variety appropriate to letter writing; (2) answer the telephone to talk with a business contact in a mildly respectful consultative variety; (3) stop to talk to his four-year old son in a small-child variety; and (4) give some attention to the planning of a speech to be given the next day in a public variety--all within a close sequence of time.

People switch between styles with amazing facility, changing tone of voice, pronunciation patterns, increasing or diminishing the number of contractions, using slang or avoiding it, choosing vocabulary more carefully or more loosely, tacking sentences together or carefully building and interweaving them, finishing each sentence or leaving some redundant parts of sentences out. At the same time varieties are blended for situations involving different combinations of co-speakers or audiences, statuses and occupations, sexes, degrees of friendship, and so on.

But all this is one language, controlled by one individual, who weaves his communication from his own repertoire. Not everyone has exactly the same repertoire or controls all parts of it equally well. In any language there are people who talk fascinatingly but are poor writers. Some people find it difficult to talk to children. Others cannot make an effective speech. Such limitations do not mean that these people have only one variety of the language to use, but that repertoires and varieties are not completely the same and the skills in various styles differ.[1]

Education helps to develop the culturally-prestigious varieties in the written medium and public distance. At the same time it tends to create inhibitions with reference to other varieties which are not emphasized. Relatively little attention, for example, is paid to the strengthening of conversational skills.

But normal people have a repertoire of many different styles which they control remarkably well. It is from such people that the language learner selects his model. The language helper should therefore have a repertoire of the important varieties which the learner will want to acquire.[2]

23.1 Geographic Varieties

In addition to the varieties of language controlled by a single speaker, there

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[1]Hall 1966:109

[2]Of course, there are people who do not have normal control of their language. Such people include mentally or emotionally handicapped people, as we would expect, but apparently some others as well. The learner should try to avoid such people as helpers. Hymes 1967a; Bloomfield 1964:395.

are geographical varieties as well. A speaker normally uses the variety of his own area, or a combination of the varieties of various areas where he has lived, although he does not typically select a geographic variety according to the situation. A few notable exceptions to this will be mentioned later.

By geographically based varieties we refer to characteristic speech differences like those between Britishers and Americans, Northerners and Southerners in the United States, New Englanders and Mid-Westerners. When an American travels to England, Scotland, India, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, or any other area which has its distinct variety of English, he is marked as an American by the way he speaks. If he lives in one of these places long enough, he may take on some of the local characteristics himself.

For the educated New Yorker the difference between his written public style and his spoken, slangy, personal style with friends may be considerably greater than the difference between his written public style and the spoken public style of an educated American from the South. However, he can switch from his written public style to his slangy personal style when the social situation changes, but he would probably think it a hopeless task to develop the spoken public style of a Southerner, since Southern spoken varieties of English are not a part of his repertoire.

The term used here for a geographically based variety is dialect. Furthermore, for our purposes two varieties will be considered as dialects of the same language only if they are so similar that there is no serious barrier to communication between them, at least on the consultative level. According to this definition, any speaker of one dialect can immediately converse with a speaker of other dialects of the same language about any normal, everyday subject without undue effort. There may be an occasional word which is not fully understood without some explanation or guessing. There may be a difference in pronunciation or grammar to which the speakers of the dialect quickly accommodate themselves. When geographically-based differences are greater than this and require effort in comprehension, we no longer count these as dialects of the same language and will deal with this phenomenon under another category below.

The relationship between two or three dialects can be seen in Figure 1, in which each circle represents a dialect. The circles do not completely overlap, reflecting the fact that the dialects have differences between them. The overlapping areas reflect the mutual intelligibility of the dialects. Each of the dialects has some unique characteristics and some which it shares with other dialects. The "common core" of the language is shared by all three.
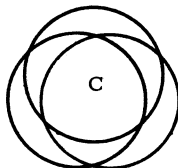
Figure 1. Mutually intelligible dialects and their common core (C).

Dialect differences are found the world over. Almost as universally, some dialects are considered to be "better" than others. Occasionally, in small face-to-face societies everyone considers his own dialect better than any one else's, although in more stratified societies there is often agreement on the rank order of dialects. The speakers of low prestige dialects will often agree with this judgment.

Values are often expressed in terms of "right" or "pure" or "wrong" or "corrupted." Such judgments are important reflections of sociological factors, although they may not have any particular linguistic significance. A "corrupted" dialect may in fact be a highly effective form of communication.

In Britain the Cockney dialect is low in prestige, whereas the dialect fostered by "public" (i.e. private) schools has a high prestige. In New York City there are many speakers who pronounce them and that with the stop /d/ where more standard dialects have /ð/. When they want to move up in the world, they tend to make a serious effort to change that characteristic.[3]

In many countries through the efforts of governments and educational systems a standard language becomes the norm for educated people. This does not eliminate local dialects, but gives one variety of language a special status of its own and others come to be judged by the extent to which they differ from it. A standard language usually includes a variety of dialects and styles. In the United States standardization allows for regional differences in pronunciation as between the North and the South, the Eastern seaboard, and so on.

23.11 Which geographic variety? In the face of a variety of dialects, the language learner often asks, "Which should I learn?" If there is a standard dialect, acknowledged as such by speakers of other dialects, and if this standard is used as a spoken language for normal contacts, this would usually be the one to learn first because of its wider usefulness and acceptability.

If there is no standard, the question is harder to answer. The most practical approach is to learn to speak the dialect of the immediate community. Yet in the long run there may be situations in which this dialect is not the best one to learn. Ideally the best one is that which is spoken in the area from which ideas and innovations begin to spread. This may be a trading center, or a dominant city. Such a dialect is a potential prestige dialect, and people in surrounding areas are likely to be more familiar with it than with any other. When this is the case, it is the ideal dialect to learn, and the learner should consider living in that area if possible.

There are times, however, when learning the standard dialect is not enough. It may be very important to learn the dialect of the group with whom one wants to identify even though that is a sub-standard form. Where the dialect used is a symbol of group identification and where the learner seeks such identification, this may be a crucial matter.

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[3] Labov 1963; 1966a; 1966b; 1967

Learning a non-standard dialect may be very difficult in the face of a standard which is considered correct, and where it is considered highly inappropriate for a learner to use anything else. The very fact of learning a substandard dialect may create suspicion on the part of the people who use it and for whom it is a symbol of group identity. It is sometimes hard to learn two dialects, a standard and a non-standard, and to keep them apart so that the non-standard forms are not mixed with standard speech, and so that non-standard speech sounds natural and not contaminated with standard forms. But a person who seeks a long-range relationship may have to put forth the effort if he wants to be included as a member of the community.

Where the standard is a classical or literary form used only in public social distance (Chapter 22), then the learning of non-standard varieties is obligatory for communication at other social distances. Such is the case with Arabic.

The language learner will have to ask of any dialect: How useful will it be? To what other dialect areas will it give him access, and from what people will it exclude him except on the basis of stranger to stranger communication?

The answers to these questions are not easy to find. Decisions will have to be made on the basis of close observation of the subtle interrelations of people speaking different dialects. Do they tend to use the social-consultative variety with each other exclusively, or do they use personal varieties as well? Do joking and real warmth of comradeship take place across dialect boundaries? Do people intermarry freely across dialect boundaries, and do husband and wife each keep their own dialects? Are people of different dialects together in the same associations? Or is all cooperation with fellow speakers of the same dialects?

If there are no barriers to real friendship and genuine membership in the community even if one speaks the dialect of another community, there is no particular need for the learner to learn more than one dialect. Otherwise, the learning of a second dialect may be necessary.

In any case, some experimentation with the certain expressions in a second dialect may be valuable as one watches for reactions. Are any speakers of that dialect really pleased that the effort was taken? Did they warm up as a result? Many people, not particularly conscious of barriers, find that when they begin to learn the second, relationships become more friendly.

23.12 Techniques for Learning New Geographic Varieties. The procedures for learning a second dialect are not fully the same as those for learning the first, which was approached as a new language, following the techniques advocated earlier in this book. The second is approached in such a way that it takes maximal advantage of everything which the two have in common. In order that the first dialect not be lost in the process of learning the second, it is important to advance in the two simultaneously. The first one should be kept up, and constant practice should be made in switching from one to the other. The learner should seek to add the second dialect to his repertoire, not replace the first dialect by it.

Learning the second dialect can begin by collecting and memorizing two or three hundred typical sentences for everyday use. These should not be strict translations from the first dialect, for some unnaturalness tends to creep into sentences obtained by translation. Instead, having a sentence from the first dialect in mind, the learner describes the situation in which it would be used, and asks his helper in the second dialect what one would say in the same situation. Then, when he has elicited the new sentence, he can compare it and discuss the differences with his helper. What is obtained in this way may need some adjustment, but it is a safer approach than by direct translation.

For example, if a person who had learned a northern variety of English were learning a southern variety, when he asked for a translation of the sentence, "Where are you going?" he would get, with southern pronunciation, "Where are you going?" However, if he were to set up a situation in which he asked his southern helper what to say when he saw a group of people going somewhere and he wanted to know their destination, he would probably get, "Where y'all goin'?"

As sentences are collected and learned, systematic differences of word order, grammatical elements, affixes, pronunciation should be noted. Correspondence between dialects will often tend to be consistent with only minor exceptions, and the learner's task is to discover the rules behind the consistency.

When there are such correspondences (lack of identity, yet consistency or near consistency in the difference between the two dialects), they should be learned so as to form habits of switching from one dialect to the other. The learner should try to make the switch from Dialect A to Dialect B automatically, and as he comes to new words which he has not yet heard in Dialect B, he should try to judge what their counterpart in Dialect B is likely to be on the basis of Dialect A.

For example, suppose that a Midwesterner were to learn one of the dialects of the Eastern seaboard in which r's pattern differently. The Midwesterner regularly pronounces a final /r/ in words like car, far, pair, ear, whereas the Bostonian does not. If the Midwesterner were to learn the Boston dialect, he would want to practice switching from final /r/ as he pronounces it to the manner in which the Bostonian pronounces it, dropping the r.

Insofar as correspondences are regular, the learner does not relearn all of the words of Dialect B as though they were new, but by learning to switch, he incorporates into Dialect B all of the vocabulary which he knows from Dialect A. He must, of course, be very careful of exceptions and instances in which the two dialects have unrelated words for the same thing, and learn these independently.

Practice in switching from one dialect to another should go both ways. After regular correspondences have been worked out, the learner should practice using Dialect A as a starting point for switching to Dialect B, and then Dialect B as a starting point for switching to Dialect A. To do this he may need two informants, one from each dialect. The helper from Dialect A could give a stimulus to which the learner would respond in Dialect B, being corrected by the helper from Dialect B. After a time the process would be reversed. Most of the techniques introduced earlier can be used for practicing two dialects side by side.

Needless to say, the learner will have to spend time with people who use the second dialect regularly. Ideally he would adopt a new family from the second dialect area in order to gain thorough mastery of it. By visiting back and forth between the two communities, he maintains contacts in both dialects.

23.2 Social Varieties

The final class of varieties to be discussed is associated with social status. We have already discussed the differences in language used when addressing people of different classes under the dimension of social rank--a part of a native speaker's repertoire of varieties (Chapter 22). The social varieties with which we are now concerned are those which separate the community into different segments based on linguistic factors. In a small town some people will speak with an urban variety of the language and some with a local. The elite, the middle class, the working class may have different varieties. Standard and non-standard language are part of the same phenomenon. Usually these varieties are not related to language use in particular situations, but mark one as a member of a particular educational group or a social class.

Like geographic dialects, social varieties have a common core and differ in mutual intelligibility. This is pictured in Figure 2. Whereas our circles of Figure 1 represented geographic distribution, the arrangement in Figure 2 represents distribution in social strata.
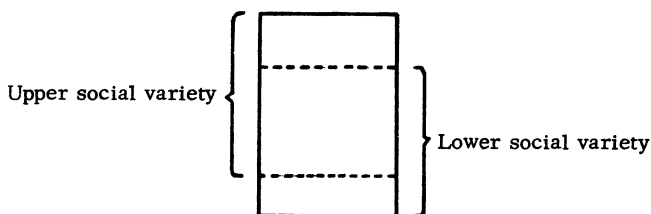
Figure 2. Social varieties[4]

The common core is very important as there are differences between the varieties. The language used by people in the lower social strata may be considered substandard, rustic, quaint or crude. Language used by people in the upper strata may be considered by lower-class people to be snobbish or overly learned. In many cases features of each will not be understood by the other group.

It is the common core, of course, which makes intelligibility and ease of communication possible. If the language learner can learn this core, he should be able to get along in both groups. He may, however, need to learn the special characteristics of more than one social dialect if he hopes to identify more widely. If so, his approach to a second social variety follows the same procedures as his approach to a second geographic dialect.

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[4]After Wonderly 1968:13

23.3 Partially Intelligible Languages

Figure 1 which shows the relationship between different but intelligible dialects in the same language is similar to Figure 3 which shows varying degrees of intelligibility (whether geographical or social varieties). The learner may find himself in a situation where there are two or more languages (usually called dialects by people in the area) which are only partially intelligible. The average native speakers can understand part of what he hears in the other language, but not all.

Languages which are partially or nearly intelligible differ from dialects only in degree. Their common core is smaller, their differences are greater.[5] Typically, speakers are able to understand each other when the subject matter is simple and rather predictable. Understanding may involve guessing, backtracking and some restating. Under these circumstances, people usually keep things simple and paraphrase what they think may be difficult vocabulary.

This phenomenon is seen in such pairs of languages as Norwegian and Swedish, Spanish and Portuguese (where Portuguese speakers understand Spanish better than Spanish speakers understand Portuguese), and many languages across Africa, North India (where such languages as Hindi and Gujarati and many other pairs fall into this category), standard Thai and Myang (Northern Thai), some languages of Indonesia, and so on. Each of these partially intelligible sets of languages will consist of a bundle of dialects, geographic and/or social.

a. Fully intelligible languages	b. Partially intelligible languages	c. Barely intelligible languages	d. Non-intelligible languages
Dialects or varieties of the same language	Readily learnable		Recognizable
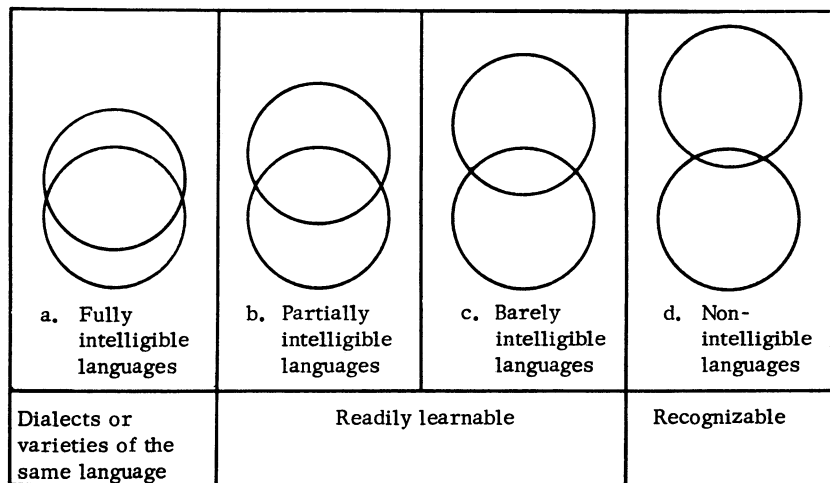
Figure 3. Varying degrees of intelligibility
(geographically or socially based)

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[5]Larson 1965.

Similarities between such partially intelligible languages are so great that native speakers of one often understand the other almost fully after a few days or weeks of contact. We classify such languages as "readily learnable" in Figure 3.

23.31 Standard and non-standard varieties. This picture is often complicated in the case of standard languages. One of two partially intelligible languages in question may be a standard supported by the government and the schools and the other non-standard. Such is the case with Standard Thai and Myang (Northern Thai), for example. In other cases, as in Northern India, all may be standards (like Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali) but only one the national language (Hindi in India). In the Indian case there are non-standard languages related to these as well, each divided into many different dialects.

In some situations the standard may have been developed from one of the existing partially intelligible languages, or it may have developed from a classical form of the language, as in the case of Arabic. In either situation it sets norms which are taught in the schools and known to educated people, but which set it off from the non-standard languages.

23.32 Situational Bilingualism. When people learn a standard language which is different from the language of their area, but partially intelligible in it, two different patterns may result. In some situations the mother tongue is replaced by the standard language, speakers no longer using it. This is especially common under circumstances where the mother tongue is considered to be inferior and represents low social status.

On the other hand, under many circumstances situational bilingualism arises.[6] A typical case can be seen in the behavior of educated Northern Thai. When a group is talking informally, without any non-northerner present, they will speak in Myang (Northern Thai). If there is a non-northerner present, they will address him in standard Thai (based on the speech of Bangkok) but will continue to address each other in Myang, switching back and forth without the slightest hesitation or difficulty. However, in formal situations, as in giving a speech at an important function, even when only northerners are present, the speech is likely to be in standard Thai. When people discuss the speech informally afterwards, they will do so in Myang. The language used depends on the situation.

In situational bilingualism the two partially intelligible languages are both part of the educated individual's repertoire in the same way that social distance, rank, age, sex, and other varieties are in his repertoire. The standard language is added to the repertoire through education, but the mother tongue is not rejected. The situations in which standard language or mother tongue will be used are well delineated, and it often happens that the greater the social distance and the higher the social rank, the more likely the standard language is to be used; the closer the social distance and the lower the social rank, the less likely. Furthermore, the standard language is the one most likely to be used with outsiders.

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[6] The term "situational bilingualism" is from Wonderly 1968. Ferguson (1959), which is the definitive article on this phenomenon, calls it "diglossia."

23.33 Incipient and potential standards. Even if there is no standard language with special prestige, there may be an incipient standard in one of the languages of a central location or one which is more widely understood than others. The situation then parallels that of dialects. One of the languages may be learned as a second language by those who engage in trade and travel, although it has no particular official backing, is not taught in schools, and has no special prestige.

These possibilities mean that the learner must decide how many partially mutually-intelligible languages he needs to learn. Under some situations one will be enough; in other situations he will need several in order to function effectively as a member of the new community.

The problem of learning other partially-intelligible languages is somewhat more complicated than learning other dialects. In the first place, learning the local language is most important. Many people try to learn a standard language in a place where the standard is not spoken except to strangers and under formal circumstances. It is extremely difficult to become a member of the new community under such circumstances. The standard language can be learned in a formal way under these circumstances, and the learner can gain a good knowledge of its written form and the public variety of its social dimension, but it is extremely difficult to learn to use it at closer distances and lower social ranks if it is not used that way in the area. Therefore, in such situations residence in two different places for different periods of time might be advisable.

One learner, struggling with a standard language in an area where it was not spoken as a native language, visited in its native area and suddenly sensed a complete reversal of his attitude toward that language. Whereas he had previously felt that learning it was an irrelevant, foreign, mechanical exercise, he now experienced it as the living speech of real people.

Where the standard language is based on classical forms and where situational bilingualism also exists (as is the case of Arabic), there is probably no community where the standard language alone is spoken. In such a situation the learner is like the native speaker who learns the standard language in addition to his own mother tongue.

If the standard language in the area in which the learner is living is not the national language, he may need the national language as well. This may mean moving to the area where the national language is regularly spoken. In India, for example, Tamil is a standard language, among many, but Hindi is the national language. The widespread use of English as an official language, however, makes Hindi less essential to the learner than it might otherwise be. Thus for some situations the learner will need the national language, the regional standard, and the particular local language which is the mother tongue of the community of which he has become a part.

If standards as described do not exist, the learner should watch for incipient standards, potential standards, trade languages, or other more universal means of communication than the particular local language and learn those which are necessary for wider communication.

In cases where a learner works closely with people who speak a neighboring partially-intelligible language, he may also need to learn that second local language. All such decisions are based on the learner's need to communicate with people and an evaluation of the time and effort involved in learning another form of speech. When becoming bilingual (or multilingual) is seen in terms of membership in a new community, its communication patterns are all important in deciding which varieties to learn.

Speakers of a non-standard language may not want an outsider to learn it. To them it may seem inappropriate for an alien. Yet when he does learn to use it, they may be grateful and feel closer to him, and accept him in their community. He has been dealienized.

In such cases the early negative reaction arises from the fact that the learner is breaking a pattern. They may not know of outsiders who learn a non-standard language, particularly not well educated outsiders from abroad. The feeling is similar to that provoked in an American if an educated European learned the English of mountain people, or in an Englishman if an educated European learned cockney. However, the person who learns mountain English well and becomes a part of the community can be far closer to the people who speak it than the person who knows only standard English. This is especially true where the differences are not merely ones of dialect, but of partial mutual intelligibility.

The procedures for learning a partially-intelligible second language are much the same as those for learning a second dialect. The learner capitalizes on the common core and emphasizes practice on the systematic differences between the two. The differences are greater than in the case of dialect; hence, the learning takes longer. It is a matter of degree, however, and not of kind.

23.4 Mutually Unintelligible, But Recognizable Languages

Figure 3 shows schematically a gradation from slightly divergent dialects through partially intelligible and barely intelligible languages to non-intelligible languages which share a much smaller common core. In this latter case, as in the others, the languages usually have a common origin but through processes of change over time have become more and more divergent. When the point is reached where there is no longer any intelligibility, speakers of one language hearing the other language may still recognize elements of vocabulary here and there, and sense some affinity, though without understanding. Such languages are common in the Philippines and Indonesia, in parts of Africa, among some of the Romance and Germanic languages of Europe, and many other places.

Where two languages have this kind of relationship, the person who knows one of them will find learning the other much easier than learning a completely unrelated, unrecognizable language. The grammars and sound systems are similar, although the pronunciation of the majority of individual words is quite different. Part of the vocabulary is recognizable as having the same origin, part of it not; usually there is considerable parallelism in the thought structure and the ways in which ideas are expressed in the language. Again, it is a difference in degree rather than in kind from that of geographic dialects. The degree is

now so great that there is no longer any intelligibility, even though there is still resemblance.

Such language differences are often called dialects. Some of the Chinese "dialects" are actually different languages with no mutual intelligibility, but a degree of resemblance. Cebuano and Ilocano are of this nature, whereas Cebuano and Illongo are partially-intelligible, but all these are often called "dialects" in the Philippines.

Closely related and mutually recognizable, but mutually unintelligible languages may function as different regional languages in the same nation, as in some of the cases of India, Central Africa, Philippines, China. Sometimes they form different official languages of neighboring nations like France, Spain, Italy (French, Spanish, Italian).

Where such languages exist side by side there is usually considerable bilingualism. It is not uncommon for a citizen of the Philippines to speak three or more of the languages of his country, some partially intelligible and some nonintelligible. On the other hand, such languages may also exist side by side without bilingualism under conditions which may seem very strange to the Westerner.

One of the authors, for example, knows a case in the Philippines where a young Ilocano-speaking person from northern Luzon met and later married a young girl from the Bicol region of southern Luzon. After graduation the husband found employment in Manila (a Tagalog speaking area), and, as is often the case, various members of the family came to live with them. The wife's mother, younger sister and brother moved in with the couple who at this time had three small children of their own. The wife's sister and brother spoke Bicol as their mother tongue, but learned some Tagalog and studied English in school. The mother, however, communicated only in Bicol.

On the husband's side, a younger brother came first, later joined by their mother. Both boys spoke Ilocano at home but learned some Tagalog and English in school. Their mother communicated only in Ilocano. Three generations were in the home at that time, and the description of a typical dinner time scene is almost unbelievable: Grandmothers do not talk to each other. Sisters and brothers-in-law communicate with each other in both Tagalog and English, although with members of their own nuclear families, they use either Ilocano or Bicol. The children are learning Tagalog as their mother tongue, and except for the bits of Ilocano and Bicol that they pick up, there is almost no opportunity for the children and grandmothers to communicate.

Under conditions where mutually unintelligible languages are found in the same area, the learner must analyze the communication network in terms of his needs. Normally he needs the national language, if any. Also, he usually needs any trade or regional language which may be used. He needs the local language of his community. Beyond that he needs the language of the groups with which he deals regularly and cannot do so adequately with his present repertoire. In other words, the principles involved here are no different from those involved in the

case of partially-intelligible languages or even of dialects. The learning problem, however, is more severe.

When learning a second language unintelligible with the first, more time is required, of course. More of the techniques applicable to the learning of a new language must be used because the greater degree of difference means less carry-over from the first. However, under such circumstances, where languages have a recognizable relationship, learning the second language can be immeasurably easier than learning the first if parallels in structure are handled as a common core. The correspondences should be learned so that the switch can be made automatically without having to learn each of the patterns of the second language as though it were completely new. The habit of switching between the two languages should be strongly cultivated. Thus, as we have said before, the problem of learning additional languages of this kind is a difference of degree, not of kind, from that of learning additional dialect.

23.5 Language Families

In the following discussion of language families we move beyond the subject of "learning to use another dialect." Yet the concept is helpful in understanding the differentiation between dialects and languages pictured in Figure 3 and further exemplified in Figure 4.

In Figure 4, A represents the original dialect differentiation of Figure 1. Over a period of time the differentiation is continued and increased so that in B the former dialects are no longer mutually intelligible. They are in the position of being recognizable languages, each having its own range of dialects. In C the differentiation has continued, the languages have become farther apart, and the differentiation between what were once dialects has become so great that they are now only partially-intelligible languages. In D the cycle continues with increasing distance and the development of more sub-dialects. In D, then, we have a cluster of related forms of communication, some mutually intelligible with others, and some not. All derive historically from the same source through the same process of differentiation. When the original ancestry of contemporary languages can be seen, languages are said to belong to the same family.[7] When two languages are said to be unrelated, it is because no such common ancestry and process of differentiation through time can be demonstrated.

From the language learner's point of view, the concept of language family should shed helpful light on what has already been discussed. Closely related languages are less difficult to learn, other things being equal. Such generalizations must be modified under circumstances where two less closely related languages or non-related languages may have been in considerable contact and may have been the locus of considerable borrowing back and forth. Thus, English has a high percentage of vocabulary from French which makes the learning of

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[7]More precise terminology to reflect greater and lesser degrees of difference between languages is used for technical purposes, but has no particular immediate relevance for the language learner.
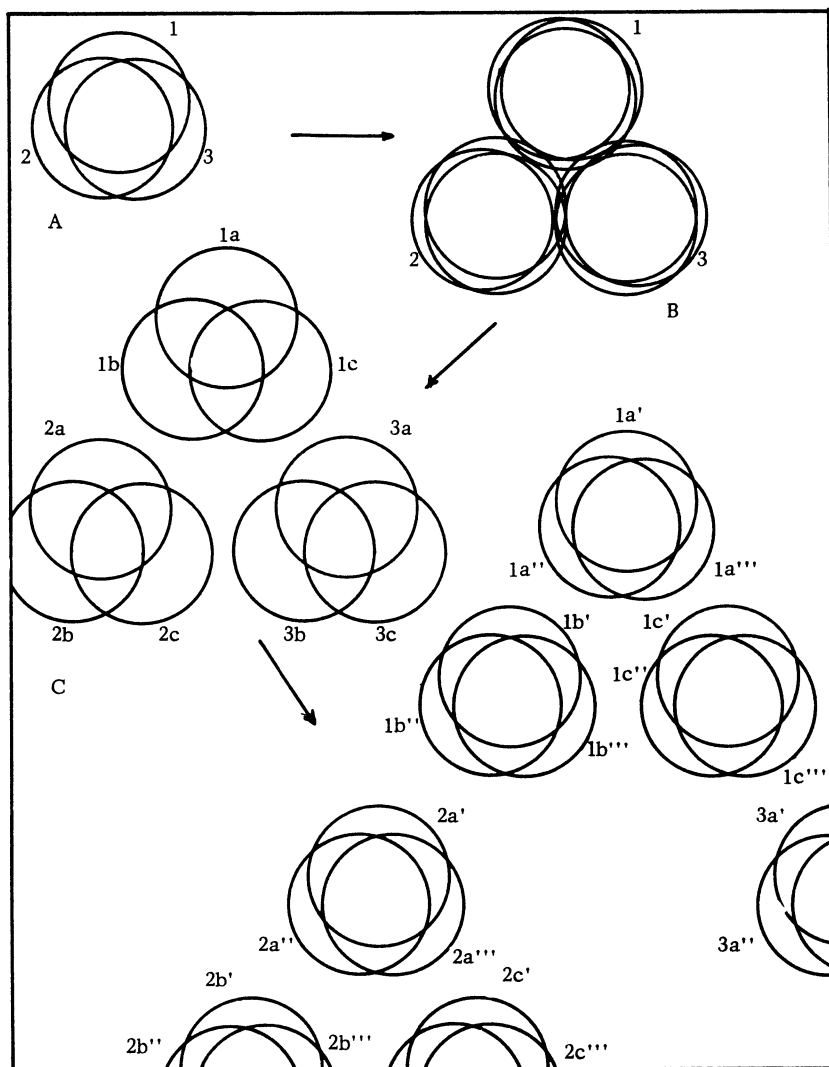
Figure 4.   Development of language family over a period of time

French vocabulary easier in some respects than the learning of German vocabu-
lary, even though English is more closely related to German by the process il-
lustrated in Figure 4.

23.6 Areal Characteristics of Languages

Often contiguous languages tend to belong to the same family, but even when

they do not (in the sense that they cannot be shown to have the same common ancestor), they often show common characteristics. Thus, the languages of a given area, whether obviously related or not, may have grammatical qualities in common, or may encode ideas in similar ways, or may have similar sound systems. Where these similarities are not due to the common origin of the languages, it is doubtless due to their frequent contact, the degree of bilingualism between them, common historical forces working on them, common culture patterns, and other factors.

Figure 5 shows four language families in Southeast Asia as they are in contact with each other. Sino-Tibetan includes various Chinese languages and some of the languages of Burma. Austro-Asiatic includes Cambodian, Vietnamese, and many of the tribal languages in Southeast Asia. Austronesian includes Malay, and Tai includes Thai, Lao, and other languages. These languages show great similarities, both within and between families. Ultimately it may even be demonstrated that all are members of a much larger family, and some linguists are working on that hypothesis. From the standpoint of the language learner, however, such distant relationships are of less significance than similarities between the families which arise from constant contact.
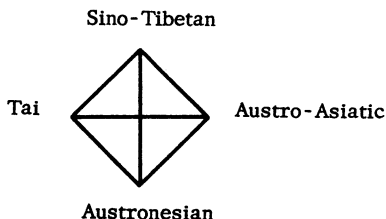
Figure 5. Language families in contact in Southeast Asia

The lines connecting language families in Figure 5 represent e lines of contact through many centuries. The contacts, in turn, are responsible for some of the common characteristics throughout the families.

In earliest times these languages of Southeast Asia had no contact with Indo-European languages (the languages most prevalent in Europe and in northern India). However, with the arrival of Indian traders and their civilization, and particularly with the arrival of Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia, heavy influence from India was felt on some of the languages of Southeast Asia. Particularly in areas of vocabulary, therefore, there are important similarities between some of the languages of Southeast Asia and those of North India. These contacts, furthermore, have had some influence on grammatical structure, particularly that of written materials and that of public distance in the space dimension of such a language as Thai. In more modern times, of course, English and French have had their influences, and vocabulary from these languages is also found in this area.

This rough sketch of one linguistic area is given only as an example to show

that ease of learning a second language is related not only to the matter of language family membership, but also to the history of contacts and influences of one language upon another.   These relationships lead to areal characteristics.

Chapter Twenty-Four

Learning to Translate

When the authors studied such languages as Latin and French in the late '30's and early '40's, they were given regular exercises in which they translated a half dozen or more unrelated sentences from Latin to English or English to Latin. At more advanced stages they were even asked to translate short paragraphs.

Patterns of teaching language have changed, and the translation approach is not so common as it once was, at least in the teaching of modern languages (Chapter 8). A young student, however, who was majoring in Greek at one college was required to translate a paragraph or a few sentences in his daily lesson, whereas his friends, after spending the same amount of time in Spanish courses, were reading several pages, writing summary paragraphs, and discussing their reading--all in the Spanish language. After deciding that he would prefer to learn to use the Spanish language than to translate a few paragraphs of Greek, he changed his major.

Translation as an exercise for language learning has been used by many people who have learned many languages, yet it is relatively inefficient when compared with the procedures which have been recommended in this book. Essentially translation tends to be little more than decoding a text unit by unit, word by word, phrase by phrase, and the construction of a rather banal counterpart in the other language. One of us remembers protesting to a Latin teacher in high school, "We'd never say that!" after the teacher had concocted a "translation" of a passage from Cicero. It was awkward, crude English which could give us no feeling at all for the flow of Cicero's prose.

Perhaps translation was a popular exercise a generation ago because it gave the teacher something to "correct" and a means for evaluating the students' "knowledge." Under a system where students were not really expected to speak, read and write a new language, there were few other tests that the teacher could devise.

In language learning as presented in this volume, where the learner and his helper are constantly interacting through mimicry, production drills, conversation, and many other devices, the student is being tested every time he speaks or listens. His objective is not to find a passable equivalent in one language for a sentence in another, laboriously writing it out after looking up all the vocabulary and checking the genders of all the words, but to consistently and automatically make the correct response when he is spoken to or initiate the correct sentence for saying what he wants to say when he approaches someone. This is a true test of language proficiency.

Translation has not been mentioned very often in this book, and is never included among exercises for learning a second language. This does not mean that we consider translation unimportant--both authors are professionaly involved in translation. One of the authors has spent the majority of his professional life as a consultant to translators, training them, and helping them to improve their work, and the other has had experience along the same line.

However, translation is a sophisticated, advanced linguistic skill, not something for beginners. It is not normally used to learn a language, but it is valuable for communication if one already knows two languages well.

Translation not only requires a good knowledge of two languages, but special training and experience lying in either of two major directions. One is oral translation, as used today in the United Nations and in other international conferences. The other is translation of literary classics, textbooks, and religious books such as the Bible. Both of these are sophisticated undertakings.

This chapter, then, is not about using translation to learn a new language, but rather, about learning to translate--one of the advanced skills which people who know more than one language can profitably develop. To be able to talk two languages does not mean that one can translate between them effectively and skillfully. Switching from one to the other must be learned.

24.1 What We Mean By Translation

In the preceding paragraphs the term "translation" is used in its popular meaning to cover a wide range of activity. At one end of the range is the effort of the high school student with no knowledge of the new language, guessing at what the new language means and expressing this in awkward and stilted English. On the other end of the scale is the extremely skillful, simultaneous translator in the United Nations or the literary translator who produces a literary work in his own right as he translates a text originally written in another language.

But the term "translation" needs to be defined more narrowly, to exclude the work of the schoolboy learning Latin, the automatic and unthinking association of a word in one language with a corresponding word in another language, and "glossing" or interlinear translation which gives a word-for-word equivalent with minor modifications to be illustrated later. To be sure, glossing has its purposes. In fact, at times it has a place in language learning, for when the learner is working on a new text which has more new information than he can absorb at once, a note in the margin to remind him of the meaning of some words may be temporarily useful. It also has value for the language learner who has to prepare his own drills and exercises and must take certain notes to do so.

Translation, furthermore, is not retelling something heard or read in one language "in your own words," though this too is a useful exercise in language learning. The learner may well take something which he has heard in his own language and retell it in his own way and in his own words in the new language. This is not what we mean by translation, however.

Translation--as we will use the term--is the process of transferring meaning which has been expressed in one language into the closest natural equivalent in another language.[1]

Figure 1 shows a model of what is involved in this concept of translation.

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[1]Nida 1961:12-13; 1966:156-177; Nida and Taber 1969:12-15
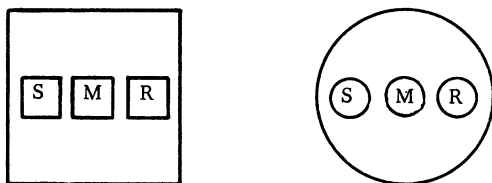
Figure 1.   Messages in two cultural settings[2]

The square represents one cultural setting and the circle another, as it did in Chapter 3. The S, M, and R stand for source, message, and receptor, respectively. In the square culture we have square-shaped sources, square-shaped messages, and square-shaped receptors. In the circular culture, we have circular-shaped sources, circular-shaped messages, and circular-shaped receptors. These simply reflect the fact that in any culture we speak the language of that culture and react within its general patterning. In translation the task is to take a square-shaped message transmitted between a square-shaped source and a square-shaped receptor and express it in a circular-shaped message for a circular-shaped receptor.

This cannot be done simply by superimposing the circle shape on the box or the box shape on the circle. When that is done we have a distorted form of communication, unnatural to either box or circle. This is all that the high school Latin student generally succeeded in doing.

Notice the following example of what happens when we take a short passage from the Greek New Testament[3] and simply substitute English equivalents for all of the words, in effect superimposing the circle on a box.

> The mouth of-us has-opened to you, Corinthians, the heart of-us
> has been-enlarged; (2) ye-are-restrained (1) but in the bowels of-
> you; but for the same recompense, as to-children I-say, be-
> enlarged also ye.[4]

In this "interlinear translation" hyphens unite English words which are expressed by one word in Greek. ·The numbers reflect the fact that the person who made this "translation" wanted the reader to understand that in Greek the part numbered (2) came after the part numbered (1), and not vice versa.

Obviously the result of this glossing is not English, except in vocabulary,

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[2] After Nida 1960:33-61

[3] Bible translation makes for excellent illustrative material on translation problems because there have been so many different translations made of the same text.

[4] 2 Corinthians 6:11-13; Marshall 1960:721

nor is it intended to be. It is prepared for a special purpose: to help users of the Greek New Testament identify words when they do not know the Koine Greek language very well. It serves to illustrate what happens when an attempt is made to superimpose a circle on a square.

The "interlinear translation" above is not intended as a serious translation, but the King James Bible (Authorized Version) is. It is, in fact, referred to repeatedly as an example of outstanding English literature. When such references are made, the following translation of the above passage is not usually quoted:

> O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is en-
> larged. Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in
> your own bowels. Now for a recompense in the same (I speak
> as unto my children), be ye also enlarged.

In this passage some of the square corners of the Grek have been smoothed off (by comparison with the previous interlinear "translation") but it is very clear that squareness is still present. Aside from questions of its archaic language we are left completely puzzled as to why the apostle who wrote this passage juxtaposes open mouths, oversized hearts, and constipation!

Further insight can be gained by examining a newer translation, the Revised Standard Version, which preserves some of the traditional qualities of the King James but is generally more modern and clear. The same passage in this version shows that more corners of the Greek language have been smoothed off, but by no means do we have a circle.

> Our mouth is open to you, Corinthians; our heart is wide. You are
> not restricted by us, but you are restricted in your own affections.
> In return--I speak as to children--widen your hearts also.[5]

From open mouths, enlarged hearts, and constipation, we have come to open mouths, wide hearts, and restriction. The passage now seems to give the impression that the writer is talking about emotions and not physical disabilities.

In the translation by J. B. Phillips, the same passage is clear, and the modern English-reading receptor can get the message which the ancient Greek source transmitted.

> Oh, our dear friends in Corinth, we are hiding nothing from you
> and our hearts are absolutely open to you. Any stiffness between
> us must be on your side, for we assure you there is none on ours.
> Do reward me (I talk to you as though you were my own children)
> with the same complete candour![6]

The writer was expressing emotions in the fashion of his own language and time. Any attempt in English to reflect those terms literally can only result in

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[5]Revised Standard Version 1946

[6]Phillips 1958. See Smalley 1965:169-170.

mistranslation and misunderstanding. Only when the meaning of the writer's message is translated into contemporary terms can equivalent communication take place on the contemporary scene.

Returning to our definition of translation in terms of "closest natural equivalents," a translation is natural when it is idiomatic in the receptor language. And it is the closest natural equivalent when of all the possible ways of translating it into the receptor language, the one which most closely reflects the meaning of the original, in spirit, mood, and cultural setting, is used.

Language courses themselves sometimes contain unnatural remnants of linguistic contamination. One of the authors helped to prepare a book entitled Vietnamese for Missionaries or Tiếng Việt cho Các Giáo-Sĩ.[7] The Vietnamese title was translated from the English, and so the word các was used to indicate the plural idea in Missionaries. (A Vietnamese noun is in itself either singular or plural or, perhaps better, neither singular nor plural.) Normally in such a situation as this the plural idea would not be expressed, but understood. The Vietnamese title, though not incorrect, was slightly unnatural.

The measure of the adequacy of a translation, in our sense, is the comparison between what the original source intended to write or say and what the receptor in the second language actually understands, together with the style and effectiveness of the language that is used. We therefore do not simply compare a message in one language with its equivalent in the other. Messages are always wrapped in a form or style, an important part of language which must be taken into account.

The use of translation by the learner is fundamentally wrong because it uses the wrong model as a base for learning. The learner wants to express in a new language meanings which he is used to expressing in his own mother tongue. The forms of that new language are the forms that he must learn. As a language learner his job is to learn to encode ideas in the new language, not to transfer messages from his own language to the new language.

The reverse process likewise is based on a false model. The learner's task is to understand texts in the new language and be able to respond to them, and not simply to transfer them into the language forms to which he is accustomed. So long as the learner is concerned with transferring message forms from language A to language B, he is missing the point of expressing his meaning directly in the new language and understanding the meanings expressed by others in the new language.

24.2 The Essential Skills of Translation

In this chapter on learning to translate, we can only indicate a few of the lines of investigation and practice which can be taken once the learner has a good

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[7]Smalley and Văn 1954. The literal translation of the title is 'language Vietnamese give group missionaries'.

command of the new language. Not every learner will want to move into this specialized field, and those who do should go much farther than the scope of this book permits. Fortunately, there are some excellent introductions to translation, its philosophy and techniques, which can help the potential translator learn to translate. The books which are recommended understandably stem from experience in Bible translation, for the Bible is the most widely translated book, and is the only one on which so much thought has been given to the principles of translation. Such principles apply to translation of all texts.[8]

Along with such reading, the study of published translations against their originals is often useful for examining the translation process. Passages from such translations can be discussed with native speakers by having them read passages of the translation in their own language without having seen the original, and then discussing the passages from the standpoint of the quality of language. The original can then be introduced and the problems of transference discussed.

In comparing and discussing translations with native speakers of the new language, the learner should watch for "translationese," or linguistic stereotypes that are involved in the translation process. Investigation often reveals that the grammatical construction, the style, the choice of vocabulary, and many other characteristics of translated material is not quite like that of original writing because of linguistic contamination. In the Thai language, for example, many English passives are translated with a certain construction which is called "passive" by the Thai who know English, and corresponds to some English passives, but not all. One of the marks of translated material is the frequency with which this construction occurs in non-Thai fashion. As a result of its frequent occurrence in translated material, however, it tends to be used more and more in non-translated material as well. What started as translationese is gaining wider use.

The same applies to a Thai element which is automatically made to correspond to past tense in English, even though it does not exactly correspond in meaning to past tense and is not nearly so frequently used in Thai as past tense is in English. In the realm of vocabulary also, an idea will develop that a particular Thai word and a particular English word correspond, and the tendency is to translate the one with the other whenever it occurs, regardless of what would really fit in the context, as we showed with the discussion of sanùk in Chapter 18.

A good exercise for studying a translation is to translate passages from the original language and then to compare it with a published one. The published one will not necessarily be better, but will generate items for discussion with the language helper.

In the process of reading and examining existing translations, the person who is learning to translate should look for evidence of four basic skills which will be illustrated at many points. These skills are (1) grammatical restructuring, (2) compensation for linguistic and cultural differences, (3) effective selection of equivalents, and (4) styling.

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[8] Wonderly 1968; Nida and Taber 1969; Nida 1966

The nature of these skills will be discussed in reference to the following text, related by a Khmu? tribesman in northern Laos as part of a series of accounts of various aspects of Khmu? culture. In the left-hand column it is shown in literal "translation," and in the right-hand column, in a much more natural equivalent. When more than one English word represents the same Khmu? word, the English words are hyphenated. Except for the title, each word in the left-hand column is numbered in sequence (hyphenated groups counting as one word because they are one word in Khmu?) and the corresponding translation in the right-hand column is given the same number. This is to facilitate comparison. Sentences in the left-hand column are numbered in parentheses, and the corresponding numbers are used in the right-hand column to keep the equivalent sentences identified. By this device we can illustrate many of the skills involved in translation, although the left-hand column has already obliterated some of the complexities that are involved simply because the correspondence between English words and Khmu? words is so far from being in a one-to-one relationship.

(1) Tell story furnishing house (2) husband[1] wife[2] put-up[3] house[4] be-located[5] (3) climb[6] house[7] be-located[8] separate[9] (4) lead[10] each-other[11] themselves[12] go[13] out-with-a sickle[14] grass-for-thatch.[15] (5) cut[16] grass-for-thatch[17] finished,[18] cut-with-a machete[19] wood[20] (6) cut-with-a-machete[21] finished[22] cause[23] wife[24] fold[25] grass-for-thatch[26] finished[27] build[28] house[29] (8) build[30] house[31] finished[32] they-themselves[33] look-for[34] furnishings[35] house[36] (9) look-for[37] buy[38] machete[39] (10) buy[40] machete[41] finished[42] buy[43] hoe,[44] buy[45] dibble-stick-blade,[46] buy[47] axe,[48] buy[49] awl[50] ...

(1) Accumulating possessions (2)-(3) When a husband[1] and wife[2] are able to build[3] their own home[4,5,9] they can live[6-8] by themselves, and no longer have to live with the wife's parents.[9] (4)-(5) So they[12] go[13] out into the jungle and cut[14-19] thatch,[15] then[18] logs[20] and poles.[20] (6) After[22] the poles have been cut,[21] the wife[24] folds[25] the thatch[26] over bamboo sticks and ties it in place to make roofing material. (7) Then[27] they build[28] the house.[29] (8) After[32] the house[31] is finished[30-32] the couple[33] looks for[34] furnishings[35] for the house.[36] (9) They buy[38] a machete,[39] a hoe,[44] a dibble-stick blade,[46] an axe,[48] and an awl.[50]

Grammatical restructuring is involved in every line. The title itself is an example. Almost every Khmu? text in the collection from which this comes has a title which begins, literally, "tell story" and then goes on to tell the story. The implication is, "I'm going to tell about ... " but it is a title, and in order to have the closest natural equivalent in the right-hand column we have to use something which would make a natural title in English. There would be many possibilities. We have chosen "Accumulating Possessions."

A comparison of sentences (2) and (3) in both columns will show how they have been intertwined and combined in the right-hand column. In the left-hand column they are strictly parallel. In English we subordinate one such idea to another and indicate the relationship between them. The speaker is relating customary behavior to which young couples are supposed to subscribe at a certain period after their wedding. The translation then emerges, "When a husband and wife are able to build their own home, they can go to live by themselves. They no longer have to live with their wife's parents."

Sentence (4) in the left-hand column is another parallel sentence indicating in direct form the next action involved. In the right-hand column a transitional element is included, the word "so" which ties sentence (4) to the preceding sentences in proper English fashion. Another feature of grammatical restructuring can be seen in the fact that in the Khmuʔ the people doing the action are indicated only once at the beginning. The subject is not repeated for each sentence, although in English the subject in the form of a noun or a pronoun is required. However, in English sentence (5), the verb "cut" is not repeated again before "logs and poles."

In the matter of vocabulary, accommodation is seen in the fact that some words in one language are much more specific than those in another, and the specific characteristic may not need to be carried over. An example is "cut with a sickle" (4) and "cut with a machete" (5). In Khmuʔ these are two entirely different words with no resemblance whatsoever. One is kiaw; the other is bok. In English these both are rendered by "cut," as the name of the instrument does not contribute to the English reader's comprehension of the text. The specificity is required by Khmuʔ vocabulary but is not pertinent for English.

Sentence (6) shows how the word indicating repeated action in the middle of the clause in Khmuʔ is reflected in a word which comes at the beginning in English: "After ...

Sentence (7) involves the omission of the repetition of the fact that the thatch was folded, replacing it simply with the word "then." In sentence (8) when we compare "furnishing house" in the left-hand column, we see that the expression of relationships has been restructured from a simple juxtaposition of the words to the use of prepositions in English fashion.

Sentences (9) and (10) in the left-hand column show a typical Khmuʔ pattern of repeating the verb before each new object of the verb, whereas in the English of the right-hand column the verb is given once and not repeated as in Khmuʔ. Thus in the left-hand column we have "buy hoe, buy blade, buy axe, buy awl," but in the right-hand column, "buy a machete, a hoe, a dibble-stick blade, an axe, an awl, ..."

When we examine the translation in the right-hand column from the standpoint of its compensation for linguistic and cultural differences between Khmuʔ and English, we see several things taking place. For example, meanings which are implicit in Khmuʔ often have to be stated explicitly in English. The time relationship "when" in the second sentence is an example, as is the idea that this event takes place when the married couple can work it out, after their marriage

and after living with the wife's parents for a while. Any Khmu? hearing the recital of this account as originally spoken would understand these factors perfectly, because they express the situation which is normal so far as he is concerned. The account comes as new information to the Western reader, and in order for sentences to be intelligible, information which is implicit in the left-hand column has to be made explicit in the right. Note that the information is not "added." It is all there in Khmu? text, though not explicitly stated. What has been made explicit is part of the meaning of what is on the left. Other elements which have been made explicit are "into the jungle" (4), and the manner and purpose for folding the thatch (6).

Another important compensation of a linguistic nature which affects the understanding of the text has already been indicated. It is the supplying of the participants, particularly the subjects of sentences in the right-hand column where English grammar and clarity require them. This particular passage is not especially complicated in this respect as the participants remain the same. However, in some passages the reader in English would become lost if this kind of compensation were not made. In this passage, following Khmu? usage would simply result in unnaturalness. In others it would result in misunderstanding. The Khmu?, on the other hand, have no trouble understanding the flow of participants in the first column because the text follows the natural organization of information in their language.

The selection of word equivalents is complicated in our example by the fact that in the left-hand column an equivalent has already been selected for the Khmu? word and this is subject to the same variety and judgment as the right-hand column. For example, in the title, the word "furnishings" was used in the left-hand column because this is the most typical meaning of the Khmu? word. In this particular text, however, it is clear that more than what we would call furnishings are involved, as tools are mentioned in the part of the text which we include. Therefore, in the right-hand column we translate the word by "possessions."

In sentence (2) "put up house" becomes "build their own home," much more in keeping with the English way of saying it. "Climb house" becomes "live," and "separate" becomes "by themselves."

In sentence (5) "wood" of the left-hand column is translated "logs and poles" in the right column, because to say simply that they went out and cut wood sounds like it would be firewood, not construction material. In sentence (8) "furnishings" is given two equivalents, "furnishings" and "tools."

Finally there is the matter of styling. In reading through the left column one scarcely gets the feeling that it is a normal English text, yet one who is familiar with Khmu? will immediately recognize that this is the normal word order in a Khmu? narrative text of this kind. The text on the right, however, bears no resemblance to Khmu? styling, but is reasonably normal English style. After questions of grammatical restructuring, compensation for differences, and selection of equivalents have been worked out, there still remains the task of insuring that the passage as a whole has the ring of genuine style, whatever the language involved.

These four interlocking and interpenetrating skills are dealt with in much greater detail in the reading which has been recommended. To understand these essential principles and to put them into practice is the first step in learning to translate.

24.3 Techniques for Learning to Translate

Translation from the new language into one's mother tongue is easier than translation from the mother tongue into a new language since the learner already controls the language in which he will be expressing himself. Also, when translating into the mother tongue, written translation is easier than oral because it gives the learner time to think and rework what he has done. However, in translating from the mother tongue into the new language, oral translation is probably always easier than written because standards of writing are both more rigid and demanding than standards of speech. These factors should govern the progression of difficulty in translation practice. Suggestions for learning techniques are discussed in this same order of difficulty.

In producing a written translation from the new language into the learner's mother tongue, the first step is to read the passage as often as necessary to make it thoroughly familiar, and to discuss with the language helper any problems of meaning which may be involved. In doing this the learner should study the overall structure of the passage, the shifts of time and place, the setting, the flow of participants, the kinds of events, the kinds of description, and so on. He should look particularly for words or concepts and constructions for which compensation will have to be made in the translation. He should consider what the normal arrangement of time and setting, participants, and events would be in a text in his own language if it were originally composed and not translated. He should decide the level or dimension of his own language that would be most appropriate for a translation of this passage in a new language.

When his overall planning and thinking have been done, the learner should start to translate the passage, not word by word or even sentence by sentence, but paragraph by paragraph, or episode by episode, keeping the unity of each paragraph and episode in mind as he goes along. In no other way can the translation be a natural equivalent. In writing out the translation the learner should deliberately practice the four skills of grammatical restructuring, compensating for linguistic and cultural differences, care in the selection of equivalents, and conscious styling.

Once the translation has been written out, it should first of all be checked for usage, read over for its style, choice of words, smooth flow, grammatical cohesiveness, and clarity. Any weakness should be smoothed out and corrected with reference to the original to insure the retention of the original meaning.

The translation should then be checked for any misrepresentations of the meaning of the original. This can be done partly by the translator himself, but more particularly by a bilingual native speaker.

Since the translation is into the learner's mother tongue, it is also well to have it checked by another speaker of his language (whether or not such a person

knows the new language). He may spot unnaturalness and identify problems previously overlooked.

After checking and revising as needed, the translation should be put aside for a week or two, and then the translator should return to the same passage, following the same steps, but without looking at his previous translation. The resultant translations can be compared, and the differences studied and evaluated. This process should be repeated as often as substantial differences continue to crop up. Of course, no two such translations will ever be identical. Repeating the process on the same passage is valuable in learning about the process itself and the varieties of ways to express the same meaning, and in studying the implications which different translations may produce.

So far as oral translation is concerned, two kinds are possible: sequential and simultaneous. Sequential is the easier of the two.

In practicing any oral translation, two tape recorders should be used if at all possible. The oral text to be translated should be recorded on one of the machines and played through several times so that the learner can familiarize himself with it. He should discuss meanings and problems of cultural equivalence with his helper just as he did with the written text. He should listen for the same factors of grammatical construction and text structure watched for in written texts.

When he is ready to start, the tape recorder should be turned on, and the first sentence or first major thought of the text should be played back. It should then be stopped for his oral translation. If there is a second tape recorder, his translation should be recorded on that machine. If there is not another recorder, his translation should be transcribed by a colleague who knows the learner's mother tongue well enough to transcribe quickly. The learner should not slow down to dictate, but should translate as fluently and naturally as possible. This process continues throughout the length of the text.

When it is over, the learner plays back his oral translation or reads it from the transcriptions made by his helper. It is then studied and discussed with the helper.

An oral translation will never be so smooth as a written translation when read or played back. However, major flaws should be sought out and corrected, and as the same text is translated again two or three times after intervals of several days, there should be evidence of improvement in overall cohesiveness and in fluency and accuracy.

Simultaneous translation is identical except that there is no pause in the stimulus text, the translator following behind a sentence or two. In practicing such a translation, the recorder is started and the translator, wearing earphones, records his translation into a second recorder, and then studies it with the suggested checks afterwards. Professional translators spend many hours practicing in this way every time they translate on a subject with which they do not feel fully familiar. Effective simultaneous translation is the most difficult form of translation.

In practicing from the mother tongue into the new language, the techniques are the same as those indicated above except for adding the step of remedial drill when mistakes in the use of the new language are uncovered. This means that in the process of checking, when grammatical mistakes emerge, or a poor choice of vocabulary is made, or in some way the learner shows a lack of control, he should improve it through drills and exercises. Practice in translation, therefore, can lead to the construction of a new learning cycle or the review of an old one.

Translating from the mother tongue into the new language in written medium, however, is an entirely different matter. As a matter of fact, it is not recommended for the learner at all. If translation is necessary, he should train a helper to do it under supervision and in close consultation according to the procedures suggested in the recommended readings. There are relatively few circumstances in which an individual needs to make a written translation into a language other than his own. He would do far better to practice effective writing directly in that language.

24.4 Wider Communication

This brings to a close the final section on "Wider Communication." We have discussed the use of the language to explore language and culture and to become more at home as a bilingual in a new community. We have discussed the use of appropriate style, and shifts according to the requirements of the situation. We have discussed the use of another dialect and the varieties and forms of language which result from geography and history. Finally we have discussed translation, learning to bridge the gap between two languages, switching from one to another.

In learning to translate, the range of communication takes on new dimension. It becomes multicultural and multilinguistic. It is no longer simply a matter of becoming a member of a new community, but of becoming a bridge between two communities. It is not only a matter of using a new language but of becoming a link between two speech communities. Translation is a supremely important skill in our day. Never before has it been so important to extend the range of communication to other peoples, other languages, and other cultures.

When the language learner has reached the point where he can translate from his mother tongue into the new language in a style and a dimension appropriate to a given situation, and can do so fluently, so that his translation is received by native speakers of the new language with ease, appreciation, and interest, and when he can preserve the intentional meaning of the message from which he is translating, he has proved without a shadow of a doubt that he has accomplished the goal for which this book was written: he has become bilingual.

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