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STUDIES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEW OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION,
LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY, STYLISTICS, AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
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Special Issue on

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

EDITED BY
JAMES W. MARCHAND

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Volume 2, Number 2, Spring 1979



PUBLICATION OF THE LANGUAGE LEARNING LABORATORY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEW OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION,
LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY, STYLISTICS, AND LANGUAGE PLANNING.

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PUBLICATION OF THE LANGUAGE LEARNING LABORATORY
(formerly THE UNIT FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY AND RESEARCH)
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Price of this issue \$4.50

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THE CENTRALITY OF LANGUAGE: AN EDITORIAL

JAMES W. MARCHAND

Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring 1979

The history of language teaching in this country is the story of a losing battle fought against those who feel that foreign language study is an unnecessary frill having no place in the central core of our education. The famous Committee of Twelve, which reported to the MLA in 1898, had reason to lament the small numbers learning foreign languages. According to S. Frederick Starr, the peak in interest in foreign language study was reached in 1915, when 36 percent of secondary school pupils were studying modern foreign languages. The disastrous effects of World War I led to the organization of the Modern Foreign Language Study in the spring of 1924 (Coleman 1929). The steady decline in enrollments continued, however, so that upon America's entry into World War II there were few experts available who were capable of meeting America's need for translators and interpreters. Out of this need arose the wartime Army Specialized Training Program in foreign languages, begun in the spring of 1943. This giant undertaking led to increased enrollments and a large number of capable language specialists, but by the late fifties the percentage of young people taking languages had sunk to twenty. This disastrous situation led to the inclusion of language study in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, so that the number rose to twenty-four percent in 1960; a conservative estimate would put it at fifteen percent now. The rise in isolationism and hegemonism in the late sixties and early seventies led to the dropping of language requirements in colleges and universities, with accompanying pressures to lower the number and variety of offerings in foreign languages on the high school level. Thus, the story of foreign language teaching, at least since World War I, has been a period of neglect, followed by recognition that something has to be done, followed by the inevitable crash program, followed by overexpansion, followed by disaster. It is this cycle we need to break.

No one could deny that foreign language study finds itself in desperate straits in the late seventies. In the business world Americans are losing to foreign businessmen simply because they do not know any language other than English (Stephens 1977). According to Senator Hayakawa, as reported at the Chicago Hearings of the President's Commission of Foreign Language and International Studies, there are 20,000 Japanese salesmen in New York City, all of whom speak English, 1,000 American salesmen in Japan, none of whom speak Japanese. In the state of Illinois, the largest exporting state in the union, as reported by Paul Simon, our showcase university in Springfield, Sangamon State University, does not even offer foreign language instruction.

Nor are we better off in our relations with foreign governments. Everyone remembers the embarrassment of President Carter's translator in Warsaw, a fiasco brought about solely because of lack of language

awareness on the part of our State Department. Paul Simon reported in a press release of March 22, 1977: "The Foreign Service of the United States no longer requires any foreign language background before you can enter. When you talk to State Department officials, they say they would like to get people with language skills, but because so few Americans have studied foreign languages they are forced to drop this requirement." According to Senator Hayakawa, before America's intervention in Southeast Asia, there was no American born specialist in Southeast Asian languages.

In doing research, our professors, spawned by an era in which graduate school language requirements were being dropped or watered down, are forced to wait for translations or ask non-professionals, e.g. graduate students in language, for aid. Thus Warsaw is repeated in miniature: Through lack of language awareness, people expect anyone who knows a language to be able to translate into and out of the language. If, however, one does not know the field concerned, and know it well, it is well-nigh impossible to obtain a good translation. We do not need more graduate students in German translating chemistry articles, we need more chemists who can read German.

One could continue with this litany of failures, but the point is that we are in a desperate situation -- I do not mean language instructors, though they concern me too -- I mean the United States. The Ugly American is not a fiction, he is a reality. It remained for one man to see the desperate situation and to be in a position to do something about it. Representative Paul Simon of Illinois, himself a monolingual and the victim of our monolingual education system, saw in the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 (signed by the United States and 34 other countries) a little-noted provision, committing the participating nations "to encourage the study of foreign languages and civilizations." Pointing out that the United States is the only industrialized nation in the world which does not require some exposure to foreign language, Representative Simon began to press in 1977 to get the United States to live up to its commitments. The beginnings were modest: In March of 1977, President Carter declared National Foreign Language Week and sent out a press release on the importance of foreign language study. On the 10th of June, 1977, President Carter expressed himself more strongly on the need for foreign language study and appointed a short-term commission, headed by Simon, to look into the matter (Congressional Record 123, 100; 10 June 1977): "I am particularly aware of the importance of linguistic skills and of adequate foreign language instruction. In no small measure friendly and peaceful relations among nations depend on improved communications between their individual citizens, and fluency in another language is one way of achieving improved communications." This was then followed by an Executive Order of April 21, 1978, creating the President's Commission on Foreign Language and

International Studies. Here, one will notice the change from "languages and civilizations" to "international studies." This commission will conduct six regional hearings and four Commission Meetings before reporting, in October 1979, to the President.

We have reached the low point in the cycle; one can see the crash program coming, but one can also see the common problem of all such programs: The language component soon gets lost in the peripheral programs around it. At first, Paul Simon was pressing for language study, the President spoke only of language study, but the composition of the panel is such that only one or two of the twenty-five members are directly concerned with language study, and some have in the past been hostile to it. Only one of the five "Panel Discussions" at the Chicago Hearings was devoted directly to language study. We are, it seems to me, in danger again of losing the idea of the centrality of language in all study. With this in mind, the ADE/ADFL sponsored a joint session at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Midwest Modern Language Association, October 28, 1977, on the topic "Joining Forces: Language Study as the Foundation of Education," with Jay L. Robinson, James W. Marchand and Jay A. Levine as panelists. Some of the following remarks on the centrality of language are based on that panel.

That language is the key to understanding man, just as man is the key to understanding the creations of man, such as linguistics, mathematics, history and science, is not a new view. It was held, for example, by the Stoics in their concept of the lektón (Orth 1962), and their notion that man articulated his universe of experience through language, which thus served as a vehicle not only of communication, but also of thought. It was held by St. Augustine in his concept of the dicibile and the notion that only that which is expressible in language attains to full existence (De dialectica, chapter 5); sine nomine persona non est, as Roman law has it. It was held by the medieval modistae, who felt that only an entity possessing the three characteristics of essendum, intelligendum and significandum fully existed. It was held by Vico, Herder, Goethe and Humboldt, all of the New Scientists, as they have been called (Fink-Marchand 1979). In our own century, language as the focal point for the study of man and his institutions has been stressed over and over again by such philosophers as Heidegger and Wittgenstein. In fact, philosophers have stressed language to such an extent that it has become commonplace to view modern philosophy as language philosophy (Küng 1963 1):

Wer die zeitgenössische philosophische Diskussion verfolgt, dem muss sogleich auffallen, wie sehr heute in vielen Kreisen der Zugang zu allen Problemen vom Sprachlichen und Logischen her gesucht wird, wie der Gebrauch von Wörtern und Zeichen, wie die für deren Systeme geltenden Gesetze ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit gerückt sind.

J. B. Watson (1925, 191) had already maintained: "What the psychologists have hitherto called thought is nothing but talking to ourselves," harkening back to the Stoics and the Fathers of the Church. The French psychologist, Jacques Lacan (1970, 103); "... his (man's) realm of truth is in fact the word ..., his whole experience must find in the word alone its instrument, its framework, its material, and even the static of its uncertainties." To sum up, many philosophers and psychologists believe that we live in a logocentric universe; to quote a famous dictum by Hamann, the eighteenth century language philosopher: "Ohne Wort keine Vernunft, keine Welt."

But it is not only philosophers who have felt the centrality of language: Many scientists have pointed out the need for a well-articulated metalanguage, such as J. H. Woodger in his famous Biology and Language, an Introduction to the Methodology of the Biological Sciences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952). R. G. Collingwood (1942, 42 f.) has made a particularly strong statement on the unity of language and thought:

Until you name it, the feeling is preconscious. When you name it, it becomes conscious. ... It has long been known that language is an indispensable factor in social life, the only way in which knowledge can be communicated from one man to another. But it was long believed that within the precincts of the individual mind the processes of thought could go on without language coming into operation.

It would be hard to find an advocate for that belief today. It is a commonplace with us that language is not a device whereby knowledge already existing in one man's mind is communicated to another's, but an activity prior to knowledge itself, without which knowledge could never come into existence. Philipp G. Frank, in a splendid lecture on "Contemporary Science and the Contemporary World View" (1966, 8 f.), points to the necessity for studying the natural languages which lie at the basis of all metalanguages:

I sense that some people may say: "You have spoken only about words; we should prefer to hear about facts." However, science and all other types of knowledge ... consist in building up systems of symbols ... Non-scientists often believe that science consists in making observations, in accumulating experience. But this misses the point. At every moment of our life we perceive data of experience, yet by recording them we do not get science. Science only begins when we invent a system of symbols which can bring order into our experience. For building up science, the creation of words and their syntax is as important as experiments. A part of our science is contained in the vocabulary and the syntax of of the English, French or German that we use. And this is a province of the philosophy of science.

One could go on citing authority after authority, but as Augustine says, "Quis egeat auctoritatem in re tam perspicua?"

Indeed, a number of different theories have been converging towards the same point of view, namely that language not only communicates about the universe, it structures the universe and is our vehicle for thought about the universe. We see this daily all about us. The civil rights movement of the sixties knew well that language had to be changed in order for attitudes and thought to change; the present-day women's liberation movement has worked in the same direction with its demand that sexually-loaded words be removed. In fact, language planning is in some way part and parcel of all social and political movements. The general semantics movement connected with the names of Korzybsky and Hayakawa has offered us many examples of metalanguage actually conditioning action. For example, the fact that computer software was called "language" led in the sixties to a decline in Ph.D. language requirements on many campuses, where one was allowed to substitute a "computer language" for a natural language. To make an already long story short, the time is ripe for reaffirming the notion that a study of the trivium (the ratio sermocinalis, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) should be central to all education. In such a program, the study of language per se, "la prim' arte," as Dante called it, ought to be primary, but we ought not forget rhetoric and dialectic, that is, language logic. This ought not to take the form of more courses in technical writing, for example, where scientists are taught to compose paragraphs with topic sentences, to make subject and verb concord, and the like. We need to insist that the thought which is not properly expressed is not properly held, that language is not only a vehicle for communication to others, but also with oneself; that is, for thinking. We ought to insist on the signans/signatum nature of all experience, and believe, with Herder: "Wer richtig, rein, angemessen, kraftvoll, herzlich sprechen kann und darf, der kann nicht anders als wohl denken (Werke 18.385 f.)."

How can this be done? Can grammar reenter the womb and be born again? I think so, but it means that language teachers themselves must expand their horizons. For example, there is the field of concept formation. That is, there are concepts and there are labels for them (words), but we often forget and confuse the label with the concept, the map with the territory. Influenced by our brothers, the scientists, we have been misled to believe that all concepts are Aristotelian (yes-no, either-or, discrete, with no fuzzy edges), so that one frequently hears such questions as "define the Romantic movement," "assign this document to a dialect," on Ph.D. orals, as if ideal types could be dealt with in such a manner. Or again, we forget the lessons of our forefathers about the material fallacies and indulge in the rhetoric of overexaggeration and fallacy, such as this common argument, which I have dubbed the argumentum ad lunam:

"A country which could put a man on the moon ought to be able to ..."
 To give a last example, we have been persuaded by the metalanguage of computerism to believe that teaching algorithms exist and, horresco referens, that they are efficacious. Programmed instruction, machine teaching, computer directed (not aided) instruction, etc. are the cries of the day, replacing the mim-mem and language labs of yesterday, and who has not told his German class to "learn the gender of each noun as you come to it?" The point is: We need to clean up our act before we try to sell people on it. Our own study of language must be human and must stress the fact that language, the differentia specifica of man, the speaking animal, inhabitant of a logocentric universe, is above all a human thing. This can be done and must be done, but it is necessary to start early. It cannot be begun in freshman composition. We need to mount a propaganda campaign of massive proportions if it is to be accomplished, and we need to be able to exhibit successes. A century of teaching "Rhetoric and Freshman Comp." by definitional schemes and algorithms has had little success.

This brings me to my part of the question, foreign language study. As pointed out above, the mono-cultural, mono-lingual American with his accompanying hegemonism is no longer a joke, he is an odious reality. Many people have pointed out how wrong this is from a practical standpoint, but it is from the human standpoint that the wrong is most virulent. What has brought this about? For one thing the loss of the language requirements. In the late sixties and early seventies, it was thought to be odious to require anyone to learn anything. Occasionally, hegemonism and isolationism were the causes. I remember a professor of English renaissance literature at the University of Illinois, erubesco referens, who insisted he had never found it necessary to read anything in a foreign language. One remembers: "Everything which is important is translated," and the other shibboleths of the day. But a language requirement is not a restriction on the student's freedom, the lack of a foreign language requirement is. A person who has not had the opportunity to study a foreign language and thereby a foreign culture is crippled. If I may be permitted a personal note: When I attended high school in rural Tennessee in the forties, no foreign language was offered. When I went to college at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, the study of foreign languages was actively discouraged. I know well, therefore, the rape of an eager and inquiring young mind when that mind is denied access to Dante, Virgil and Goethe, and I know well the long midnight hours it entails when one must learn as an adult and without benefit of instruction things which it ought to be the right of every child to study.

We know from the work of Humboldt and Whorf and their followers that a language is more than just another means of communication. Each language represents another way of thinking, another world view. Other cultures cannot be studied simply by talking about them, one must speak in them, that is, by learning their language. It is, therefore, of

utmost importance in our shrinking world that every American study a foreign language. However, I do not believe that we ought to reinstate the study of foreign languages if this means more teaching of rote, dead grammar and the algorithms of yesteryear; if students must learn which verbs take the dative and to place the finite verb at the end of the clause after a subordinating conjunction, or, to give an example from a textbook in freshman German used at the university of Illinois: folgen takes sein when it means 'to follow', haben when it means 'to obey'. Sancta Spitzfindigkeit!

The study of a foreign language needs to be a mind expanding activity. The student has a chance to encounter another world, another mind set in the raw. All the talking about culture in the world cannot replace learning the culture through language, for language is the culture. We foreign language teachers also need to clean up our act and to remember that learning a foreign language is a sublime human activity, an embracing of Terence' famous dictum: "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum esse puto."

To return to the Presidential Commission and its suggestions: we need to fight to insure that the central position of language in instruction is reaffirmed; that any recommendations recognize this position. The following represent some notions as to how the Commission and its creations might proceed.

In attacking the foreign language problem which is before the Commission, one might conveniently divide it up into six areas: 1. long term goals; 2. the present situation; 3. needs; 4. resources; 5. shorter term goals; 6. means of attaining those goals.

1. Our long term goal or ultimate (perhaps unattainable) goal, as articulated by Paul Simon, is to insure that every U.S. citizen have at least the possibility of confronting a foreign language and that he be encouraged to do so. This would be a first step in assuring parity with the other industrialized nations.

2. Our present situation, as pointed out above, is desperate. The flourishing FLES programs of the sixties have all but disappeared, by all counts less than 20% of our high school population takes any foreign language at all, many (perhaps even one third of all) of our high schools and colleges offer no foreign language instruction at all, and those which do are but slowly recovering from the attacks on the foreign language requirements in the early seventies and the late sixties. Graduate enrollment, the source of our FL teachers, is almost universally down, and those programs not totally lost are in serious straits. The public at large and our business and government leaders are so unaware of foreign languages that the Warsaw

fiasco is repeated in miniature all over America every day. The isolationism and hegemonism one sees on all sides is perhaps not only the cause of the lack of interest in foreign languages, it is also its result.

3. Needs. Thus, everyone sees that there is a need for change: We need to change America's attitudes toward foreign languages and foreign language study. It must be made clear that it is criminal to allow anyone to grow up without having at least confronted a foreign language. We need to increase the spread of foreign language education, to insure that it be at least available on all levels of education: in the elementary school, the high school, college, graduate school, as well as in continuing education. We need to improve the quality of foreign language education through improvement in teachers, methods and facilities. Finally, we need to increase language awareness, so that people know what it means to translate, speak, read and write a foreign language. We can prevent recurrences of Warsaw.

4. Resources. Languages are at present taught in the United States by a number of facilities: Colleges and universities, grammar schools, high schools, service schools such as the Foreign Service Institute and the Defense Language Institute, by various businesses who train their employees for overseas work, and by private individuals and companies. Although we have been caught short several times during our recent history (World War II, sputnik, Vietnam) without sufficient speakers of sensitive or necessary languages, the careful lists maintained by the Center for Applied Linguistics and other like agencies reveal that training either is available or can be made available in most languages. Methods of training and claims for those methods differ widely, without any valid testing having been administered or, frequently, having even been devised for determining the efficacy of those methods or the validity of their claims. For many infrequently taught languages, few or inadequate materials exist for teaching the language. Without a central clearinghouse for information on materials and studies, teachers are frequently unaware of available materials and/or studies (e.g. word counts, concordances), and efforts are duplicated. In general, our resources are ill-coordinated and suffer from lack of information exchange. The articulation between FLES and high schools and high schools and colleges is particularly poor. In colleges and universities, no one insists on teacher training and preparation, so that teachers are frequently put before classes with only a knowledge of the foreign language to guide them, and that often poor. In both colleges and high schools, the need for a language teacher is often satisfied by employing a foreigner, a particularly disastrous practice. This reduces the number of American language teachers employable and faces the students with a teacher unfamiliar with the American situation. There are resources available, however, if we but use them wisely.

5. Some short term goals. There are a number of things which can be done in a short time and with a minimum of expenditure in time, energy, and money. As these are reached, however, they must be replaced by long term goals. It must be remembered that each state, each area of the country, each type of situation (e.g. urban vs. rural) must be treated differently, and that any approach must be both multifaceted and diversified.

a. Changing attitudes. It is, of course, impossible to change attitudes which have grown up over a long period of time overnight. Much of the officer cadre of our colleges and universities, coming from the monolingual environment mentioned above, is strongly opposed to foreign language study. In the high schools, advisors and counselors take the easy way out and advise non-college-bound students not to take foreign languages, and each reduction in language requirements on the college level leads to a concomitant reduction on the secondary school level. The business man, who finds an English speaking native everywhere he goes, does not realize the enormous advantage this gives his vis-à-vis. Happily this group is the least intransigent and can be reached through journals, blurbs and directives. If the disadvantages attendant upon and the sanctions against their attitudes are pointed out, they can be persuaded to change.

The public at large is another matter; monolingualism breeds monolingualism, and the longer the situation lasts the more entrenched are those opposing learning foreign languages. Here the propaganda campaign would have to be so massive that it would require a strong commitment on the part of the federal government, the state governments and the teaching profession. We all have the specter of the anti-smoking campaigns to show us that habits long ingrained can only slowly be changed. We must try to return to the age in which a person was not thought educated unless he knew a foreign language.

b. It is quite difficult to change the offerings of a high school or a university. I am personally so horrified to find that people still call themselves educated though they are monolingual, that I find it difficult to devise strategies to change the situation. It is imperative for our foreign policy, our business community and, primarily, for our quality of life that we get over to those devising and those following curricula that a foreign language is a necessary component in everyone's education. In those places where foreign language requirements are being dropped, those who believe in foreign language study must fight for it. Where requirements have been dropped we must fight to have them reinstated. The creation of the Presidential Commission has already been a shot in the arm. Paul Simon's remarks from the standpoint of a monolingual who feels cheated have been of tremendous help, as have been articles in newspapers, magazines and journals everywhere; and let us not

forget the student newspapers. If other members of the Commission and others in influential places would speak out, and if we can get a permanent commission, this may lead to needed curricular changes. The creation of state commissions, such as that of the State of Illinois (The Cronin Commission), is to be heralded. After all, it is pressure from the public and leaders which brings about change. It is important to stress the centrality of language in all this.

c. Much of the push for change must be left, alas, to the language teacher. If we are to have students taking languages, it is much better to attract them than to force them in. The quality of teaching must improve as the quantity improves. Much of the attitude of the educated public against foreign language teaching is based on the foreign language teaching in high schools and college. The American public's picture of the language teaching situation is that of a person with a thick foreign accent standing before a class which can but admire but never understand him. The officer cadre of our foreign language teachers has always for the most part been foreign born, and this is but another symptom of the belief that Americans cannot learn languages. Languages are taught to Americans but not by Americans. I hope that these remarks are not taken in a xenophobic sense, for no one is more xenophilic than I, but until languages are taught by Americans to Americans we have made but little progress. This means that we need a new push, such as that given by the NDEA, to upgrade our language teachers and to provide more teachers. As we know from previous experience, this does not require large sums of money.

d. If the push must come from language teachers, language teachers must change. We need to become more aware of what has been done and what is being done, and we need to become more active. A national clearinghouse would offer us the bibliographical services needed and would enable us to keep in contact with one another in this ever more complex world. We need to regain a sense of mission and to give up the petty squabbles over methods (or rather modes) of teaching, such as audiolingual vs. grammar-translation, mim-mem, oral-aural, etc., all of which have split us in the past. If we teach the language rather than about the language, most of these fights will disappear. Teaching is a high calling, and the teaching of a foreign language should spring from a profound knowledge of the language and its culture and a deep desire to teach it.

The preceding remarks are made upon the occasion of the appointment of the Presidential Commission in order to reaffirm the centrality of language in our education and the need for the Commission to address itself to that point. There is a very real danger that language study will get lost in the shuffle if language teachers are not awake to that danger. At the same time, as foreign language teachers, we must not forget that we are language teachers, and we must support the efforts of our English teachers to increase and better their teaching of our native language. Above all, we must not forget that ours is a high calling, deserving of all those who are interested in mankind. *Se non è ben trovato, è vero.*

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REPORT ON THE CHICAGO HEARING OF THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION

PAUL A. GAENG

Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring 1979

The first regional hearing of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies was held in Chicago, on December 12, 1978, at the International House. The group representing the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois comprised Professors A. J. Peshkin, Chair, Department of Educational Policy Studies; J. T. Iversen, Head, Continuing Education and Public Service; J. W. Marchand, Department of Germanic Languages and Center for Advanced Study; R. T. Fisher, Director, Russian and East European Center; R. Merritt, Head, Department of Political Science; H. C. Triandis, Associate Director, International Programs and Studies; and P. A. Gaeng, Head, Department of French. Each member of the Urbana delegation was assigned to one of the five panel discussions into which the participants (about 230 of them) broke up about mid-morning after a two-hour general morning session, at which Congressman Paul Simon and the Chairman, James A. Perkins, gave a brief introduction to the background, mandate and priorities of the Commission. Other speakers at this general session included Carl Bohne, Senior Partner and Director of Training with Arthur Anderson & Company (one of the "Big Eight" accountancy firms with branches all over the world), and Robert Benton, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, who spoke about "Business Needs and Interests in Foreign Language and International Studies," and "International Education in Public Schools," respectively. While the main thrust of each of these two talks was obviously different, there was a common theme underlying both, namely the development of "world-mindedness," processing of information on world environment, and intellectual development to cope with world-wide responsibilities that we can no longer escape.

The subject matter for discussion in each of the five panels was as follows:

- Panel I: International Education: Elementary through Adult;
- Panel II: Overview of Foreign Language Education in the U.S.;
- Panel III: Institutional Language and Area Studies Needs;
- Panel IV: International Exchanges;
- Panel V: Business and International Trade Needs.

Each panel was essentially structured in the same fashion: a chair, two panelists, and a rapporteur. Each consisted of brief presentations followed by some formal comments from the floor, and a general discussion. The Urbana delegates, who had been asked to prepare a formal statement of position in advance of the hearing, were asked to file this statement with the secretary/rapporteur of the respective panels for subsequent transmittal to the Commission. Our panel assignments were as follows: Panel I: Peshkin and Iversen (the

latter also its rapporteur); Panel II: Marchand; Panel III: Fisher, (rapporteur for this panel was Professor Carl Deal, Director, Latin American Studies); Panel IV: Merritt and Triandis; and Panel V: Gaeng. Since all panels were scheduled consecutively, it was unfortunately not possible to hear the discussions that went on in other panels and the few members of the Commission present, particularly Congressman Simon and Chairman Perkins heard only parts of these discussions.

The panel discussions that began at 11:00 a.m. broke up around 3:30 p.m., at which time a closing general session took place to hear the summaries by the various panel rapporteurs and some closing remarks by Superintendent Cronin of the Illinois Office of Public Instruction. The suggestions and/or recommendations that issued from each panel discussion may be summarized as follows:

Panel I: International Education: Elementary through Adult

1. Consensus of participants: International and foreign language studies are "alive but not well." To garner support for improvement, international studies should focus on the adult level also, as well as those at all levels of education.
2. Program in foreign language and international studies must insure quality instruction (less fads and "innovations").
3. An integral part of international education must be foreign language study at the elementary school level.
4. Attention to resources already available. Let us preserve and strengthen existing good programs.

Panel II: Overview of Foreign Language Education in the U.S.

1. Continuing problem and concern is the decline of foreign language enrollments at all levels of instruction.
2. Foreign language study must be made available at all levels of instruction as a continuum, i.e. from kindergarten to graduate school. Better articulation between the elementary - secondary, and college levels.
3. Need for better materials for less commonly taught languages.
4. Teachers should work through their professional associations, particularly as a meeting ground between elementary/high school and college teachers.

Panel III: Institutional Language and Area Studies Needs

1. The current foreign language and area studies concept should be maintained.
2. Rather than establishing new centers, better funding should be provided to existing ones to play a more important role in international education.
3. Support for language and area studies programs should be supported from agencies other than the federal government.

Panel IV: Contribution of International Exchanges to International Education

1. Encourage students to seek international exchange opportunities through better financial help, easier credit evaluation, and cultural information. Opportunities for study abroad must be provided at all levels of education.
2. Opportunities for study abroad programs and exchanges for elementary and high school teachers should be provided. At present, Fulbright exchange programs open mainly to college teachers and research scholars.
3. Study abroad must be made less costly and greater tax credit is to be provided for teachers travelling and studying abroad.
4. Attention to all aspects of intercultural education, not merely training in communicative competence.
5. Two-way exchanges among teachers and students to be encouraged. Foreign teachers to be brought to U.S. for participation in area studies and intercultural workshops.

Panel V: Business and International Trade Needs

1. Survey the current needs of business and industry, particularly the medium-sized and small business concerns that may be thinking about entering foreign markets. Only with hard data in hand can foreign language, international studies, and business curricula meet these needs.
2. While the study of language is important, it is only complementary in developing the necessary cultural sensitivity and awareness for successfully interacting in a foreign (non-anglophone) business community. Learning to deal with foreign customers in their own language may be a necessity in some cases and a definite advantage under any circumstance.
3. The federal government should encourage export trade. The unfavorable trade balance has both economic and educational implications (viz. the declining value of the dollar making travel abroad often prohibitive).

4. The need for language and culture for business must begin in college-level programs. The Berlitz-type crash-course for the American business man wishing to do business abroad is not the answer.

The Chicago hearing ended at 4:30 p.m.. Other hearings are scheduled for San Francisco in February, Houston in March, Raleigh in April, and Boston in May. The full Commission is to meet in Washington on 6/7 June and in September, at which time the final report to the President is to be drafted.

APPENDIX

PANEL V: BUSINESS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE NEEDS

PAUL A. GAENG AND RALPH REISNER

1. Statement of Needs

The report of the President's Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy makes clear that the development of international trade and other forms of international economic exchanges are of increasing significance to this as well as other countries. As the report recognizes, foreign trade involves more than possible economic advantages that derive from an exchange of goods and commodities between nations. The establishment of rational and coherent trade systems where accompanied by the development of new institutional patterns provides the basis for regional and international cooperation with respect to other sectors of governmental activity. Any program aimed at the expansion of trade and international economic exchanges must take cognizance of the fact that the economic, cultural, and legal structures under which international business activities must be carried out have undergone significant changes in recent years, specifically:

1. The growth of multinational enterprises and concurrent development of new trade and development patterns;
2. The growing intervention by foreign governments in the hitherto private sector, thereby shaping the economic arrangements which can be entered into by U.S. and foreign enterprises;
3. A proliferation and increased complexity of the legal structure both in the United States and abroad which regulates international transactions; and
4. Vastly increased patterns of competition by supplies of materials and technology for foreign markets.

All of these changes require that the enterprises involved, as well as any public agencies which operate or become involved in the international business sector, must have available management personnel who by virtue of their professional training are equipped to perform the necessary planning, advisory, and negotiating functions. Among the specialized skills that will be required of personnel involved in overseas operations, foreign language skills are high on the list. But not just communicative competence.

It must be supported by cultural information about the target country, since true managerial effectiveness and good public relations require not only a working knowledge of the country or countries in which a multinational corporation is operating, but also a good deal of environmental understanding that only a study of customs and mores of a particular social group can provide. Professionals and management personnel involved in international operations will also require generalized area knowledge of an economic and geopolitical nature, in addition to whatever specialized knowledge may be required of the economic or legal milieu and structure of the target country on the part of a specialist, as in the case of economic or legal advisors to an overseas operation.

2. Evidence of Need

A study entitled "Languages for the World of Work" undertaken by the Olympus Research Corporation in Salt Lake City during 1974-75, sponsored by the State of Wyoming and the Division of Manpower Development and Training of the U.S. Office of Education, surveyed more than 6,000 business firms to ascertain employment opportunities involving language skills. With a respondent ratio of about 23%, more than 60,000 jobs where knowledge of a foreign language was required were reported by these companies. (One can only surmise that among nonrespondents and companies that were not surveyed there would be an additional large number of jobs for which language training is essential or, at the very least, desirable.) This study did reveal that, in many instances, business and industry as a whole are not acutely aware of the need for intensive training in foreign language skills and that they do not devote their resources and attention to this problem, relying instead on the hiring of foreign nationals who speak English, or they simply declare that English is the lingua franca of the business world; yet, a number of comments, case studies and data obtained from company officials suggested that success in profits, in public relations, and in total operations were attributable to their attention to language and cultural training, often provided outside of the academic setting through a "custom-tailored" crash course contracted for with commercial language schools.

There are still many companies engaged in overseas operations, the OCR study reports, that prefer to hire nationals in the country in which they operate, so that many top management positions outside the United States--technical directors, regional managers, sales personnel, and managing directors--are held by foreigners. A Vice-President for international operations of an Ohio firm is reported as stating that "Most of our American technicians are not capable of adding language skills at the present time, so we have to send them out and then use local interpreters," and he concludes "There is

definite need in the U.S., especially in the Midwest, to develop more interest in language training as our business becomes more and more international."

3. Recommendation

Clearly, the United States is not now the major exporting country that it should be, and our unfavorable balance of payments is witness to this sad state of affairs. Nevertheless, an increasing segment of U.S. business seems to have become aware of the advantages of entering foreign markets in the years to come, particularly medium-sized companies who may expect to reap welcome profits in international trade.

The major source of international training has been provided by universities, which traditionally have offered a variety of programs. Some, involving a combination of language and area studies, have sought to train specialists for subsequent entry into government, teaching, and business. Others, carried out within particular disciplines of professional schools, have focused on the development of specific professional skills, such as training of lawyers, economists and management personnel, with a specialization in international business. By and large, this type of training has taken place at the post-graduate level and centered at the larger institutions in the country with large investments in language and area programs and training facilities. But even those institutions which have been at the forefront in providing this type of specialized training have tended to lag somewhat in developing educational programs which are fully appropriate for the present needs of industry and government, simply because educational institutions which seek to train personnel to carry out international business operations are not able to modify curricula to reflect changes in operational patterns brought about by such factors as the rapidity of the structural and methodological changes under which international business operations occur and dramatic changes in the political, legal and economic structure of many of our trading partners which, in turn, require significant modifications in the strategies and methods of operations of U.S. enterprises engaged in overseas operations.

The updating of educational programs normally requires the allocation of additional resources. The allocations necessary for such efforts are becoming increasingly scarce, given prevailing economics, and the variety of state-centered interests and demands which confront state-supported educational institutions. This fact, perhaps more than any other, points to the essential role of federal agencies in stimulating and encouraging curricular developments in fields related to international business. It is only through the support which federal agencies can provide that there is likely to emerge the kind of curricular development in these fields which is responsive to the nation's needs, while at the same time it also promotes the long range interests of State and Community.

SENSE AND COMMON SENSE IN THE STUDY OF
FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DIETER WANNER

Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number II, Spring 1979

1. Dissatisfaction With Foreign Language Teaching

The following reflections are the result of my personal involvement in the phenomenon of language, first as a linguist, and secondly as a foreign language teacher (of Spanish and Italian) at the college level. On both accounts of linguistics and language instruction, I feel deeply dissatisfied with the realities of teaching foreign languages, and with the learning results by the students. Far from being original in an innovative sense, this statement contains a rationalization of the uneasy combination of the two fields, a combination which, in principle, should provide for an ideal matching between the theoretical foundations and the practical application. Basically, I see the responsibility for the unhappy polarization in the unreasonable promises and expectations concerning the study of foreign languages, and in the inadequate approaches to the instructional task. It is unrealistic to expect a student at the college level, essentially engaged in acquiring concepts of importance to carry out future responsibilities, to revert to a content level of the early school years; yet this is what takes place in the foreign language classroom. Nor is it productive to use up valuable time during college for a painfully slow, passive assimilation process of material which is made intellectually uninteresting and which rarely leads beyond the acquisition of a meager skill; yet this is the reality of a regular (two-year) foreign language course sequence. What is wrong with much foreign language instruction at the college level is that it is too late and too irrelevant for an adult seeking knowledge of a broader scope. A similar direction seems to be taken by the Presidential Commission on the Study of Foreign Languages when they recommend that the bulk of foreign language instruction be shifted away from college to the High School or possibly earlier, and that this instruction must be intensified in order to be effective. Even though such a view does not establish a logically necessary precedence, at least it strongly indicates a more fruitful sequencing between foreign language studies and other disciplines. This might seem to raise the question whether the study and teaching of elementary foreign languages at the college level must be abandoned, whether there is perhaps something wrong in principle with foreign languages at this level. Such radical reactions would however be unjustified; there exist many legitimate and valuable functions for foreign language instruction at the college level, some of which will be explored further on. But the present language programs (at least to the extent that I have been able to experience them in their effect

on the learner) are overburdened with technicalities and procedures alien to the topic under study, the foreign language; worse, they do not address the curiosity of their consumers, students who are acquiring the core of their educational tools for a productive lifetime. Foreign language study is also billed as a guarantor of international and intercultural communication and understanding, but in its actual practice it does not even regularly enable its graduates to sustain an ordinary conversation with a native speaker. The claims of direct international benefits from foreign language study may be a comprehensible overstatement due to the demands for narrowly topical skills and immediately available results in exchange for the funds spent on education; but a more realistic appraisal of the function of foreign language teaching at the college level will prove more useful in the long run for all. The immediate relevance of these remarks extends to the justification of foreign languages with a liberal arts curriculum where the non-vocational nature of the whole educational process is essential to its very existence; but in principle the same basic arguments about educational value also apply to more specifically vocational courses of study which also must provide more than mechanical manipulation techniques: The study of a foreign language belongs to the realm of education as such, for inherently valid reasons.

2. The Privileged Nature Of Foreign Language Study

Different from any other discipline of academic study, the involvement with a foreign language amounts, at least in its beginning stages, to a reversion into long past states of limited intellectual capability. The medium for the expression of content, the language which is normally taken for granted as a native tongue, must suddenly be relearned with different forms, i.e. the words and endings of the language the student is learning. When the child learns its native language in the process of growing up (and this happens without any formal instruction for the greater part of this task) the linguistic ability grows in roughly proportional form to the discovery by the child of the surrounding world as an exciting appearance to describe: this experience of language learning yields mediate satisfaction through the questioning of the objective features by way of language, and through the processing of the information which is conveyed back by the same means of language. The college student does not need to, and in fact cannot, rediscover the world in this way: The gratification and the immense time available to the child for this task are no longer granted. The foreign culture in which the foreign language is inevitably embedded doesn't offer the same discovery function, first because it is not in any natural way present in the learning situation, and thus cannot constitute the same point of focused interest as for a child; second, even if it were possible to recreate in the classroom the foreign culture, it will be to such an extent familiar and

penetrable with the available categories that a genuine satisfaction through the discovery of simple, familiar object settings cannot be generated in the process of learning a foreign language. The foreign culture, in other words, does not yield a sufficient (or even appropriate) content for foreign language study. The shallow information derived from language courses (aside from the unavoidable language instruction) does not recommend foreign languages as an appropriate pursuit of university studies in this form.

Since only a small minority of children grows up in truly bilingual situations where two or more languages may be learned in their natural habitat during the infancy maturation and language acquisition process, this intellectual handicap of foreign language studies is to a certain degree inevitable. It can be minimized by letting this kind of rote learning take place during some earlier period of schooling when the readiness for such an occupation is much more available: But at the college level, foreign language studies must shift their focus away from straight skill acquisition (oriented towards automatic production/reception), to the internalization of the code as a rational tool, a tool to articulate cognitive and emotive contents. After all, the strange persistence (for American standards) of foreign language studies within the context of a general education--sometimes even in the form of requirements extending over several semesters, and not only in the recently prominent Harvard proposals on general education--points to the fact that something along the lines indicated here makes up the importance of learning a foreign language. The preoccupation with cultural aspects only overshadows the basic fact that the learning of the other language as a tool of (objective and subjective) expression is the goal of the undertaking, all the other reasons being specialized or marginal concerns, secondary rationalizations. However, the general level of preparation (through College, High School, family, societal values, etc.) will tend to make this approach to foreign languages fail because they do not provide a favorable background on which the prerequisite habits of dealing with such a task could have grown. Here appears a central negative effect of the widespread degeneralized curriculum, which has initiated the broader discussion about general education in the first place. Students are not ready to study a foreign language as what it is, namely another code, unless they have made for themselves the important discovery that the (linguistic) code is the only direct means allowing them to assimilate knowledge. More specifically, the documents of human achievements, of history and of the evolution of the human condition are all encoded in, and accessible through the means of, language. But they must be interpreted; this interpretation, i.e. its criteria and tools, is what a general education should provide, an attitude of concernedness with a text, of understanding this text through its given form. If the ideas contained in a text are extracted and presented in some other form than the original text itself (in another medium of communication, in textbook fashion, or in a combination of both such as computer assisted learning sequences), such an approach may achieve the one aim of conveying the

essential content, but it does not allow the student to come to an appreciation of the importance of the text for the purpose of obtaining firsthand knowledge. The decried low level of education of entering college students, of particularly detrimental effect for the liberal arts curricula, may be largely due to this lack of exegetic experience and expertise, much more than to specific lacunae about Western civilization or some other humanistic endeavor. Hand in hand with this inability to use a text and to come to an interpretation of it on one's own goes the lack of linguistic sophistication in the native language: For normal communication, there is obviously no need to study one's language for its own sake; the linguistic skills, internalized in infancy and remaining usually preconscious, are perfect for this purpose. But the awareness of the potential of the native language through the interpretation of texts increases tremendously, not in the least because the texts subject to such study, the documents of civilization, embody usually a highly refined form of linguistic presentation which distinguishes itself from the everyday spoken means of communication. Being familiar with such texts, and possessing the tools for their interpretation in a traditionally humanistic (but not antiquarian!) framework leads to linguistic stylization, to awareness of expressive alternatives, and to an ability to manipulate language for a specific purpose. Such intensive exposure is essential for meaningful involvement with language, be it in any of its native or foreign forms. Where it is lacking, it makes the study of foreign languages a rather mindless occupation which does not belong to a generally educational (rather than pre-professional) university curriculum.

3. Constants Of Foreign Language Instruction

Some aspects of learning a foreign language are constant and cannot be changed since they depend directly on the nature of this undertaking and of its object. The central experience and the essence of a foreign language is its otherness in expression. The incongruity between one's native language and the foreign language makes the learner highly aware of the linguistic tool, of linguistic expression. The prominence of the tool constitutes a hindrance for freely conveying the intended content; rather than being able to concentrate on what one wants to transmit to the listener(s) one must spend the resources of invention on the mediation between projected message and available linguistic means, particularly in the earlier and middle stages of language learning (the level which undergraduate foreign language studies normally cannot transcend). The acquisition of a functional level of foreign language mastery is very slow, especially if one considers that for grammatical devices to become fully serviceable, their manipulation must have progressed to a level of near-automaticity which does not need conscious encoding of the message: Perfect foreign language command, i.e. full learning success as might

be hoped for from an idealistic pedagogical point of view, presupposes the automatic functioning of the mechanical aspects of surface syntax, parallel to what may be regarded as the qualitatively distinct level of achievement of the linguistically sophisticated native speaker. This process can well be brought to term in individual cases of second language acquisition, but it will typically appear only after long years of direct and constant contact with the reality of this language. Thus in the foreign language classroom this near-native perfection and range of available expressions cannot be a realistic goal. Rather the concern is with the conscious, even though heavy-handed manipulation of the tool, i.e. the grammatical means of expression in the foreign language. Any creative usage which may be made of it is directly related to the degree of mastery already achieved over the tool, which is very limited. The double inhibition of dwarfed productiveness due to the learning situation, together with the reduction in general content level specific to the study of a foreign language, has frequently been hidden behind a screen of substitute creative activities. They are then supposed to produce the desired learning task satisfaction through expressivity, prominently so with the notion of communicative competence. But if the student can achieve understanding, particularly in the artificial classroom environment, the goal of language learning must be seen as achieved from the view of the learner; thus there remains no viable justification on the same basis for insisting on the correct and varied expression in the act of communicating. The communicative emphasis, conversation, writing, etc. from the very beginning of foreign language study cannot fully gloss over the basic frustration of the situation, namely the awareness on the part of the learners that their individual means of expression and comprehension are unnaturally curtailed. Camouflaging in this way the tediousness of foreign language learning seems self-defeating because it eliminates its effectiveness and ultimately its justification.

4. Benefits Of Foreign Language Learning

Intellectual comprehension and conscious analysis as characteristics of the educational college experience can also apply to learning a foreign language. Instead of apologetic dissimulation, foreign language instruction must capitalize on the concrete contributions to this educational process within its reach in the inevitable classroom situation. On an idealistic level, foreign language study thus should be the place where the connections between form and content in linguistic expression become conscious: This is the basic task in the acquisition of a new language. Proper instruction will do nothing more or less than to make the step from the form of one's native language to the meaning conveyed by this form to the new linguistic form in the target language a rational transition. Since the pivotal meaning of utterances is immediately accessible through linguistic form, i.e. the native tongue, foreign language instruction can

be directed squarely at this central transition from native form or meaning to foreign form, rather than leading away from it by leaving the transition unconscious, on the analogy of the presumed way in which children learn the association of meaning with form in their native language. The concentration on the meaning-based transition from the native to the foreign language will bring with it the appropriate concern for language as the medium of thought conveyance, thus connecting foreign language study intricately with the humanistic enterprise of reading, analyzing, understanding, reconstituting the documents of human existence. Foreign language study can be a challenge on the intellectual level, and only in this form can it keep its place where it always used to find it, in the whole of an object-and-human oriented (liberal) education. Contrary to other humanistic disciplines, its tool or mechanical aspect provides an objective standard of correctness, namely the correct expression as it is acceptable to the native speakers of the target language community: It is right or wrong, it means this or that, it implies this or that thought. The accessibility of meaning to any speaker or a language forces precision upon the foreign language learner with regard to the form chosen for an intended meaning effect, where in historical, sociological, etc. studies no such external and interpersonal standard of undebatable exactness is available. In this sense, foreign language study establishes an interesting and important bridge between humanistic and scientific learning tasks, where the tool orientation (i.e. objective precision) is conjoined with the human oriented openness of experience (subjective concern). In brief, foreign language study forms an essential component of a meaningful education.

5. Some Concrete Proposals For Improvement

Such arguments may be a normal way of looking at things from an angle of serene humanism; however they run counter to the prevailing attitude, and particularly to the practice, of foreign language teaching at the college level. The implementation of a more sensible policy of foreign language study involves beyond forceful arguments also concrete suggestions as to what may be changed and what needs special attention.

One of the first tasks which awaits the field of language specific linguistics is the preparation of better materials and reliable analyses in an encyclopedic tradition (i.e. largely above partisan squabbles over theoretical questions) in terms of which the necessary grammatical knowledge can be conveyed to the language learner. Even with well studied languages, there are too many points of factual and descriptive uncertainty whose understanding could unquestionably be improved with a concerted effort; this applies e.g. to a realistic analysis of the past tense usage in the Romance languages, where each available grammar

presents only a small number of aspects of the many which would define a full treatment for instructional purposes. In this sense linguistics is crucially needed for foreign language teaching now as long as it will not result in the imposition of theory-internal devices as psychologically real constructs of human linguistic capacity in second-language teaching. The linguistic results of the interpretation of a particular target language (which are necessarily a function of the general linguistic insights gained to date) are however always essential to language instruction at a level of conscious teaching in the principles of language functioning, as recommended here for the college level.

The classroom activities for successful foreign language instruction cannot be codified rigidly since in principle any activities which allow the learner to gain the necessary information about the object of learning are acceptable. However this knowledge is imparted, it must be, and in a comprehensible way so, about the different types of elements, the pronunciation principles, the endings, the words, the constructions, the way a sentence is put together, the relevant idioms, etc. of the target language. Acting out psychological situations under the heading of language practice may be helpful to the individual or to the class on the level of social interaction, but it has precious little effect on the learning of the foreign language which, after all, is the goal of instruction. The language learner must receive all relevant direct information about the language, and as much linguistic analysis or terminology as is necessary for the rational comprehension of the conceptual difficulty involved in the apprehension of the target language problem. Foreign language instruction should certainly not be a course in linguistics, but it must utilize insights, and thus some concepts, from linguistics to enable students and instructor to establish a communication link about the object of study. Between the target language structure, its counterpart (or lack thereof) in the native language, and the semantic structures which allow to set up a relation between the two phenomena, the immediate hurdle of recognizing and correctly classifying them is best attacked in a straightforward way, and the exegetic tools and sensibilities of the student will remain concomitantly sharpened.

In terms of practical goals such college-worthy language instruction fits directly into the slot of a comprehensive language learning program, encompassing speaking, reading, writing, and listening ability. But instead of treating these skills as (at least partially) separate one from the other, they are approached as direct extensions of the knowledge of the target language as a comprehensive object. The major emphasis will rest on the more reflective reading, understanding, and writing aspects, since these can be tied directly to the analytical understanding, of the foreign language structures. Speaking will receive a derivative treatment as oral rendition of constructed utterances, rather than as utilization of holistic, unanalyzed units of

conversation. At an even more practical level, the many forms of the foreign language morphology must be learned by memorization, as paradigms and simple, usable, formation rules; the innumerable vocabulary items needed for any successful act of communication must be stored in the memory in manageable chunks based on some kind of semantic groupings. There is a need for analytical explanation of syntactic structures, of their meaning, of their use; correct and realistic information about word order and its uses; some insight into the word formation principles which make it possible to enrich the passive and active vocabulary, and so on. But there is no escape from dry memorization, over a short time span, in order to achieve efficient and effective language learning. In this way such information will be stored in a pattern of consciously accessible organization as elements plus utilization principles so that it can be activated also at will; how it will transform itself in the process of true foreign language mastery (when the fluency becomes near-native) is another question which may be left unresolved here since such permanent storage takes place at a later stage of language learning, and it is not directly dependent on a targeted effort on the part of the learner.

The abandonment of drill-dependent fixed response patterns in favor of a perhaps somewhat bookish, but more widely usable structural comprehension and formal production of the foreign language would also imply a shift of emphasis away from the excess of idiomatic expressions frequently found in current text materials, reducing them to the necessary minimum which must be regarded as characteristic of the unaffected target language. The necessary idioms are part of the vocabulary and the syntactic problems to be imparted, whereas the embellishment with all kinds of oblique expressions belongs to a much later level where their stylistic and communicative impact can be correctly assessed by the language user.

If the idiomatic expressions are somehow the linguistically fossilized elements of foreign language culture, the same reticence should be observed in the introduction of language independent cultural concepts as an essential part of foreign language instruction. There is nothing intrinsically inappropriate about it, but such information does not substitute for the actual knowledge of the language. Thus, concentrated knowledge of that tool which allows one to gather information about any topic whatsoever will be the most fruitful vehicle for letting students explore the foreign culture abroad and on their own. Whatever they may have learned about it beforehand may be useful, but it will acquire meaning only at the moment of its testing in the real-world situation. A concrete improvement can be sought in the establishment of shorter and longer stays in a foreign environment. The Year Abroad Programs are not the only excellent opportunities, the shorter summer sessions and institutes in other places and countries are also valuable; and more such opportunities should be created, enabling students to experience foreign culture first hand, with a minimum of technical help

from the home institution. The essential instrument for a successful stay in a foreign language community is the possession of a well-gearred means of communication, i.e. again a good knowledge of the foreign language on which to graft easily and successfully the experience of using this language for everyday needs, in a genuinely idiomatic way, namely as it is done in that community.

The general tenor implied in these remarks will amount to an increase in the difficulty encountered in a foreign language class, a fact which in itself is neither positive nor negative. But this raising of standards could be counterbalanced by the possible shortening of the language learning sequence under appropriate circumstances: From the presently assumed four semesters perhaps one could be cut away and substituted for, given a more focused approach to learning the foreign language, leaving time to be used for other studies in the foreign language field or elsewhere, depending on the student's curricular plans. Rather than representing a boringly long course sequence, foreign language study could become fully competitive again with other academic disciplines at the college also on this count.

In the future a shift of the first foreign language instruction for students with serious interests in a liberal education must be made away from college placing it into (Junior) High School, with the same approach to teaching it, but earlier. Why this shift may function as an improvement is that if the first foreign language learning experience of a serious nature occurs during a period where learning habits can still be set, it must provide more easily the right predisposition for a later successful exegetic attitude at the college level and beyond. Even if the foreign language knowledge will not be utilized further, the mastery gained in the foreign language, and the experience in dealing with a semiotic system of high complexity, remain as valuable benefits. The earlier contact and acquaintance with the foreign language phenomenon makes the higher degree of difficulty not only possible, but absolutely necessary; it will now utilize to its fullest previous experience gained in the same type of activity, reinforce it, and expand and deepen it considerably. The primary function of foreign language teaching in college would thus be for the second, third, etc. such experience, not for the first one; and it would focus thereby also on the rationalization of this process, and its acceleration. While this radical shift in practical function may be utopian given the slow process of changing the High School foreign language teaching (which is in turn dependent on changing college expectations and goals for foreign language fields of concentration) it might nevertheless be possible to institute at the college level a separation between first-contact groups and multiple-exposure students, with mutual benefits for both groups and instruction.

6. Conclusions

To conclude then a series of considerations which are intended to argue for the restoration of the proper place of foreign language learning and teaching at the college level, it is clear that only an educationally and intellectually justifiable approach can be maintained without losing credibility. The questionable status of much language instruction has initially brought me to write these lines. By intellectualizing language learning and teaching it can become once again a valuable university occupation, challenging and interesting. The learning of a foreign language may be arduous, but it is feasible, and it is rewarding if done in the right spirit.

TOWARD A TAXONOMY OF TOPOI ON GERMAN CULTURE

FINK/CHRISTOPH

Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring 1979

With the recession of German studies in American education has come an intensive search for subject matter which might revitalize a failing discipline.¹ Service courses such as "Business German" or "Scientific German" as well as popular appeal courses such as "The German Film" or "The Great Germans" have been designed to strengthen German studies in the academic community. Although bringing some relief from cost-effective doctrines, such courses tend to further disperse a discipline without direction and have little impact on altering the deep-hole specialization into which the field has fallen in the past several decades. Of perhaps greater potential in changing the image of German studies in the academic community are the informal culture materials researched and presented in the local classroom. Unfortunately current grass-roots research in German culture or area studies is not being tested in the public arena of the scholarly journals.² In the present study we hope to initiate such examination by classifying materials found in German culture textbooks. That is, we are not so much concerned with the theory and definition of culture or with the forms of classroom presentation of culture, as with a statement about what have become the standard content areas in German culture learning. It is hoped that our research on the topoi of German culture might aid the mapping of a territory which has received little more than an anecdotal perspective.

It is not our intention to generate new materials on German culture but only to classify materials already existent. Sources for such a study may conveniently be grouped as informal and anecdotal texts used in the classroom,³ official handbooks prepared for the business and military personnel abroad,⁴ and holistic interpretations based on detailed research.⁵ Since the classroom culture materials have an influence on a significant population of Americans, our taxonomy of topoi will treat these sources exclusively as an initial effort in identifying the image of Germany that is being advanced through academic institutions. Ideally classroom texts should be based on available research reports as are the official handbooks and the holistic interpretations. This has, however, not been the case and it seems a fair judgement to state that the academic student of German culture is not as well informed as is his peer who is serving the armed forces or multinational business concerns abroad.⁶ The content of culture texts prepared for academic purposes is not documented and represents at most the collective experiences of the author. In some ways our study might be viewed as an exercise in the sociology of knowledge,⁷ for we are in essence looking at the image of Germany as seen by the American professor of German. This in itself would perhaps be insignificant were it not for the fact that each year this image of Germany is transferred to students across America.

It seems appropriate to begin our taxonomy of topoi in German culture with a short discussion of our research methodology. For our purposes we emphasize four principles which seem suited to the particular state of studies in German culture and which are at the same time appropriate as a humanistic approach. These include the function of topos concepts in research, the topos as a non-aristotelian concept, the nature of subjective classifications, and the Outline of Culture Materials⁸ as a tertium quid for researching cultures.

Perhaps one of the most useful critical tools available to the humanities and the sciences is that of the topos. Its primary function is to give the researcher or teacher a label for distinguishing the commonplaces of knowledge in a particular field from that which is new or original. A topos, or tradiertes Gedankengut, is a standardized information-set accepted by most of the established constituents of a field. On the one hand a topos must be distinguished from what has been labelled "dissensual knowledge,"⁹ and on the other it cannot be confused with other concepts such as cliché, which label triteness and banality. In fact, from the viewpoint of a scholar/teacher, learning topoi is the sum and substance of undergraduate and much of graduate education. In our taxonomy topoi will be judged on the basis of frequency of occurrence and function in the culture text. Examples of topoi of German culture include "the divided Germany," "the land of poets and thinkers," or "the economic miracle." As a final comment regarding the function of a topos it seems necessary to point out that a danger lies in allowing it to serve as a hypothesis which one sets out to support with a host of examples. Often such excess motion continues after the topos has become an accepted reality as has happened in the case of "the divided Germany." Indeed, this particular topos is so much a part of American popular knowledge that its reinforcement in the classroom becomes an unnecessary statement of platitudes, which are usually colored by ideological stances and anecdotal experiences.¹⁰

According to Ernst R. Curtius topoi were historically viewed as "storehouses of trains of thought" and topics was conceived as the science of the topos.¹¹ Topoi were originally helps toward composing orations and with the development of European literature they penetrated all literary genres and became the common denominator of literature in general. Through the course of literary history topoi came to serve as formulas for oratorical and literary behavior in which the stockroom included topoi to serve a variety of situations. They became formulas for introductory and concluding situations as well as for specific psychological situations such as the Boy/Old-Man polarity. As is common knowledge to the field of

literary history such topoi had by the eighteenth century degenerated into empty expressions and, in German literary development, were at first tagged as "Gemeinörter" and later as "Gemeinplätze."¹² What had in fact happened through the course of literary history, from antiquity to the eighteenth century, was a standardization of the inventory of "trains of thought" to the extent that the information-set of a particular topos was replaced by shallow clichés.

Before classifying the "trains of thought" in studies on German culture, it seems necessary to comment on the nature of topos concepts. There are many different kinds of concepts and most disciplines boasting growth today have found recent developments in the field of concept formation helpful for organizing knowledge pertinent to their field. For our purposes it is only important at this time to note the distinction between aristotelian and non-aristotelian concepts.¹³ As most handbooks on logic state, aristotelian concepts are those amenable to classical methods of classification and division. The standard procedure for this method includes three rules: 1) there must be only one fundamentum divisionis at each step, 2) the division must be exhaustive, and 3) the successive steps of the division must proceed by gradual stages.¹⁴ Concepts arrived at through such methods are common to the sciences and are today established largely with the aid of a computer. Such concepts are characterized by their clear borders and their lack of overlap with other concepts. Each entity is uniquely assigned to a concept on an either-or basis allowing for no fringes of meaning or borderline cases. Although such categorization and pigeonholing is in direct conflict with the aspirations of humanistic study, it is indeed the basic procedure for much research in language and literature.¹⁵ Periodization, genre definition, author attribution, phonetics, and of course, all literary data processing are determined with aristotelian logic, despite the exasperating results of such efforts.¹⁶ It is hoped that, since the foreign language profession is at the threshold of holistic research of modern technological societies, emphasis at the outset might be on a humanistic contribution. The investigation of culture by the social sciences is committed to an aristotelian approach. To duplicate such effort would not only involve the academic enterprise in excess motion, but would also normalize methods of the humanities to those of the sciences and thereby strip them of their unique contribution.

Non-aristotelian concepts are characteristically fuzzy-edged and while such concepts always designate general features of an entity, the entity which they tag must forever be allowed overlap with other concepts. Such is the case when one wants to label a certain author as a Romantic, a sound as a particular phone, or when one wants to delimit the Renaissance with a specific set of features. Fortunately, recent developments in the field of concept

formation have shown that non-aristotelian concepts can be of service in a number of disciplines.¹⁷ Some of the concepts which have been found useful include the "ideal type" (Weber, Hempel), "vagueness" (Black, Runes), "porosity and open texture" (Waismann, Zartmann), and "penumbra" (Georgescu-Roegen).¹⁸ To this list we wish to add the topos as a non-aristotelian concept with special value as a critical tool for humanistic research. To delineate the topos of, for example, "German Elitist Education" with a specific number of features, be it 5 or 597, would never do a particular phenomenon such as the Abitur justice, for it is more than a set of exams and examiners. It includes many qualities which cannot be quantized such as the spirit of festivity, the rhythm of ritual, the fear of failure, or the hopes of success. The topos of "German Elitist Education" is found in most discussions of German formal education, yet, rarely is a particular event like the Abitur related to the aura of subject matter on its fringes.¹⁹ Such events overlap with numerous other culture topics such as etiquette training, religious ceremonies, or social ceremonies.

As a third point in our discussion we would like to relate our research methodology to the mainstream of work in the field of systematics.²⁰ Historically the theory of taxonomy has included both the subjective and numerical approaches for developing the affinity or similarity between taxonomic units. However, the traditional subjective taxonomies have recently given way to numerical taxonomies, or systematics, with the advent of computer techniques. However, the mind can appreciate swiftly the overall similarities of morphological details and the subjective or intuitive approach to classification continues to be a successful tool in humanistic research. In the approach of the social sciences to culture the inadequacy of generalizations has traditionally been recognized²¹ and where generalizations fail, science resorts to statistical methods. Today the mainstream of culture research in the social sciences is engaged in collecting data from a statistically representative sample of known cultures in order to test cross-cultural generalizations. The ultimate goal is, of course, to find the correct number of correlations of cultural traits necessary for support of the widespread belief that cultural development proceeds in obedience to sociological laws.²² The aspirations of the social sciences and the methods of systematics are, however, inconsistent with those of the humanities. Our objective then, is to apply the methods of taxonomy most useful for developing non-aristotelian concepts, and to this end we appeal to the strategy used for the typology and classification of languages.²³

The topoi in our taxonomy do not specify isolated cultural phenomena, but include sets of such phenomena. As has been pointed out by Sidney Allen for comparative linguistics,²⁴ the relationships of such sets are not based on either-or, but rather on more-or-less constructions. A.L. Kroeber suggests that in culture and language

study we will have to reconcile ourselves to a different and normally more complex situation, because of the contact influencing, the intrusion and absorption, the hybridizing current on this level of human existence.²⁵ Thus, the primary justification for our emphasizing a non-aristotelian classification is to further the understanding of the human being as a stochastic individual who is at all times the sum of his past and subject to the influence of a random number of events. To classify human existence with aristotelian concepts would confine an event to a particular status within a system. Rather than placing our items in arrangement we are emphasizing that items be placed in process, as is typical of typologies, and that they be left open to further exploration.

There are today a number of comprehensive knowledge systems available for encompassing the complexity of situations in human culture. Semiotics, cybernetics, general systems theory, and general semantics are some examples of attempts at holistic interpretations of human related phenomena.²⁶ These theories have focused on the relationship of signs to a particular code system and to the material and psychological world which they symbolize.²⁷ Although these theories are indispensable for a thorough understanding of culture, the maps of culture and culture grids seem more suitable for a preliminary organization of information available on German culture.²⁸ That is, for purposes of drawing up a taxonomy of topoi in German culture we have found the abstract parameters of grids and maps more useful than the theories of holistic systems. We have therefore chosen the Outline of Culture Materials as the background against which to paint our taxonomy of topoi.²⁹ Its usefulness as a tertium quid for teaching and researching culture in the foreign language profession has been noted previously,³⁰ but it has not yet been exploited as a practical tool for organizing research on German culture.

Although the Outline was developed by the social sciences as a tool for cross-cultural comparison for purposes of statistically supporting sociological laws, its usefulness as a tertium quid for humanistic research in culture is also readily apparent. Among the more obvious values of the Outline as a standard for comparison is 1) the standardization of terminology, 2) the cross-referencing of subject categories, and 3) the identification of culture categories not obvious to the imagination of the individual researcher. Of special importance to our study is the third value since a casual perusal of German culture learning texts shows a selection of topics which is not culture sensitive but is instead very broad and easily classed as commonplace knowledge. It is hoped then that the outline reprinted in Appendix II may serve the reader as a guide to future research in German culture.

Important to the following compilation of culture topoi is the criterion for their selection and the nature of the texts from which they were selected. The selection of topoi was not intended to reflect the entire range of tradiertes Gedankengut but focuses on those topoi with which the textbook writer assumed to present a synthetic view of Germany. Since most writers restrict this view to the "Germany" and the "Germans" of today, a second criterion called for the selection of topoi along synchronic rather than diachronic lines. With regard to the texts listed in Appendix I the reader might bear in mind the varying functions of a classroom text, a factor which plays a decisive role in both the nature and representation of culture material. We differentiate primarily those texts aimed at second-language learning, like Blickpunkt Deutschland (7)³¹ or Quer durchs deutsche Leben (1), and those texts dealing exclusively with culture learning like Die komplizierten Deutschen (2) or Deutsche Jugend von heute (6). In the former the material serves primarily as a vehicle for language learning and usually ignores even basic critical standards for evaluating a foreign culture. The latter, however, has as its sole purpose the dissemination of information which ostensibly leads the student to a synthetic understanding of German culture. In keeping with our distinction between synchronic and diachronic selection texts such as Kurt Reinhardt's Germany: 2000 Years³² have not been included in our consideration of culture topoi. Needless to say, many topoi of the contemporary German scene such as the "land of poets and thinkers" have their origins in earlier epochs of German history. In fact, such commonplaces are thoroughly grounded in Germany's tradition and one might seriously ask if they have a place in any deliberations of contemporary German culture.

1) Topos of Introduction. Common to virtually all texts considered is the attempt to arrive at a definition of the German national character. This device serves to introduce more specific areas of discussion. Through a differentiation of German culture along geographical lines the writer arrives ultimately at the concept of Mannigfaltigkeit with which he describes the German national character. An assumed need to bury the doctrine of national and ethnic unity, fostered during the years of National Socialism, seems to play at least as much of a role as the writer's desire to introduce the object of his discussion. This object, the German himself, constitutes a topos in and of itself, the deutsche Potpourri.

2) Das deutsche Potpourri. "Der sauflostige Bayer" or "der aggressive Berliner" (5) are labels used in distinguishing the diverse elements of German national character. This labelling process is wide-spread among the various culture texts and occasionally occurs with some innovation such as comments on regional humor. For example,

the Berlin jokes are supposedly intellectual and end in a sharp "Pointe" while those of the Bavarian are crude and often display a "Grobheit" (9).³³ Following such preliminary discussion the typical German culture text usually introduces the notion of Germany's Phoenix-like rebirth after World War II.

3) Das Jahr Null. This topos designates Germany's complete economic, social, and political restoration after 1945 and symbolizes the commonly held notion that post-1945 Germany is a unique and radically altered phenomenon entirely divorced from its cultural heritage.³⁴ As a topos, it conveniently ignores the fact that no social order, including post-1945 Germany, can be a product of spontaneous generation alone. The topos allows the writer not only to synthesize contemporary Germany as a wholly new epoch in its history, but also serves as an introduction to further topoi, such as the German economic miracle and the problem of a divided Germany.

4) Das Wirtschaftswunder. This topos appears with the motto "die Deutschen warteten ja nur darauf, wieder arbeiten zu können," (5) and symbolizes Germany's startling economic recovery after World War II. The topos is discussed in terms of American aid and the traditional German work ethic. Rather than taking the opportunity to enlighten the reader's possible misconception regarding this phenomenon, the culture texts are inclined to leave the stereotype of the German work horse intact. Too rarely mentioned, for example, are such relevant facts that Germany was able to allocate all of its allotted Marshall Plan aid to economic recovery, whereas recipients like France and Great Britain were forced to allocate much of their aid to the maintenance of NATO forces.³⁵ The topos of the economic miracle in Germany usually serves to introduce the most consistently treated topos in German culture texts, the division of Germany.

5) Zweimal Deutschland. The phenomenon of a divided Germany and a microcosm of global ideological confrontation constitutes a topos which allows the writer to synthesize much of Germany's present-day political and social situation along personal ideological lines. Comments encountered in the discussions of the DDR range from such patronizing disclaimers as "die in der DDR sind auch Menschen," (10) to outright criticism of the communist regime. The writer's failure to divorce ideological preconceptions and value judgments from objective representation of facts supply him with negative judgments about the relative poverty in the DDR and the inhumane treatment of its inhabitants. Bertolt Brecht and the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm are the only instances where a positive, if not admiring, aspect of the DDR emerges. One suspects that this is due less to any intrinsic admiration of cultural achievement in the DDR than to the fact that Brecht had risen to international fame long before 1945. In fact, the whole area of German intellectual and cultural achievements represents a topos by itself.

6) Land der Dichter und Denker. This topos includes discussion of such notables as Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Beethoven, and Bach and seems to have a dual function in the texts. First, it introduces discussion of the Germans' love and active support for the fine and performing arts, which the writers often contrast with an assumed lack of aesthetic culture in other countries. Secondly, the topos seems to balance the image of the barbaric "Hun" which still exists as a functional image of the German in the eyes of many non-Germans. It is perhaps unique to American professional textbook writers that they have been inclined to counterbalance the "Hollywood" German from war movies with a set of intellectual, aesthetic and sensitive strawmen.

7) Wanderlust. This topos deals with the Germans' traditional fascination with travel and foreign countries. As manifestations of the German Wanderlust, most texts mention the more traditional Bildungsreisen and wandern along with the more modern phenomena of camping and Kilometerfressen, i.e. seeing as much as possible as quickly as possible. The topos tends to emphasize the German attitude towards physical exercise and movement in terms of building one's character and body rather than German competitive athletics.

8) Die Eliteschule. Although the German educational system is discussed in every culture text considered, the Oberschule, or Gymnasium constitutes a topos by itself. It commands a disproportionately large amount of space in most discussions of German education. Although an American audience may not be familiar with the role of the Gymnasium in the German educational system, it is difficult to justify the prevailing elitism encountered in nearly every discussion of German education. Typical statements encountered in the texts include the observation that "wer in eine Oberschule will, muß eine Aufnahmeprüfung bestehen, und Lehrer an der Grundschule müssen seine Aufnahme empfehlen," (5) or "mehr Verwundete und Tote sind im Kampf um das Glorreiche Abitur gefallen als solche, die es geschafft haben." (6). This topos, usually cites the small percentage of graduates from the Gymnasium, reinforcing the notion of elitist education and at the same time introducing the American student to his counterpart in the German university.

9) Universitätsreform. In this topos we see almost the antithesis to the regimentation demonstrated in the lower schools and the Gymnasium. Any discussion of the German university and its student body will focus on the anti-authoritarian note running through German higher education today. The students are presented as radical demonstrators, protesting against such problems as limited housing facilities, lack of adequate planning in areas of study, lack of student input in the promotion process for faculty, and overcrowded conditions, which have led to the policy of numerus clausus. Generally, the topos seeks to illustrate a greater degree of independence and democratic responsibility than was the case during the nineteenth century. Unfortunately the emphasis placed

on the anti-authoritarian developments in German higher education often leads to precisely the opposite conclusion; namely, that German universities are infiltrated with radical anarchists out to destroy the foundations of the German university system. It does, however, perform its function of relating to the American student his German counterpart as well as the conditions under which the German student pursues a course of study.

10) Die Massenmedien. This topos deals with the dissemination of information in Germany and is generally divided along the lines of press, television, and radio. The discussion of the German press ranges from society tabloids, like the Bunte Illustrierte, to the more staid and "stuffy" Süddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine. The discussion of German television will usually contrast the American-imported Western and detective shows with the German-produced opera and theatre performances, interview programs, and documentaries. The same holds true for discussions of German radio programs, which are characterized as having more news programs, political discussions, and documentary information. The three aspects of this topos tend to have a two-fold function. First, the German is shown to prefer intellectual stimulation from his mass media, and secondly, the topos tends to emphasize the importance of a democratic Meinungsaustausch in contemporary German life. This last function implies the difference between the authoritarian pre-1945 German and the fully democratized contemporary German. Unfortunately, the topos achieves little more than to replace one stereotype with another.

11) Der gesellige Deutsche. This topos seeks to illustrate the German' tendency and fondness for socializing in groups, whether informally in a beer hall, a Weinstube, or in formal Liebhabergruppen, such as singing or hiking clubs. Underlying all discussion of these social activities is the notion of the Germans as "gesellige Menschen." (5). This discussion of socialization is further reflected in the topoi of the family and German youth.

12) Kinder, Küche, Kirche. This topos deals with the German family as the basic unit of society. It seeks to characterize the changing relationship between man and woman as well as the value-system under which they operate. The father, for example, is no longer the Haustyrann, nor is the contemporary German woman's role confined to the traditional domains of Kinder, Küche, Kirche. This topos voices the assumption that a healthy family unit will bring about a healthy society and vice versa. By implication, it seeks to destroy the authoritarian image of German family life.

13) Engagierte Jugend. No topos tends to affirm the theory of a new, democratic, and internationalized Germany more than the notion of a concerned and active youth, which despises hypocrisy and lies. (6). The topos of the engagierte Jugend along with the topos of

Kinder, Küche, Kirche illustrates in a microcosm what the writer considers to be true of contemporary Germany as a whole; namely, that it has become fully democratized and americanized and is therefore impervious to the evils of tyranny. Some tradition-bound aspects of German society, like the proverbial love for order, are, however, allowed to remain in the discussion.

14) Ordnung muß sein. This topos represents the German affinity for regulated order in public and private life. Texts generally show how Regeln and Vorschriften are an accepted and cultivated aspect of German every-day life. Whether it be at the post office, the train station, or in the park, Ordnung is evident everywhere. The fact that the great population density in Germany almost necessitates such artificial regulation of social interaction and of the environment is rarely mentioned. The majority of the texts, however, are content with using the topos of order for explaining the cleanliness and efficiency found in Germany.

The preceding classification represents the most commonly encountered parameters used by textbook writers to synthesize contemporary German culture. The criteria which the individual writer employs to select his material are not always apparent, although there seem to be at least three factors governing the particular direction of an author's trains of thought. The writer may wish to reproduce his own reminiscences of German culture in the form of fictionalized interviews or dialogues, as is the case in Deutsche Jugend von heute (6). In this type of presentation the most glaring feature is an almost total lack of documentation with which the reader could separate subjective impression from objective reality. Secondly, the writer may engage in trying to anticipate his clientele and will select his material according to what he believes will be entertaining. This type of selection and presentation often leads to a somewhat sophomoric approach to German culture, as in Typisch Deutsch? (3). The latter type engages almost exclusively in a battle of clichés and stereotypes. Finally, the demands of the publishers as well as the current professional climate of opinion will dictate the type of material the author deals with. An example of this is found in Contemporary German Life (10) where the author seeks to capitalize on current interest in Brechtian literature and in Marxist interpretation.

The lack of documentation, the desire to entertain, and the professional climate of opinion all seem to have dictated the present state of subject matter in German culture texts. The foremost problem for the future seems to be the generation of materials which will show greater variety and will at the same time be more culture sensitive. An outline for culture material has been included in Appendix II to illustrate the possible range of culture research. In order

to indicate the areas in need of research Appendix III matches the topoi against this universal set of distinctive features. Some of the gaps in the matrix are in desperate need of research, if German studies in America hope to make a meaningful contribution to the understanding of a modern technological society. It seems that American higher education could benefit from a holistic understanding of a complex society such as Germany. While the linguist and the literary critic have been refining the tools of their trade, the anthropologist has been captivated by primitive societies and the sociologist has been searching for laws of social change. The number of primitive societies is decreasing, as are the number of possible interpretations of Rilke's Der Panther. While the linguist and the sociologist continue to abstract rules and laws from culture, the foreign language profession might offset the divisive forces of these sciences by synthesizing foreign cultures similar in complexity to American society.³⁶ In which other profession is there sufficient language expertise to undertake such a task?

NOTES

¹For a popular publication of statistics on the decline in student enrollment in foreign languages see The Chronicle of Higher Education, November 3, 1975, p. 11. Among the modern languages German fell the most with a 14 percent drop between 1972 and 1974. The overall decline in all languages was 6.2 percent. The trend has been to introduce materials generally considered within the purview of the social sciences as is apparent when contrasting the section on culture found in Eberhard Reichmann's The Teaching of German (Philadelphia: National Carl Schurz Association, 1970), pp. 68-83 and 268-280, with those found in the more recent works by Genelle G. Morain, "Culture Pluralism" in Britanica Review of Foreign Language Education, ed. Dale Lange (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1971), pp. 59-95, and by Howard L. Nostrand, "Empathy for a Second Culture" in Responding to New Realities, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1974), pp. 263-327.

²Although "culture" has become a popular cover term for the current quest for new subject matter, it has a long tradition in the foreign language profession under the rubric area studies as outlined in Robert J. Matthew's Language and Area Studies in the Armed Services (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1947), or more recently in Charles Jelavich's anthology on Language and Area Studies: East Central and Southeastern Europe. A Survey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

³For a list of these texts see Kathryn Buck and Arthur Haase's Textbooks in German, 1942-1973 (New York: Modern Language Association, 1973).

⁴Although well-documented handbooks such as the U.S. Army Area Handbook for Germany, 2nd ed., by Norman C. Walpole, et. al. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964) or The West German Economy, 2nd ed. published by the Deutsches Industrieinstitut (Köln: Deutscher Industrieverlag, 1961) contain some prescriptive statements, they also contain sound information on German culture.

⁵There are very few good holistic interpretations of modern technologically advanced societies. As examples we might cite George Spindler's Burgbach: Urbanization and Identity in a German Village (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973) and Ernst Marboe's The Book of Austria, Trans. G.E.R. Geyde, (Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1948).

⁶For a criticism of textbooks written for German culture learning see Karl J. Fink's inclusive review in Unterrichtspraxis, 8 (1975), pp. 158-169.

⁷See Robert K. Merton's The Sociology of Science (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) for a discussion of various institutionalized patterns in academia such as the referee system used to assess the acceptability of materials submitted for publication. Also essential to the study of the American image of a foreign culture are various sections found in The Analysis of Subjective Culture, ed. Harry C. Triandis (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1972).

⁸George P. Murdock, et. al. 4th ed. (New Haven, Connecticut; Human Relations Area Files, 1961).

⁹For a discussion of new or "dissensual knowledge" see Frank Pinner's "The Crisis of the State Universities: Analysis and Remedy" in The American College ed. Nevitt Sanford (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1962), pp. 940-971.

¹⁰For a textbook example of "the divided Germany" topos which has been driven to the point of banality see Kultur und Alltag, ed. Harold von Hofe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 1.

¹¹Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), pp. 70, 79-105.

¹²According to Joachim H. Campe's Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1808), Vol. 2. p. 302, the former term is a literal translation of the Latin locus communis and the latter is from the English commonplace. Both German terms are unfavorable translations in that they fail to grasp the original value of the concept as a critical tool for the science of topics.

¹³See, for example, George Mandler and William Kessen, The Language of Psychology, (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1959) or Robert Bierstedt's "Nominal and Real Definitions in Sociological Theory," in Symposium on Sociological Theory, ed. L. Gross, (Evanston, Ill.: Row & Peterson 1959), pp. 121-144. On significant developments in concept formation see Ernan McMullin's "Recent Work in the Philosophy of Science," New Scholasticism, 40 (1966), pp. 479-517. On non-aristotelian forms of thought see Alfred Korzybski's Science and Sanity, 4th ed. (Lakeville, Conn.: Non-aristotelian Library, 1973). Discussion of specific non-aristotelian concepts and concept formation in general are taken from handouts in Professor J.W. Marchand's privatissimum on Concept Formation at the University of Illinois in the fall of 1972.

¹⁴See Kenneth Burke's A Grammar of Motives and a Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Meridian, 1962), pp. 408 ff. for a discussion of aristotelian methods of division and differentiation.

¹⁵For a discussion of the problem of aristotelian concepts in language studies see J.W. Marchand's "Proto-, Pre- and Common: A Problem in Definition," in Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renée Kahane, eds. Braj B. Kachur, et. al. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 644-57. A similar discussion of concepts in literature was presented in the paper "On Defining the Renaissance - A Humanistic Approach" given by James W. Marchand and Karl J. Fink at the Central Renaissance Conference in Columbia, Missouri in April, 1974.

¹⁶H.O. Taylor so despaired of arriving at a definition of the concept Renaissance that he prided himself in not using the concept once in his two volumes on Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century (New York: Macmillan, 1920), pp. vii-xi.

¹⁷As examples we might cite Ernst Cassirer on "Some Remarks on the Question of the Originality of the Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas, 4 (1943), pp. 49-56, and Morris Weitz on "The Role of Theory in Aesthetics," in Problems in Aesthetics, ed. Morris Weitz (New York: Macmillan, 1959), pp. 145-56.

¹⁸For a survey of various kinds of non-aristotelian concepts see Francis Zartman's Definition and Open Texture (University of Illinois Dissertation, 1964) and Carl G. Hempel's "Typological Methods in the Social Sciences," in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, ed. Maurice Natanson (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 210-230.

¹⁹For a discussion of "fringes of mental objects" or "unseen horizons" one may search writings on the philosophy of phenomenology such as those by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, The Primacy of Perception, trans. James M. Edie in Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology & Existential Philosophy (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964), pp. 12-42, and William James' Psychology (New York: Harper & Row, 1961, p. 30 ff. cf. also recent developments in mathematics, such as "fuzzy set theory."

²⁰A look at Robert R. Sokal and Peter H. Sneath's Principles of Numerical Taxonomy (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1963), and Satosi Watanabe's Knowing and Guessing (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), will provide the reader with a fine survey of the field of systematics.

²¹A perfect example of alternatives to generalizations in culture studies is found in Johann Christian Herder's Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, vols. 13 & 14 (Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887) in his discussion of North American culture. In his search for culture diversity the statistical approach is secondary to principles of diffusionism and polygenesis which circumvents the necessity of making generalizations.

²²The problems of drawing correlations of cultural traits for supporting sociological laws are discussed in Raoul Narroll's "Two Solutions to Galton's Problem" in Readings in Cross-cultural Methodology, ed. Frank Moore (New Haven, Conn.: 1961), pp. 221-245.

²³For a short bibliography see W.S. Allen's "Classification and Languages," Classification Society Bulletin, 1 (1965), pp. 13-21.

²⁴Allen, "Relationship in Comparative Linguistics," Transactions of the Philological Society, (1953), pp. 52-108.

²⁵Kroeber, "Statistics, Indo-European, and Taxonomy," Language, 36 (1960), p. 20.

²⁶The standard works attempting holistic descriptions of Man as a human and biological being include Umberto Eco's La Struttura Assenta: Introduzione alla ricerca Semiologica (Milano: Bompiani, 1968, Norbert Wiener's The Human Use of Human Beings (New York: Avon Books, 1967), Ludwig von Bertalanffy's General System Theory (New York: G. Braziller, 1968), and Korzbski's work in general semantics (see note 16).

²⁷For a general discussion of code systems see Colin Cherry's On Human Communication, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971).

²⁸See, for example, Edward T. Hall's The Silent Language (New York: Doubleday, 1959), p. 222, for an illustrative map of culture.

²⁹The Outline (see note 9).

³⁰See James W. Marchand's "The Culture Component in Second Language Teaching," Studies in Language Learning, 1 (1975), p. 6.

³¹Culture texts will be referenced by number as listed in Appendix I.

³²(New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1971).

³³An excellent survey of German regional humor can be found in Herbert Schöffler's Kleine Geographie des deutschen Witzes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955).

³⁴Recent historiography found in Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave's (eds.) Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970) has pointed out that the difference between normal and revolutionary change in the political sphere is only one of degree. See in particular Stephen Toulmin's section on "Does the Distinction between Normal and Revolutionary Science Hold Water?" pp. 39-50.

³⁵This point of view on Germany's economic recovery is discussed in Karl W. Deutsch and Lewis J. Edinger's Germany Rejoins the Powers (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 145-167.

³⁶Historically Goethe's ethnography of Das Römische Karneval (Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1906), Pt. I, Vol. 32, pp. 223-71, might serve as a model while more recent examples of ethnographies of modern complex society might be found in James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy's The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in Complex Society (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972).

Appendix I

German Culture Learning Texts

- 1) Bauer, Eric W. Brigitt. Quer durchs deutsche Leben. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
- 2) Drath, Viola Herms. Die Komplizierten Deutschen: intime Konversationen. Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell, 1967.
- 3) Drath, Viola Herms and Otto G. Graf. Typisch deutsch. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.
- 4) Hofe, Harold von, ed. Kultur und Alltag. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1973.
- 5) Koepke, Wulf. Die Deutschen: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- 6) Marcus, Eric. Deutsche Jugend von heute. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
- 7) Moeller, Jack, et. al. Blickpunkt Deutschland. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.
- 8) Weiss, Gerhard and Charlotte Anderson. Begegnung mit Deutschland. New York: Dodd, Mead and Col, 1970.
- 9) Zimmermann, Jon E., et. al. Contemporary German Life. New York: McGraw - Hill, 1975.

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ENGLISH IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF INDIA

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Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring 1979

0. INTRODUCTION

In its long history of over three and a half millennia, the Indian subcontinent has had primarily three languages of wider communication, Sanskrit, Persian, and English. At least two features are shared by all these languages: one, they have all been 'imposed' languages, and two, they have all been languages of the educated elite.¹ In the light of the second fact, it is important to keep in mind from the very outset that the term 'language of wider communication' does not mean the language used by the masses in different parts of the country to communicate with each other. In the long history of multilingualism in India, there has never existed such a language nor is there likely to emerge one in the future. Hence, when we talk about a language of wider communication, we are referring to a language that is used by that section of society which, by virtue of better education and socio-political aspirations, seeks to achieve greater mobility. Over the last 200 years in India the chief instrument for achieving this goal has been the English language. The present paper adduces copious evidence to show that English continues to enjoy this role, despite its non-native origin.

As the official language of the administration, the legislature and the judiciary at the higher levels, as the lingua franca of professionals in almost every specialized field, as the medium of higher education, as a link language between the linguistically separated states of the Republic, and finally, as an international language, English occupies an exalted position as the language of the elite, symbolizing power, knowledge, sophistication and mobility. 'It's spoken by less than 2 percent of the population and yet, by virtue of intellectual support and scatter it commands the loyalty of the educated elite in most Indian states (Das Gupta, 1959:583).' In this respect, the role of English in India has many analogues, past and present. Greek in antiquity, Latin in the Middle Ages, Anglo-French after the Norman Conquest in England, the Francophonie and Anglophonie of some African countries, Russian and Peking Chinese in contemporary U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, all remind us that the position of English in present day India is not unique.

The role of English in India has been discussed from many points of view. (For a comprehensive account, see Sridhar (1977); see also Kachru (1969, 1978); Ram Gopal (1966); Shah (1968), among others.) In the present paper an attempt is made to present some selected aspects of the role of English as the language of wider communication in India. The following areas are selected for study: publication (section 1); broadcasting (section 2); journalism (section 3); administration (section 4); the legal system (section 5); education (section 6); and creative writing (section 7).

1. PUBLICATION

1.1 Book Production

One of the most impressive pieces of evidence for the pre-eminent role of English as an instrument for pan-Indian (and international) communication is the fact that for several years now, more books have been produced in English than in any other Indian language. According to the Indian National Bibliography, over the last 15 years the largest number of books--53,212 (31.6 percent)--were in English. Hindi was a distant second with 26,772 (16 percent). Table 1 below gives a more detailed comparative picture of the number of books published in English and 13 national languages of India during the years 1969 to 1973 (UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1975:462).

TABLE 1
BOOK PRODUCTION IN ENGLISH AND THE
NATIONAL LANGUAGES OF INDIA
(1969-1973)

Languages	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
English	4842	4666	5429	5723	6183
Hindi	2723	2641	1871	2794	1814
Bengali	1082	1048	971	949	1140
Marathi	1237	1134	966	1150	1085
Tamil	802	955	895	680	1089
Gujarati	871	740	710	680	630
Telugu	429	739	663	381	327
Malayalam	551	515	660	466	478
Kannada	472	554	490	205	616
Punjabi	225	419	389	327	138
Urdu	156	260	216	206	103
Oriya	138	205	194	478	---
Sanskrit	104	60	92	75	54
Assamese	97	192	59	342	259
Total	13,729	14,126	13,605	14,456	14,029
Percentage of Books in English	35.02	33.03	39.90	39.59	44.73

A careful consideration of Table 1 reveals some interesting facts. During the years in question, books in English accounted for over one-third the total number of books published, and in 1973 (the latest year for which we have the figures), nearly one-half the total comprised books in English.

Second, while the number of books published in most of the national languages DECREASED for some reason over the years, the corresponding figure for English actually INCREASED.

Here it may be noted that in 1971, India produced more books in English than 47 other countries included in a comparative study by the UNESCO (including Canada, New Zealand, Japan, South Africa, and the USSR. (UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1975). What is more interesting is the percentage of total books which were in English--in the case of India, it was 39.9 percent, whereas in the USSR, for example, it was only 0.02 percent. This is a clear indication of the fact that English plays a relatively more important role in India than in other countries included in the study.

1.2 PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

It is frequently claimed that India should retain English if only because the professionals in the country are crucially dependent on that language for the dissemination of technical information in their specialized fields. This is also the argument that even the staunchest critics of English find most convincing. There is ample evidence for the veracity of this claim in the statistics on the publication of professional journals in India. During 1971 for example, 94 out of 127 scientific journals published in India (approximately 74 percent) appeared in English. Even more impressive is the circulation of the English-language journals. In 1971, the science journals in English commanded a combined circulation of 139,000 copies, while the circulation of science journals in Hindi was 29,000 copies (Press in India, 1972).

Turning to journals in the fields of engineering and technology, once again we find overwhelming preference for English. For the year in question, 172 out of 208 journals published in India in these fields (approximately 83 percent) were in English.

The claim of the advocates of English that English is a 'window on the world' is substantiated by the figures on the number of translations of works in foreign languages. In 1972, for example, translations of works in English accounted for 334 out of 779 (approximately 42 percent) translations, followed by Russian with 48 (approximately 6 percent; UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1975).

2. BROADCASTING

After independence, the needs of development, the requirements of extensive mass information, the importance of bringing the whole country together, and emergencies such as foreign aggressions brought about a rapid increase in broadcasting facilities in the country. By 1971 the total number of broadcasting stations in the country was 69, and the number of transmitters in operation, 138. This is a considerable improvement over the position in 1947 when there were only half a dozen radio stations in the country and about a dozen transmitters with about 275,000 radio sets for the then population of 320 million people.

The Government-controlled News Services Division of All India Radio is one of the largest radio news organizations in the world. At the end of 1971, 236 news bulletins in 18 languages, 33 tribal dialects, and 14 foreign languages were being put on the air every 24 hours. The distribution of bulletins broadcast every day is given in Table 2 (Chatterjee, 1973:78). Once again, we notice that English (along with Hindi) functions as the chief medium for dissemination of information in India. The equal rank of Hindi with English in this domain is undoubtedly attributable to the patronage of the government.

TABLE 2
LANGUAGE-WISE BREAKDOWN OF NEWS
SERVICES OF ALL INDIA RADIO

	No. of Bulletins		No. of Bulletins
<u>Indian Language</u>		<u>Hindi Regional Service</u>	
<u>News Bulletins</u>		<u>Youth Service</u>	
Hindi	18	Hindi	1
English	18	English	1
Assamese	3		
Bengali	3	<u>Flash Bulletins In The</u>	
Dogri	2	<u>Vividh Bharati</u>	
Gorkhali	1	<u>(Entertainment) Channel</u>	
Gujarati	3	Bengali	3
Kannada	3	Urdu	3
Kashmiri	2		
Marathi	3	<u>Slow-speed Bulletin</u>	
Malayalam	3	English	1
Nepa-Assemese	1		
Oriya	3	<u>TV Bulletins</u>	
Punjabi	3	Hindi	1
Sindhi	2	English	1
Telugu	3		
Tamil	3		
Urdu	3		

3. JOURNALISM

The press in India is a complex institution, comprised of publications in a large number of languages, including the major Indian languages and English. The newspaper is the most popular medium of mass communication, and, according to Rau (1974), 'India continued to be the second largest publisher of daily newspapers in the world in 1970, with 695 daily newspapers (p. v).'

The comparative figures for the distribution of newspapers in English and other Indian languages and their circulation convey an idea of the important role played by English in the Indian press. Table 3 gives a language-wise distribution of newspapers in India for the year 1973 (India: A Reference Annual, 1975:114).

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS
(1973)

Language	Dailies	Tri-/Bi- Weeklies	Weeklies	Others	Total 1973
English	75	7	303	2,108	2,493
Hindi	255	27	1,595	1,463	3,340
Assamese	3	1	9	25	38
Bengali	17	6	182	579	784
Gujarati	34	3	151	411	599
Kannada	47	2	116	167	332
Kashmiri	--	--	1	---	1
Malayalam	65	1	81	341	488
Marathi	78	5	251	405	739
Oriya	7	--	18	115	140
Punjabi	18	--	104	141	263
Sanskrit	1	--	2	20	23
Sindhi	5	--	24	38	67
Tamil	86	3	93	398	580
Telugu	14	--	113	278	405
Urdu	92	6	500	392	990
Bilingual	21	6	258	728	1,013
Multilingual	4	1	48	173	226
Others	8	--	26	98	132
Total	830	68	3,875	7,880	12,653

Table 3 shows that newspapers in English accounted for nearly a fifth (19.7 percent) of the total number of newspapers published in India in 1973. With respect to the number of daily newspapers, however, English comes after Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, and Marathi. This picture, based on the absolute number, is, however, misleading. The real clue to the role of English in disseminating information in India is to be found in the circulation of English-language dailies vis-a-vis that of newspapers in other languages. Here we see that the English language newspapers commanded the highest circulation (8,346,000 copies, or 23.7 percent), with Hindi coming a close second (with 7,756,000, or 22 percent). It may be noted that the circulation of English language newspapers has been steadily growing for the past several years. The relevant figures for 1968-73 are presented in Table 4 (India: A Reference Annual, 1975:114).

TABLE 4
CIRCULATION OF ENGLISH PAPERS (1968-73)

(in thousands)

Year	Dailies	*Weeklies	Others	Total
1968	18,86	10,16	37.92	66.94
1969	19,53	12,11	38.15	64.79
1970	20,90	15,50	35,38	71,73
1971	22,22	13,09	34,72	70,03
1972	21,83	15,10	40,79	77,72
1973	22,37	16,79	44,30	83,46

*Including tri- and bi-weeklies.

The lion's share of circulation enjoyed by the English language dailies may be attributed to two factors. One, English dailies are published in every part of the country, while dailies in the national languages and Hindi are, for the most part, published in the respective language areas in question. Second, some of the daily newspapers in English enjoy a broad-based, pan-Indian clientele, while the regional language newspapers, by and large, circulate in their respective language areas. It may be worth adding that a large number of educated Indians prefer to get their daily news from the English language press while relying on periodicals in Hindi and other regional languages for non-news material (short stories, etc.). This claim is supported by the fact that in 1973, for example, the weeklies in Hindi enjoyed the largest circulation (2,776,000) as against that (1,679,000) of English language weeklies.

4. ADMINISTRATION

During the British rule and until the new Constitution took effect (Jan. 26, 1950), English was the official language and therefore the language of administration. The Constitution designated 'Hindi in the Devanagari script' as the official language of the Union. Under Article 343 of the Constitution, English was to continue as the official language of the Centre for 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution, but a state could, if it so desired, substitute a regional language or languages for English at the state level. And within a few years some states (particularly some Hindi-speaking states) enacted laws recognizing the regional language or Hindi as the official language at the state level. However, it was soon realized that there were too many problems in the way of a quick and complete switchover to the state language for administrative purposes. Some of these problems were of a general nature, such as the presence of linguistic minorities accounting for a substantial percentage of the state population. Many others were of a practical nature, arising from the character of the administrative set-up. The following are some of the typical stumbling blocks encountered in the switch-over process.

a. Lack of mobility: Under the British rule, several All-India Services had been created, and a civil servant belonging to one of these services was liable to be transferred to a region where the predominant language was different from his mother-tongue. Since the language of administration was English, the regional linguistic background of the officer was of no significance. However, the switch-over to Hindi or the state language imposed a restriction on the free movement of civil servants.

b. Problem of terminology: Most of the administrators and official personnel had been trained for their jobs mainly through the medium of English. They had always used the administrative jargon of English for official work; for years they had been reading English language newspapers; even the Congress resolutions were drafted and discussed in English. Official writing is done mechanically and administrators found it difficult to create and employ a new idiom at the behest of the government.

c. English as a status symbol: There was yet another reason for the officers' attachment to English. Their knowledge of English was usually better than that of their subordinates and they asserted their superiority by using English with their subordinates, even if both belonged to the same linguistic region; for fluency in English still commands awe and admiration in many circles.

d. Bureaucratic impediments: Finally, there were technical problems that had not been anticipated. There was a scarcity of stenographers, typists, and typewriters in Hindi and the regional languages which slowed down the official work considerably. Also, these languages lacked in technical terminology appropriate for the 'register' of modern administration.

The framers of the Constitution were quite aware of the fact that English could not be replaced by Hindi immediately, even at the Central government level. Therefore, Article 348 of the Constitution laid down that the 'authoritative texts' of the following types of documents had to be in English:

- (a) All bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either house of Parliament or in either house of the legislature of a state;
- (b) All acts passed by Parliament or the legislature of a state and all ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor of a state;
- (c) All orders, rules, regulations and bylaws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or legislature of a state.

However, these guarantees seemed to be threatened as the date set by the Constitution for the switch-over from English to Hindi as the official language of the Union came nearer. The violent opposition to Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking states in 1966-67 forced the Central Government to respond with the Amended Official Languages Act, the details of which are spelled out in the following excerpt from the Times of India (Aug. 7, 1967):

The Amended Official Languages Act will provide that English be continued to be used in correspondence between the centre and the states which have not accepted Hindi as their official language and between states which have not done so . . . both English and Hindi must be used for Central Government orders, press notes, administrative and other reports, licenses, permits, agreements, tender forms, etc. . . .

Against this background it is interesting to examine the role played by English in some aspects of the administration, as revealed by the available statistics. The first of these concerns the language of Central and State Government publications. According to the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1975, a total of 398 publications were put out by the Central and State Governments during the years 1969-73. Of these, 191 were in English, 81 in Hindi, and the rest

in other national languages. Another interesting fact comes from the Report of the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. According to that report, nearly half of the total money spent by the Government of India on advertisements went to English language newspapers. Also, almost all the telegrams (2,662) sent by the Ministry of Education to the State Governments and other offices were in English; only 20 were in Hindi. These facts indicate that even the Government, despite its avowed policy to promote the use of Hindi as the official language, relies very heavily on English for its day-to-day transactions.

5. LEGAL SYSTEM

In the 1830's, when the East India Company decided ' . . . to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments . . .,' law and justice was excluded from this rule, as it was felt that justice should be administered in a language known and understood by the masses. Despite this professed position, the language of the higher courts was English and only that of the lower courts was the respective regional language. All the statutes were in English, and students of law received their education in English. After independence, the Constitution stated that unless otherwise stipulated (by new legislation of Parliament) 'all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court shall be in the English language.' However, clause 3 of Article 348 stated that High Courts could switch over to Hindi or regional languages, although the Supreme Court was to continue to use English indefinitely. When there was a move about 1965 to replace English with regional languages, the Bar Council of India adopted a resolution opposing such a move, stating that 'deep study and felicity in the use of one common language are vital to the existence of an all-India Bar, each of which is in turn indispensable to national integration (Shah, 1968, p. 168).' C. K. Daphtary, the then Attorney-General outlined the rationale of this resolution in an interview published in the Weekend Review (New Delhi, Oct. 21, 1967). According to Daphtary, the switchover to regional languages would be disastrous for the conduct of law in the country. First, people from one region would not have access to the legal thought and practice in other regions. The common background of the Justices of the Supreme Court would become a thing of the past. A hundred and fifty years of law in English--not only statutory law but also endless volumes of case law--cannot be rendered into the regional languages, and yet Indian lawyers depend crucially on case law, i.e., precedents. Further, translating every judgement of the Supreme Court into all the regional languages creates intolerable confusion in a field where the letter of the law is as important as the spirit. Finally, there is the incredibly complex (and probably impossible) problem of making sure that all the translations have precisely the same meanings and subtle implications of law.

These and other problems have ensured the continuation of English as the dominant language of the law of Indian courts. In a recent study of the use of language in legal proceedings in South India, Kidder (1976) notes that "in general, the higher the court, the more English predominates as the medium of interaction (p. 239)."

Thus, in the lower courts, for example, in the lowest level Munsiff's or Magistrate's court, most of the proceedings are in the regional language, English being used mainly in the judge's translation of all testimony into English for the official record. In the High court, on the other hand, the language of the proceedings is almost exclusively English. In the middle-level courts, the use of English varies, the lawyers, clerks and judges code switching frequently between English and the local language. Typically English is used to put across the more precise legal points.

6. EDUCATION

The English language was the cornerstone of the educational system during the British rule in India. English had essentially three functions in Indian education: one, as a second language, two, as the medium of instruction, and three, as a content area for specialization.

English has continued to play these roles even after independence, despite strong opposition from promoters of Hindi and the regional languages. The chief target of opposition has been the role of English as the medium of instruction. The demand for replacing English with regional languages as the medium of instruction gained momentum after independence. It was argued that continued dependence on English was a symbol of intellectual slavery, a denial of the legitimate democratic right of the majority to be educated in their mother-tongue, a perpetuation of elitist vested interests. On the other hand, English had its supporters too, who countered the opposition with arguments such as the following: English unifies the linguistically divided groups in the country, it is the dominant international language and the language of contemporary science and technology, English is not a "foreign" language in India, having been acculturated and used for creative expression by Indians, and finally, the regional languages are not equipped to function as media of instruction, especially in the fields of science and technology. The advocates of regional languages won the battle in principle with the adoption by the Central Government of a policy to encourage expeditious switchover to the regional languages as media of instruction.

In this context, it is revealing to examine the figures regarding the extent to which regional languages have been adopted as media of instruction in Indian universities. The following information is based on a statement showing medium of instruction and examination at graduate and post-graduate levels in the faculties of Arts, Science,

and Commerce in Indian universities (Universities Handbook, India, 1973:965-968). Currently, of some 83 universities in India (including institutions deemed to be universities) the overwhelming majority offer instruction through the medium of English. Only 17 universities have introduced the regional language as the medium of instruction at both Bachelor's and Master's level (of these, 12 are in the Hindi area, 4 in Gujarat, and 1 in Rajasthan). Ten universities have introduced the regional language as medium of instruction at all levels except Master's level in the Science areas (6 of them again are in the Hindi area). Nineteen universities offer instruction exclusively through the medium of English (the majority of them are in the non-Hindi area). This last figure does not include all-India institutions such as Indian Institutes of Technology. As for the others, they have introduced the regional language at various levels of education and in different subjects.

Three salient patterns emerge from these statistics. One is that the introduction of regional languages as the media of instruction at all levels seems to be restricted largely to the Hindi area with the exception of Gujarat. Second, even those universities which have adopted the regional language seem to be reluctant or at least cautious in extending it to science subjects, especially at the advanced level. Third, although the regional languages have been introduced at various levels, they are far from 'replacing' English as media of instruction, as attested by the fact that most universities continue to offer courses at all levels through English. Finally, it should be noted that the figures given above say nothing about the medium of instruction in professional courses such as Medicine, Engineering, and Law where English continues to be the exclusive medium of instruction.

It is clear that the regional languages are still a long way from 'replacing' English as the medium of instruction in Indian universities, at least in the professional courses. The reasons for this continued use of English in higher education are many and varied, both practical and attitudinal. The practical problems include the lack of trained teachers who can teach scientific and technical subjects through the regional languages, the paucity of textbooks and teaching materials, the lack of specialized technical terminology appropriate to various 'registers,' among others. The hesitation in switching over to regional languages is also undoubtedly due to several attitudinal factors, including the following: the fear of the lack of mobility, accentuated by the limited employment opportunities within a given linguistic state; the fear of deterioration of standards (this argument works both ways!); the social prestige commanded by English; and so on.

These practical and attitudinal factors may be invoked to explain the results of an opinion survey conducted by the Academy of General Education, Manipal (Karnataka), on the question of switchover to regional languages as media of instruction (Shiva Rao, 1968:173-4). Although the survey was conducted about a decade ago, the information is probably still valid. The Academy has 10 colleges under its jurisdiction, 4 professional colleges (medical, engineering, law, and education) and 6 arts and science colleges. The respondents included students, faculty, and parents. The following are the major findings.

- i. Out of 1600 students in professional colleges, 87 percent were opposed to the switchover to regional languages. Out of 3400 students in the arts and science colleges, 80 percent opposed it.
- ii. Out of the 300 faculty members, 85 percent were opposed to the change. In the 6 arts and science colleges, 77 percent of the faculty expressed opposition, and in the 4 professional colleges, opposition came from 95 percent of the faculty member.
- iii. Out of 600 parents of science students interviewed (all literate parents selected at random in 6 towns), 79 percent opposed the switch-over.
- iv. The view that the change to the regional languages in colleges would be harmful to national unity was expressed by 80 percent of the students, 85 percent faculty members, and 83 percent of the parents.

It must be added that the results of the survey just discussed represent primarily the view of the middle class. However, it should be kept in mind that higher education is still, by and large, a middle- and upper-class phenomenon in India.

The above discussion has concerned itself primarily with college and university education. At the school level, it is difficult to make generalizations because of the wide variety of policies adopted by the state governments with respect to the role of English. Most states have instituted the regional language as the medium of instruction at the school level. However, English continues to be offered as an optional medium. Interestingly, there is a great deal of competition for admission into these sections. Children from these sections of the population which constitute minorities in the states often opt for the English-medium. English is taught as a second language in practically every school in the country from a very early stage onwards. In most states it is a compulsory language.

7. CREATIVE WRITING

There is a long tradition of creative writing in English by Indians. As Walsh (1973:1) has correctly observed, 'Indians were writing in English before Macaulay's Minute and before Bentinck endorsed it in 1835 as Government policy . . . Ram Mohun Roy was the first of that notable line of Indian sages who have expressed themselves in English . . .' English was the chief medium for the unification of the country during the Independence movement (the English writings of Gandhi, Nehru, and other leaders) and periodicals such as Harijan, Young India, Mahratta, inspired educated Indians around the country who in turn transmitted their message to the masses in the local language. Apart from political writing, there is an impressive body of literature in English, both technical and popular, in many fields, including philosophy, religion, history, social and literary criticism and, not the least, creative writing.

This phenomenon of the use of a foreign or a transplanted language for creative self-expression is not new in India. It is worth recalling that the Dravidians mastered Sanskrit and excelled in it, contributing many celebrated works in that language. The vast body of literature in Persian and Arabic by writers both from South and North India is another case in point. The case of English is not much different.

The English language has been acculturated in the Indian context by being used to convey Indian meanings. This process has resulted in the emergence of a whole new non-native variety of English, known as Indian English (see Kachru, 1969; 1978). This variety differs from the native varieties of English (e.g., British or American English) in many respects, for example, in the sound system, in the stress and intonation patterns, in word-formation and compounding, in meaning, and in the syntactic structure. The differences between Indian English and the native varieties of English are attributable to the linguistic and cultural background of the users of Indian English.

This Indianized English is employed as the medium of creative writing by a large number of Indian authors, in every genre of literature. Some of these authors, such as R. K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, Kamala Markandaya, Anita Desai, Khuswant Singh, Desani (all novelists), Nissim Ezekiel, A. K. Ramanujan (poets), Nirad Chaudhri (essayist), among others, have achieved pan-Indian and international recognition. Among those of a former generation, mention may be made of Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, and Rabindranath Tagore, and in a different vein, Vivekananda and Radhakrishnan.

English continues to be a popular medium of expression for creative writing in India and Indian literature in English enjoys a pan-Indian (and potentially international) clientele. Despite persistent reservations in some quarters as to the propriety of Indians' writing in English, there is a growing body of opinion that agrees with K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, a well-known critic of Indian English literature, when he writes (1962:3),

. . . How shall we describe Indian creative writing in English? Of course it is Indian literature, even as the work of a Thoreau or a Hemingway is American literature. But Indian literature comprises several literatures-- Assamese, Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Kannada, Marathi . . . and Indian writing in English is but one of the voices in which India speaks. It is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as the others. . . .

8. CONCLUSION

The data presented in the previous pages go to show that the role of English as the predominant language of wider communication in present day India is not a matter of opinion but a pragmatic reality, borne out by the facts. This widespread use of English should be evaluated against the background of the generous patronage and promotion of Hindi, which is a matter of policy, by the Central Government--and of the regional languages by the respective State Governments to a much lesser degree.

The reasons for this continued popularity of English in India are many, varied, and complex. Historical tradition can only be a part of the explanation. The intrinsic properties of the language, such as the wealth of scientific and technical vocabulary, the versatility of styles, the existence of a rich body of creative literature are also only a part of the answer. The real key to the phenomenon is probably to be sought in the pragmatics of the multi-lingual situation in India--in particular, in the fact that English, more than any other language, gives the educated Indian access to more and more highly valued roles in contemporary Indian society.

Notes

¹I am grateful to Professors Henry Kahane and Braj Kachru for their suggestions and comments. The topics dealt with in this paper are discussed in greater depth in Sridhar (1977).

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THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN TEACHING LITERATURE
TO ESL STUDENTS

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Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring, 1979

At a seminar that I attended in March, 1976 in Ahvaz, Iran for professors of English in Iranian colleges and universities, there seemed to be general agreement in the literature sessions that what to do about culture was perhaps the greatest single problem faced in the teaching of literature as part of a foreign language curriculum. Not enough time was devoted to offering possible solutions to the problem, though. I would like to examine very briefly the role of culture in teaching literature to ESL students on the college or university level.

"On the college or university level" is an important distinction. While I was teaching at Farah Pahlavi University in Tehran, it was my contention that students were in college to receive an education. I argued that literature as well as language training was a proper subject for an English department curriculum, since literature is a proper part of any liberal arts and sciences curriculum. I did not wish to see literature simply subordinated to the study of grammar, sentence structure and other ESL disciplines, but rather studied in its own right. A comment by James W. Ney set me, in a roundabout way, to thinking again about this issue. Ney criticizes teachers who substitute for pattern-practice such tactics as

Lecturing on the subtleties of James Thurber's humor, O'Henry's plotted stories or the rhetorical development of written paragraphs in English to students who have only a basic command of English as their second language.¹

While perfectly sensible, Ney's comment, nevertheless, insidiously implies (to me at any rate) that literature and rhetoric should be kept out of ESL teaching.

A related issue has arisen as a result of the current trend expressed by Kenneth B. Chastain: "In the ideal second-language class the teaching of culture is an integral, organized component of the course content."² Further on, Chastain comments on the study of "large C culture," the great achievements definition of culture which would include literature:

Although inherently interesting in its own right to many teachers and students, materials of this type may not contribute significantly to the students' ability to function linguistically and socially in the contemporary culture nor to their intercultural understanding. (p. 388)

Although he adds that advanced classes can "probe large C culture in greater depth and breadth," he implies that the broad anthropological definition of culture as a way of life (small c culture)

should take precedence over such concerns as literature in the classroom. Since the audiolingual revolution, he says, "the emphasis on small c culture has continued, but devotion of more class time to culture and including culture as a separate component of the class content have been stressed" (p. 389).

The problem for literature teachers in ESL programs raised by the two writers is this: Should literature, at least on the college level, be taught as a subject in its own right, or should it be subordinated to language or culture? My view is that it should be subordinated to neither, and I would like to devote the remainder of this paper to a consideration of the relation of the teaching of literature to culture.

The relationship between an ESL culture course per se and a literature course is that the culture course can use literary materials as illustrations of cultural patterns, while the literature course can and should include cultural materials whenever necessary to explain meanings which would not be clear to persons unacquainted with the culture. In other words, cultural materials should be regarded as a necessary aid in teaching a literature course but should not encroach upon the study of literature as literature.

In their Theory of Literature Wellek and Warren draw a basic distinction between the extrinsic and intrinsic approach to the study of literature.³ Treating literature as primarily a means for the study of culture would clearly be an example of the kind of extrinsic approach taken up in their chapter on "Literature and Society." Studying literature in its own right, on the other hand, is the intrinsic approach--the analysis of literary form and style and their relation to content. Rather than attempting to evaluate the extrinsic cultural approach in general, I would like merely to point out that the danger of misinterpretation inherent in such an approach would be greater for foreign than for native students of the literature. One writer on the subject has perceived the danger this way:

It is one of the limitations upon Culture with a capital C, as represented by artistic monuments, literary classics, and other achievements, that whatever is outstanding is ⁴ unusual and atypical to the extent that it is outstanding.

Foreign students whose only contact with the foreign culture is literature are far more likely than native students to assume that the situations and values in a work of literature are a typical representation of that culture. An obvious example is the distorted impressions that people receive about the U.S. from American

movies. When I am in a foreign country and tell someone I'm from Chicago, the automatic association he makes is almost invariably with gangsters and Capone. Some cultural stereotypes possess incredible longevity.

Among the advantages of the analytical approach, on the other hand, is that, being concerned with structure, it requires little initial acquaintance with the foreign culture. Alexander Baird prefers the analytical approach to what he calls the "quasi-ethical, socio-historical" approach:

For the overseas student of literature in English, Aristotle is certainly more relevant than Leavis, since with the foreign learner it is dishonest, as well as impracticable to make any statement about a writer's work that cannot be justified immediately from examination of the text.⁵

Approach, then, is one factor in determining the handling of the cultural component of a literature course. Another is selection of texts. One way for students to cross the chasm that separates the two cultures is to provide bridges in the form of selections that lean in the direction of their own culture. I do not mean English translations of their own literature, for that is something with which they are already thoroughly familiar. In an introductory anthology that I compiled and edited for my department at Farah Pahlavi, I included a few such "bridge" selections: Longfellow's "Haroun Al-Rashid,"⁶ Harry Golden's "The 'Canal of Fire'" (a true story about Arabs involved in building the Suez Canal), T. S. Eliot's "Journey of the Magi," and two selections from the Bible, the 23rd Psalm and a retelling by Pearl Buck of the story of Hagar and Ishmael (which Moslem, Christian and Jewish students could all relate to in different ways).

Another way to bridge the gap in providing selections is to keep in mind areas of understanding which students bring with them into the classroom. In a particularly enlightening presentation given at the Ahvaz seminar mentioned earlier, Lucy D. Sullivan of Damavand College discussed these areas:

First, they come to us with a rich background of poetry. As a result of this heritage, they have a natural bent toward poetry, a bent which our Western students lack... metaphysical poets such as Donne and Marvell are much more easily comprehended by our Persian students than by our Western students. Our Persian students have a quick, almost intuitive grasp and appreciation of images and even of the difficult conceits of metaphysical poetry.⁷

Her other examples were the matriarchal influence in Iranian society, feuds, and the importance of "the brother." She went on to list and illustrate topics of universal relevance to today's students:

"Revolt against the Establishment," "Injustices of society," "Eagerness to be initiated into adulthood, including adult sex life," "Emphasis on materialism," "The position of women," "Religion," and "The fact of war" (pp. 2-5).

An often-cited criterion of suitability for the beginning and intermediate levels of literary instruction has been expressed as follows:

The student of literature is likely to be most familiar with the contemporary form of the language in which the literature is expressed. It seems reasonable therefore to reverse the chronological order and begin literary studies with an examination of some contemporary texts.⁸

This is not a question of cultural accessibility, however, so much as one of language competence. Contemporary Western culture is not necessarily closer to the foreign culture than are older periods. In developing materials for an experimental "period" literature course for our department, my colleagues and I decided upon the Romantic English period as being particularly congenial to Iranian students because of obvious parallels to their own great poetic tradition, because of the universal appeal of much of the poetry of that period, and because of the relative ease with which, if carefully selected, it can be read. Later I expanded the course to include the Victorian period, of which my students and I alike were struck by the similarities to present-day Iranian society. In my introductory anthology I included fables and folk-tales, and I discovered in classroom discussion that Iranian literature contains similar (and in some cases identical) stories which students could easily recognize and relate to. None of the readings I used, incidentally, were simplified, but were presented originally as written.

In discussing the teaching of language and culture, Nelson Brooks recommends the short story as "one of the literary genres best suited to the special needs of the language student. In it there is a common meeting ground for artistic integrity and the limited ability of the youthful learner."⁹ Again, however, this is more a matter of a noncultural factor, the beginning and intermediate student's inability to concentrate on long selections.

At some stage of instruction, of course, it will not suffice simply to continue minimizing the cultural component by emphasizing structure, cultural universals and similarities between two

cultures. Robert Lado sums up the importance of culture in the teaching of literature as follows:

Since literature is expressed through language, one cannot understand it unless he understands the meanings of the culture expressed by the words of the language and unless the values and cultural experience against which the literature is written are also understood.¹⁰

In an experimental project involving two classes of Filipino students and one class of American students, it was found that the Filipino group that used a "cultural contrastive analysis" approach to reading American short stories responded to the stories more as the American group did than the Filipino group that used a "traditional literature" approach.¹¹

At the Ahvaz seminar the question of how to impart cultural information and understanding in the teaching of literature was raised. Some suggested that a separate course in culture be taught. Others, including me, believed that it was also necessary to incorporate cultural instruction into every literature course taught. In my own courses I included explanatory footnotes in the readings and discussions of similarities and differences between the two cultures. Chastain warns of such obstacles as student ethnocentricity and recommends going easy, stressing similarities first in order to avoid a kind of mini culture shock.¹² Nostrand suggests giving "little doses of culture shock" in the classroom.¹³

A number of methods have been proposed for introducing culture into the ESL classroom, and it should suffice merely to mention them. James S. Taylor advocates "Cultural Asides," "Slices of Life" and "Culture Capsules," which could be translated as brief explanations, presentations, and careful presentations.¹⁴ Chastain surveys these and other in and out of class activities, including the use of visual aids.¹⁵ Most of them are well known.

One should not forget the importance of attitude on the part of the teacher introducing culture into any ESL class. Nostrand sees two purposes in teaching about a foreign way of life: "cross-cultural communication and understanding."¹⁶ In achieving these aims he recommends attitudes of "cultural relativism, perspectivism, and imperturbability" and adds to those essential ingredients patience, kindness, reasonableness, and "intelligent love" (p. 5). He seems to have in mind a saint but is in fact referring to the teacher.

In terms of results I can speak only of my own experience. The Romantics course was quite a success, though to what extent the cultural component was a factor is difficult to determine. Our classes did complain at first that the course was too difficult, for it was the first time they had ever had to read anything serious in English. But soon they became absorbed in the poems and their authors, and the complaints ceased. Essay exams were given, a break from the usual fill-in-the-blank and short-answer tests in our other courses. I was particularly pleased when a few of the students told me that they and others in the class felt that it was the first time they had ever really learned anything in an English class (aside from the language, I assumed they meant). One of our best students later received an award outside of school for her Farsi translations of some of the poems she had read in my class. My introductory anthology proved similarly successful, even though a few of the teachers were nervous about having to teach literature for the first time. They were certainly more at ease in dealing with the language and cultural components of the course than with the analytical component and stressed the first two over the third. Although I do not like to see the emphasis in a literature class shift too far over to language or cultural instruction, that is better than having no literature at all.

NOTES

1. "Towards a Synthetization of Teaching Methodologies for TESOL," TESOL Q (March 1973), p. 7.
2. Developing Second Language Skills, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1976), p. 383.
3. René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, 2nd ed. (New York, 1956), p. 61.
4. Howard Lee Nostrand, "Describing and Teaching the Sociocultural Context of a Foreign Language and Literature," in Albert Valdman, ed., Trends in Language Teaching (New York, 1966), p. 14.
5. "The Study and Teaching of Literature," ELT (July 1976), p. 283.
6. I discovered in class, much to my surprise, that this legendary Caliph of Baghdad is despised by Iranians because he had one of their Shi'a imams put to death. Even such a negative association, however, served the purpose of stimulating class discussion.
7. "The Selection of Literature for Middle Eastern University Students," Paper delivered at the Sixth Annual Seminar of Professors of English in Iran, March 13-17, 1976, Jundi Shapur University, Ahvaz, Iran, p. 1.
8. Baird, p. 284.
9. Language and Language Learning, 2nd ed. (New York, 1964), p. 105.
10. Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach (New York, 1964), p. 151.
11. Elizabeth C. Gatbonton and G. Richard Tucker, "Cultural Orientation and the Study of Foreign Literature," TESOL Q (June 1971), p. 138.
12. Chastain, pp. 385-387.
13. Nostrand, p. 7.
14. "Direct Classroom Teaching of Cultural Concepts," in Ned Seelye, ed., Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture. Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill. 1970, pp. 45-47.
15. Chastain, pp. 393-400.
16. Nostrand, p. 4.

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CHOMSKYAN LINGUISTICS AND THE
FOREIGN-LANGUAGE TEACHER

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The linguistic theory that has caused the greatest stir in recent years is, without a doubt, transformational-generative grammar. Given its most prominent expression with the publication of Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures in 1957, this new theory of grammar seeks to explain how an infinite number of sentences can be produced from a limited number of basic sentence structures by applying a variety of rules, so as to "generate" larger and more complex sentences. And just as structural linguistics, its chronological predecessor which had reigned supreme since the days of Ferdinand de Saussure and Leonard Bloomfield, came about as a reaction against the weaknesses of traditional grammar (and its concern with naming linguistic items and deducing their function from these names), so transformational-generative theory may be considered as a "revolt" against the taxonomic approach of structural or immediate constituent grammar, the hallmark of the structuralists. Not that generative grammarians have completely scrapped the legacy of the former--though some contemporary theorists have remarkably little or no respect at all for the work of their predecessors. Far from it. Many of the basic assumptions of the structural linguists are readily accepted by generative theorists such as, for instance, the distinction between speech and writing, the insistence on objective analysis and precise definitions, and the avoidance of prescriptive statements about language. Also, transformational-generative theory makes use of much of the terminology inherited from its predecessor. People still speak of phonemes, morphemes, and the like.

What the structural linguist has been most vehemently criticized for is that his analysis of language was based on a finite set of actual utterances (technically known as a corpus, such as the well-known collection of telephone conversations which served as a basis for Charles C. Fries' analysis of the structure of American English, published in 1952,¹) amounting to a mere listing of their content, and that it failed to account for the infinite set of sentences that a native speaker is able to produce. In Chomsky's words, "The theories and models that were developed to describe simple and immediately given phenomena cannot incorporate the real system of linguistic competence; "extrapolation" from simple descriptions cannot approach the reality of linguistic competence."² Thus, while the structuralist was satisfied with describing and identifying the structural features of the sentences that people say, the generative grammarian goes a step further in that he also seeks to explain how these sentences are produced. The requirements of a grammar, according to him should be that it contain general statements to account not merely for a sentence inventory but for the theoretically unlimited number of other sentences that may have never occurred before and that a native speaker could conceivably generate. In other words, and to quote Chomsky again, "A grammar of a language aims to

present in a precise and explicit form just those facts about the language that its speakers know intuitively. It attempts to account for the native speaker's ability to understand any sentence of his language and to produce sentences, appropriate to the occasion, that are immediately comprehensible to other speakers although they may have never been spoken or written before."³ The generativist, then, is not interested in collecting samples of actual utterances and describing what people are observed to say, since a sampling of this sort does not even begin to exhaust all the possible sentences in a language and cannot but give very incomplete information about the structure of sentences in general.

The fundamental goal of transformational-generative theory is to find a set of rules by which all the grammatical sentences and only the grammatical sentences of a language may be generated and none of the ungrammatical ones. Every native speaker, so the adherents of this theory claim, is equipped with an 'internal grammar' which enables him to produce and understand sentences that may have never been spoken (or written) before. It is this linguistic 'intuition' that tells the native speaker of English, for example, that Colorless green ideas sleep furiously is a well-formed, that is, grammatical sentence, even though it is rather meaningless (except, perhaps, in some avant-garde type poetry), whereas Furiously sleep ideas green colorless is neither grammatical or meaningful. In the same way, the native speaker of English is readily aware of the ambiguity in Flying planes can be dangerous, or that the pair of sentences (a) John is easy to please and (b) John is eager to please are really quite different, despite their apparent identity of structure on the surface. The native speaker uses this intuitive knowledge of his language, this competence, to produce and understand novel sentences and to reject utterances not in keeping with his native language patterns (the Frenchman would instinctively reject *je n'ai vu rien), as opposed to the performance, that is, the actual use he makes of his language in a given situation. Thus, generative grammar comes to be a model of the speaker's and hearer's competence, this 'internal grammatical mechanism' which underlies the concrete act of speech, the performance.

In terms of linguistic theory, in general, and language pedagogy, in particular, these opposing theoretical positions of structural linguists and generativists have brought about a rift between what Chomsky has termed 'empiricists' and 'rationalists',⁴ giving rise to language teaching methods that have attempted to implement their theoretical assumptions about the nature and acquisition of language. 'Empiricists' like Bloomfield and his fellow-American descriptivists (although Bloomfield himself often sought inspiration for his ideas on language teaching from European pedagogues, particularly Otto Jespersen), take the position that language acquisition is a sort of

habit formation through practice and drills (grammatical rules merely being descriptions of habits and summaries of linguistic behavior); in their 'behaviorist' extreme, under the influence of Skinnerian psychology, they even went as far as claiming that, since humans are basically subject to the same learning processes as animals, language acquisition occurs through a kind of stimulus-response model of conditioning.

The familiar "five slogans of the day," enunciated by William Moulton in his review of two decades of Linguistics and Language Teaching in the U.S., the forties and fifties, were marked by the imprint of structural linguists who brought about a new theoretical approach to language teaching.⁵ These were the heydays of the so-called audio-lingual method (though here too 'approach' would be a more accurate term to use), which was essentially based on these five linguistic principles, namely (1) Language is speech not writing (underscoring the primacy of the spoken aspect of language); (2) A language is a set of habits (speech habits are acquired by conditioning--you may be familiar with Bloomfield's description of how the child acquires language in five steps;⁶ (3) Teach the language, not about the language (the goal of instruction should be the ability to speak the language and not to speak about it⁷; (4) A language is what its native speakers say, not what someone thinks they ought to say (The native speaker can do no wrong: "copy what the native speaker says"--even if it is in conflict with the textbook--because "the native speaker is always right"⁸); (5) Languages are different (i.e., there are no such things as universal properties of language, the sound, syntactic, and semantic system being entirely different. As Bloomfield put it: "to get an easy command of a foreign language one must learn to ignore the features of any and all other languages, especially of one's own."⁹

The empiricist's view, according to which a language is acquired by essentially inductive means from a limited corpus of observable data has no place in Chomskyan theory. Firmly anchored in the rationalist pronouncements of Humboldt and Leibniz on language learning,¹⁰ Chomsky squarely opposes the empiricist notion that "language is essentially an adventitious construct, taught by 'conditioning' (à la Skinner) or by drill and explicit explanation. . .or built up by elementary 'data-processing' procedures. . .but, in any event, relatively independent in its structure of any innate mental faculties."¹¹ Empiricist speculation, he says, which has typically assumed that only procedures and mechanisms for the acquisition of knowledge constitute an innate property of the mind is, thus, in radical opposition to rationalist speculation which has long assumed that "the general form of a system of knowledge is fixed in advance as a disposition of the mind and the function of experience is to cause this general schematic structure to be realized and more fully differentiated."¹² Rejecting

language teaching methods based on associative learning theory and taxonomic linguistics, Chomsky concludes: "it seems to me impossible to accept the view that linguistic behavior is a matter of habit, that is slowly acquired by reinforcement, association, and generalization, or that linguistic concepts can be specified in terms of a space of elementary, physically defined 'criterial attributes.' Language is not a 'habit structure'. Ordinary linguistic behavior characteristically involves innovation, formation of new sentences and new patterns in accordance with rules of great abstractness and intricacy. This is true both of the speaker, who constructs new utterances appropriate to the occasion, and of the hearer who must analyze and interpret these novel structures. There are no known principles of association or reinforcement, and no known sense of 'generalization' that can begin to account for this characteristic 'creative' aspect of normal language use."¹³ It would seem to follow, then, that the study of the target language cannot be reduced to an ensemble of conditioned reflexes and that the main task of language teaching ought to consist in "stimulating the student's innate language learning capacity rather than in controlling and shaping correct responses."¹⁴ To implement this, it seems to me, we ought to devise a method by which students would be made aware of the 'creative' possibilities of the target-language and would be made to use it as a vehicle for expressing their own thoughts, within the framework of normal speech communication.

Where does this controversy between the empiricists and the rationalists leave us foreign language teachers? Don't these changing views of language and language learning only contribute to further muddle the already murky waters of the whole problem of language pedagogy? What, if any, relevance does Chomsky's view of language have for foreign language teaching and in what way is his theory, and that of the generative linguist in general, better than that of his predecessors? The audio-lingual method is under attack because, so we are told, it is based on the fallacious theory that linguistic behavior is a matter of habit; that it is inadequate to explain human learning because it says nothing about the specific innate ability of the learner and attempts to account for all learning by conditioning and reinforcement,¹⁵ and that it only describes performance rather than the "ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence."

Inherent in the audio-lingual method is the inductive approach to linguistic analysis, as opposed to the generative grammarian's essentially deductive one, implicit in his theoretical position that speakers of a language use their knowledge of abstract deep structures to generate an unlimited number of novel sentences. Yet, if, as Chomsky himself admits "Performance provides evidence for the investigation of competence,"¹⁷ that is, if competence is to be accounted for ultimately by observable data from actual performance, does it not follow that data collected inductively are necessary elements for

elaborating deductive systems and that such models should constantly be checked experimentally with a view to determining their accuracy and applicability?¹⁸ This seems to be tacitly implied in Chomsky's statement: "It is not, of course, necessary to assume that empiricist and rationalist views can always be sharply distinguished and that these currents cannot cross."¹⁹ Such is also the way, I think, Politzer views the problem, when he states that the generativist argument (namely that language competence cannot be explained by a behaviorist theory) "does not necessarily imply that behaviorist learning theory and teaching based on it are totally useless in second-language acquisition."²⁰ "Much of first-language acquisition-- he goes on to say--may depend on an innate mechanism, but we can think of second-language teaching as consisting in the shaping and utilizing of existing behaviors rather than in creating them from scratch."²¹ I certainly cannot agree with those who, despite their otherwise well-taken criticism of a purely performance-based approach to second language teaching, would condemn drill and pattern practice techniques to the funeral pyre because they are based on behaviorist theory and cannot account for the learning of certain aspects of natural languages.²² No one, I am sure, would regard drills as being more than a device to teach students accurate manipulation of structures; they certainly do not purport to even resemble real communication. It is quite clear that we must require of our students a great deal more than mere memorization and regurgitation of phrases and patterns, but if this kind of activity can contribute to the achievement of the ultimate goal of language teaching, namely the production of articulate and creative speech, I fail to see why the structure drill should be discarded as a pedagogical device. What these grammarians object to, I suspect, is the kind of "performance with zero competence" (to use Politzer's expression) in which students merely echo a pattern or response, without being able to understand and use the underlying grammatical rules. By no means let us hesitate to take whatever preparatory steps we can to bridge the gap between what Belasco has called "the basic foreign language and the real foreign language performance,"²³ of which only the latter is anchored in competence.

But let me return to the question I have eschewed so far, namely that of the relevance of Chomskyan theory to foreign language teaching, as I see it, of course. It must be understood at the outset that generative grammar was not conceived with the explicit view of furnishing an instrument for foreign language teaching; it is a scientific, a formal grammar and not the result of pedagogical considerations. It is not aimed at the individual who has not yet mastered the control of a second language, but rather at the native speaker whose language competence it attempts to explain, that is, the ability "to understand an arbitrary sentence of his (the speaker's) language and to produce an appropriate sentence on a given occasion."²⁵ It is, no doubt, for this reason that Chomsky himself expressed doubt whether his theories

could have any relevance to the problems of foreign language teaching.²⁶ Unlike the native speaker of a language who has supposedly 'internalized' a generative grammar, that is, a system of rules that he uses in new and untried combinations to form new sentences, the learner of a second language is far from having accomplished this task; furthermore, despite the kind of 'explicit' knowledge he (the learner) may be able to acquire through study of a second language, it is highly improbable that he will ever gain the 'implicit' knowledge that a native speaker has of his language, no matter how Herculean his efforts to acquire proficiency in the second (or third, or fourth, etc.) language may be. To be a 'near-native' speaker of a language still only makes one a 'non-native' speaker with a non-native competence, different from that of the 'idealized speaker--hearer's competence'; and since TG grammar purports to be a "description of the ideal speaker-hearer's intrinsic competence,"²⁷ that is, of the native speaker's 'implicit' knowledge of his language, it would seem to follow that the whole notion of 'competence' in second language learning (and teaching) is a very relative one and that the only contribution Chomsky's grammatical theory can make to the performance/competence distinction--an unquestionably valuable insight that Chomskyan theory has to offer the foreign language teacher, but one that, I suspect, has been a guiding principle of teachers long before Chomsky ever came onto the scene--is to insist, as Politzer puts it: "that performance without competence is without intrinsic value and that it can be justified only as a preparatory step toward the ultimate creation of competence."²⁸ Since it is hardly possible to teach students the whole range of utterances in a given language, i.e., the infinite number of the possible sentences of a language, the totality of the language, if you will, it would appear to be the foreign language teacher's job to set up the competence model he wishes his students to achieve, a model which is certainly different from the absolute competence of the idealized speaker-hearer. And because it is ultimately the foreign language teacher who will decide on the competence model to be achieved, his teaching material should not be subjected to the formal constraints of a theory that purports to account for the native speaker's linguistic competence. This does not mean, of course, that the teacher should not incorporate into his teaching some of the insights of formal grammar--I am particularly thinking of such relationships as active/passive, or declarative/interrogative, or of explicating ambiguities, all of which transformational theory has made explicit with respect to traditional grammar, for example.

The extent to which the foreign language teacher will use insights offered by transformational-generative grammar qua formal grammar will, in the last analysis, depend on his linguistic training and sophistication. As Chomsky himself very appropriately put it: "Teachers. . . have a responsibility to make sure that ideas and proposals are evaluated on their merits and not passively accepted on grounds of authority,

real or presumed. . .It is the language teacher himself who must validate or refute any specific proposal."²⁹ Unlike some of his structuralist predecessors, Chomsky steers clear of urging the foreign language teacher to look to transformational theory to provide him with a theoretical basis for second language pedagogy and carefully avoids telling him 'what is good for him.' Yet, there is no question but that Chomsky has performed a signal service to the language teacher by pointing out that language behavior is much more than just a matter of habit formation and that without a system of rules enabling us to manipulate linguistic items, we disregard the most crucial element of language behavior--innovation. He has thus brought into focus the 'creative' aspect of language use and has, at the same time, also placed traditional grammar back into proper perspective by reverting to some of the concerns of traditional theory, so reminiscent of his formulation of 'rule-governed creativity' that it has been referred to as 'rigorous, systematic, and explicit traditional grammar.' I personally welcome Chomsky's rationalism and propose that it be brought back to second language teaching.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹The Structure of American English. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1952.
- ²Language and Mind. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1968, p. 4.
- ³Chomsky's introduction to Paul Roberts, English Syntax. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1964, p. ix.
- ⁴Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T., 1965, pp. 47-48.
- ⁵"Linguistics and Language Teaching in the United States 1940-1960," in Mohrmann, Christine, Alf Sommerfelt, and Joshua Whatmough, Trends in European and American Linguistics 1930-1960. Utrecht: Spectrum, 1961.
- ⁶Language. New York: Holt, 1933, pp. 29-31.
- ⁷Note that 'grammatical rule,' according to the descriptivist, has no psychological reality, since it is merely a description of a habit, rather than of a mental rule that governs the speaker to form correct sentences. The rule of grammar is simply a summary of behavior. The implication of this slogan being, of course, that the student should memorize authentic sentences uttered by native speakers, since learning a language ultimately means to copy what the native speaker says.
- ⁸Moulton, 1961, p. 89. This slogan negates the whole concept of grammaticality.
- ⁹Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1942, p. 1. It may be pointed out that precisely this slogan has called into being 'contrastive linguistics', i.e., contrastive studies between languages, particularly based on the student's native language, since it was found that more often than not interference between the student's native speech habits and the target language was one of the chief obstacles to foreign language learning. Hence, the development of language materials that would especially drill points of potential conflict and interference.
- ¹⁰Chomsky, 1965, p. 51.
- ¹¹loc. cit.

- ¹²ibid., pp. 51-52.
- ¹³Allen, J. P. B. and Paul van Buren, Chomsky: Selected Readings, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 153-154.
- ¹⁴Politzer, Robert, L., Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development, 1972, p. 85.
- ¹⁵Chomsky's review of Skinner's Verbal Behavior in Language, XXXV (1959), 26-58.
- ¹⁶Chomsky, 1965, p. 4. Elsewhere Chomsky states: "it is difficult to see how performance can be seriously studied except on the basis of an explicit theory or the competence that underlies it, and, in fact, contributions to the understanding of performance have largely been by-products of the study of grammars that represent competence" (Allen-van Buren, 1971, p. 7).
- ¹⁷Allen-van Buren, 1971, p. 7.
- ¹⁸For a middle-of-the-road approach in the induction versus deduction controversy, cf. Hector Hammerly, "The Deduction/Induction Controversy," MLJ, LIX, No. 1 (1975), 15-18.
- ¹⁹Chomsky, 1965, p. 52.
- ²⁰Politzer, 1972, p. 85.
- ²¹loc. cit.
- ²²As does, for instance, Leon A. Jacobovits, Foreign Language Learning; A Psycho-Linguistic Analysis of the Issues. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1970, pp. 25, 33, 36, in particular.
- ²³"C'est la guerre? Or can Cognition and Verbal Behavior Co-exist in Second Language Learning," MLJ, LIV (1970), 395-412.
- ²⁴I must point out, however that opposition to drills and pattern practice within a general transformational-generative framework is far from universal and their utility in helping to internalize the linguistic system that will eventually lead to rule-governed competence has been recognized by some theorists, cf. James W. Ney, "Contradictions in Theoretical Approaches to the Teaching of Foreign Languages," MLJ, LVIII, No. 4 (1974), 197-200; Valerian A. Postovsky, "On Paradoxes in Language Teaching," MLJ, LIX, No. 1 (1975), 18-21. For a suggestion to do away with pattern drill and other habit-forming exercises altogether, cf. Karl C. Diller, Generative Grammar, Structural Linguistics and Language Teaching, Rowley, Mass., 1971, pp. 39-50. Diller would replace drills by

meaningful practice, i.e., guided practice in thinking (through speaking, writing, listening, or reading) which is what "enables a person to learn a living language in which he can think," ibid, p. 34.

²⁵Allen-van Buren. 1971, p. 7. cf. also John T. Lamendella, "On the Irrelevance of Transformational Grammar to Second Language Pedagogy," Language Learning, XIX, Nos. 3-4 (1969), 255-270.

²⁶ibid., pp. 152-159.

²⁷Chomsky, 1965, p. 4.

²⁸Politzer, 1972, p. 85.

²⁹Allen-van Buren, 1971, p. 155.

A GUIDE TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF PROVENÇAL O

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Studies in Language Learning
Volume II, Number 2, Spring 1979

It is unlikely that linguists will ever be able to reconstruct the exact quality of the sounds of an ancient language. In the case of Old Provençal, for example, we shall probably never know with any certainty how the closed or open o was actually pronounced; we remain in the realm of the educated guess. For the student who wishes to read Old Provençal poetry out loud it becomes doubly important, then, for him to observe those distinctions between sounds which the comparative method does enable us to reconstruct. There is a great temptation to follow the orthography of the manuscripts and of most modern editions, pronouncing o always in the same fashion (perhaps as some imagined "pure" o), or unconsciously varying the pronunciation according to allophonic rules of French or even English.

This lack of precision in distinguishing between closed and open o is abetted by most modern anthologies of troubadour poetry; they do not offer much guidance in this area.¹ A lack of knowledge of Latin is another reason for the problem, for many discussions of this question presuppose a knowledge of that language. A final problem is that students devote at most a semester to formal study of the language, and that the many other aspects of troubadour poetry (genres, origins, "courtly love," etc.) which must be covered in this semester often preclude a detailed study of pronunciation. The purpose of the guidelines set forth below is to offer to the teacher of Old Provençal (or to the person who wishes to study the language on his own) a simple method which will enable him (or his students) to distinguish the two sounds in the vast majority of words he will encounter.

This method depends in part on a knowledge of modern French orthography. There are two reasons for this. First of all, most students who study Old Provençal formally do so in a university French department and already have a command of the French language. Secondly, even the casual student, attempting to learn Old Provençal on his own will in many cases have a reading knowledge of modern French; it is not necessary for the person who wishes to use this method to have any knowledge whatsoever of French pronunciation, he need merely be familiar with the orthography. In addition to those rules based on French there are other rules which depend on the Provençal text alone.

The method has obvious limitations. To the extent that it is dependent on modern French, it will be of little help in cases in which there is no clear modern French equivalent of an Old Provençal word or grammatical ending.² In addition, there are the numerous exceptions which language is heir to. The frequency of exceptions can only multiply when two languages are involved. Verbs, with their numerous forms, are especially problematic, and should probably be checked routinely in the dictionary. In any case, we have noted the

most important exceptions to these rules and have provided a list of a few of the more common conjunctions, pronouns, adverbs, etc. which do not fall easily within these rules. In those instances where this method offers no sure answer, it is hoped that an awareness of this distinction in Old Provençal has been created and that the student will be more inclined to consult a dictionary where before he might have been content to "wing it." In spite of these reservations, we feel that this method is basically sound--certainly an improvement over the guidelines offered previously--and that it will, with very little time spent in learning and practicing it, enable the student of Old Provençal to distinguish closed and open o in all but a few cases.

PRONUNCIATION:

OPEN o [o]: English soft [Hill, Bergin]; "se rapproche de l'o ouvert français" [Hamlin, etc.]; French port, English cloth [Goldin].

CLOSED o [o]: Originally like English vote, later like French vous [Hill, Bergin]; like French ou [Hamlin, etc.]; originally like German Sohn, French chaud, English so; late thirteenth century changed to French ou [Goldin]; "such words as bo and razo [where final "n" has fallen] however may have retained the original sound [Hill, Bergin].³

GUIDELINES:

1. All unstressed o = o.⁴
volría; jogíar; Pôénza; trobadór; novél
Note: this rule applies regularly to third person plural verb endings in -o (n): cánton; cantéron; cantésson

The following rules apply to stressed vowels:

2. Stressed o preceding a nasal (n, m, nh, in, ng, ing) = o.⁵
ome; donna; razon; comte; song; lonh
Note: this rule applies in cases where final -n has fallen:
razo; bos (=bons)

The following rules depend on modern French orthography:

3. Fr. eu = O.P. o.
lor (leur); plusor (plusieurs); pror (preux); sol (seul)
Note: the common French endings -eur and -eux/-euse regularly give the endings -or and -os/-osa in O.P. These endings are found in a large number of words and can be learned rather quickly: amoros (amoureux); honor (honneur)

This rule can be of help in cases where there is not an obvious equivalent of the O.P. word in modern French: folçr (folie); legçr (loisir); lauzçr (louange); pejçr (pire)
Exceptions: the series, Fr. lieu = O.P. lçc, Fr. feu = O.P. fçc, Fr. jeu = O.P. jçc does not follow this rule.

4. Fr. ou(v) = O.P. ç(b or u/v).
 trçban (trouvent); çbri (ouvre); nçu/nçva (nouveau)
5. All other Fr. ou = O.P. ç .
 nçs (nous); soç, soçz (dessous); tçtz (tous); jçrn (jour); ç (ou); cort (court)
Exceptions: this rule does not hold in general where Fr. ou = O.P. ol (see rule 6 below).
 However, the following words do follow the rule:
 ççlpa (coupable); dçlz (doux)
6. Generally, where a single ç occurs between two consonants in both languages it is open:
 tçrt (tort); mçrt (mort); nçble (noble); sçl (sol); grçs (gros); trçp (trop)
Note: this rule holds true in cases where Fr. ou = O.P. ol and Fr. ô = O.P. os : fçl (fou); nçstre (nôtre)
Exception: mçt (mot)
7. Fr. euil = O.P. ç(l or ĩ).
 cabrçl (chevreuil); orguçill (orgueil); fçlha (feuille)
8. Fr. ui = ç .
 plçia (pluie); ençi (ennue); nuçit (nuit); pçs (depuis)

The following are a few common words with no obvious modern French equivalent: lo (article and personal pronoun); aissç, achç, sç, aquç, etc. (this, that); soçre (on, above, over); perç (but, however, therefore); hç, ç (personal and demonstrative pronoun); mçlt, mçt, mçut (very, much, many); jçs (down); az estrçs (quickly); prçp (near).

As a final note on the application of these rules, we would like to point out that in poems with a rhyme in stressed ç, much time can be saved by checking the rules in a few cases and then marking the rest of the rhymes accordingly.

It is curious that most modern student anthologies do not take the trouble to mark closed and open O in the text. Certainly no harm is done to a medieval text by marking in it for modern readers those aspects of the language which would have come naturally to native speakers. The practice of marking long and short vowels in student Latin texts has gone on for some time now and Cicero seems to have suffered no irreparable damage. Future anthologizers of Old Provençal would do well to follow the lead of Pierre Bec in his Nouvelle anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge. Bec marks open O when it occurs; all other O's are closed.⁶ General acceptance of such a practice would make guidelines such as those we offer here unnecessary.

The beginning student of Old Provençal often finds the rich variety of consonant sounds one of the most striking features of the language. Certainly, this was a feature of the language which the troubadours themselves were fond of. When one begins to apply the above rules in reading the poems, however, he discovers something else about troubadour verse: it is also rich in vowel sounds. The reader of Old Provençal verse will discover that correctly distinguishing between closed and open O adds to the poems a new dimension of delight and beauty.

NOTES

¹We have consulted the following anthologies in preparing this paper: Frank R. Hamlin, Peter T. Ricketts and John Hathaway, Introduction à l'étude de l'ancien provençal, Publications romanes et françaises, no. 96 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1967); R. T. Hill and T. G. Bergin, Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours, Yale Romanic Studies, 2nd series, no. 23 (2 vols.; 2nd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Frederick Goldin, Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1973); Pierre Bec, Nouvelle anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge (Avignon: Aubanel, 1970). Our authorities for the pronunciation of Q were the following: Carl Appel, Provenzalische Chrestomathie (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1907) and Emil Levy, Petit dictionnaire provençal-français (3rd ed; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961). It is symptomatic of the problem we are outlining here that Hamlin, etc. give as an example of open Q the word comte in which, in reality, the Q was closed because of the following nasal (p. 15).

²Note that the common stressed endings -eur/ør and -eux/-os enable one to pronounce correctly many Provençal nouns which have no obvious modern French equivalent.

³It should be noted, however, that the fact that "we never find them [Q words where unstable "n" has fallen] in rhyme with the o of other origins" (Hill and Bergin, I, xxii) can tell us nothing about the way the words were actually pronounced simply because there was no other origin for word-final stressed Q in multi-syllabic words. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the monosyllables fo (he was) and pro (enough, plenty) which are sometimes found in rhyme with word-final stressed Q often added a final "n" by analogy: fon and pron. See O. Schultz-Gora, Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch (2nd ed; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911), p. 59.

⁴For a concise summary of stress rules in O.P., see Hill and Bergin, I, xxiii-xxiv.

⁵Some authorities state that Q did not close before palatal N, e.g., Aurelio Roncaglia, La lingua dei trovatori (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1965), pp. 48-49. Levy, Petit dictionnaire, gives both lonh and lõng. Appel, Chrestomathie, gives only lonh. The common variant form luenh would seem to have evolved from open Q. Nevertheless, as a way of keeping these rules both as simple and as widely applicable as possible, we suggest only closed Q here for variants such as lonh and lõng.

⁶See p. 88 for Bec's explanation of his graphic system. It should be noted, however, that Bec seems to have based his marking of the vowels on modern Provençal pronunciation and thus differs from Levy, Appel, and these guidelines in the pronunciation of words such as "òm" (õm) and "dõna" (dõna).

Language, the learner & the school. By Johanna S. DeStefano.
New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978. Pp. xii+221.

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DeStefano offers, in Language, the learner & the school, a concise and extremely lucid appraisal of the current state of the art of linguistics, as it can be applied to elementary and secondary teaching. In fact, she observes (Preface, p. vii) that 'language is the subject matter--the central knowledge core-- of the areas of language arts, reading, and English education', and it is to teachers in these curricular areas that this book is directed. The book comprises two sections: the first introduces the major aspects of language study in chapters on the role, structure, and acquisition of language, and on language variation; the second presents implications of what we know about these aspects of language for reading, writing, and spelling. The reader is therefore not only introduced to current trends in linguistic research, but also is led to apply these trends to classroom theory and practice.

DeStefano's first chapter, 'The role of language', centers on the notion of Communicative Competence, defined here as not only the actual language used in communication, but also the speaker's knowledge of 'HOW and WHEN to use a language or languages or different varieties of a language, and with WHOM, and, of course, when not to' (p. 3). An understanding of what constitutes Communicative Competence can be aided by the study of linguistics, which operates, according to DeStefano, on four major hypotheses: first, that language is patterned behavior; second, that every language is as able to meet the communication needs of its speakers as any other; third, that language change is a normal phenomenon and not to be ignored or 'wished away'; and fourth, that language is an arbitrary system of correspondences between symbols and the objects they represent. The author puts forth this elementary inventory of linguistic premises in hope that teachers, with an enlarged awareness of the nature of language, will be able to expand the definition of Communicative Competence 'to the point of making it a meaningful concept for a multicultural society' (p. 10).

The next three chapters address themselves to particular aspects of linguistic inquiry: language structure, language learning, and variation in language. Chapter 2, dealing with the structure of language, examines the areas of 'formal linguistics': phonology, syntax, and semantics, including some remarks on morphology within the section on syntax. The author is careful to point out the definition of a grammar in linguistics as 'the knowledge of a language possessed by every native speaker of that language' (p. 14), distinguishing it from

normative 'school grammar' based on social judgements and prescriptive attitudes about language. DeStefano also reminds the reader (p. 19) that not all teachers and students in schools use the same phonemic system, which has important implications for teaching reading and spelling. She concludes the chapter with a well-advised caveat that the many different types of transformations and the many different theories in linguistics are precisely theories and not actual procedures which occur in the minds of speakers. This is a reality often overlooked by beginning students of linguistics, although it may be slightly more obvious to the seasoned linguist. Chapter 3, 'The development of language', departs on a 'focus on the learner' note recommending that we know about our students before trying to teach them anything, and goes on to outline the major theories of language acquisition in children through discussion of the recent literature on phonological, syntactic, and semantic development. The chapter concludes with some pertinent observations on children's development of a 'social language use system' (a major aspect of Communicative Competence), in which cultural differences in children must be recognized by the teacher. The fourth chapter on variation in language discusses the many types of language differences, with examples of geographical, social, and register differences, and includes a perceptive section on acquisition of a 'school register' by children who must learn, most often without formal instruction, how to function linguistically in this environment. Concluding with remarks on attitudes toward language variation, DeStefano recommends once again that teachers 'concentrate on how the student's language is functioning as communication rather than on form' (p. 115).

Having thus introduced the field of linguistics (most adequately, and in the space of some 100 pages), DeStefano proceeds to offer suggestions for the application of the principles and theories to the classroom. Chapter 5, 'Language and reading', defines literacy as 'one of the major extensions of communicative competence in our society' (p. 125), and proceeds to offer the author's view of what occurs in the reading process: a 'Feature-Analytic' theory, much like the distinctive feature analysis of phonology, but based on visual rather than acoustic features, and reinforced by prediction on the basis of language redundancy. After discussing cultural influences on teaching and learning reading, which are closely allied with the language differences discussed in the chapter on language variation, DeStefano returns to more internal aspects in her discussion of phoneme-grapheme correspondences and their implications for the teaching of reading. Reference is made to Carol Chomsky's work ('Reading, writing, and phonology', Harvard Educational Review, 1970) on the relationships between word pairs such as photograph and photography, whose deep-structure relationship may show more similarity than the surface phonetic forms. The notion of 'school register' is brought up again in the author's mention of the 'Language Instruction Register'

in which she suggests that some students may have difficulty in classroom instruction because they do not understand such words as sound, letter, sentence, word, which they are assumed from the start to understand. Chapter 6, on language and writing, brings up once again the question of registers, particularly pertinent in view of the obvious differences between any type of spoken English and the written language. DeStefano discusses the relative merits of using three grammar systems to teach writing, 'school grammar', structural grammar, and transformational-generative grammar, concluding that practice is the only effective means of getting students to 'internalize the rules', and that conscious knowledge of the rules and of the structure of the language will not necessarily assure success in writing. Such practice, advises DeStefano, could best be implemented in the form of sentence combining (embedding) exercises, carefully integrated into other language activities to ensure their 'naturalness'. As for the eternal bête noire of language arts teachers, punctuation, DeStefano suggests that it be linked with the intonation patterns of the language, although she concedes that such a linking may fall short of explaining many of the punctuation rules which are mere convention. In the last chapter, dealing with language and spelling, DeStefano makes an impressively good case for the regularity (!) of the American English spelling system. By means of a chart of sound-spelling correspondences, the author shows a high incidence of regularity in the spelling system, implying a much higher level of predictability than we are usually inclined to assume. Implications for instruction include a proposal for the observance of lexical spelling patterns, which relate pairs or groups of words whose relationship may not be apparent in their surface phonetic realizations. DeStefano returns to discussion (pp. 209-212) of Carol Chomsky's work (1970, see above) on the lexical spelling level, emphasizing particularly its application to the spelling of the schwa phoneme in such words as president (cf. preside), precedent (precede), and the silent consonant in words like sign (cf. signature), muscle (muscular). Such a principle may well help toward resolving some time-honored spelling difficulties, and is a welcome inclusion in a book intended for teachers of language and language arts.

DeStefano's writing style is clear, logical, and approachable to the non-specialist. She explains linguistic facts and theories concisely and without entering into an inordinate amount of technical detail. Bibliographies, including some annotated entries in the 'For further reading' sections, are provided at the end of each chapter. Language, the learner & the school is an appropriate text for beginning classes in language or language arts pedagogy, and, in light of the importance of language in the school curriculum, for students involved in a primary or secondary education program in any subject. The book is technically well presented, spoiled

only occasionally by the inevitable typographical errors, for example: 'Emily Dickenson' in the very first sentence on page 1; 'Dalmation', page 9; 'grammer', page 32 (but with reassuring 'grammar' later in the same sentence); 'bombadier', page 214, in the very section discussing spelling errors and the omission of silent letters (cf., as the author herself would suggest, "bombard"). Some errors of fact have also crept into the text: "English's 2 cases (singular and plural)" (p. 47); "the Song of Roland, a famous medieval poem, was in Provençal" (p. 83); an example of a "false etymology" given as the introduction of the letter "b" in doubt so that "people were to think the word was Latin in origin, not Old English" (p. 215). Not only is this an inaccurate conception of a false etymology, but the b was indeed introduced into the word to reflect its Latin source, dubitare, the word having originally come into Middle (not Old) English through French, which had lost the b.

These are, however, minor criticisms of a book which is well-conceived, well-written, and which deserves to be well-received by the profession. Books such as this one are needed to open the intricate and arcane mysteries of linguistics to the uninitiated (or merely confused) teacher, thereby supporting DeStefano's assertion (Preface, page vii) that 'in the curricular areas subsumed under language arts/reading/English education, teacher knowledge about language and various aspects of language provides the basis for intelligent pedagogical planning.'

The Spread of English edited by Joshua Fishman, Robert Cooper, and Andrew Conrad. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1977 Pp. xii + 336.

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The central theme of this volume is the spread of English in non-English mother-tongue countries. This theme is discussed from two perspectives: first, in terms of the unprecedentedly rich documentation of how English has 'taken roots' around the world, outliving the colonial era during which it was first introduced; second, in terms of the spread of English as a sociological phenomenon, the study of which has crucial bearing on such important theoretical questions in the sociology of language as language maintenance and language attitudes. The 14 chapters comprising this volume (quite a few of them having Fishman as the sole or joint author) fall into three main groups: global surveys of the role of English in a variety of societal domains (chs. 1 and 2), detailed studies of various sociolinguistic aspects of English in Israel (chs. 4-10), and theory-oriented discussions of language maintenance, attitudes, etc. (chs. 3, 11, 13, 14). There is also a chapter on language attitudes in Rhodesia (ch. 12).

The first chapter by A. Conrad and J. Fishman extensively documents the spread of English around the world. The claim that English is today THE world language is substantiated by (i) the number of countries in which English is either the sole or an 'associate' official language; (ii) the number of students studying English in primary and secondary schools; (iii) the number of foreign students at the tertiary level in English-speaking countries; and (iv) the number of books and newspapers published in English. The documentation is thorough, the presentation clear and the interpretation is insightful and objective. One example of the authors' pragmatic insight is their decision to include not only countries where English is the designated official language but also those where it is the de facto official language. Yet one wonders if criterion (iii) is the best measure of the role of English in higher education. English is most widespread in the so-called Third World Countries, and in most of these countries, English is often the main, if not the sole medium of higher education. Yet the percentage of Third World students who go abroad for higher studies is negligible. Thus, although criterion (iii) speaks eloquently for the spread of English, an even stronger measure would be the number of students enrolled at the tertiary level in English-medium classes. Also, a minor correction must be made: on page 6, the authors state that the growth of indigenous literatures in English is associated with a 'linguistic self-consciousness' on the part of communities of 'predominantly

English-speaking persons' which include third- and fourth-generation first-language speakers of English. They cite South Africa, Rhodesia, and India as examples. Whether this claim is true of the first two countries or not, it must be made clear that it is not true of India. Indian English literature is NOT associated with the so-called 'Anglo-Indians', though there may be a few 'Anglo-Indians' who have contributed to it. The majority of Indian English literary works are written by English-knowing bilinguals who speak some Indian language as their mother-tongue and who use English as a second language. In this connection, another slightly misleading statement must be corrected--those who write in English in India do not necessarily have 'international readership' as primary motivation (p. 56) but rather inter-regional, intra-national readership.

This brings us to another important issue, namely the motivation for the use of English around the world. Teachers of English as a second language have traditionally assumed that the major motivation is what Lambert et al. have termed 'affective'--acculturation in the English-speaking world. One seriously doubts the validity of such an assumption, especially in the emerging countries of Asia and Africa. This first chapter shows that out of the 71 million students learning English around the world, as many as 46 million come from Asia and Africa (excluding USSR, Korea and China). Isn't it high time that such 'market-survey' statistics influenced the ESL policy?

The second chapter, 'English Around the World' by J. Fishman, R. Cooper, and Y. Rosenbaum, attempts to find correlations between the status of English and a variety of socio-economic and other factors in 102 non-English mother-tongue countries. This study differs from earlier studies not only in its non-impressionistic procedure and extensive data-base, but also in the authors' insightful decision to break down the vague concept 'status of English' into a diverse set of criteria and stating correlations in terms of these criteria. They find that the most important socio-economic factors correlating with the use of English are, after former Anglophone colonial status, religious composition (absence of universal religions), linguistic diversity, and material benefits (exports to English-speaking countries). Urbanization, economic and educational development, and political affiliation were found to contribute little, independently of the other predictors.

In the next chapter, J. Fishman examines the phenomenon of the spread of English in the context of language maintenance and language shift. He correctly notes that the spread of English in the third world has not resulted in the same kind of massive mother-tongue displacement so characteristic of immigrant settings in North America and Australia. Part of the answer is no doubt the 'diffusion-based' spread of English in the third world. The other part of the answer

must surely lie in the deliberate language policy of the British colonialists, who in fact, had to be coaxed into introducing English in the educational systems of third world countries like India. Moreover, the sheer numbers and the existence of rich and hoary literary traditions must at some point figure in the explanation. Fishman puts his finger on the heart of the matter when he remarks that the staying power of English 'may derive from ethnic neutrality', i.e. the fact that English is not necessarily associated with a particular (British or American) set of ethnic values or ideology.

The next set of papers are case studies of the role of English in Israel. Chapter 4, 'English in Israel: a sociolinguistic study' by Nadel and Fishman, presents an overall picture of the history of the introduction of English in Israel, its use in education and the mass-media, etc., and serves as an introduction to the chapters that follow. These chapters examine such varied questions as the maintenance of English in 'new' neighborhoods (chapter 5) the use of English on a busy street in Jerusalem (chapter 6), students' and housewives' perception of the effectiveness of English vis-à-vis Hebrew as tools of persuasion (chapter 7), the economic incentives for learning English (chapter 8), the influence of English on formal terminology (chapter 9), foreign loan-words in Hebrew newspapers (chapter 10), attitudes toward English (chapter 11), among others. Each of these chapters seeks to answer a small set of specific questions by means of a well-defined empirical study, using a variety of techniques ingeniously adapted to elicit relevant data. With the exception of chapters 9 and 10 which make rather slender points on borrowing, the other papers in this set provide rich and varied documentation of the multivarious aspects of the spread of English in Israel. Similar case studies for other countries would greatly enhance our understanding of the parameters of language spread.

After a chapter on language attitudes in Rhodesia by John Hoffman which despite its intrinsic interest as one of the few studies of language attitude in Africa, is somewhat out of place as the only non-Israeli case study in the book, the volume ends with two brief notes by Fishman which bring together the diverse interplay of societal factors which are responsible for the spread of English around the world.

To conclude, The Spread of English marks a milestone in the study of languages of wider communication by the extensiveness of its documentation, the balanced and perspicacious interpretation of facts, as well as its in-depth studies of the attitudes, motivations, etc., involved in the study and use of English in a non-English mother-tongue community.

The social context of language edited by Ivana Marková. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978, ix+241 pp.

Interaction, conversation, and the development of language edited by Michael Lewis and Leonard A. Rosenblum. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977, ix+329 pp.

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Both volumes under review are collections of papers originally presented at conferences. The first volume derives from a conference on Language and Social Context held at the University of Sterling in early 1975 and includes some additional invited contributions. The second volume grew out of a conference on Communication and Language held at the Educational Testing Service at Princeton (date unspecified). Despite its title, The social context of language (SCL hereafter) is not a sociolinguistics volume; it is not even developmental sociolinguistics, for it makes no use of sociolinguistic models. Its theme may be characterized as the pragmatic and communicative determinants of language acquisition, cognitive development, and language use. This theme is shared by Interaction, conversation, and the development of language (ICDL hereafter). Of the two volumes, ICDL has a broader range in covering some aspects of phylogeny as well as ontogeny (e.g., the paper by Peter Marler on 'Sensory templates, vocal perception, and development: a comparative view'; an update on the chimpanzee Lana's 'conversational' skills by Duane Rumbaugh and Timothy Gill). In addition, there is a biological and ethological perspective taken in the papers by Louis Sander, Martin Richards, and Joseph Jaffe; however, the latter set of papers fails to say anything interesting about language.

SCL contains nine papers and an introduction by Marková; ICDL contains eleven papers, two short notes, and an introduction by Lewis and Rosenblum. Both volumes contain some very interesting and thought-provoking papers presenting new integrations of cognition, communication, and language into unified developmental models, as well as serious critiques of the Piagetian theory of cognitive development and a lot of empirical data on children's prelinguistic behavior. There is much to applaud and much to criticize in these papers, yet an individual evaluation of each of the papers is beyond the scope of this review, not only because of space limitation but also because I do not control much of the literature in ethology and biology. Instead, I shall try to isolate some major issues and present their treatment by various contributors. While this strategy will admittedly not cover all the papers, I hope it will at least touch the more important ones.

The research on language acquisition in the 1960's, influenced by Chomsky's theory of transformational generative grammar, concentrated on the child's acquisition of grammar, i.e. of a set of phonological, syntactic, and semantic rules. This acquisition was thought to be constrained by the (innate) Language Acquisition Device whose properties it was the object of language acquisition studies to discover.

The second phase of language acquisition research turned to the relationship between language acquisition and cognitive development, especially the correlations between stages in language learning and the Piagetian stages of cognitive growth (often treating the latter as 'prerequisites' of the former, cf. Slobin 1973).

More recently, this preoccupation with the cognitive determinants of language has been pushed back in time. At the same time, influenced by the explosion of interest in pragmatics that marks recent developments in linguistics, one finds a steady growth of interest in the nature of prelinguistic communication and its relation to subsequent linguistic and cognitive development.

Most of the papers in SCL and ICDL attempt to relate aspects of prelinguistic socio-cognitive development with the acquisition of language. As expected, they make extensive use of, inter alia, the Speech Act theory, Piaget, conversational analysis, case grammar. Some studies report correlations: feature x in prelinguistic behavior correlates with feature y in later language. Others attempt to state necessary conditions: socio-cognitive feature x is a PREREQUISITE for linguistic feature y. Still others suggest new syntheses: socio-cognitive feature x and linguistic feature y must share a common level of representation. I shall now turn to some concrete examples.

Perhaps the most elaborate example of this approach is Bruner's 1975 paper, 'From communication to language: A psychological perspective' which is reprinted in SCL. Bruner argues that grammar DESCRIBES, but does not EXPLAIN what is acquired. For explanation one must study the context of language acquisition--'an 'action dialogue' in which joint action is undertaken by infant and adult. The joint enterprise sets the deictic limits that govern joint reference, determines the need for a referential taxonomy, establishes the need for signalling intent, and provides a context for the development of explicit predication (p. 44).'

Another paper in SCL which takes the same approach is that by Susan Sugarman-Bell on 'Some organizational aspects of pre-verbal communication', which explores the emergence of intention-marking in the pre-verbal stage. The child is shown to progress from mutually exclusive object and person schemata to an integrative schema which draws the caretaker's attention to the child's intentions.

Derek Edward's paper on 'The sources of childrens early meanings' (SCL) also belongs in this category. Arguing that context is central to the acquisition process, not merely a casual appendage to the analysis, Edwards proceeds to discuss some very interesting examples of the development of meanings such as negation, possession, and a set of verbs and adjectives from 'constraints' on the child's actions. For instance, the child spontaneously comes up with an (in his dialect) possessive expression 'Daddy TV' when asked by Daddy not to go behind the TV set, even though the TV had never been referred to as specifically 'Daddy's' before.

Interesting as these examples are, the problem with this approach as a whole is that the claims are overstated. While such studies may demonstrate the presence of illocutionary forces in prelinguistic communication, they have precious little to say about the development of propositional meaning and grammatical structures. This weakness stems from what John Dore, in his judicious paper, 'Conditions on the acquisition of speech acts' (SCL) calls a 'theoretically untenable conflation of grammar with communication' (p. 92). Nothing in the child's prelinguistic experience discovered thus far is a sufficient cause for the emergence of grammar. To account for grammar, then, we need, in addition to the conceptual and communicative prerequisites, a set of linguistic conditions. By equating acquisition of language with the acquisition of grammar, the research of the 1960's went overboard in one direction. By equating acquisition of language with the acquisition of a conceptual and communicative apparatus, Bruner et al. may be heading too far in the other direction.

There are several papers in ICDL which also seek to trace precursors of language in preverbal interaction. However, what these studies attempt to trace is not pragmatic properties but gross measures such as the amount of language and sex-based differences in language. Roy Freedle and Michael Lewis, in their paper 'Prelinguistic conversations' claim, on the basis of empirical data, that regular action and vocalization patterns in prelinguistic situational settings are a 'necessary precondition' for the emergence of 'formal meanings'. They find that infants who close a large number of 'conversational' clusters in their early vocal interactions tend to develop 'formal language' more slowly than infants who close fewer such clusters. The authors tie this to maternal 'responsitivity'--mothers who allow the infant to end vocalization sequences are somewhat less attentive and responsive to their children.

But what is the nature of the 'formal language' that is supposed to be influenced by maternal 'responsitivity'? Here we are in for a disappointment: 'formal language' is defined in terms of mean length of utterance. So, what the authors mean, then, is not the NATURE of formal MEANINGS at all, rather, the AMOUNT of speech. Further, 'responsitivity' surely involves much more than whether the mother

lets her child have the last word (or rather, vocalization). An indefinite number of factors, quite unrelated to 'responsitivity', may determine why mothers choose not to add one more vocalization. Finally, considering the authors' explicit claim that 'maternal instruction' is somehow crucial for language acquisition, it is surprising that they make no reference to earlier studies (which contradict their claim) in this area (e.g., Cazden 1965; Brown, Cazden and Bellugi 1969).

A similar indifference to the complexities of linguistic patterns is evident in Michael Lewis and Louis Cherry's paper, 'Social behavior and language acquisition.' The authors claim that differential socialization patterns adopted by mothers toward their daughters and sons (e.g., daughters are permitted greater physical proximity, they are asked more questions and given fewer directives than boys) leads to sex-based differences in language. (No attempt is made to detail the differences or to state a precise correlation.) The authors go on to claim, in a section ominously titled 'Social behavior as grammar' that behavior serves as a prototype of linguistic rules. For example, 'the likelihood in English of an h following a t or of a noun following an article may be quite similar (in terms of the generation of rules as is an infant vocalization) to maternal vocalizations in the interaction of a 12-week-old and his caregiver (p. 242, ICDL).' Not only are the attempted correlations so gross as to be vacuous; they derive from a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of grammar. Maybe the time is ripe for a bold-face reprint of Syntactic Structures (especially Chapter 3).

The next major theme addressed by many of the contributors to the two volumes is the influence of language on cognitive development. Ragnar Rommetveit's paper, 'On Piagetian cognitive operations, semantic competence, and message structure in adult-child communication' (SCL) is best described as a plea to include a pragmatic component in the classical Piagetian theory. He criticizes the Geneva school for 'negative rationalism'--i.e., a tendency to judge the child's competence with reference to a superimposed artificial system of formal logic, thus necessarily leading to negative conclusions. Instead, he argues for the study of 'operative semantic competence' which is crucially determined by what he calls 'intersubjectivity' or the shared premises of the speaker and hearer. According to Rommetveit, this context-sensitive measure leads to a more realistic assessment of the development of cognition and language.

In a more lucid, and equally significant paper 'The internal triangle: language, reasoning, and the social context' (SCL), Valerie Walkerdine and Chris Sinha show that the subjects' interpretation of context (defined functionally, perceptually, and socially) affects the comprehension of relational terms such as 'more' and 'less' so crucial to Piagetian tests of cognitive development (e.g., conversation).

There are two papers in ICDL which belong in this category. The first is 'cognition and communication: a dialectic paradigm for development' by Irving Sigel and Rodney Cocking, which seeks to extend and specify the social-interactive components in Piaget's theory. They show that 'distancing behaviors' or mental demands made on the child by the parents (to observe, compare, combine, etc.,) have an incremental influence on cognitive development (e.g., performance on conversation tasks). The interest of this paper for developmental psycholinguistics lies in the fact that distancing strategies are very often verbal--interrogatives of various kinds, instigating, activating, and organizing mental operations. Consequently, the contribution by Sigel and Cocking has crucial bearing on discussions of the influence of language on cognition.

The lengthy paper, 'From gesture to the first word: on cognitive and social prerequisites' by Elizabeth Bates, Laura Benigni, Inge Bretherton, Luigia Camaioni, and Virginia Volterra (ICDL) is an attempt to clarify the notion of 'prerequisite' which figures so prominently in recent studies of language acquisition. After a lengthy review of possible models for the interdependence of language, cognition, and social development, the authors reject both the Piagetian model of cognitive determinism and the Chomsky-McNeill model of language-cognition independence. Instead, they propose a 'homologous' model in which performances on both linguistic tasks and the so-called pure cognition tasks are dependent on underlying operative schemes shared by the two domains, rough co-occurrence in time, and correlations between cognitive and communicative events across a sample of children.

David McNeill's paper 'Speech and thought' (SCL) also presents a new integration of language and cognition in which the two systems are viewed as determining each other. Adopting C. S. Pierce's terminology, McNeill describes the process of language development as a 'semiotic extension'. In this model, the sensory-motor (or indexical) schemas developed in infancy do not disappear in later linguistic development but get extended to iconic and later symbolic signs. The emergence of syntax is explained as a device to bridge the gap between the child's expanding cognitive functioning and sensorimotor integration.

Another recurrent topic in the papers under review is the nature of adult speech to children. The contributions of Lewis and Cherry, and Sigel and Cocking, which also bear on this issue, have already been discussed. The following two papers deal specifically with the nature of speech addressed to children. Both Susan Ervin-Tripp and Wick Miller ('Early discourse: some questions about questions') and Rochel Gelman and Marilyn Shatz ('Appropriate speech adjustments: The operation of conversational constraints on talk to two-year-olds') (both in ICDL) point out that the nature of adults' talk to children cannot be fully understood in terms of syntactic structures alone: for that leaves the presence of many a complex structure unexplained.

Instead, they suggest that an analysis which takes into account the nature of the speech act, conversational constraints, and social appropriateness may yield a better prediction of the register shifts in "motherese".

Finally there are a few papers which do not fit into the categories discussed above. Of these, two are detailed and sophisticated discussions of specific discourse-related skills, namely questions and anaphoric 'tying' (Ervin-Tripp and Wick Miller, op. cit.) and 'contingent queries' or elucidatory question-answer sequences embedded in ongoing discourse (Catherine Garvey, 'The contingent query: a dependent act in conversation' ICDL). From SCL, Ivana Marková's paper 'Attributions, meanings of verbs, and reasoning' is a deductive analysis of the psychological conditions that must be satisfied before certain types of verbs, e. g., threaten, promise, stretch, etc., can be used appropriately. This analysis is reminiscent of Fillmore's analysis of the verbs of judging. 'Language and interpersonal relations' by Guy Fielding and Colin Fraser finds a correlation between the choice of language type ('nominal' versus 'verbal') and extralinguistic setting--in particular, with the 'ideational' versus 'interpersonal' function of language (cf. Halliday, 1975). On the basis of data from a rather contrived experiment, the authors underscore the (by now well-known) point that style is in part determined by participant relationships in discourse.

In conclusion, the studies in SCL and ICDL raise a number of fundamental issues involved in the relationship between language acquisition and sociocognitive development. Although I find the specific correlations attempted in these papers too gross and linguistically rather naïve, there is no doubt that the attempt to view these aspects of development in a complex perspective is potentially fruitful. One can, therefore, expect studies such as those by Bruner, Dore, Edwards, Bates et al., Sigel and Cocking, Rommetveit, and Walkerdine and Sinha to serve as valuable points of departure for subsequent studies in these areas. Thus there is much of value in these volumes for scholars in language acquisition, cognitive development, conversational analysis, and related areas.

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Polly Davis. English structure in focus. Newbury House Publishers. Rowley, Massachusetts. 1977. Pp. XV. 375.
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Even as a student and teacher of classical languages, I have long noted the need for a methodology which would stimulate the student's initiative in the language learning process. It appears to be only reasonable to expect that the less active role a teacher plays in the classroom, the greater will be the involvement and, hence, potential for retention on the part of the student. In a field-tested work designed to emphasize 'the meanings and relationships of English structures' for intermediate students of English as a second language, Davis offers an important tool to teachers who desire to emphasize student participation and creativity.

The work is divided into nine units; each one, except unit one which serves as a basic review, focuses the student's attention on a particular clause type and/or particular subsystem of the verb. Thus, unit two treats restrictive noun modification and unit three deals with the tense system of the verb. Units four and five analyze non-past and past modal auxiliaries respectively. Infinitives and gerunds are the subjects of discussion in unit six, while unit seven treats contrary-to-fact conditions. The passive voice is the emphasis of study in unit eight and, finally, unit nine deals with non-restrictive noun modification. Within each unit are several lessons which elucidate specific grammatical points made by the author. Each lesson follows a theme usually drawn from contemporary American life: thus, 'The Women's Movement' in lesson thirty-eight. The advantage to such an approach, as I see it, is twofold: first of all, the language study is removed from the vacuum of simple grammatical 'pros and cons' as the student is confronted with situations and issues faced by the average native speaker; secondly, not only are the sentence structures and verb systems accentuated, but contemporary idioms so necessary--and yet so difficult--for the foreign-speaking student to master are liberally used and defined within the context of the theme development (note the author's frequent use of helpful footnotes). To put it briefly, the typical contemporary topics discussed within the lessons serve as an important tool in aiding the student to become more familiar with the subtleties of an admittedly difficult modern language.

Undoubtedly, the most important and impressive aspect of the work is the author's liberal use of exercises designed to enable the student, either working independently or with a minimum of aid from the instructor, to use his/her own understanding of the English language and imagination to develop the themes presented in the various lessons. Although clues are available to facilitate the student's progress through the exercise, the teacher's manual provides

methodology whereby each exercise may be completed without reference to any aid. Again, the basic concept underlying Davis' work is that a student who takes the initiative and uses his/her own imagination in the development of language skills has a greater potential to retain the material. I enthusiastically endorse the methodology used by Davis and, although as a classicist I must admit to a limited awareness of tools available in this field, I do recommend to instructors of English as a second language a work which might be deemed a significant contribution to their endeavour to constantly upgrade teaching methodology.

Studies in the Perception of Language edited by W. J. M. Levelt and G. B. Flores d'Arcais. New York: Wiley. 1978.

Reviewed by S. N. Sridhar, Center for Comparative Psycholinguistics and Department of Linguistics.

This volume presents an overview of the major theoretical and empirical issues in the field of language perception. All the contributors use the term 'perception' in the curiously extended sense of understanding utterances that has become established in psycholinguistic literature. Thus this volume is addressed to the questions of language comprehension as a whole, not merely to perception in the narrow sense--namely identification of speech units such as phonemes or syllables.

There are nine papers in all, the longest (74 pages) being an excellent overview of studies in sentence perception from 1970 to 1976 by Willem Levelt. The next paper, 'Contributions of Prosody to Speech Perception', by Noteboom, Brokx, and de Rooij demonstrates the value of the 'nuisance' variable, prosody, in sentence segmentation. 'The intraclausal syntactic processing of ambiguous sentences' by Jöel Pynte offers little that is new in that overworked area except, perhaps, to confirm the hearer's application of specific lexical knowledge at various points in deciding syntactic organization. The paper by Patricia Wright and Penelope Wilcox on the comprehension of instructions is an original and stimulating study of the role in the comprehension process of the form of instruction and the placement of presuppositions in the sentence.

The next three papers deal with the clause as an important unit in comprehension. Flores d'Arcais presents experimental evidence in support of the claim that sentences are perceptually stored and processed in working memory clause by clause, and further, that processing load tends to be harder toward the end of the clause. The author also discusses how different types of clauses in discourse affect the perceptual organization differently.

The paper, 'Perception of relations: The interaction of structural, functional and contextual factors in the segmentation of sentences', by John Carroll, Michael Tannenhaus, and Thomas Bever continues the work of Bever and his associates on syntactic processing strategies--in the current study the authors attempt to specify the types of perceptual cues the hearer might utilize in constructing the internal structure of sentences.

'Sentence processing and the clause boundary' by Marslen-Wilson, Lorraine Tyler, and Mark Seidenberg both builds on and modifies the serial clausal-processing hypothesis, pointing out the need to accomodate cases of backward pronominalization.

The operating principles employed in the Artificial Intelligence models of human language understanding are the subject of the paper, 'Comprehension by Computer: Expectation-based analysis of sentences in context', by Christopher Reisbeck and Roger Schank. It is a deductive formulation, emphasizing the role of the context.

The volume ends with a paper by Herb Clark on the comprehension of indirect speech acts. Clark presents experimental evidence showing a direct relationship between comprehension time and the nature of inference required in understanding indirect speech acts.

In short, the current volume offers much that would interest students of different aspects of language perception, ranging from the perception of sound to that of intended meaning.

Alice C. Pack, Pronouns and determiners. (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1977), 308 pp. (paper)
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Teachers harried by the drudgery of evaluating the progress of unsophisticated students struggling to master English pronouns will welcome this drill book designed to allow pairs of students to monitor their individual progress in command of English. This book is part of the Dyad Learning Program, a method of highly structured practice in idiomatic English. Tailored for native Hawaiians learning English as a second language, any copy of the book can serve as both a workbook and an ingenious answer key. Three pages of notes adequately explain the use of this and other books in the learning program.

There are twenty-five major divisions, or steps, in the study of pronouns. A step consists of sets of fifteen idiomatic, easy statements in which one pronoun is omitted and must be supplied by the student. When he or she is able to supply fifteen straight correct pronoun responses, as judged by the other student in the dyad (who has the correct responses visible), the step is considered complete. The 'tutor' and the student may then reverse roles, and the member of the dyad who was previously the tutor in turn becomes the student trying to prove his mastery of either the same or different levels of pronoun usage. Hence pacing of progress at individual rates and a game-like atmosphere can be maintained. Because each step includes six sets of comparably difficult material, there is adequate variety and little risk that one student will merely memorize his partner's responses.

Pronouns and morphological units easily confused with them are all thoroughly essayed. Correct uses of a, an, and the, as well as subject, object, possessive, demonstrative, reflexive, and relative pronouns are all presented. Three review units, combining material from all previous exercises, are included.

The book's utility seems quite good; the few Hawaiian allusions do not weaken the volume's worth to Spanish-speaking, American Indian, oriental, or other students grappling with the mysteries of English pronouns.

A reservation, based more on philosophy of teaching than on the quality of the material, concerns the danger of students' dependence upon what seems to this critic as a highly mechanistic, even rigid, routine entrusted to neophytes. However, if one accepts the dyadic drill method, and provided that adequate lecture and discussion

material accompany the drills, the idea could be an effective time-saver. Fortunately there is ample evidence that the author is sensitive to linguistic subtleties and has sympathetically and thoughtfully designed the material to minimize frustration and error. While most of the drills are carefully unambiguous, in a few examples a student might supply some correct pronoun or determinant other than the one intended, and his naive partner could say, 'No, yours is not the prescribed response.' Example: '_____ didn't say how long it took them to drive over.' (p. 23, subjects, mixed number, and gender) The only correct response listed is 'they', but what is the teacher to say if a student reports embarrassment and loss of face if his response 'I, you, he, or she' did not match the key? These occasional ambiguities are most likely to occur in the comprehensive review lessons, but the author alertly senses the problem and often allows more than one correct response (examples: pp. 199, 203, 253). Presumably the teacher is expected to note and comment on shades of meaning expressed by alternative ways of using pronouns or determiners. Example: 'He needs (the?) money to buy books.' (p.251) Here context must determine whether a specific amount mentioned earlier, or just money in general, is discussed. In one case 'the' is appropriate, and in the other it is not.

Finally, the program seems thorough and balanced. Sufficient reinforcement of idioms without undue risk of boredom appears to be consistently built into the drills. Matters which seem obvious to the majority of native Americans but very difficult for others are included. Examples such as the following ones indicate that the author was sensitive to the confusions likely to occur in the use of determiners. 'He plays (the?) professional football (p. 247); He plays in (the?) orchestra (p. 249); He went to (the?) college when he was young (p. 245); He went to (the?) university (p. 245).

In the hands of a sensitive teacher the book can be a useful, efficient teaching device. Its organization can help the teacher to avoid omission of details which are easy to overlook among middle-class 'Anglos' but which mystify a minority of our own citizens and immigrants. It offers a welcome release from tedium at the price of a conscientious teacher's vigilance.

A. Barbara Pilon, Teaching language arts creatively in the elementary grades.

(New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 318 pp. (paper)

Marie Marcus, Diagnostic teaching of the language arts. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), 545 pp.

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Although both volumes are addressed to language arts students and teachers, and while both books reveal fervent desires to improve instruction in the communication arts, one can hardly imagine more strikingly different approaches to the task of training teachers. The Pilon book stresses affective appeal and generating excitement among students, while the Marcus textbook urges methodical, highly structured analysis of student language problems as the basis for subsequent instruction. Marcus creates a somewhat clinical atmosphere, while the Pilon volume encourages highly adaptive, subjective teaching methods responsive to students' day-to-day moods. One suspects that teachers comfortable with one book would not like the other.

In their own ways, however, both books could be effective resources both during the prospective teacher's course work and during one's teaching career. Pilon addresses well the question of what to do to sustain excitement and involvement. Marcus is better at isolating, understanding, and attacking specific linguistic flaws among students. She gives detailed etiologies of numerous substandard usages and language habits by describing the phenomena and citing case studies. Where Pilon implies or assumes instructional objectives, Marcus details them explicitly.

Both writers have a great deal to say about philosophies of teaching, particularly about their respective fundamental assumptions. The central idea dominating Pilon's work is the necessity for teachers to sustain a creative, productive climate in the classroom, while the recurrent theme of Marcus's book is the centrality of accurate systematic diagnosis of language problems before instruction. Although Marcus reveals no paucity of ideas for teaching nor any lack of teaching aids, the reader is constantly reminded of the diagnostic attitude. Her grand design is based on describing facts of language, then diagnosing student flaws, and finally instructing students.

Both writers profess strong student-centered attitudes in choosing activities, grading, and motivating students, but Pilon seems closer than Marcus to elementary students. Pilon includes numerous drawings, quotations, pictures, cartoons, and poems within the text, creating an illusion that the real classroom is nearby. Marcus, by contrast, creates a detached, highly-organized focus on the teacher as diagnostician learning professional procedures; there are only eleven illustrations in the book. Pilon places an extensive annotated bibliography and a list of teaching aids at the end of each chapter. Similarly, Marcus includes a list of references and problems or activities at the ends of most chapters. Both writers present general bibliographies, of which Marcus's is the more comprehensive.

In structure the two volumes are quite different. Pilon begins her book with a unit on motivating students to read and then turns to promoting self-concepts, listening skills, and sensory development. Her next chapters are on words and associated games leading toward improved vocabulary, usage,

spelling, and handwriting. Two rather brief chapters on reading and developing critical and creative thinking follow. A chapter on basic concepts of poetry, 'Poetry is when the words marry', furnishes an introduction to the climate, style, and formal concepts of poetry. Her last chapter, 'An olio of ideas', is a potpourri of ideas for sustaining creative teaching and generating somewhat more advanced concepts of language. For example, myths, folk tales, wishes, and dreams are used for material in student exercises and for motivation.

Marcus begins her book with 'Basic information in the language arts' and includes chapters on oral language, dialect, verbal and non-verbal modes, listening, handwriting, spelling, and writing. Her second major division is called, 'Diagnostic techniques in the language arts', in which words, poems, stories, and various skills are examined as diagnostic tools. Her final unit of four chapters addresses 'Instructional techniques in the language arts'. Here she explicitly develops some alternative plans and philosophies of teaching and testing the skills described earlier. Her final chapter presents ten case studies from grades two through eleven, reiterates the necessity of diagnosis before instruction, and essays many of the perennial issues of teaching, such as grade-level placement, teaching versus learning, individualized instruction, and evaluation of progress. In assessing the utility of these two books, one cannot unreservedly recommend either one of them. Both writers are well-read, convincing supporters of their respective positions, and thorough in documentation. Both could furnish a wealth of useful ideas for beginning language arts teachers. The Pilon book may create inspiration and encourage imaginative, literature-centered instruction, but its brevity and the assumption that teachers can supply teaching objectives may weaken the book. It is readable, zestful, and sympathetic with students; yet many of the motivational devices and stimulating games may not secure their intended ends. Rigor and thoroughness of instruction in language skills may suffer from the diffusion of content in activities. At the other extreme, the Marcus text suffers from its overly-structured organization. Everything must be studied three times, and the apparatus of subdivision makes the volume seem forbidding and turgid. Nearly any language skill, form, or anomaly can be found somewhere in its pages, but the reader is more overwhelmed than satisfied when trying to find Marcus's views on, say, teaching spelling rules (See her chapters 4, 8, and 13). More encyclopedic than Pilon's book, it abounds in lists and tables which create a ponderous effect. Even conceding that the two authors were trying to achieve quite different ends, still they share the goal of training language teachers. Their readers will probably wish that each writer had leavened her text with the virtues of the other.

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