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FOREWORD

S.P. Corder in his preface to <u>Introducing Applied</u>
<u>Linguistics</u> (1973) wrote that his purpose had been 'to
show the relevance of those studies which are broadly
called linguistic to a number of practical tasks
connected with language teaching'. The relationship
between linguistics, psychology, education and, more
recently, the social sciences and language teaching has
remained the main, though not the sole concern of
applied linguistics.   This is reflected in the articles
in this issue of the <u>Nottingham Linguistic Circular</u>
which is specially devoted to applied linguistics.

The fundamental debate about <u>conscious</u> versus <u>unconscious</u>
learning has received new prominence through the writings
of Stephen Krashen.   Brumfit's article considers both
the weaknesses and the importance of Krashen's theories.
The interest in language acquisition generated by
Chomsky, which inspired the speculations of Corder and
Krashen, also gave fresh impetus to observation of
naturalistic language use.   If some degree of
bilingualism is the aim of foreign language teaching,
then case studies of bilingual children might throw
interesting light on what proficiency in two languages
means and how it is attained.   De Houwer's study of a
three year old child is a contribution to this line of
study.   Schwerdtfeger similarly takes data from
naturalistic language in order to characterize one
variety that has only recently received attention:
foreigner talk, the ways in which a native speaker
adjusts to the limited comprehension of a foreign learner.
In the second half of her article she moves from analysis
to practical applications in the production of teaching
materials.   The other article describes applications of
the sociolinguistic concept of register.   The formula of
registral value devised by Lyne constitutes a much more
sophisticated and useful tool for vocabulary selection in
teaching a language for special purposes than a raw
frequency list.   The book reviews touch again on the
two aspects of applied linguistics, the theoretical and
the practical, and on the relation between them.

<u>W. Grauberg</u>

Guest Editor, Special Issue on Applied Linguistics

SOME PROBLEMS WITH KRASHEN'S CONCEPTS, 'ACQUISITION' AND 'LEARNING'

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Anyone looking at recent work in the theory of language teaching and learning will recognise the increasing social sensitivity of both theorists and practitioners. The combined impacts of philosophical and linguistic approaches to pragmatics, social psychological examinations of linguistic variation in response to role sets and group perceptions, and functional approaches to problems of first and second language acquisition have provided theoretical support for the dissatisfaction with purely grammatically based procedures felt by many teachers. For many observers, the effect of this greater emphasis on the social dimension has been to increase awareness of the complexity of language acquisition. While there has been a tendency to look more closely at the similarities between first and second language acquisition, and to attribute similar strategies to children and adults (Hatch, 1978; McLaughlin, 1978a), it is also recognised that there are considerable differences between the strategies and performance of individuals in any group. Hatch (1978:17) claims that recent studies of second language acquisition 'show overall similarities in acquisition strategies whether the learner is child or adult', but also points out that 'the studies show considerable variation among learners at one age group and also across the age range'. Variation in strategy has been noted, both in the classroom (Naiman et al, 1978:100) and in natural settings with children (Lily Wong Fillmore, 1979).

However diverse the strategies employed by students may be, those of us who operate in classrooms nevertheless have to find some useful generalisations, for we inevitably teach groups of students, using materials and syllabuses which are aimed at collections of people. One of the most difficult questions is the extent to which we should reflect current linguistic preoccupations in our pedagogy. We may well feel that the preoccupation of pronunciation teachers with minimal pair activity rather than with intonation and rhythm, or of audiolingual teaching procedures with phonology and syntax at the expense of meaning, show teaching following the capacity of linguists to make satisfactory descriptions rather than the capacity of teachers to achieve successful learning. Sajavaara (1980) points out that the neglect of the lexicon may be a result of the autonomous status awarded to grammar by linguists. But the limited access of the learner to linguistic data, the ways in which educational institutions constrain interaction,

and the instinctive processing procedures of learners will all mean that they are in quite different positions from linguistic analysts. Sajavaara (1980:2) summarises the problem well:

> Production and reception are creative processes, and the establishment of communication between the two interactants is based only partially on rules which exist in the speech community and are available to its members through socialization and language acquisition. As important as such rules are various negotiation processes which are created ad hoc in each individual communicative situation. The linguist's description of the linguistic system functioning in such an interactive process cannot catch the creative aspect, the rules that are made by participants.

As Sajavaara points out, this distinction reflects that between language system and language behaviour (Lyons, 1977:27-29), and it has reappeared in the literature on language learning and pedagogy in a number of guises. Krashen's distinction between 'learning' and 'acquisition' is the most fully developed of these, but he has himself drawn attention (Krashen, 1979) to three other versions: mechanisms that guide 'automatic' performance versus mechanisms that guide puzzle- or problem-solving performance (Lawler and Selinker, 1971); implicit knowledge versus explicit knowledge (Bialystok and Fröhlich, 1977); expression rules versus reference rules (Widdowson, 1978). A similar concern also seems to underlie more pedagogically orientated distinctions such as 'skill-using' versus 'skill-getting' (Rivers, 1972) and 'accuracy' versus 'fluency' (Brumfit, 1979).

We may accept that these various dichotomies were each designed for separate purposes without denying that they reflect in different ways a concern to account for the widely-observed failure of students to produce in natural discourse the linguistic forms they can apparently produce in the formal teaching situation. The crucial problem, as we shall see later, is the relationship between the two elements being distinguished. I have argued elsewhere that, for teaching purposes, we cannot on present evidence assume a direct correspondence between acts of teaching and acts of entirely integrated learning. But Krashen goes further than this in asserting that there is no connection between acts of conscious learning (which may, like teaching, be at least partially observable) and unconscious acquisition. The implication of this position is that formal teaching may actually prevent effective language acquisition and, although Krashen's relationship with Terrell does appear to have led to a modification in practice (Krashen and Terrell, 1983 forthcoming), it is this aspect of his work which has received much attention from some language teachers. Since a rejection of overt (and accountable) teaching in favour of covert (and unaccountable) acquisition could be dangerous, it is worth examining the implications of this aspect of Krashen's work carefully.

Let us return to the polarities.   Though each was devised in
a different context, they share some features.   Lawler and
Selinker's distinction is part of an argument about the
relationship between linguistics and language teaching.   They
are particularly concerned to clarify questions which might
be important for language teaching whether or not they are
important in linguistics.   The distinction they make between
automatic activity and problem-solving activity is a general
one concerned both with speed and processing.   After discussing
it in those terms, they rephrase the distinction for language
teaching as:

1.   performance in the second language in which the
     learner has time to consciously apply grammatical
     rules no matter how such rules are coded;   and

2.   performance in a second language in which
     automatic application of rules under conditions
     of speed and spontaneity is necessary (Lawler
     and Selinker, 1971:38).

It is clear that this formulation leads the way to Krashen's
claim that there are two distinct processes at work, rather
than a sequence, as assumed throughout audiolingual teaching,
and in Rivers' formulation.   Rivers is of course thinking
about the teacher's point of view, and there are no necessary
assumptions about the means of causing 'skill-getting' in
distinguishing it from 'skill-using'.   Nonetheless, by
claiming that there are two identifiable stages in the teaching
process, Rivers does suggest a complementary relationship, in
which one feeds in to the other, which does not necessarily
follow from Lawler and Selinker's position.   The research
enquiry that they demand could in principle lead to the
abolition of a need for skill-getting activities: if, for
example, it was found that two completely different rule-
systems operated, and that one could not be transformed into
the other.   And, although he has been ambiguous on this issue
in his more recent writings, Krashen has often implied that
the research in second language acquisition of the 1970s shows
a lack of contact between the two systems which would make
nonsense of many claims of language teachers over the past two
millenia.   I shall consider his arguments in more detail later,
but let us first place them in the context of the other
dichotomies.   Bialystok and Fröhlich (1977) distinguish
implicit and explicit knowledge, but since they refer to
Krashen himself for this distinction we can conveniently treat
it as the kind of knowledge that results from acquisition and
learning respectively in his model, and discuss its implications
while discussing that.   Widdowson's (1978:13) distinction is
between 'expression rules' (rules which govern what the learner
does with language) and 'reference rules' (which characterise
the learner's knowledge).   However, this distinction is
advanced with considerably more explanatory potential than the
previous distinctions, for he does not consider these two sets
as simply unsituated sources of language production.

What happens, I suggest, is that the learner is
provided with a set of reference rules which he will
act upon with a fair degree of success in those
teaching situations which require simple conformity
to them.   The more he is required to use these
rules for a communicative purpose, however, the more
likely he is to adopt the normal communicative
strategy of simplification;   the more likely he is,
in other words, to behave like a normal human being
and develop expression rules to facilitate
communication (Widdowson, 1978:15).

Expression rules, then, are the rules of normal communication,
as applied by language learners to the language items they have
so far been exposed to.   Hence, with second language learners
as with young mother tongue learners, they may well appear
deviant from adult rule systems or target rule systems.
Widdowson continues to consider various ways of teaching which
would be more orientated to the development of adequate
expression rules, but the suggestions (notional-functional
syllabus design, teaching subject matter through the medium of
the second language) are not explicit enough to deal with the
problem of where reference rules come from for second language
learners to act upon.   I have discussed this point elsewhere
(Brumfit, 1983), but for our argument here it is important to
note the dynamic potential of Widdowson's formulation in
contrast to the others.   Of the earlier distinctions, only
that of Rivers implied any systematic relationship between the
two sides, and that relationship could be realised through any
learning theory.   Widdowson, however, proposes an explanation
for why the two systems may co-exist in the same learner, and
an account of the language learning process which allows for
both learner initiative and for the discrepancy between
teaching and performance.   It is also quite distinct in type
from the Krashen-associated distinctions, for they are concerned
with measurement of the linguistic system, while Widdowson is
concerned with what is done in the process of interaction.

We have, then, two groups of distinctions so far.   In one, a
process of 'acquisition' may provide 'implicit knowledge'
which is used through 'mechanisms that guide automatic
performance', and this is contrasted with a process of 'learning'
which may provide 'explicit knowledge' used through 'mechanisms
that guide puzzle- or problem-solving performance'.   While
this is to oversimplify, it is certainly within the spirit of
Krashen's (1979) grouping.   The implication for this group is
that the latter may be irrelevant to the former, for if no
principled relationship can be detected between them, there
is no argument for using the latter when competence with a
language is desired, for successful language use always appears
to be automatic and based on implicit knowledge for most of the
time.

The other two distinctions do specify a relationship between
the two sides.   Rivers, looking at the issue from the
perspective of the teacher, simply codifies the assumption
underlying audiolingual practice (and, if we ignore the

specific connotations of 'skill', of all language teaching
methods which assume presentation and practice strategies
as a prerequisite of natural use) and sees them as successive
stages in the learning, and therefore teaching process.
It would be possible to accept this formulation in terms
of a range of learning theories, mentalist or behaviourist,
providing that a separation between performance and preparation
for performance is accepted. The crucial question is the
nature of the changes between the situation of use and the
situation of preparation. The convention for language
teaching has often been to separate out the component parts,
but it is noteworthy that in the standard work on skills
Welford (1968:291) states that 'where the whole task is a
closely co-ordinated activity ... the evidence suggests that
it is better to tackle the task as a whole' rather than learn
one part at a time. He continues: 'Any attempt to divide
it up tends to destroy the proper co-ordination of action and
subordination of individual actions to the requirements of
the whole ... and this outweighs any advantage there might be
in mastering different portions of the task separately'.
Nonetheless, Rivers' distinction recognises the characteristic
assumption of much pedagogy, and could be related satisfactorily
to Widdowson's, for the activities conventionally regarded as
'skill-getting' can be seen as the establishment of 'reference
rules' by learners, and 'skill-using' as the operation of
'expression rules'. Rivers, however, offers no more than a
descriptive distinction, while Widdowson's is an explanatory
hypothesis. Pedagogically, though, they both have merit over
the other set, for they can be explicitly related to teachers'
traditional behaviour. This does not, of course, constitute
a justification for these positions, but it does enable
Widdowson's, in particular, to claim to be a possible
explanation of teaching behaviour as well as of the observed
difficulties of learners transferring from formal to informal
language activities in the classroom.

Krashen's position has been advanced with great persuasiveness
and massive documentation for the past decade, and has been
the subject of several careful and critical analyses (his
major papers are collected in Krashen, 1981, and for criticisms
see McLaughlin, 1978b; James, 1980; Sharwood Smith, 1981).
It is not necessary for this argument to review the whole
context of second language acquisition studies, though one of
the major areas of contention is the extent to which morpheme
studies justify the notion of invariant order of acquisition
(Larsen-Freeman, 1975; Rosansky, 1976; Andersen, 1977).
It is the other two main aspects which have been criticised
that are directly relevant to pedagogy, for even if we accept
the notion of invariant order we still need to consider whether
a complete lack of connection between acquisition and learning
can be argued for, and from that we shall need to examine the
implications of the distinction for the practice of language
teaching.

The distinction between explicit and implicit knowledge, on
which the learning/acquisition distinction has been based,
poses major methodological problems, for implicit knowledge

can only be inferred while explicit knowledge can be revealed
by the knower.   Krashen's monitor model (Figure 1) has an
intuitive attractiveness, partly because of its simplicity,
and partly because it clearly describes a process that all
self-conscious language learners will recognise.

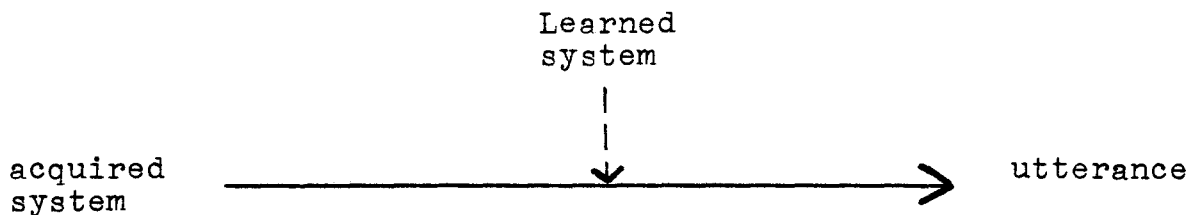Learned
system

acquired ⟶ utterance
system

Figure 1:   Monitor Model (Krashen, 1981:2)

To quote the introduction to Krashen's collected papers, and
therefore presumably a carefully considered statement:

> The fundamental claim of Monitor Theory is that
> conscious learning is available to the performer
> only as a Monitor.   In general, utterances are
> initiated by the acquired system - our fluency in
> production is based on what we have 'picked up'
> through active communication.   Our 'formal'
> knowledge of the second language, our conscious
> learning, may be used to alter the output of the
> acquired system, sometimes before and sometimes
> after the utterance is produced.   We make these
> changes to improve accuracy, and the use of the
> Monitor often has this effect (Krashen, 1981:2).

It is unlikely that anyone would wish to quarrel with the
proposition that second language learners, and sometimes native
speakers, produce more or less automatic language, and
sometimes monitor it more or less self-consciously, so that
they alter it either as they produce it - if they have time
- or by correction immediately afterwards.   Such alterations
may well be to 'improve accuracy', though it is unclear
whether changes of that sort are to be regarded as different
from similar changes and rephrasings to improve precision, for
example by selection of a different lexical item, or by any
other adjustment or fine-tuning of the flow of speech.
However, the claim that conscious learning is available only
as a monitor is in principle unfalsifiable (as McLaughlin,
1978b and James, 1980 indicate), and anyway raises questions
which create logical nonsense.   As McLaughlin (1978b:318)
points out, the relationship between conscious learning and
unconscious acquisition can only be supported by arguments
based on 'subjective, introspective, and anecdotal evidence'.
He suggests instead a distinction between 'controlled' and
'automatic' processing since it 'enables one to avoid disputes
about conscious or subconscious experience, since the

controlled-automatic distinction is based on behavioral acts, not on inner states of consciousness'. In his reply to this paper, Krashen (1979:152) claims simply to be using the usual procedures of psychology in postulating a hidden distinction but he does not explain how the distinction is preferable to one based on more overt behaviour. What is more important, though, is the extent to which the two concepts can be regarded as totally independent of each other. Krashen equivocates a little. Compare 'conscious learning is quite different from acquisition and may be a totally independent system' (Krashen, 1978:22, my italics) with 'conscious learning does not initiate utterances or produce fluency' (ten lines later, my italics again) but the general argument clearly moves towards the view that learning does not contribute to acquisition and that natural language use arises out of acquisition not out of learning. This strong claim has worried a number of experienced teachers. Stevick (1980:267-82), for example, produces a modification of the monitor, 'The Levertov Machine', which greatly complicates the model, but does enable it to reflect an interaction between acquisition and learning rather than two separate, even antagonistic processes.

Pressed this far by Krashen, the distinction raises many difficulties. It requires us, for example, to distinguish between language instances that are constructed as a result of rules from those that crop up accidentally in other people's speech, or fluently (by acquisition) in our own, and to credit the two with different status as input. That is to say that a sentence that we know to be grammatical (perhaps because we have checked it consciously in a grammar book, and verified it in a text that we have read) must be eliminated from the data that we 'acquire' rules from, while other sentence patterns that only occur in the spontaneous speech of our interlocutors will be accepted as appropriate data. We may accept as probable that spontaneous speech is more likely to provide us with usable input (and it will certainly provide us with more in a shorter time than constructed speech), but what possible kind of evidence could be adduced for the claim that constructed speech cannot or will not be accepted as relevant data for creative construction?

Again, what exactly is meant by a 'learned system'? Krashen usually writes as if it will involve a conscious, even painstaking application of rules in which constructing a sentence is consciously planned, and publicly explicable. But conscious application may take many forms. How would Krashen classify the concentrated study of Lorca poems recorded by a native speaker of Spanish: 'Many of my private vocabulary words came from these poems' (Savignon, 1981:749)? And why does Rivers combine concentrated conscious learning with communicative groping for words with anyone who would talk to her (Rivers, 1979)? If Krashen seriously intends the statement that learned material can only contribute to monitoring, but monitoring requires time and a commitment to

formal correctness, a claim that he reiterates, then are we
to assume that Rivers' conscious effort is wasted except
perhaps insofar as she intended to produce written messages
in formal prose? Unless there is some connection between
acquisition and learning, many informed and skilled language
learners have wasted a great deal of their own and their
students' time. Of course this does not in itself constitute
an objection, but to fly so firmly in the face of so well
established a tradition requires a very strong basis of
research evidence. Yet the research position on this is
confusing. Even if we accept the claim that 'there is as
yet no counter evidence to the hypothesis that the existence
of the natural order in the adult is indeed a manifestation of
the creative construction process, or language acquisition'
(Krashen, 1978:8), this does not entail a concurrent claim that
no learning processes can have been used by learners in the
course of acquisition. The natural order claim is about
production and intuition about production, not about the
processes causing production - Krashen's distinction simply
gives a name to two black boxes and calls such baptisms an
explanation. In order to falsify the claim as it stands, it
is only necessary to produce learners who have attained a high
level of potential fluency by orthodox, self-conscious learning:
anyone, for example, who has learnt a language from a teach-
yourself book. Krashen will have to argue that their language
use must be limited to what they have encountered in natural
circumstances. He could try to avoid this difficulty by
arguing that extensive reading constitutes normal input, but
here again there are problems in determining the relations
between the struggling through a book in a foreign language
with a dictionary and occasional recourse to a grammar, and the
gradually developing speed and automaticity which may be
encountered even before one book has been completed. Yet
Krashen is consistently dismissive (though he tries to avoid
giving this impression) of conscious learning. Even when he
addresses himself specifically to 'some benefits of conscious
learning' the only justifications he can produce are that:

1. for optimal monitor users there can be a real
   increase in accuracy;

2. conscious learning can teach about language for
   those who like linguistics;

3. over users of the monitor can be given confidence
   in the creative construction process by being
   given rules which confirm their already acquired
   intuitions (Krashen, 1978:25-6).

This is not an impressive list, and it begs several questions.
We may ask, for example, whether a 'real increase in accuracy'
makes sense as a concept independently of communicative acts;
why automatic monitoring should not be fostered for learners in
relation to the communicative acts in which they participate;
and what the relationship is between 'acquisition' and automatic
monitoring such as we all acquire to a greater or lesser extent.
Furthermore, as Sajavaara (1978:56-59) has pointed out,
monitoring is characteristic of mother tongue speech as well

as foreign language speech.   Indeed, some degree of self-consciousness is necessary for any self-regulating activity and some natural monitoring will be a prerequisite for the operation of Grice's co-operative principle to occur, so Krashen's position, in a strong form, is not really compatible with natural language use at all.

The problem is that he appears to have made at least two unjustified confusions.   First, he identifies conscious learning with the conscious learning (by heart?) of <u>rules</u> of grammar, when audiolingual procedures on S-R bases on the one hand, or effort to learn a text by heart, on the other, may both be equally conscious learning, but without explicit concern with cognitive attention to rules.   Second, he identifies the process of monitoring with the careful, piece-by-piece, conscious application of rules.   It is trivial simply to say that you cannot use a language if you cannot produce automatic appropriate responses, but much of Krashen is no more than a scholarly reiteration of this truism. A much more important question is how the monitor relates to language use, rather than whether it does.   Even if we cannot answer this question precisely, we can make use of the experience of learners and teachers in using the research literature surveyed by Krashen more appropriately for the classroom.

It may be, then, that a weak version of Krashen's position will have some value.   But such a version, which states simply that self-conscious language production is not necessarily engaging identical processes as unself-conscious language production, and that the two processes, if there are two, interact with each other, is lacking in explanatory power, and is indistinguishable from versions proposed by Bialystok (1978), McLaughlin (1978b) and Stevick (1980), except insofar as the mechanisms proposed vary in each of these models.   In its strong form, Krashen has the disadvantages of being confused or inexplicit on certain key issues such as the definition of 'learning', of being intrinsically unfalsifiable, of conflicting directly with the intuitions of successful language learners and successful language teachers, and of being merely descriptive with no explanatory power.   In spite of the influence of his work, therefore, we cannot justifiably use it as a basis for teaching methodology.

But this does not mean that we should ignore the implications of the general distinction implied by this and the other dichotomies examined earlier.   As long as language teachers recognise the value of distinctions between 'skill-getting' and 'skill-using' or between accuracy and fluency activities in the classroom, we should continue to seek explanations for the different modes of behaviour which appear in students' linguistic responses to the different activities.   At the moment Widdowson's explanation looks the most sophisticated of those reviewed here.   The question is whether it can be turned into a testable hypothesis, or whether it is merely to remain a suggestive explanation.

This article is a modified version of an argument which is developed in more detail in my PhD thesis (Brumfit, 1983).

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE SIMULTANEOUS ACQUISITION OF DUTCH AND
ENGLISH BY A THREE YEAR OLD CHILD

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1. Introduction

In this article, I will discuss some aspects of the natural
language acquisition of a girl growing up bilingually. Some
recent studies of similar cases include those of Bergman
(1977) and Saunders (1982). The former deals with the
simultaneous acquisition of Spanish and English and is socio-
linguistically oriented. The latter gives a very impressive
account of many different aspects of the acquisition of English
and German by two Australian boys. This study again is more
sociolinguistically oriented and specifically mentions
language choice and environmental factors influencing
attitudes towards bilingualism on the part of the learners.
This same approach is taken by Fantini (1978) who, in contrast
with the studies mentioned above, studied two children who
started to learn a second language (English) only after they
had some knowledge of a first language (Spanish).

The present study resembles these studies in that the data are
analysed from a sociolinguistic point of view. On the other
hand the present study differs from these studies in that an
attempt is made to connect the insights thus gained with issues
that have mainly been discussed in studies of first language
acquisition.

2. Description of the study

2.1. The subject and her linguistic background

The subject of this study is an only child, Kate, who has been
exposed to English and Dutch from birth onwards. The child
has almost always been addressed in American English with a
Midwestern accent by the mother and in standard Flemish (a
variety of Dutch) by the father. The child's paternal
grandparents do not speak English but address the child in a
'cleaned up' variety of Gent dialect. Visitors to the home
address the child in standard Flemish or Dutch if this is
their native or near-native (in the case of dialect speakers)
language; in other cases the child is addressed in varieties
of English.

The family's home base has up to the time of writing always
been Antwerp, a fairly large city in Belgium with much
international activity mainly due to the presence of a
major sea-port and a large diamond industry.   Many languages
are spoken in the streets but the language of the local
inhabitants is a dialectal variety of Flemish.   However,
there have been many periods when the family was living
abroad.   Table 1 gives a picture of the child's whereabouts
until the end of the study.

Table 1:   list of countries visited by Kate

AGE	COUNTRY
0 to 0;4	Belgium (Antwerp)
0;4 to 0;9	Australia (Canberra)
0;9 to 0;10	USA and Great Britain
0;10 to 1;6	Belgium (Antwerp)
1;6 to 1;8	USA
1;8 to 2;5	Belgium (Antwerp)
2;5 to 2;5	USA (2 weeks)
2;5 to 3;4	Belgium (Antwerp)
end of study	

In total Kate spent between 8 and 9 months in an English-
speaking country compared to about 2 years 7 months in a
Dutch-speaking country.   The local environment has thus
been mainly Dutch-speaking.   Yet Kate's mother was not her
only source of contact with English in Belgium: Kate's
parents speak English with one another;   Kate has been
visiting an English playgroup nearly every week from the
age of 2 years;   she has been going to an English private
school in Antwerp from the age of 2;6;   dinner or lunch
guests often speak no Dutch and hence use English;   and
finally, at least once a month the family receives an
English-speaking visitor who stays for a few days (usually
a different person each time).   To sum up, the language
input to the child is more or less equally divided between
English and Dutch.   Within both languages the child is
exposed to many different varieties, the main ones being
American English and standard Flemish.   Both parents are
well-educated and have prestigious jobs.   The social
background could be described as upper middle class.

2.2. Data collection and examples

A total of 19 one-hour audio-recordings of spontaneous, unstructured interaction between Kate and adult interlocutors were made between the ages of 2;7,12 and 3;2,7. On 15 tapes the adults present include at least the child's mother M, who is a native speaker of English, and the investigator A, who is a native speaker of Dutch (the standard Flemish variety). The investigator is a close friend of the child's mother and speaks English to her (M has a very limited productive knowledge of Dutch and a quite unsatisfactory pronunciation). A met the subject 6 months before the start of the study and was in regular contact with her after the initial meeting. The child saw the investigator as a close friend of the family's and felt perfectly at ease with her. The child was not aware that her language was the field of interest of the investigator and behaved quite normally during the recording sessions. The language recorded can be assumed to be typical of the language the child used in non-recorded situations. There is no reason to believe that the interactions between the adults were influenced by the presence of the recorder.

Usually interactions were recorded while Kate was playing with A in the kitchen while M was cooking dinner. Favourite games include 'flying', in which Kate would ask A to lift her high up in the air; playing with an animal farm; pretending you're a lion or some other ferocious animal; making 'dinner' or 'tea' and naming colours. Each day before going to bed Kate would have a conversation with M about the events of that day or the next. Often during the recording sessions M would also discuss past and future events with Kate. Other interaction between Kate and her mother frequently concerned the eating or preparing of food. There are not many examples of playing between Kate and her mother. As M has reported to me she does not usually play with Kate, except when Kate needs someone to give 'tea' or 'dinner' to. Some fairly typical examples of interaction are the following:

1. Tape 1; age 2;7,12

   K: Ik ga op de draad. (= I am stepping on the wire.)

   A: (to K) Ge hebt zo'n schoon schoentjes aan, zeg.
      (= You're wearing such nice shoes!)

   K: Ja. (= Yes)

   A: Zijn 't nieuwe schoentjes? (= Are they new shoes?)

   K: Black!

   A: Black. Ja, zwarte schoentjes. (= Yes, black shoes.)

   M: (to K) Van wie komt ze, de schoentjes? (= Who does they
      come from, the shoes? - incorrect Dutch verb)

   K: Van Eleanor! (= From Eleanor!)

M: Van Cousin Eleanor. (= From Cousin Eleanor.)

2. Tape 2; age 2;7,17 (both A and M present besides K)

K: (to M) You have ?..? have black shoes. (?..? indicates section of tape not transcribable)

M: No

K: You have not

M: Fortunately I'm not going to go anywhere tonight that I need them.   But I have to go to Brussels tomorrow.

K: Think so?

M: I don't think I'll wear them.

K: I think you don't wear..wear the shoes.

M: OK.

K: No.

M: I don't think I'll wear them.   I think I-

K: I think I will wear that shoes I think.

M: You will?

K: 'Cos I'm going to go to the shops.

M: To the shops?

K: To the shops.

3. Tape 4; age 2;9,0   (only A present besides K)

K: Ik ga nu zitten en nu werken. Jij mag nie..nie..met mij stout zijn nie! (= I'm now going to sit and work. You're not allowed to be naughty with me not! - A had just warned K that she should be careful in throwing a shoe to supposedly shoot an imaginary bird in an imaginary tree.   K misunderstood and thought A had said she would break something, not that she might break something)

A: Ik ben nie stout met u! (= I'm not naughty with you!)

K: Jij mag nie spreken tegen mij! (= You're not allowed to talk to me!)

A: Ah!

K: En dan ik ga in den hoek. (= And then I go in the corner.)

A: Ah?

K: En ik ga hier..en ik ga..jij mag nie meer spreken te mij! (= And I'm going here..and I'm going..you are not allowed to speak to me anymore!)

4. Tape 14:   age 3;1,13   (only M present besides K)

K: Look! Look there are dancing to-to their all-all people with yellow heads on! (she is making matches dance)

M: Yeah! Little match people hey!

K: Yeah. With all those peo-with with all those yellow heads!

M: Yeah!

K: We can put another people here! Another people here. But they're all standing up like this, look! Is that rice?

M: Rice and buckwheat-and we're gonna mix that with fried vegetables and we're gonna put the egg on top. And that's called fried rice, fried rice and buckwheat, fried vegetables.

K: Not buckwheat, rice!

M: Yeah. But the grey is buckwheat, see? The white is rice and the grey is buckwheat.

K: Grey is buckwheat.

M: Yeah.

K: The yellow is rice.

M: Yeah.

K: Yellow is not rice! (laughs)

M: Yeah it is!

K: But the ye-yellow is not rice, is it?

M: Mm. (meaning yes)

K: But the yellow is not rice!

M: What is it then?

K: The yellow is corn! (not present in the kitchen at that time)

M: Oh yeah, the bright yellow. But we haven't had any corn at the moment. You like corn?

K: Yes.

M: Oh, we'll have lots of it in America.

K: And we'll bake bread in America.

M: Yeah, with daddy and mammy.

K: And I-I too?

M: Yeah, with Kate, of course!

5. Tape 17; age 3;2,7 (both A and M present besides K)

K: (more to self than to anyone in particular) Ik heb
   hier nu die stukjes en ik ga nog één opete. (= I now
   have these little pieces here and I'm going to eat
   one more. - the topic is pieces of strawberry)

K: Kindje, jij moet-moet in mond stukjes doen. (= Little
   child, you have to in mouth put little pieces. -
   directed at an imaginary 'daughter', in this case A)

K: Mond. Mondstukjes, OK? (= Mouth. Little mouth pieces,
   OK?)

A: Zo? (= Like this? - assumes role of 'little child')

K: Jj- (= Ye-)

A: Zo goed? (= Is it good like this?)

K: En dan moet je-ik ik zal da zo-zo in die pot zette-
   (= And then you have to-I shall put it like that in
   that pot-)

A: Ja. (= Yes.)

K: -in die pot smijten- (= throw in that pot.)

A: Ja.

K: Jij moet da. (= You have to.)

A: Ja.

K: En ik ga jij een ander stuk hebben en ik da. (= And
   I'm going to have you another piece and I that one.)

A: Ga je mij nog eentje geven? (= Are you going to give
   me another one?)

K: Ja.

2.3. Transcription

The tapes were transcribed by the investigator using
conventional spelling and adding contextual information
where possible. All interactions were transcribed in full
(including hesitations, false starts, repetitions and

self-made songs) except for extended conversations between adults that did not include the child in any way. Child utterances were separated from each other on an intuitive basis, which was also used for separating adult utterances.

In the following only fully transcribed utterances are taken into account.

3. Analysis and discussion

All the child's utterances were classified as belonging either to Dutch or English in cases where all the words in a particular utterance were Dutch or English, allowing at most one phonetic element from the other language. Utterances that did not meet this criterion were classified as belonging to a residual class of 'mixed' utterances. This term implies nothing more than that readily recognisable elements from both languages were present in one utterance. It was determined which language was used by the child on what occasion. Eight patterns for English and Dutch utterances exist:

a. EtoE: English child utterance to English utterance by an English speaker or English utterance initiating conversation with an English speaker

b. DtoD: same as EtoE, but substitute 'Dutch' for 'English'

c. EtoD: English utterance to a Dutch speaker in response to a Dutch utterance by that Dutch speaker or initiating conversation with a Dutch speaker

d. DtoE: Dutch utterance to an English speaker in response to an English utterance by that speaker or initiating conversation with an English speaker

e. EtoDbyE: English utterance to an English speaker in response to a Dutch utterance by that speaker

f. DtoEbyD: Dutch utterance to a Dutch speaker in response to an English utterance by that speaker

g. EtoEbyD: English utterance to a Dutch speaker in response to an English utterance by that speaker

h. DtoDbyE: Dutch utterance to an English speaker in response to a Dutch utterance by that speaker.

This classification was considered necessary since the present study is exploratory in seeking to discover in what ways language is used in a bilingual home. The division into 8 categories is based on the actual data. Table 2 lists the relevant figures.

Table 2: the 8 categories of language usage by Kate (°)

TAPE	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	NT(°°)
1.	12.3	61.6	12.3	1.4	-	-	1.4	1.4	73
2.	7.3	42.2	28.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.3	1.6	315
3.	-	46.9	28.1	-	-	-	-	-	32
4.	-	96.0	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	322
5.	37.3	58.2	1.5	1.0	-	0.5	-	1.0	201
6.	-	93.6	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	437
7.	17.1	67.6	9.5	-	-	-	-	-	222
8.	28.2	70.2	5.5	0.8	-	-	-	2.0	255
9.	35.0	50.6	2.4	1.2	-	-	1.2	-	83
10.	27.7	52.9	7.6	0.8	-	-	0.8	-	119
11.	65.1	13.8	1.8	0.9	0.9	-	-	3.7	109
12.	41.3	45.0	3.8	1.3	-	-	1.3	-	80
13.	42.8	53.6	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	84
14.	98.1	-	0.9	-	-	-	-	0.9	108
15.	75.5	10.3	1.9	0.6	1.9	-	-	-	155
16.	34.8	55.0	4.0	-	-	0.5	-	1.5	198
17.	39.2	55.9	1.4	0.5	-	-	-	-	222
18.	-	94.7	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	245
19.	-	90.0	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	369

(°) the letters a. through h. refer to the corresponding categories in the text; all figures except those in the last column are percentages; the percentages do not necessarily add up to 100 since mixed utterances are not taken into account

(°°) total number of completely transcribed utterances for that recording session

Table 2 shows that most of Kate's utterances fall in the categories a. through d.   Only 38 child utterances (or 1.05 per cent of a total of 3,629 completely transcribed utterances) are responses to code switches by the interacting adults. The adult interacting with Kate is said to have code switched when she has uttered a complete sentence in the language she does not usually use with the child.   As may be seen from Table 2 it rarely happens that the child's interlocutors code switch.   As a result there is little opportunity for the

child to develop a consistent response strategy. Table 3 looks at Kate's responses to code switches by M and A in some more detail (the data contain code switches only by these interlocutors).

Table 3: child responses to adult code switches

TAPE	ET	RE1	RD1	DT	RE2	RD2	AS	RF	RU
1.	1	100	-	1	-	100	2	100	-
2.	5	80	20	7	28.6	71.4	12	75	25
5.	1	-	100	2	-	100	3	67	33
8.	-	-	-	5	-	100	5	100	-
9.	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	100	-
10.	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	100	-
11.	-	-	-	5	20	80	5	80	20
12.	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	100	-
14.	-	-	-	1	-	100	1	100	-
15.	-	-	-	3	100	-	3	-	100
16.	1	-	100	3	-	100	4	75	25

ET: total number of switches to English made by Dutch
     interlocutor

DT: total number of switches to Dutch made by English
     interlocutor

RE1: English responses by Kate to code switches by a Dutch
     interlocutor (in percentages)

RD1: Dutch responses by Kate to code switches by a Dutch
     interlocutor (in percentages)

RE2: English responses by Kate to code switches by an English
     interlocutor (in percentages)

RD2: Dutch responses by Kate to code switches by an English
     interlocutor (in percentages)

AS: total number of adult code switches

RF: responses by Kate in which she follows the adult's
     language switch (in percentages)

RU: responses by Kate in which she continues to use the
     language usually used with the particular interlocutor
     (in percentages)

In the whole corpus, A switches to English 11 times when speaking to Kate. In 73 per cent of the cases Kate follows the language switch and responds in English. M switches to Dutch 27 times when speaking to Kate. In 78 per cent of the cases Kate follows the language switch and responds in Dutch. The figures in Table 3 show that there is a tendency on Kate's part to respond in the language the interacting adult switches to, whatever the language involved. No pattern emerges that could be explained developmentally: throughout the study the patterning of child responses to adult code switches is the same.

I claimed above that since adult code switches occur quite seldomly, there is not much opportunity for the child to develop a consistent response strategy. Table 3 shows that, although we are not dealing with any consistent response strategy, a marked tendency to follow the adult's code switch can be observed. Since the available data are quite scarce, it is premature to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It does seem to be the case, however, that Kate is well on her way to learning aspects of language use that are typically associated with bilingual individuals: the bilingual's noted flexibility in being able to switch from one code to another has intrigued many scholars and has triggered much research in the field of bilingualism (e.g. Gumperz, 1982). An example of the quasi-automaticity with which many adult bilinguals respond in the language they are addressed in occurs in Tape 2: M and K are talking in English and in one and the same (English) sentence K refers to both M and A:

6. Tape 2; age 2;7,17 (both A and M present besides K)

   K: You also going..go to the yellow bus and you also.
      (first 'you' is directed at M and the second 'you'
      at A)

   A: Oh, OK, I'll do as you say.

   K: And you stay home and you stay home and I'm going to
      go to the station.

   A: To the where? Where?

   K: I'm going to go to the <u>station.</u> (underlined word is
      stressed)

   A: Ga je met de tram of ga je met de bus? (= Are you
      taking the tram or the bus?)

   K: I'm going to go..I'm going to go with the bus.

A responds in English after K has addressed her in this language. This is atypical for A's language usage when speaking to K, but quite typical for her language usage when speaking to adult bilinguals. In fact A had to make a conscious effort at the beginning of her acquaintance with K not to use English with

her out of respect for Kate's parents' wish that the child
would hear mainly one language spoken by one and the same
person.   (For a recent study on strategies used by parents
in order to raise their child bilingually, see Arnberg,
1979.)   Extract 6 also exemplifies Kate's response to code
switching.   In the second and third child utterances the
responses follow the code switches.   The fourth child
utterance does not follow the switch back to the language
usually used by A, maybe because the topic is still the same
and was initiated by M.   Another example of a response to
an adult code switch occurs in extract 7:

7.   Tape 11;   age 3;0,17 (both A and M present besides K)

     K: (to M) When my hand goes wuh! I got big hands!

     M: If it grows, yeah.

     A: (to M) Yeah, we compared hands a minute ago.

     M: Much bigger than the lion. Is it gonna get bigger?

     K: Bigger and bigger and bigger and bigger!

     M: Here comes a giant hand...

     A: (to K) Mama is zot hè. 'n Beetje zot hè. (= Mommy is
        crazy, huh. A little bit crazy huh.)

     M: Klein beetje. (= Just a little bit.)

     K: Alle handen woew!! (= All hands - and then a sound
        meaning 'growing', 'getting bigger')

In this extract Kate's last utterance follows the code switch
by M, although the topic had so far been dealt with in English.
M's switch to Dutch seems to indicate a lightness of tone and
an acknowledgement of the teasing playfulness of A's previous
remark.   Kate's use of Dutch might be seen as a sign of her
wish to be part of that easy camaraderie.   This possible
explanation attributes to Kate a very subtle knowledge of the
functions that language can assume.   This is uncalled for in
the light of the paucity of the relevant material.   All that
can be said is that Kate is starting to resemble many older
bilinguals in that she seems to be quite sensitive to code
switches made by her interlocutors.   This sensitivity is shown
by a tendency to respond in the language addressed in.

In the preceding we have discussed the categories e through
h.   The mass of the data, however, concerns the categories a
through d.   The figures in Table 2 show that Kate uses both
languages with both types of interlocutors but it is not clear
from this table to what extent a particular interlocutor
triggers the use of a particular language.   Table 4 gives a
clearer picture of Kate's language use as dependent on
interlocutor.   Responses to language switches by the inter-
acting adults are not included.

Table 4: Kate's language use dependent on interlocutor

TAPE	ENGLISH INTERLOCUTOR			DUTCH INTERLOCUTOR		
	DUTCH	ENGLISH	N(^{o})	DUTCH	ENGLISH	N(^{oo})
1.	10	90	10	83	17	54
2.	4	96	25	59	41	224
3.	-	-	-	62	38	24
4.	-	-	-	99	1	311
5.	3	97	77	97	3	120
6.	-	-	-	99	1	410
7.	-	100	38	87	13	171
8.	3	97	74	93	7	193
9.	3	97	30	95	5	44
10.	3	97	34	87	13	72
11.	1	99	72	88	12	17
12.	3	97	34	92	8	39
13.	-	100	36	98	2	46
14.	-	100	106	-	100	1
15.	1	99	118	84	16	19
16.	2	98	70	93	7	117
17.	1	99	88	97	3	127
18.	-	-	-	99	1	233
19.	-	-	-	97	3	343

(^{o}) total number of utterances directed at an English speaker

(^{oo}) total number of utterances directed at a Dutch speaker; all other figures are percentages

It should be noted that mixed utterances are not taken into account here.

When we leave out of consideration the data for tape 1
(English interlocutor where N=10) and the data for tape 14
(Dutch interlocutor where N=1), it is clear that Kate uses
English with an English interlocutor (usually M) more
consistently than she uses Dutch with a Dutch interlocutor
(usually A).   A Wilcoxon matched pairs signed-ranks test
applied to all data where figures exist for both languages
(except for tape 14) confirms this impression: the
differences are highly significant in the direction pointed
out above (p < 0.005).   The following extracts contain
examples of EtoD and DtoE utterances.

8.   Tape 7; age 2;10,28 (A, M and M's sister from America,
     S, are present besides K, as well as K's father who has
     just come in)

     K: (to father F) Jij kan nie gaan! (= You can't go!)

     F: Kan jij nie gaan? (= Can't you go?)

     K: Nee, jij kan nie gaan! (= No, you can't go!)

     F: Nee, ik kan nie weggaan, nee. 'k Moet blijven staan
        bij Kate. (= No, I can't leave, no. I have to keep
        standing by Kate.)

     K: Ik vast! (= I hold! - or: I tight; the verb is
        missing)

     F: Jij hebt mij vast, ja. Ik zal mijn boekentas
        neerzetten, op Kate. (= You're holding on to me, yes.
        I'll put my briefcase down, on Kate.)

     K: Ja! Doet hem ?..? (= Yes! Put it?..?)

     F: Boekentas op jou zetten? (= (Shall I) put the briefcase
        on you?)

     K: Put it on me! (EtoD)

     F: Ja, 't staat op jou. (= Yes, it's on top of you now.)

     K: Put it nog-een deken! (= Put it more-a blanket!) (mixed
        to D)

     F: Een deken ook? (= Also a blanket?)

     K: Ja! (= Yes!)

9.   Tape 10; age 3;0,11 (both A and M present besides K)

     (M is teasing K while dressing her)

     K: (to M) Nee! (= No! - DtoE) I'll go on bike!

     M: Well, let's put on your shoes and then you can go all
        over the place.

10. Tape 2; age 2;7,17 (A is alone with K while M is in
     another room)

     A: Je mag niet in je neus peuteren. (= You mustn't pick
         your nose.)

     A: Je moet een zakdoek nemen. (= You've got to get a
         handkerchief.)

     K: I'll ask mommy, OK? (EtoD) This is bonpa's.
         (= granddaddy's)

     K: (to M, while running away from A to M in other room)
         Een zakdoek mama! (= A handkerchief mammy!) (DtoE)

In total Kate directs 17 Dutch utterances to her mother. Of
those 17 there are 4 that could be English as well (OK, which
is frequently used in informal Dutch, occurs once and mama,
which is used in both Dutch and English, occurs three times).
These words were classified as belonging to Dutch because of
their Dutch pronunciation. Words like these are typical of
the sometimes very vague boundaries between the languages
involved. Sometimes arbitrary cut-off points are
unavoidable, however, and in this case it might equally well
be argued that mama and OK are English, which would only lend
more support to the observation that Kate nearly always
addresses M in English. Of the remaining 12 DtoE utterances
there are 3 that might also have been directed at A, but that
seem to be more addressed to M. Five of the DtoE utterances
consist of Dutch 'yes' or 'no', one is an imitation of the
Dutch part of a mixed utterance by M and the remaining 4 do
not seem to fall within any one category. 12 of the 17 DtoE
utterances are single words. When we look at the EtoD
utterances, the picture is quite different. A whole range
of utterances is used, disregarding semantic or syntactic
complexity. Some examples include:

(1) K: (to A) I'll put that in there, OK. (tape 1)

(2) K: (to F) I love you. (tape 3)

(3) K: (to A) My drink! (tape 5)

(4) K: (to A) And on my head! (tape 11)

(5) K: (to A) I put my clothes on my clothes on. (tape 12)

(6) K: (to A) Spoon. (tape 18)

(7) K: (to A) I want to play-play with the balls! (tape 19)

Before attempting to formulate any reason for the differences
in language use by Kate as outlined above we shall discuss
Kate's use of colour terms. The relevance of this discussion
will become clear as we give possible reasons why Kate uses
much more English with A and F than Dutch with M.

Table 5 represents Kate's use of English and Dutch utterances
containing colour terms as related to interlocutor. It also
shows the use of colour terms in mixed utterances, disregarding
interlocutor.

Table 5: Kate's use of colour terms

TAPE	ENGLISH			DUTCH			MIXED		
	EtoE	EtoD	total	DtoD	DtoE	total	ECT	DCT	total
1.	40	60	5	100	-	2	100	-	1
2.	5	95	19	100	-	2	62.5	37.5	16
3.	-	100	2	100	-	1	100	-	1
4.	-	-	-	100	-	3	100	-	2
5.	-	100	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	100	-	1	100	-	3
7.	25	75	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	100	-	1	100	-	2	100	-	3
9.	-	100	2	100	-	7	100	-	1
10.	-	100	2	100	-	8	-	-	-
11.	100	-	4	100	-	1	100	-	2
12.	100	-	1	50	50	2	-	100	1
14.	100	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-
16.	-	-	-	100	-	12	-	-	-
17.	100	-	4	100	-	3	-	-	-
18.	-	-	-	100	-	10	-	-	-
19.	-	-	-	100	-	10	100	-	1

ENGLISH, DUTCH and MIXED refers to English, Dutch and mixed
utterances that contain a colour term. In each column
headed by total the total number of English, Dutch and mixed
utterances containing a colour term appears. For the
English and Dutch utterances percentages are shown that
reflect the use of colour terms in relation to interlocutor.
ECT refers to mixed utterances that contain an English
colour term; DCT refers to those that contain a Dutch colour
term. The figures under ECT and DCT are percentages as well.

It is clear from this table that Kate only uses Dutch colour terms in Dutch utterances with a Dutch interlocutor (the only exception in tape 12 being a direct imitation of the Dutch part of a mixed utterance by M). On the other hand, in the first ten sessions Kate uses many English utterances containing English colour terms when speaking to A. These account for 16.2 per cent of all EtoD utterances. From session 16 onwards, we see a sharp rise in the use of Dutch colour terms. In fact the total number of Dutch utterances containing Dutch colour terms for tapes 16, 17, 18 and 19 is 35, or 55.5 per cent of all Dutch utterances containing Dutch colour terms. At the same time we see a sharp decrease to almost zero in the use of English colour terms in mixed utterances, whereas in sessions 1 through 11 nearly all mixed utterances are Dutch utterances directed at A that contain an English colour term. It then does not seem too rash to state that before the age of around 3;1,18 (at the time of tape 15) Kate prefers to discuss colours in English rather than in Dutch. This may be because she does not know colour terms in Dutch as well as in English. This seems plausible since about 39 per cent of all Dutch colour terms used are imitations of (part of) the immediately preceding adult utterance. The following extract is fairly representative in this respect:

11. Tape 8; age 2;11,14 (F and A are present besides K)

    K: (to A) Aan mijn vingertjes ik heef-ik heef ook nagellak. (= On my little fingers I have - I have also nail polish --this, however, is not true!)

    A: Ah? 't Is nagellak die ge niet ziet, dan. Ja? Is het da? (= Oh? It's nail polish that you can't see, then. Yes? Is that it?)

    A: Is uw nagellak rood? (= Is your nail polish red?)

    K: Pink en rood. (= Pink and red -- pink is not Dutch)

    A: Wablieft? (= What?)

    K: Pink en rood. (= Pink and red.)

    A: Ah, pink en rood, roos en rood. (= Oh, pink and red, pink and red -- roos is the correct Dutch word.)

    K: Roos en rood.

Kate also imitates English colour terms, but these imitations amount to only 8 per cent of all English colour terms and occur in learning situations or in 'playful' situations. An example of such a learning situation may be found in extract 4 in section 2.2. The relevant utterance occurs in the middle of the extract where Kate says: Grey is buckwheat which is a direct imitation of the final part of M's previous utterance.

Extract 12 exemplifies the more 'playful' situation:

12. Tape 17; age 3;2,7 (both A and M are present besides K)

   M: (to K) You got lipstick on your pants?

   A: Lipstick? (laughs)

   K: (to M) No I don't!

   P: (in a funny voice) Pink spots on your pants!

   K: Pink spots on my pants. (i.e. the imitation)

   K: I'm pink spots! (also in a funny voice) Bim bam bom!
      (sings)

Imitations of Dutch colour terms are not linked to any one
particular situation.   Extract 11 may have suggested that they
occur mainly after corrections by A (the extract was meant to
be representative of the type of imitation that occurs, not of
the situation in which imitations occur).   This, however, is
not the case.   Imitations occur in non-corrective situations
as well, as is shown in extract 13:

13. Tape 2; age 2;7,17 (both A and M present besides K)

   A: (to K) Wat is da? (= What is that? -- in a conversation
      about colours.)

   K: A flower. (EtoD)

   A: Da's blauw, ja, een blauwe bloem. (= That's blue, yes,
      a blue flower.)

   K: Blauwe bloem. (= Blue flower -- imitation)

   K: I like a green-one. (EtoD)

Imitations in child language can have various functions (see
R. Clark, 1979, and McTear, 1978).   One of these functions may
be a learning function.   For lexical learning this may involve
the imitation of lexical items that are not readily available
in the child's lexicon either because they are not present or
because they are not yet fully established.   If it is accepted
that imitation might fulfill a learning function, the material
presented here shows that there is much more learning going on
with Dutch colour words than with English ones.   This brings
us back to our previous suggestion that Kate does not (until
session 15) know colour terms in Dutch as well as in English
and that this is the reason why she often uses English colour
terms when speaking to A.   As her use (and knowledge) of Dutch
colour terms increases, there is no more need to use English
colour words with a Dutch speaker, and indeed, from session 16
onwards only one English colour term is used in addressing a
Dutch speaker in contrast with 35 Dutch colour terms.

This discussion of Kate's use of colour terms goes to show
that there is at least one topic that is usually connected
with one language: colours tend to be discussed in English.
As Kate's language development proceeds, however, her
knowledge of this domain in Dutch increases and an almost
complete separation takes place: Dutch colour terms are
used with a Dutch interlocutor, and English colour terms
continue to be used with an English interlocutor.

As far as other topics are concerned, there do not seem to
be any that are linked to a particular language. This
finding resembles that of Fantini (1978) who reports that
his two children growing up bilingually in Spanish and
English (but who only started to learn English from around
the age of 2) did not switch languages as a result of any
change in topic; rather interlocutor and setting were the
main determinants of language switching. Thus we can
postulate that topic switching is not the reason that Kate
uses much more English with speakers who speak Dutch with her
than Dutch with a speaker who speaks English with her, except
for the colour domain. The reason that this particular
topic and no other is so geared towards English might be
that colour terms are learned mainly at school, where English
is spoken. On top of this, M discusses colours frequently
with Kate whereas F does not.

One might argue that Kate uses more English with Dutch
speakers than Dutch with English speakers because English
is her dominant language, that is, the language she is most
fluent in or knows best. In order to test this possibility
one must compare Kate's knowledge of both languages. MLU
is not a very good measure in this case, since from session
12 onwards Kate is already well into Stage V of language
development as defined by Brown (1977:54): 'By the time
the child reaches Stage V ... the index /MLU/ loses its
value as an indicator of grammatical knowledge'. Thus
other measures have to be found. At this point in our
analysis we do not possess any objective and detailed
information that would give an accurate picture of Kate's
development in both languages. The impression one gets
from various readings of the transcripts, however, is that
Kate's knowledge of English and Dutch is similar. This
claim will have to be substantiated by future analyses.

When the number of hesitations in each language is compared,
the proportion of hesitations per language is about the same.
If hesitations are an indication of language fluency or the
lack of it, it may be said that Kate is as fluent in English
as she is in Dutch.

In a recent book on bilingualism, Baetens Beardsmore (1982:74)
writes that 'in certain cases it is easy to detect the
relative dominance of a bilingual's two languages by such
things as the nature and direction of interference'. In
our data English words occur in Dutch utterances as much as
Dutch words occur in English utterances. Of all mixed
utterances 64 per cent are entirely in one language except
for a noun in the other language, for example:

(8) K: Nee, 'k wil <u>water</u> in mij beaker nog! (tape 16)
    (= No, I want more <u>water</u> in my beaker.)

(9) K: I wanna look in the spoegel. (tape 16)
    ('spoegel' is an attempt at Dutch 'spiegel' i.e.
    mirror.)

Mixed utterances containing one other-language word that is
modified according to the rules of the host language occur
very infrequently.   Only English colour words are inserted
in Dutch sentences; not the other way round.   This is
understandable in the light of what was said above about
Kate's use of colour words.   Kate knows English colour words
better than Dutch ones but this does not mean that she is
dominant in English.   In fact Kate does not seem to have a
dominant language: however, more analysis is required before
this conclusion can be anything more than tentative.   With
regard to language choice the concept of dominance does not
seem to be relevant, since it refers to comparative fluency
and ability.   Rather the concept of preferred language
(Dodson, 1931) seems relevant in this respect: this concept
reflects the fact that bilinguals feel more at ease using a
particular language for a particular activity.   Kate seems
to feel more at ease using English colour terms, so one
might well say that as far as the domain of colour terms goes
English is her preferred language.   No other such domain can
be detected.   It may be predicted that as Kate grows up and
partakes in scholastic and leisure activities that are
connected with one particular language she will develop a
preference for a particular language depending on the activity.
At this point, however, there are no strong indications that
Kate has a dominant or preferred language.   Hence we must
look further for a reason for the different language behaviour
observed with Dutch and English interlocutors.

Kate's father has reported to the investigator that he has
never heard Kate speak English to her monolingual grand-
parents.   In a separate interview Kate's mother has said
that, whereas she notices Kate sometimes using English with
F (who is bilingual and often speaks English when Kate is
present as well as Dutch), she has never heard Kate use
English with her grand-parents except in very special
circumstances, either when Kate is extremely upset or angry
or when she wants to tease her grand-parents or show off.
The slight difference in parental observations may be due to
the fact that hardly ever both parents are present
simultaneously when the grand-parents and the child are
together so that different situations are experienced by both
parents.   Before the age of 2;6 (before the beginning of
this study) Kate used to say that women spoke English and
men Dutch.   She would insist on this for quite some time,
even when presented with counterexamples such as those of
her grandfather and the investigator.   This again was
reported by the subject's mother.

In a very interesting article Eve Clark (1978) gives an
account of early awareness of language in children.   She

notes that such an awareness may be present as early as the age of 2 and that it may show in a number of ways, the most obvious one being what she calls 'repairs'. She also mentions choice of language in the case of bilinguals. Reports by the child on language usage such as the one cited above are also taken to be a sign of awareness of language.

Saunders (1982:92) writes that his bilingual sons' language switches are 'predominantly dependent on who the person being addressed is and which language has been established as being appropriate to speak to that person in'. My data confirm this finding. I would like to add, however, that the child does not only take into account the person being addressed, in the sense that the child knows what language it is appropriate to use with that person, but that the child is also aware of the linguistic abilities of the interlocutor, even of those that do not show at the moment of interaction. Although F and A might only be using Dutch with Kate and might not be using any English at all (since no English speaker is present), still Kate does occasionally switch to English when speaking to them. The fact that she does not do this with monolingual Dutch speakers is highly significant since it highlights the role of the interlocutor in verbal interaction. Extract 14 exemplifies Kate's occasional use of English when the adults present are exclusively using Dutch and when no English speaker is present.

14. Tape 19; age 3;3,16 (both F and A present besides K)

   (A and K are playing hide-and-seek with objects)

   A: Zo! Wa nu? (= There! What now?)

   K: Ik ga nog's. (= I'm going again.)

   A: Ah. (= Oh.)

   K: I don't look! (EtoD)

   A: Nee nee, nie kijke. (= No no, no looking.)

   A: Goho, nu zijn ze moeilijk verstopt, hoor, kom maar.
      (= Hey hey, now they're hidden very well, you know.
      You can come now.)

   A: Nu zijn ze moeilijk verstopt. (= Now they're hidden
      very well.)

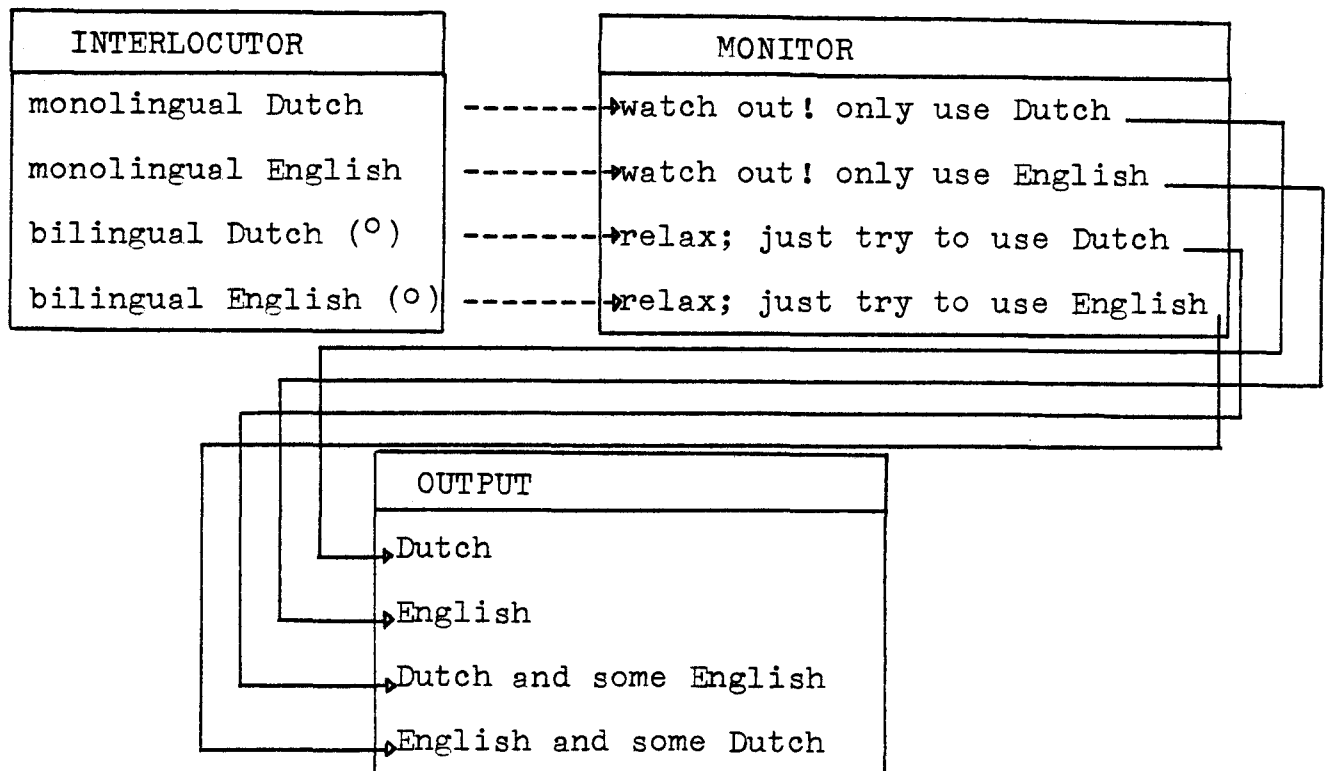   K: Hihi! (laughs) Zwaar is da nu? (= Where is it now?)

   K: Das onder bank! (= That's under couch!) Z moeilijk.
      (= Is hard.)

By making language choice dependent on interlocutor Kate not only shows an awareness of language as such, but also exhibits some degree of social awareness: a particular language is

only used when it will both be understood and accepted by the
interlocutor.

The above discussion explains variation in language use as
dependent on interlocutor. This sociolinguistic explanation
does not, however, explain how a child actually comes to use
a particular language with a particular interlocutor. We
shall briefly attempt to fill this gap by suggesting the
following partial model for language choice by Kate (see Figure
1).

Figure 1: model for Kate's language choice

INTERLOCUTOR		MONITOR
monolingual Dutch	-------▶	watch out! only use Dutch
monolingual English	-------▶	watch out! only use English
bilingual Dutch (°)	-------▶	relax; just try to use Dutch
bilingual English (°)	-------▶	relax; just try to use English

OUTPUT
▶ Dutch
▶ English
▶ Dutch and some English
▶ English and some Dutch

(°) bilingual Dutch: usually speaks Dutch with Kate
      bilingual English: usually speaks English with Kate

This model explains the code-switching that occurs in the
material at hand as a result of a loosening of the monitor-
function. The term 'monitor' here is used very much in the
way it is understood in cognitive psychology and refers to a
postulated cognitive mechanism that 'oversees the operations,
deciding when they are productive and when they are not,
exercising an overall guidance to the operation of the system'
(Lindsay & Norman 1977:367). This use of the term also seems
to be implied by Eve Clark (1978).

When speaking with a bilingual interlocutor, the diminished need to consistently speak the usual language with that interlocutor is recognised by the child, and it may be cognitively more work to suppress any language input from memory not appropriate in the situation than to allow some of this input to be actually produced. Hence the occurrence of utterances in both languages. However, the choice of the actual language produced is still guided by the principle 'try to use the language spoken to you by the interlocutor as far as possible'.

The monitor may be seen at work more clearly in repaired utterances and particularly in utterances where repairs are made concerning the choice of language. These repairs only account for 4.4 per cent of all repaired utterances but even in their paucity show the existence of a mechanism responsible for constantly overseeing (i.e. monitoring) the language output. Examples include the following:

(10) K: Ee gele lepel, en ik heef een rood sp- een rood
          lepel. (tape 18)(toD)(= a yellow spoon, and I have
          a red sp- a red spoon.)

(11) K: Can-kun je lie down? (tape 3) (toD) (= Can-can
          you lie down?)

As has been hinted at above, input to the monitor includes not only knowledge of the interlocutor and of both languages, but also language output as it occurs (otherwise repairs would be impossible). Figure 1, then, is certainly incomplete. It also does not show at what level of speech production language input from memory in either language is suppressed (or inhibited) and at what level the monitor functions. No psychological reality is implied at this point, although the suggested model does account for the facts. We hope to present a more fully worked out model in the future after other aspects of Kate's language development have been analysed.

4. Conclusion

This discussion of some aspects of the simultaneous acquisition of English and Dutch by a three-year-old girl has laid the emphasis on language use. It has been shown that language choice patterns were quite different depending on interlocutor: significantly more English was used with a Dutch interlocutor than Dutch with an English interlocutor. Various possible reasons for this phenomenon were examined. A possible determining factor of topic was rejected except for the colour domain: there a clear tendency on the child's part to use English rather than Dutch was noticed. This tendency fits well with the notion of 'preferred language', which is thought to be a better predictor of language choice than 'dominant language'. However, for domains apart from colour, language preference did not seem relevant and hence another explanation for language choice was called for. This explanation depended on the following: Kate uses English with monolingual Dutch speakers only in highly 'abnormal'

situations; the Dutch that she uses with an English monolingual speaker is very limited both in nature and quantity; and finally, the interlocutors in this study who speak Dutch with the child are fluently bilingual in both English and Dutch, a fact which the child has had ample opportunity to become acquainted with. The discussion also considered evidence from other studies in which children are said to have some awareness of language and its use in social interactions from the age of 2 onwards.

In the light of the preceding argument, an acceptable explanation for the different patterns of language use with different interlocutors seemed to be that the child is acutely aware of the linguistic abilities of her interlocutors and acts accordingly. A partial cognitive model was presented in which the possibility for acting according to available knowledge about interlocutors depends on the workings of a language choice monitor.

At the age of around 3, children who are growing up with two languages already show much of the language behaviour of adult bilinguals. They also use both their languages with bilingual speakers but confine themselves to one language with monolingual speakers (see e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 1982). In conversations between bilinguals the point of switching is often determined by a change in topic. This aspect does not yet seem to be present in Kate's language use, although for some time conversations about colours tended to trigger the use of English. Kate's response to language switches by interacting adults was considered quite flexible in that three quarters of the time the language switch by the adult was followed. Here also characteristics of more mature bilinguals who adapt their use of language quite automatically to the language used around them are already present.

The picture that emerges from this shows a highly sophisticated little girl who is able to use language as a socially appropriate tool even though the forms she uses are still far removed from adult speech.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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WORD-FREQUENCY COUNTS: THEIR PARTICULAR RELEVANCE TO THE
DESCRIPTION OF LANGUAGES FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES AND A
TECHNIQUE FOR ENHANCING THEIR USEFULNESS

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In an earlier article (Lyne, 1975) I described in general
terms my word-frequency count of French business correspondence
(FBC).   More particularly I outlined a technique that I
was experimenting with to highlight those lexical items in
the corpus which had turned out to be, in this register of
French, not merely frequent but characteristically so.
Briefly, the technique in question consisted of calculating
for all the items in the count their registral value (R-val),
then listing them by decreasing R-val instead of, or rather
in addition to, the usual alphabetical and decreasing frequency
orders.   In this article I wish to describe this technique
in rather more detail and, hopefully, to demonstrate its
usefulness as regards Languages for Special Purposes (LSP)
generally.

The best-known pedagogically-orientated word lists of English,
French and other major languages may be termed 'general',
meaning that they are not geared to any specific subject
matter or to any particular professional use of the language..
Indeed how could they be?   Typically FL learners are
schoolchildren who, individually, do not yet know to what
purpose if any they will eventually put their knowledge and
who, collectively, have a wide variety of destinies. Largely
because of this, general word lists have been found to suffer
from a serious limitation.   While it is undoubtedly worthwhile
teaching the first few hundred items from a reputable list,
there soon comes a point at which there is little to be said
for teaching the next item rather than one a thousand or two
thousand ranks lower down.

This dilemma is often expressed in terms of text coverage.
Engels (1968), for example, stored West's famous General
Service List (West, 1953) in computer memory and tested it on
ten texts, each 1000 word-tokens long and drawn from non-
specialist daily and weekly newspapers.   The top 1000 items
of West's list accounted for at worst 68 per cent and at
best 78 per cent of the word-tokens in each of these ten
texts.   However the increase in text coverage afforded by
West's second and third 1000-item blocks was very modest.
The following figures, adapted from Engels (1968), show how
West's list fared with one of these texts, an extract from a

Daily Express sports page.

TABLE 1

	Blocks in West's GSL			Outsiders	Total
	1st 1000	2nd 1000	3rd 1000		
Tokens	703 (77)	60 (7)	27 (3)	118 (13)	908 (100%)
Types	206 (56)	43 (12)	19 (5)	103 (28)	371 (100%)

Percentages to nearest whole number in brackets.   Total
tokens are 908 and types 371 after eliminating proper names
and numerals from the original 1000-token texts.

Table 1 shows that West's first 1000 items cover a very
respectable 77 per cent of the tokens in the sports text,
but that the second and third blocks of 1000 items together
increase the coverage by only 10 per cent and leave 118
(13 per cent) of the tokens unaccounted for.

Text coverage is usually given, as above, in terms of
tokens but it is instructive to do so in terms of types as
well.   As the second row of figures in Table 1 shows, the
fall-off in coverage from one 1000-item block to the next
is more gradual for types (in percentages 56, 12, 5 instead
of 77, 7, 3), but West's list then leaves no less than
28 per cent of the types in the text as 'outsiders'.   The
contrast may be clearer when text coverage in per cent is
presented in diagrammatic form:

Tokens

77 84 87 100

Types

56 67 72 100

We saw a moment ago that West's list would leave us with
118 tokens unaccounted for in the sports page text.   This
would not be too serious if these tokens belonged to only
a few types, each repeated several times.   Assuming we
'knew' all 3000-odd items in West's list (and no others) we
should need to look up each type only when it occurred for
the first time.   However, as the 'outsiders' column shows,
the 118 outsider tokens belong to 103 different types, so
we should actually have to look up no less than 103/908
tokens, that is, about one in nine running words.   So
although the bald statement that West's list covers 87 per
cent of the running words in this text sounds rather
impressive, we see on closer inspection that the burden

imposed on the reader by the outsiders is actually a heavy one, particularly when we have regard to the well-known fact that the outsiders are precisely the items which contribute most to the meaning of the text as a whole.   Compare the following lists:

(1)   a and as at all after again against able across advance almost always another away along admit

(2)   agony amateur ankle champion championship contrast daviscup featherweight final division injury recover-y referee survival tennis tremendously soccer

All the words in both the above lists are from the sports page text.   Those in List 1 are a sample (all the ones beginning with a) of those covered by West's first 1000;   those in List 2 are a sample of the outsiders.   Neither sample is fully random (note 1), but the contrast is surely striking enough to convince us that the typical outsider conveys more information than the typical high-frequency word.

The problem just discussed doubtless affects all word counts to some extent and not only 'general' ones, but it does seem to grow less severe when a more homogeneous register of a language is brought into focus.   Turning to French, if we compare the first 100 items by frequency in my own count of FBC (670 letters, approximately 80,000 word-tokens) with the corresponding 100 items in Juilland et al's (1970) Frequency Dictionary of French Words, the contrast is already quite marked.   Drawing the usual rough distinction between lexical words (nouns, adjectives and verbs) and grammatical words (the rest), we find that the FBC top 100 include 56 lexical words whereas Juilland's includes only 29.   The contrast is especially marked as regards nouns, the category which lexicometric pedagogues always have great difficulty in finding enough of.   Juilland's top 100 includes only eight - monsieur homme jour heure temps chose vie femme - whereas my FBC top 100 includes twenty-four - monsieur lettre salutation prix sentiment commande numéro attente expression client suite ordre attention franc réception jour brique facture délai réponse affaire plaisir part exemplaire.   This gives some idea of the extent to which the very highest ranks of the FBC list are penetrated by specifically commercial vocabulary.   The first two lists in the appendix at the end of the article give the top 100 items in the two counts.   The readers are invited to make a quick visual comparison for themselves.

Perhaps the main strength of the FBC count is that the language-behaviour sampled by the corpus (routine business letters with an export-import bias) is highly congruent with the target language-behaviour of its intended beneficiary, namely non-francophone secretaries, translators and the like.   These intended beneficiaries do however share one important characteristic of which the FBC list by decreasing frequency fails to take any account;   they have almost always studied the language for several years before tackling this particular

register.   Consequently, although they will still need to
learn that the nouns listed above, e.g. salutation, délai,
are frequent in FBC, this is clearly not true of many of
the other high frequency items such as de, être, and et.
From the non-beginner's point of view the FBC list therefore
provides relatively useful information and relatively useless
information mixed together in a seemingly inextricable
fashion.   This is where the notion of registral value comes
into the picture.   What re-ordering all the items in the
count by R-val means is that we promote in the rank order
those which are characteristically frequent in FBC and
demote those which, though quite possibly frequent in
absolute terms, are no more frequent here than in other
registers of French.   The information which is needed
specifically by the non-beginner and which was spread rather
thinly throughout the list by decreasing frequency, is
thereby concentrated in the upper ranks of the new list.
(Please now scan the third list in the appendix for
confirmation of this claim.)

The R-val of each item in the count is obtained by applying to
it the formula $(F_x - F_y) / \sqrt{F_y}$ where F_x is the item's
frequency in the corpus being investigated and F_y is the same
item's frequency in another corpus adopted as a control (note
2).   I chose as the control the count mentioned above
(Juilland, 1970).   It is based on rather a small corpus for
this purpose (500000 tokens) and the status of the items is
not always clear (Lyne, 1973), but it is stylistically the
broadest-based count available, incorporating as it does
several genres of literary and non-literary texts.   To make
the comparison between the two counts possible it was
necessary to make various preliminary adjustments, such as
combining the frequencies of Juilland's past-participle-like
adjectives with those of their cognate verbs to form single
items (e.g. accordé + accorder).   The most important
adjustment was to allow for the difference in size of the
two corpora (FBC approx. 80000 and Juilland approx. 500000);
hence F_y for each item was divided by 6.1034.   (For a fuller
discussion of these practical problems see Lyne, 1981, chapter
14).

It might be thought that using $(F_x - F_y) / \sqrt{F_y}$ was an
unnecessarily complex way of arriving at a measure of
registral value.   Why not, for example, simply divide
F_x by F_y?   For the proper interpretation of the R-val list
it is important to bear in mind that the ranking is not in
fact based on F_x/F_y and that in consequence R-val does not
simply measure the extent to which each item is relatively
more or less frequent in the FBC corpus than in Juilland's.
This will be clear from Table 2.

TABLE 2

	FBC corpus F_x	Juilland corpus F_y	Ratio* F_x/F_y	R-val	Rank by R-val
A nous	3257	2752	7.3	132.05	13
B acceptation	6	5	7.3	5.72	690
C distinguer	447	80	34.1	119.87	16
D attente	177	13	83.1	119.85	17
E assimiler	1	9	0.7	-0.39	2453
F le	5053	42822	0.7	-23.44	3481

*after application of the scale factor 6.1034

Examples A and B have the same F_x/F_y ratio (7.3) but they have very different R-vals with the result that nous is ranked 13th by R-val and acceptation only 690th. Conversely, examples C and D have virtually identical R-vals and are ranked together, 16th and 17th, despite having widely separated F_x/F_y ratios.

What emerges is that R-val is positively correlated with F; the formula, in other words, favours frequent items at the expense of infrequent items. We should therefore not think of R-val as merely a measure of relative frequency from one corpus to another but, more interestingly, as a measure of the degree of certainty that an item genuinely has a higher probability of occurrence in one underlying population (this register) than in the other population (the 'language' as represented here by Juilland).

Once we appreciate the 'meaning' of R-val we can better understand the superficially paradoxical fact that the very lowest ranks in the R-val list are occupied by high frequency grammatical words. The last 10 ranks are in fact filled by pas je elle on se un ne son il le (including la les). What the high negative R-vals of these items indicate is that, despite their high absolute frequencies in the FBC corpus, we can be confident that they really have low probabilities of occurrence in the register of FBC relative to the French language in general. Looking at examples E and F above, we can be more certain that le, the lowest ranked item, has a characteristically low probability of occurrence in FBC than with assimiler.

Registral value is in practice just another name for what Guiraud (1954), in standard French statistical parlance, called the écart réduit, or in English the z-score or normal deviate.

This is a measure of the size of the difference between an item's actual frequency in the corpus under investigation F_x, and its 'expected' frequency F_y, expressed in terms of the theoretical standard deviation $\sqrt{F_y}$. An item's R-val (or z) can be looked up in a table of the Area under the Normal Curve. If we toss a coin 100 times and it does not come down heads exactly 50 times, we do not conclude that the coin is necessarily biased. It depends how far the actual result differs from the expected result. Likewise if F_x differs from F_y we should not conclude that the item in question is necessarily characteristically frequent in the register under investigation. For a word to qualify as a mot clé Guiraud adopted a threshold of $z \geqslant 3$, which the table of the Area under the Normal Curve tells us corresponds to a probability of $p \leqslant 0.0027$. If we apply the same significance level to the FBC count, then the items ranked 1-1067 by R-val qualify as significant positive registral items and, incidentally, those ranked 3220-3481 as negative ones, i.e. characteristically infrequent. Any such threshold is ultimately arbitrary but this one is intuitively satisfying for the FBC count. If it were relaxed to $z \geqslant 2$ ($p \leqslant 0.046$) the result would be that several hundred hapax qualified as significant registral items just because they happen not to be included in the published (and truncated) version of Juilland's list (note 3).

I was interested to discover what the relationship might be between high R-val and frequency. Were the significant positive registral items concentrated more heavily in one particular part of the frequency spectrum? I took 30-item samples throughout the frequency spectrum and the results are set out in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that significant positive registral items are somewhat more common in the upper to middle frequency bands, with something of a threshold around F=20. Nevertheless they continue to figure strongly throughout the entire frequency spectrum. As the second and third lists in the appendix show, many of the top 100 items by R-val also figure among the top 100 by frequency - agréer salutation commande nous prier votre etc. However the top 100 by R-val also include many items with only a moderate frequency. Documentation is ranked only 286th by frequency (F=34) but is ranked 35th by R-val; pro-forma is ranked 522nd by frequency (F=16) but 100th by R-val. And these are not exceptional or isolated cases. Among the top 100 by R-val there are 47 items with frequencies between 40 and 16 (ranked from 250th to 522nd by frequency).

TABLE 3

Block no.	Rank by decreasing F	Freq.band	PRIs with R-val $\geq$ 3 as a percentage of each block of 30 items	
1	1-30	5881-384	60	
2	101-130	95-76	70	
3	201-230	46-42	73	67
4	301-330	33-29	63	
5	401-430	23-21	70	
6	501-530	17-16	50	
7	601-630	13-12	43	
8	701-730	11-10	50	
9	801-830	9-8	43	
10	901-930	8-7	37	44
11	1001-1030	6	50	
12	1501-1530	3	40	
13	2001-2030	2*	40	

*Hapax are automatically disqualified since they cannot have a R-val greater than 2.07.

The reader's eyebrows may have been raised by the presence in the FBC lists at high ranks of such items as calendrier brique and carabine. A number of items had high frequencies in my count because they referred to the particular types of merchandise dealt in by firms from which I happened to obtain batches of letters. Such items are clearly intruders in that they might not occur at all in a second corpus assembled using the same criteria. They are troublesome enough in a list arranged by raw frequency. However, since they tend to be entirely absent from the control list (Juilland) they rise to even more exalted ranks when listed by raw R-val. It is therefore essential to take account of each item's dispersion in the corpus under investigation and to list all the items by what might be termed 'modified R-val'. In this way freak items, found in only a fragment of the corpus, are demoted in the rank order (note 4).

If I am right in claiming that word counts are inherently better-suited to LSP than to general FL teaching, then it is surely ironic that so few specialized lists have found their way into print. The key to this paradox seems to be that the more

specialized the target language-variety, the smaller the
market for the list, and lists take up a lot of space.
Making lists arranged by modified R-val involves the
researcher in considerable extra work, but the increase in
the density of information packed into the top few hundred
ranks certainly makes for easier dissemination and, as I
hope to have shown, makes the essential information more
readily accessible to the user.

FOOTNOTES

1. List 2 contains all the outsiders in the sports page text
   having more than one occurrence, plus a selection of single-
   occurrence outsiders chosen as 'typical representatives of
   their topics' (Engels, 1968:226).

2. Pierre Guiraud used this formula to identify what he called
   the mots clés in the works of individual French poets
   (Guiraud, 1954:64-6). See too Muller (1977, especially
   chapter 12) for a more general discussion of the relevant
   statistical notions.

3. Juilland's list excludes all items with $F < 4$ plus an
   unidentified set of more frequent items with uneven
   distributions (Juilland, 1970:lxxiii). In calculating
   the R-val of FBC items absent from Juilland I gave them
   the hypothetical Juilland frequency of 1.

4. For an evaluation of the various measures of dispersion
   which have been proposed and details of the approach used
   in the FBC count see Lyne (1981, chapters 9-12).

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APPENDIX

Juilland Top 100*		French Business Correspondence Top 100	
	F	F	R-val
1	le	de	agréer
2	de	le	salutation
3	un	nous	facture
4	être	vous	commande
5	et	à	livraison
6	à	être	fourniture
7	il	que	offre
8	du	monsieur	expédition
9	ne	notre	kilogramme
10	que	en	accuser
11	avoir	avoir	expédier
12	je	et	firme
13	ce	ce	nous
14	se	votre	prier
15	qui	un	votre
16	pas	pour	distinguer
17	ce	du	attente
18	en	des	envoi
19	dans	par	inclure
20	son	dans	millimetre
21	au	ne	numéro
22	vous	je	réception
23	avoir	faire	calendrier
24	pour	prier	monsieur
25	que	distinguer	notre
26	elle	vouloir	emballage
27	on	pouvoir	reconnaissant
28	plus	bien	brique
29	nous	qui	annexe
30	être	lettre	rubrique
31	par	il	carabine
32	me	sur	vous
33	mais	agréer	joindre
34	sur	au	référence
35	tout	pas	documentation
36	le	salutation	entretemps
37	pouvoir	prix	free
38	faire	tout	lettre
39	dire	sentiment	board
40	mon	avec	notice
41	comme	commande	téléphonique
42	avec	recevoir	remercier
43	bien	plus	and
44	lui	se	cost
45	en	si	dimension
46	tu	numéro	freight
47	y	cher	insurance
48	ou	remercier	assurance
49	si	concerner	colis
50	leur	demander	complémentaire

Juilland Top 100*	French Business Correspondence Top 100	
F	F	R-val
51 voir	courant	référer
52 cela	attente	tube
53 que	croire	sentiment
54 où	expression	remerciement
55 sans	devoir	client
56 savoir	mon	éventuellement
57 monsieur	adresser	palette
58 deux	client	tonne
59 moi	comme	exemplaire
60 notre	très	délai
61 même	donner	franco
62 vouloir	suite	information
63 non	meilleur	lot
64 grand	attention	post
65 tout	ordre	scriptum
66 venir	franc	bidon
67 très	reception	catalogue
68 la	son	diamètre
69 encore	dernier	dévouer
70 petit	lire	prix
71 là	me	plateforme
72 homme	jour	informer
73 quelque	aux	embarquement
74 peu	bon	concerner
75 devoir	permettre	adresser
76 falloir	brique	facturer
77 jour	sous	primo
78 donner	facture	distributeur
79 aussi	ou	format
80 autre	présenter	secundo
81 dont	délai	spécification
82 te	dont	standard
83 aller	réponse	confirmer
84 les	autre	courant
85 oui	affaire	expression
86 rien	nouveau	litre
87 quand	confirmer	stock
88 si	même	octobre
89 premier	possible	éventuel
90 même	indiquer	montant
91 trouver	part	remise
92 aller	plaisir	transitaire
93 heure	mais	frais
94 croire	parvenir	demande
95 prendre	tenir	recevoir
96 votre	exemplaire	bocal
97 moins	ainsi	équiper
98 faire	prendre	outillage
99 bon	celui	précité
100 celui	trouver	pro-forma

*These are the 100 most frequent items in the Juilland list in
its published form rather than in the slightly altered form
used for the comparisons discussed in this article.

FOREIGNER TALK: IMPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING?

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I know an elderly lady of French origin in Bonn.   She is married to a fairly well known surgeon.   She has been living in Germany for the past thirty years, but one certainly would not know it.   Listening to her speaking, one would think she had just arrived from France.   One afternoon we had a long conversation and in its course we talked about her German. She invited comments, and I asked her about her somewhat idiosyncratic version of German.   Smilingly she let me into her secret: 'Why should I even try to learn the German language properly?   I have noticed that people are so sweet and kind, they always want to help me.   They want to assist me, I only have to open my mouth, and there they are.   I still feel like a tourist here whom the Germans want to impress with their friendliness.   Why should I give it up?'

Nida describes a similar experience: An American woman in Mexico had unusual success in various humanitarian projects, 'in some measure because she is rather inadequate in Spanish. She is however so utterly open, generous, and sincere that government officials almost inevitably identify with her. When she attempts to present her case in her rather fantastic Spanish (with fairly good pronunciation but utterly impossible grammar), government officials soon find themselves helping her out with her appeals, thus making her requests their own' (Nida, 1971:63).

Let me add a personal experience, a little game I play when I am in a foreign country.   When I call the central booking service of a hotel chain or an airline I usually speak very bad English or French.   The result is always the same: the person answering the phone, normally reduced to a computer-like activity, all of a sudden turns into a human being.   As he helps a foreigner, his voice quality changes, he is redundant, reassuring, and sometimes even humourous.

Should we infer from this anecdotal evidence that we should not teach our pupils or students 'proper' German or English? Should we rather let them concoct their own version of the foreign language and secretly hope for their success?

These anecdotes are instances of social events in which effective communication takes place.   The effectiveness, in fact, originates in the cooperative behaviour of the respective

native speakers.   It is surprising that foreign language
teaching methodologies have remained silent about these
attitudes of native speakers.   Communicative foreign language
teaching focuses on the language learners, the development of
their communicative abilities.   Despite its claim of being
discourse-oriented it leaves unconsidered the native speaker.

To express it rather pointedly, one could arrive at the
conclusion that definitions of communicative competence are
little 'Festschrifts' for the non-native speaker.   Nowhere
do we find a close description of the native speaker, taking
into account the behaviour of the individual who after all
makes the communicative system work.   This is what I intend
to deal with here.   I want to take a closer look at what the
native speaker actually does when in contact with non-native
speakers, how he interacts in various situations with different
foreigners, how his speech is influenced by non-native speakers'
behaviour.   Then I would like to consider possible implications
for the development of teaching material, or rather the amendment
of existing teaching material.

Let us take a closer look at some well-known descriptions of
the communicative goals of foreign language teaching.   The
most influential German description of the goals of communicative
language learning is by Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Englisch an
Gesamtschulen (BAG).   They refer to a paper by Candlin (1978)
in which he states that the most important strategy for a
learner to acquire is how to negotiate for meaning.   In this
lies the key to the non-native speaker's future communicative
success in the target language, as a fixed meaning of an
utterance does not exist.

Widdowson (1978) shares this view and extends it.   The core
of his position is that the non-native speaker needs to learn
in the foreign language the same strategies he needs and uses
in his native tongue.   The native speaker as interaction
partner is not mentioned.

Brown (1980:180) on the other hand hand refers to the native
speaker in his description of a learner's foreign language
activities:

> A common strategy of communication is a direct
> appeal to authority.   The learner may, if 'stuck'
> for a particular word or phrase, directly ask a
> native speaker (the authority) for the form ('How
> do you say _____').   Or he might venture a
> possible guess and then ask for verification from
> the native speaker of the correctness of the
> attempt.

One has to ask, though, whether he is not constructing an
interactive situation which rarely occurs in real life.
Studies in Foreigner Talk reveal that there is usually no need
for the foreigner/learner to make a direct appeal for help to
the native speaker.   The native speaker usually volunteers a
missing word or phrase immediately. (See below for a further
discussion of this aspect.)

In the Threshold Level papers of the European Council a
passing reference is being made to the learner's interaction
partner: 'Even if we take into account - as we must -
the efforts a native speaker will make in order to make
himself understood by a foreigner with only a basic level
of command of his language ...' (van Ek, 1977:12).
Thereafter, as in all the other publications in this
series, the native speaker disappears from further
consideration.. To summarize: these goal concepts reveal
an interesting blind spot. Even though they are professedly
discourse oriented we find in them a nearly exclusive and,
I would venture to say, lop-sided, concentration on the
learner. Is this emphasis justified, and is my interest
in the native speaker's behaviour just a whim? Does it,
when scrutinized, open interesting avenues for the discussion
on foreign language teaching?

The field of research traditionally concerned with the
native speaker is research in Foreigner Talk (FT). The
term FT, introduced by Ferguson (1971), is rather ambiguous.
It could be used to describe the discourse of non-native
speakers. On the other hand it could be understood as the
term applied to the interaction strategies of native speakers
with foreigners. The term is used here with this second
meaning. FT is a term used to describe the verbal and non-
verbal adaptations of a native speaker in order to communicate
successfully with a non-native speaker. Research in this
field is by definition discourse-oriented, but is primarily
concerned with the efforts of the native speaker to help
the non-native speaker.

The concept of FT in linguistic research is fairly old.
Bloomfield already refers to it in Language (1933:472). He
focuses on a special aspect of FT which is still valid today.
FT is not only used in the sense of characterizing
strategies of native speakers in order to ease and help
communication with foreigners, but also for strategies of
native speakers talking down to non-native speakers. In
this sense the term is used in some studies on native
speakers' interaction strategies with migrant workers in
Europe. However, this strong social implication of the
term is not undisputed. My use of the term here is without
this social implication of talking down. I follow Corder's
(1981) interpretation. He suggests that the changes in a
native speaker's talk when in contact with non-native speakers
are language universals of a very specific kind. Young
children already use strategies of FT when they perceive a
foreign accent (Katz, 1977).

As I have mentioned above, research in FT needs by definition
to be discourse oriented. Quite a few researchers comment
on the specific difficulties in obtaining adequate and
sufficient data for the study of regularities in FT. A
look at the framework within which this research is conducted,
reveals the constraints which operate on a research program
and which influence or even limit the degree to which research
results can be compared (Figure 1, and note 1).

Specific research on an aspect of FT is topic bound and in
this respect influenced by the situational dimension within
which the native speaker and the foreigner find themselves.
The topic and the situation are bound together within an
affective dimension.   The native speaker is influenced by,
for example, the foreigner's accent, his level of English,
his gestural inventory, his own stereotypes as a native
speaker, and his experiences with foreigners.   The research
results which one derives from this 'block' are themselves
influenced by the specificities of the experimental design,
for example, whether it is a long term study, a sequence of
case studies, or the result of introspection by the native
speaker; whether the data are collected on video tape or
audio tape, and the means of evaluation..

EXPERIMENTAL   DIMENSION

AFFECTIVE DIMENSION

SITUATIONAL DIMENSION

Foreigner   Topic   ←――――――→   Native
Speaker

level of English   stereotypes
accent   experience with
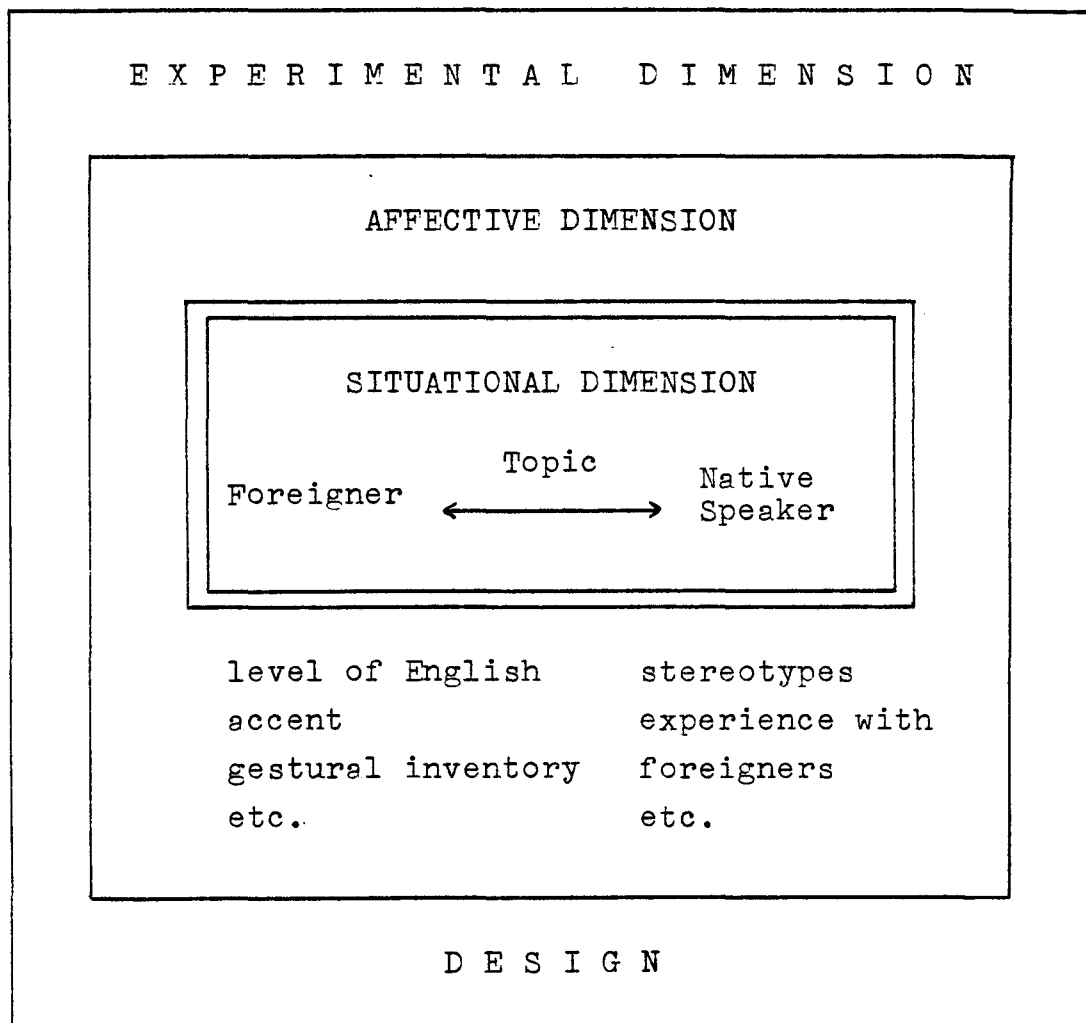gestural inventory   foreigners
etc.   etc.

DESIGN

Figure 1

These research problems in FT are shared with all discourse-oriented studies. They present obstacles to easy generalizations of regularities from FT studies. Any attempt at classifying FT research results therefore could be an easy prey to harsh criticism. I accept this, and in spite of this pitfall, I suggest a synopsis of the hitherto existing wealth of detailed information on different phenomena of FT.

A synopsis of the available studies on FT reveals regularities in a number of areas. These areas can be looked at as main characteristics of FT, even though not all of the traits listed below have remained undisputed. I include them nevertheless in cases where several studies have brought forth evidence for the same characteristic.

1. Before identifying certain regularities in a native speaker's utterances as FT, studies should be made of his ways of interacting with other native speakers. This should be done to avoid identifying speech idiosyncrasies as FT.

2. Even small children use FT. This language behaviour seems to be triggered off through the perception of a foreign accent.

3. So far no agreement can be reached concerning the native speaker's speech tempo. Not all studies found a significant reduction of speech tempo in FT.

4. FT is marked by the tendency of the native speaker to use a limited vocabulary and to convey a smaller number of propositions.

5. FT utterances are short and syntactically less complex but within the norms of the target language.

6. Native speakers when in contact with non-native speakers reduce their use of idioms and set phrases.

7. Only a small number of FT utterances refer to phenomena of the immediate surroundings.

8. Native speakers need a signal from the foreigner that he understands the FT utterance before they continue with an explanation.

9. Instead of simplifying their syntactic structures, native speakers repair complex questions in order to reduce the choice of answers for the non-native speaker, for example:

- Wh-question repaired as yes/no question;

- Wh-question repaired as or-choice question;

- question plus possible answer;

- reformulation of a question which requires less in terms of non-native speaker production.

10. Self-repetition of the native speaker is another characteristic of FT; he uses it when he realizes that the foreigner cannot follow his utterance.

11. Combined with self-repetition one finds in FT the isolation of utterance parts when there is evidence that the non-native speaker did not follow this specific part.

12. When the non-native speaker shows by means of his intonation that he is uncertain about a word or an utterance part the native speaker volunteers the respective word or phrase.

Such a synopsis also reveals interesting agreements in the affective dimension of the interaction of native and non-native speakers.   The most striking are listed below:

1. Native speakers rate voices and utterances of non-native speakers as significantly more unfriendly and/or insecure than voices and utterances of native speakers.

2. This rating is to be seen in connection with non-native speakers' specific difficulties in turn-taking and the resulting difficulty in keeping the adequate conversational rhythm.

3. The feeling of relaxation and 'at-easeness' of the native speakers grows in proportion with the foreigners' ability to communicate freely in the target language.

4. Non-native speakers' difficulties in using adequately the non-verbal inventory of the target language creates difficulties for the native speaker when interpreting the foreigner's utterance.

5. Native speakers use significantly more emphatic utterances to support and encourage the non-native speaker and to reduce his insecurity.

One of the most striking overall characteristics of foreigner talk is the evidence that the responsibility of keeping the conversation going lies with the native speaker.   I name this trait communicative dynamism.   This communicative dynamism can be much better revealed in a functional analysis of FT.

Basically FT research results could be classified as syntacti-cally, semantically, or pragmatically oriented.   As my primary interest here is to find out whether FT research results can be applied to communicative foreign language teaching, I would like to propose a revaluation of FT research results under a functional heading.   The functional approach cuts across the syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic orientation.   By functional approach I mean a systematic classification which concentrates on the communicative achievements, the communicative intentions a native speaker follows with a specific utterance to a non-native speaker.   I propose this reorganization of FT results because syntactic and/or semantic changes on the part of the

native speaker in the interaction between native speaker
and non-native speaker are always done with a communicative
aim in mind. The advantages are that it becomes clear
from the outset, and this is stressed in all research
papers, that FT comprises the strategies of a native
speaker to ease communication for the non-native speaker
and to stress the purposeful interaction of native and
non-native speakers.

A number of functional analyses are already available.
In her comparison of baby talk and foreigner talk, Freed
(1980, 1981) suggests a functional analysis. So does
Katz (1977, 1981) in his longterm study of the interaction
of American and foreign children. Campbell et al (1977)
evaluated the discourse of American and foreign students.
They contend, with a line of argument similar to Katz and
Freed, that a purely syntactic analysis is not very helpful
if one really wants to know what 'goes on' in FT:
'Utterances need instead to be looked at interactionally,
i.e. in terms of function and in terms of how they are
positioned in the conversation' (Campbell et al 1977:102).

A comparative analysis of these studies shows that an
agreement in defining functional categories is yet to be
reached. It seems that agreement on specific functional
criteria only exists for clearly definable intentions in
clear-cut social events. When the intentions of the native
speaker are open to several interpretations a functional
analysis becomes increasingly difficult. Some of those
functions that are comparatively easy to define are:
clarification, correction, conversation continuer, conversation
support, imitation, feedback, summarizing, confirmation.

A close analysis of the following excerpt from a study in
progress on FT and language attitudes reveals the complex
activities of the native speaker in order to find out
about the foreigner's wishes, and to secure his comprehension
throughout the conversation.

Utterance (1) serves as confirmation. (2) Summarizes A's
wishes.   After her affirmation (3) B asks a new question
(4); this is followed by a 5 second pause, waiting for A's
confirmation.   B repeats question (4) in (5), and continues
immediately with a rephrased question (6), substituting
mother tongue for native and language do you speak for
language.   A tentatively offers (7) which is corrected by
B in (8).   A confirms (8) in (9) and after an encouraging
noise by B (10) adds (11).   Through utterance (11) A confuses
the issue again for B (12), so he partly repeats (6) in (13),
thus simplifying it; B continues (14) in which he rephrases
(13) offering several redundancies as cues for A.   In (15)
B starts from a new angle with the intention of reducing A's
choices, thus easing her comprehension.   A answers (16) and
is reinforced by B's summarizing statement (17).   A completes
her answer (16) in (18) while B's reinforcing noises continue.
B then takes up question (14) substituting speaking for
learning and adding as a child (19) which was evidently

A: Ja, I'd like an Englischkurs eh..eh in de university..in
B:

A: Bochum eh.. ((10 seconds)) ....   I eh
B: (1)To attend a course or what?

A: want...I want an English course.
B: (2)You want to attend a language

A: (3)Ja.
B: course here in Bochum. (4)What's your native language?..((5 secs))....

A:
B: (5)What's your native language? (6)What language do you speak

A: Ah,ja   ja   (7)eh Deutsch   (9)ja, German
B: wh eh   as a as a....mother tongue?   (8)German

A: (11)und and Italienisch Italian.
B: (10)hm   (12)hm (13)Which is your mother tongue,

A:
B: (14)which language did you learn at home with your parents in..(15)..in

A: (16)..((6 secs))....Fr..French
B: the school where you went as a child?

A: hm   (18)..((8 secs))....Ja,at school
B: (17)French. So you know three languages.

A: I...and French und eh and eh a little, little Englisch.
B: hm   hm hm

A: und an der university eh..eh German.
B: hm   (19)Which language did you

A:
B: speak with your parents as a child?..((5 secs)).. (20)When you..when

A:
B: you were at home as a child with your parents,(21)your mother

A:
B: and father,(22)which language did you speak with your..with them?

A: hm hm hm ((shakes head))
B: ....((7.secs)).....(23)If your mother were here now, if I

A:
B: were your mother which language would you speak with her?

A: (24)Ja, Italian.   Italian
B: (25)English. Italian   Italian.(26)So Italian is your

A: Yes
B: mother tongue your..(27)the language that you've learned at home.

A: hm
B: O.K. ((2 secs))
       ....OK and eh how many eh how long have you studied

A: ((4 secs))
        ....hm
B: German?   How many years of German have you studied?

A: Ja, I live in
B: ((3 secs))
   ....How long have you lived in Germany?

A: Germany.   eh sss six eh six eh   ja
B: How long?   six years? six years

A: hm((laughs))
B: aha aha   and eh..for what reason do you want to eh..

A:
B: study English? ((2 secs))
                  ....Why do you want to study English?

A: hm hm hm
B: ..((8.secs))....Are you pretending or eh or are you is this

A:
B: is this really the i your eh..........

understood by B in question (15). After a pause of 5 seconds
B rephrases (19) again in (20). As A still gives no sign
of comprehension B rephrases parents of (20) in (21) as
your mother and father. In (22) (20) is simplified and
your mother and father of (21) is restated as them. During
a 7 second pause A signals incomprehension. In (23) B
rephrases (22) by putting it within the here-and-now of A
and B's interaction: here now and if I were your mother.
A answers (24), demonstrating that she understood the
question. This is restated by B (25) and finally summarized
in (26) while adding an explanation of mother tongue in (27).

B's efforts are geared towards elimination of set phrases in
his questions, and towards a reformulation which requires less
effort on the part of A. This is achieved by reducing the
abstract quality of native tongue step by step which culminates
in the transfer of the question into the I - here - now of
their actual communication.

Are we justified in applying FT to foreign language teaching
purposes? I should say, yes. I follow Brumfit (1978) who
says in another context that foreign language teaching cannot
wait until undisputed research results are available. We
have to decide on the basis of the probability and usefulness
of the accessible research results. So far they have only
been considered with reference to the strategies of the
language learner. But these considerations are illuminating
for our purposes.

Within the framework of the interlanguage research discussion
especially Corder (1981) and Tarone (1980) discuss the
implications of FT for the learner. We do not have very
sound evidence on how learners learn a second or a foreign
language. The combination of FT and the interlanguages of
learners, though, allow for a more precise definition of the
research problems facing us when dealing with this highly
complex field. Corder's aspect is especially fruitful when
he emphasizes that FT of native speakers and interlanguage of
non-native speakers should not be seen as simplified registers
of the target language but rather as target language realisations
in their own right: 'The hypothesis that I am proposing is
that for any particular type of discourse in specific contexts
a speaker adapts just that point on the simple-complex
continuum which is complex enough for successful communication
and that he shifts up and down the scale as circumstances
require' (Corder 1981:83). The value of Corder's contribution
is twofold: he offers a model which allows comparison of the
two registers in their respective relation to the target
language, and proposes for this not its most complicated
version in an absolute sense but a version 'nearer ... to the
underlying structure or "inner form" of all languages' (Corder
1981:82). While suggesting this, he clears the path to a
systematic comparison of the two realizations of the target
language.

Tarone connects FT and the discussion of communication
strategies. She uses the term communication strategies for
a phenomenon which occurs in interactions of interlanguage
speakers with others; it consists of the fact that second

language learners are able to use their restricted inter-
language in such a way as to transcend its limitations
(Tarone 1980:418).   In this sense she views communication
strategies as distinct from learning strategies.   She
proposes a concept of subsuming FT strategies under
communication strategies on the part of the native speaker
in that they seem to be extended efforts to negotiate some
classification of the learner's intended meaning (Tarone
1980:424).   This concept allows on the one hand for a more
complex analysis of FT for it offers its differentiation
into production strategies and communication strategies, on
the other hand it forms the bridge between the utterances
of the native speaker and the learner.

Corder's and Tarone's proposals, even though they are
primarily concerned with learning strategies, encourage me
to consider FT research results in the light of their
usefulness for FL teaching purposes.   They both relate
their proposals to communication; they both see their
hypotheses in the communicative framework, in the interaction
between the native speaker and the foreigner and their
respective concern for an acceptable communicative result
of their interaction.   This reflects the definition of
communicative competence which I gave at the beginning:
as the global, the overall aim of foreign language teaching
but filling in at the same time the missing link, the native
speaker.

I will focus here, when talking about teaching purposes,
mainly on changes in the development of teaching material.
Another aspect will be the implications for possible changes
in teachers' classroom discourse.   The suggestions should
not be taken to imply that I want to proclaim the royal road
to foreign language teaching.   There is no such road and
there never will be.   The suggestions should be seen as a
rather late fulfilment of the claim to introduce real life
language into the foreign language classroom.

In the two areas which I suggest for changes according to
findings of FT research, the structural, the affective and
the functional dimensions of FT apply, admittedly to varying
degrees, though none of the dimensions can be excluded.
Studies on similarities and differences of teacher talk and
FT, especially Henzel (1979), have provided evidence for
some similarities in the language strategies of both teachers
and native speakers.   A quantitative difference originating
in the specificity of the classroom situation exists, but
some basic strategies are used by both groups.   I suggest,
therefore, introducing excerpts of actual FT into teacher
education, with the intention of supplying young teachers
with FT strategies as listed above.   The teacher should be
encouraged to adopt some of the FT strategies for his
classroom talk.   This could enhance both more efficient
teaching and at the same time open another avenue for more
authenticity in the foreign language classroom.

Another interesting aspect of the application of FT research
results to foreign language teaching is to ask foreign language

assistants to work regularly with beginners' classes.
This could make learners aware, from the very outset of
their language learning process, of the helping hand which
the native speaker extends to them. This realization may
help learners with only a rudimentary knowledge of the
target language to overcome their self-consciousness when
using the foreign language from the very beginning. The
repair strategies, as shown above, might even be taught to
them in order to reach greater ease in information exchange.

To reduce the affective constraints which non-native
speakers produce in a conversational exchange with native
speakers, one could consider putting greater emphasis on
turn-taking strategies and conversational rhythm from the
very beginning of the language teaching process. This
should be done in the language laboratory as this teaching
device allows for the most intensive oral practice for the
individual pupil. Pause-fillers and programmes giving
practice for smoother utterance endings should also be
devised.

The most important changes, however, which FT studies could
bring about, are changes in teaching material proper. FT
studies allow for a clearer differentiation of text-types
in foreign language teaching books. Applying the knowledge
of native speaker interaction strategies with foreigners
would exclude dialogues between native and non-native
speaker of the following type from text-books.

A.   A Comparison between Britain and Germany

Klaus: Ah, you're studying the atlas, Tom. Are you
            looking for a nice place for your next holidays?
Tom: I've just been having a closer look at Germany.
            Did you know that the United Kingdom is nearly
            as large as Western Germany and has nearly as
            many inhabitants?
Klaus: Yes, that's right. But you mustn't forget that
            present-day Germany is only part of the former
            Germany. Before the last war Germany was at
            least twice as large as the Federal Republic.
Mr. West: Yes, your frontiers have changed constantly
            during the last centuries. During that period
            your country has often varied in size. Sometimes
            it was smaller, sometimes larger. All the
            worst and longest European wars have directly
            affected Germany, especially the last, from 1939
            to 1945.
Mrs. West: I wonder why your country has been involved in
            almost every war on the Continent.
Klaus: The reason for this is its geographical position,
            I think. Germany is in the middle of Europe and
            has more bordering states than any other country.
            Before the last war Germany had ten neighbours.
            The more neighbours a country has, the greater is
            the danger of war. You British are luckier than
            we are. You're in the best position geographically.
            You live on an island and you have no neighbours
            nearer than France, and that is 21 miles away across
            the Channel at the nearest point.

Tom: Just a minute! We have a neighbour nearer than
            that: Ireland.
Klaus: Well, Ireland has never given you any trouble.
Tom: That's quite wrong. The Irish Republic or Eire,
            as it is now called, fought hard for its
            independence, and even now it would like to take
            over Northern Ireland as well. But Northern
            Ireland, like England, Scotland and Wales is part
            of the United Kingdom.
Mrs. West: Let's have no more talk about politics. Let's
            talk about the weather instead. I've always
            wondered why we have less snow in the winter than
            you in Germany, although we're further north.

(Englisch für berufsbildende Schulen, Grundlehrgang,
Lesson 18, 166; Hueber Holzmann, Munich, 1975.)

B.   Georgie never feels seasick

Dieter Braun, 14, and his sister Petra, 13, are sitting in
the restaurant on the Ostend to Dover ferry next to an
English woman. The weather over the English Channel is fine
and windy.

Woman: You look tired.   Have you had a long journey?
Petra: Yes, we've come from near Nuremberg and we had to
            leave very early in the morning.   Our train left
            Nuremberg at twenty past three, you know.
Woman: Isn't it more convenient to take the night boat
            from The Hook?
Petra: Well, it was cheaper to come via Ostend.
Woman: On holiday are you?
Petra: Yes, we're going to visit a friend in Windsor.
            We've been there once before.
Woman: Well, you won't have much farther to go when you
            get to London then.
Dieter: I'm more interested in Dover.   When do we arrive
            there?   I feel sick.
Woman: Oh dear.   Well, I'm afraid we don't get to Dover
            till ten past six.   That's another two and a half
            hours.
Petra: He hasn't felt well since Cologne.   He got off
            the train and had a sausage and a glass of beer
            at a kiosk, and then he had to run to catch the
            train again.
Dieter: It's got nothing to do with the beer.   My stomach
            feels funny when the boat goes up and down, that's
            all.
Petra: Oh dear, I really don't know what to do.   Do you?
Woman: Well, what about a seasickness pill?   I think they
            sell them at the shop round the corner.
Petra: Yes, that's a good idea.   I can get some for you,
            Dieter.   Just wait here.

(English G 3A, 10; Carnelsen, Berlin, 1975.)

None of the speakers use real life strategies; they all talk
as if they were reading out factual texts.   Life-like
dialogues can be produced wherein both speakers use normal
conversational strategies without including mistakes in the
dialogues.   These dialogues are especially feasible for
beginners' classes, since native speakers seem naturally to
progress from the simple to the more difficult within a
specific communicative framework.

FT elements could be varied in kind according to the foreigner's
knowledge of the target language, for example, the display of
the native speaker's communicative dynamism could vary in
regard to the functions to which he puts his different utter-
ances.   Depending on the experience a native speaker has
with foreigners one could vary the native speakers'
conversational behaviour.   These elements combined allow
for the design of lively, more authentic dialogues which can
be very interesting, great fun and at the same time of
considerable use for the learner.

To illustrate what FT research results can do for the design
of dialogues, some excerpts from a videofilm dialogue for
beginners of French follow.   One essential element for the
production of this series of eight short videofilms was the
inclusion of foreigner talk (note 2).

Place de village.

Aline: Ben dis donc, quelle histoire!
Bernd: Oui ... Elle a ... Elle va très vite ...
Aline: Elle est très pressée.
Bernd: Hm?
Aline: ... pressée, elle est pressée: elle n'a pas
           le temps.
Bernd: Oui! C'est bien comme ça ... Nous sommes
           arrivés.

Intérieur de la maison.
Aline est en train de disparaître par la porte du fond,
laissant la grand'mère seule avec Bernd.   Petit silence.

GD.Mère: Alors, jeune homme, vous avez fait un grand
           voyage ... Ça vous plaît ici?
Bernd: Oh, oui, merci. Ça me plaît beaucoup.
GD.Mère: Oh, mais vous parlez tres bien le français!
Bernd: Un petit peu ...
GD.Mère: Ah mais si, mais si. Vous comprenez tout.
Bernd: Euh non, pas toujours!
GD.Mère: Si, c'est très bien!
Bernd: Non, par exemple, je n'ai pas compris le ...
           Qu'est-ce que monsieur Luc a dit ...
GD.Mère: Tout à l'heure? A la ferme?
Bernd: Oui, quand il ouvre la fenêtre.
GD.Mère: Ah! Il a dit: "Vous faites du tapage nocturne".
Bernd: "Tapage..."?

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GD.Mère:   Tapage nocturne?  Eh bien, euh ... C'est ...
           Vous savez:  du tapage ... Du bruit, quoi.
           C'est ça:  un grand bruit...
Bernd:     Ah, un grand bruit?
GD.Mère:   Oui, du bruit, la nuit... Aline!
Aline:     (off) Oui, j'arrive!
Bernd:     Du bruit comment?
GD.Mère:   Mais vous savez... Un grand bruit qui
           réveille tout le monde...
Bernd:     Ah oui, comme le soir,. la musique très fort...
GD.Mère:   C'est ça, c'est ça...
Bernd:     Et les voisins font "poum, poum, poum"
GD.Mère:   C'est ça, exactement...
(Sonnerie du téléphone)         ... Aline!Téléphone!
(Elle décroche)                 Allo? Ah, c'est toi! Oui...
                                Oui... Oui...
(Aline revient)
Aline:     Qui c'est?
GD.Mère:   Mais oui, pépé, mais laisse moi parler!
           Ils sont arrivés... Mais ici... Oui, tous
           les deux!
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FOOTNOTES

1. This table was suggested to me by C. Neumann, B. Massannek and J. Brendel.

2. The series of video films is called Ça y est, j'ai compris, and is produced by Institut für Film und Bild, Grünwald; the members of the project group are R. Tersteegen, E. Gülich, P. Roquigny, C. Brunet, P. Beier, I.C. Schwerdtfeger.

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REVIEW of H.H. Stern (1983) <u>Fundamental Concepts of Language
           Teaching</u>. Oxford University Press. Pp. 582.

This is a big and absorbing book, the fruit of years of
reflection, teaching and research by a scholar greatly
respected on both sides of the Atlantic.   In it he discusses
questions fundamental to language teaching: What do we
mean by <u>language</u>?   How do we understand <u>language learning</u>?
To what extent does <u>social context</u> impinge upon our
understanding of language and language learning?   And,
finally, how do we interpret the concept of <u>language
teaching</u>? (p. 516).   To clarify these questions he turns
to the academic disciplines into whose domain they fall:
linguistics, psychology and psycholinguistics, anthropology,
sociology and sociolinguistics, and educational theory,
outlining the contribution of each to our understanding
of a particular concept.   His purpose is not so much to
provide his own answers, though he does so in part, as to
summarise the collective knowledge available, distinguish
the known from the unknown and provide a conceptual frame-
work into which the various aspects of language teaching
may be placed.   Thus his book is directed in the first
place to teachers and student teachers.   In this review
I will describe briefly his approach and estimate how far
his aim may be said to have been realized.

The book is divided into six parts.   The first is
introductory: Stern reviews earlier attempts at encompassing
the multiple aspects of second language teaching in one
coherent model and proceeds to explain his own working
model (cf below); he then considers the nature and scope
of research in the field.   The second part is entitled
'Historical Perspectives': it contains a brief review of
the meagre secondary literature on the history of language
teaching; a systematic analysis, for the sake of
exemplification, of one first hand source, the six articles
of the International Phonetic Association, first published
in 1897; and a succinct chronological sketch of trends
from 1880 to 1980.   There follow the four most substantial
parts of the book, devoted respectively to concepts of
language (72pp), society (98pp), language learning (130pp),
and language teaching (96pp).   The approach is systematic
and uniform: first the aims and historical development
of each discipline in relation to language teaching are
described and then the key issues are discussed at length,
with a conclusion outlining the author's own position.

The outstanding quality of this book is thus its
comprehensiveness, which is likely to guarantee it a

unique position as a textbook and reference work for many years. No other work offers such a full and thoughtful survey of all the disciplines connected with language teaching. For example, Part Four, devoted to concepts of society, begins with a brief description of sociology and anthropology, paying particular attention to the work of Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, Sapir and Whorf, Weinreich and Bernstein. The development of sociolinguistics is studied in detail under three headings: the study of language in society (Labov), the ethnography of communication (Hymes, Robinson, Wilkins, Schegloff) and the sociology of language (Ferguson, Haugen, Fishman). A chapter is devoted to the impact of the social sciences on the second language teaching curriculum, and finally consideration is given to the sociology of language teaching and learning. In conclusion, the relationship between the social sciences and language pedagogy is seen as having developed differently from that between linguistics and language teaching, treated in Part Three; with the initiative coming from educational linguists and language teachers rather than from social scientists.

Each of the other three parts is treated in the same detail. Anyone seeking information on, say, the differences between transformational generative grammar and structuralism, interlanguage studies, the optimal age for language learning, a description of the grammar-translation or audio-lingual method, research on teaching through classroom observation, will find a full and objective account.

Despite its length (520 pages) the book is very readable. The style is clear and free from jargon, and the quotations are from the major writers themselves rather than from secondary literature. Bibliographical details are given fully after each chapter rather than in the body of the text. The subheadings of chapter 8, entitled 'Linguistic theory and language teaching: emergence of a relationship' may be quoted as illustrating Stern's vivid style: 'uncertain beginnings', 'the confident application', 'the disorienting impact of new theory: 1965 to 1970'.

And though there are some points that teachers might have liked to see discussed at greater length (e.g. the respective advantages of intensive and 'drip-feed' teaching, the apparent superiority of girls over boys in language learning, mixed ability teaching) there is no doubt that the issues which Stern chooses to highlight are those that everyone would agree to be crucial. For example, in the section devoted to language learning, Stern identifies three central issues: (a) the disparity between the inevitable dominance in the mind of the learner of the first language and the inadequacy of the learner's knowledge of the new language; (b) the choice between deliberate, conscious, or relatively cognitive ways of learning a second language and more subconscious, automatic, or more intuitive ways of learning it; (c) the fact that it is hard, if not impossible,
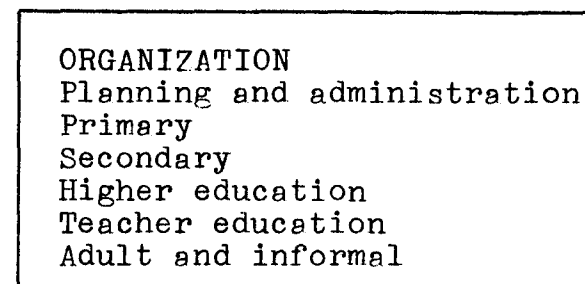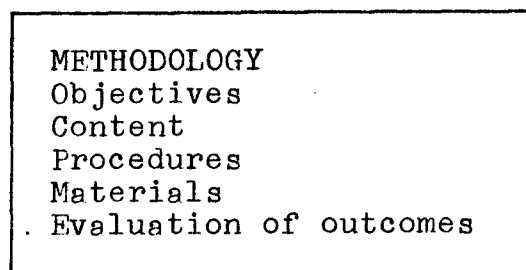
for an individual to pay attention to linguistic forms,
the language as a code, and simultaneously to communicate
in that code (pp 401-402). Here, as elsewhere, Stern
is prepared to state his own conclusions. And where
the evidence is contradictory or inadequate, Stern plainly
says so.

Some reservations need to be made. The first concerns
the fact that approaches and methods are described without
concrete illustrations drawn from appropriate teaching
materials or classroom practice. Stern starts the
introduction to his book by stating, 'It might as well be
admitted right at the outset: this is a book about theory
of language teaching' (p.1), but he is well aware that
practice and theory are interrelated. On the one hand,
as he states on p.23, 'Theory is implicit in the practice
of language teaching. It reveals itself in the assumptions
underlying practice, in the planning of a course of study,
in the routines of the classroom, in value judgements
about language teaching, and in the decisions that the
language teacher has to make day by day.' A few pages
later he states that the most important criteria for a good
language theory are usefulness and applicability. 'A
language teaching theory which is not relevant to practice,
which does not give meaning to it, or "does not work in
practice" is a weak theory and therefore bound to be
suspect' (p.27). His general model for second language
teaching theory, reproduced below, has, as one of its
characteristics, the principle of interaction, marked by
bidirectional arrows. 'The practice of language teaching
and learning, a teacher's or learner's intuitions and
experiences can contribute ideas, information, problems,
and questions to theory development of language pedagogy and
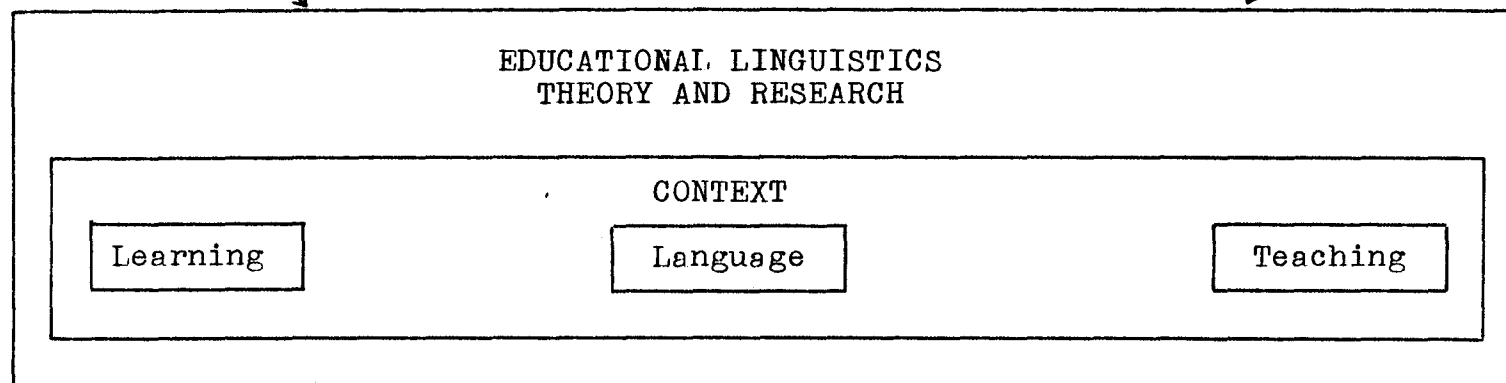to the basic disciplines' (p. 47).

Yet when Stern makes a distinction between analytical and
non-analytical approaches to language, or between those
stressing rule and those stressing creativity (p.184) when
he states 'all language teaching theories are artefacts which
highlight some aspects of language at the expense of
others (p.185), when he describes the various teaching
methods (pp.453-471), one looks in vain for concrete
examples drawn from teaching materials. Similarly,
though the concept of a pedagogical grammar is discussed
at some length, only a few actual examples are listed
without detail in the chapter notes. The reason for these
omissions probably lies in the author's intention,
suggested in the very last paragraph of the book (p.520),
to produce a further book in which he will examine the
methodology of language teaching and its institutional
organization, ie level 3 in his model. However, the
emphasis on theory, the abundance of models and
diagrammatic representations, may cause the present work
to be read more by academic linguists and educators than
by practising teachers or student teachers.

A second reservation is that the separate treatment of the
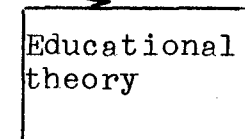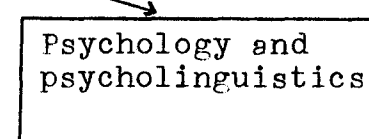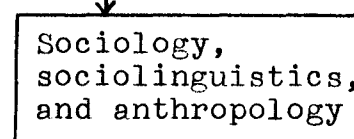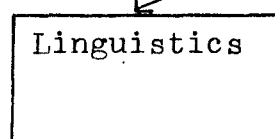various academic disciplines can lead to the same language

Level 3:
Practice

METHODOLOGY	ORGANIZATION
Objectives	Planning and administration
Content	Primary
Procedures	Secondary
Materials	Higher education
. Evaluation of outcomes	Teacher education
	Adult and informal

Level 2:
Interlevel

EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS
THEORY AND RESEARCH

CONTEXT

Learning	Language	Teaching

Level 1:
Foundations

History of language teaching	Linguistics	Sociology, sociolinguistics, and anthropology	Psychology and psycholinguistics	Educational theory

teaching theory being discussed more than once and from different points of view, whereas in practice it works as one coherent approach. The audio-lingual method, for example, is described three times, in the parts devoted to theories of language, theories of language learning and theories of language teaching. Inevitably some repetition ensues.

However, these reservations, concerning matters of presentation rather than content, are minor. The book remains a treasure house of information and a trustworthy source of wise comment. It is to be hoped that the companion volume will appear soon, and that Stern's grand design for a satisfying language teaching theory achieves fulfilment.

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REVIEW of David Crystal (1982) <u>Profiling Linguistic</u>
          <u>Disability</u>. London: Edward Arnold. Pp. 218.

This book adds three new profiles - for phonology, prosody
and semantics - to a revised version of the grammatical
profile LARSP, which was originally published by Crystal,
Fletcher and Garman (1976).   It is a manual for practising
speech therapists and students, setting out and explaining
the profile procedures in great detail and with clear
illustrative examples.   It should be read in conjunction
with the author's book <u>Clinical Linguistics</u> which sets out
the theoretical background to linguistic profiles, as well
as justifying a clinical linguistic approach (Crystal, 1981).
Appropriate references to this and other relevant works are
made in the bibliographic notes at the end of the book.

The book begins with a short chapter describing the nature
and motivation for linguistic profiles and then presents
the four profiles in separate chapters.   Crystal argues
that there is a need for explicit guidelines in the
assessment and remediation of language disorders, guidelines
which are based on sound principles of linguistic description.
He contrasts this approach with the use of standardised tests
which are often too selective in respect of linguistic
categories and which fail to provide principled guidelines
for remediation.   At the same time, the author emphasises
that the profiles are not linguistic theories, but rather
an attempt to derive certain basic principles from linguistics
and to interpret them in the light of the demands of
clinical practice (p.4).   Indeed, an intelligent use of
the profiles, based on a sound understanding of the
linguistic theories which underpin them, is a theme which
is stressed and exemplified continually throughout the
book.   This is in contrast to the mechanical labelling
and categorizing of language items that can so easily be
the fate of these and similar profiles.

The grammatical profile LARSP (Language Assessment,
Remediation and Screening Procedure) is a single page
chart containing syntactic categories as well as the main
patterns of grammatical interaction between therapist and
patient.   The categories are organised and graded
according to their order of acquisition in first language
learners.   One of the major differences from many similar
schemes is the specification of different levels of
grammatical analysis: clause, phrase and word.   In fact,
this turns out to have significant clinical relevance, as
language disordered patients can have well developed
clausal structures with poor or even no phrasal development,

or, conversely, expanded phrase structure in incomplete
clauses.   Similar problems occur with the integration
of word structure with the other levels.   On the whole,
LARSP is now well established as a useful clinical tool
in the speech therapy profession.   It is based on sound
empirical research and has undergone several revisions as
a result of its wide usage since its first appearance.

The same cannot be said for the other three profiles.   In
each case, there is the problem that the developmental
literature is less clear.   Indeed, in the case of
semantics, little is known about aspects such as the
development of the lexicon.   Crystal is fully aware of
these problems and stresses the tentative nature of these
profiles.   At the same time, he points to the clinical
relevance of assessment procedures in each of these levels
of language and presents copious detailed examples to
support his argument.   As one might expect, each of the
profiles is linguistically sound, presenting a comprehensive
and organised list of categories.   At the very least,
such charts will be useful as guidelines to practitioners
regarding the organisation of language at each of the
levels.   Of course, we would hope that the profiles will
prove useful as research tools in language disability as
well as practical procedures in everyday clinical work.
I will give a brief outline of each of the profiles before
going on to a general evaluation of the book as a whole.

The phonology profile, PROPH, is a two page chart presenting
the English sound system with an additional page on which
the transcription of the data is entered.   The system is
RP based, but there is a section for accent conventions and
the author stresses that some parts, especially the vowel
chart, may have to be completely replaced to take account
of regional variation.   While this might seem to present
difficulties at a theoretical level, in practice most speech
therapists are able to take account of phonological
variability and should be guided by the systematic presenta-
tion of one sound system here.   The profile has an additional
three page supplementary procedure which allows various
numerical summaries of the data to be made such as an
inventory of phones used, a classification of the phones
in relation to their adult targets, phonological features
and processes.   The use of this part of the chart is
optional, but the author shows with several convincing
examples how such information can provide a principled
basis for future therapy - for example, in motivating the
choice of which consonantal contrast to work on first from
among a theoretical choice of thirty possible contrasts.
Indeed, it is shown in the examples that the more obvious
choices are not necessarily those which would be supported
by a more thorough analysis of the data.

The prosody profile, PROP, is a single page chart of
prosodic features - tone units, tones and tonicity -
motivated by acquisitional evidence.   The basic categories
are explained and clearly illustrated, and guidelines are
presented for assigning a wide variety of phonetic forms

to the categories specified on the chart. Several
examples of prosodic disability are analysed to
underscore the importance of an analysis at this level,
although there could have been more exemplification of
the use of this profile with adult patients. One
important dimension which is explored is the interaction
between levels - in this case, between tone units and
clausal structures. In this way, important information,
such as a failure to produce grammatical patterns with a
coherent prosodic structure, can be highlighted which
would not necessarily be apparent from an examination of
either profile in isolation.

The semantic profile, PRISM, is in two parts. PRISM-L
is a lexical profile in which lexical items are categorised
according to semantic fields such as recreation. These
are further sub-divided into sub-fields such as action
(skip, kick, etc.), people (goalie, team, etc.) and
equipment (bat, goalposts, etc.). As such, this profile
is like a mini-thesaurus, except that the items which
appear are motivated by their clinical relevance in respect
of the patient's needs in comprehension and production.
PRISM-L is a sixteen page chart and, at first sight, might
prove overwhelming to practitioners. Its main advantage is
that it provides a basis for a systematic analysis of the
state of a patient's lexicon as well as a useful inventory
of lexical items to be covered in remediation. The final
page of the profile has sections for paradigmatic and
syntagmatic relations in lexical items, overextensions,
underextensions and mismatches, as well as a statistical
summary covering aspects such as type-token ratios and the
number of semantic fields represented in the data. The
second part of the semantic profile, PRISM-G, is concerned
with grammatical semantics. This is a three page chart
containing case elements such as actor, experiencer and
locative as well as specifications such as scope, attribute
and definiteness. Five stages of development are recognised,
based on acquisitional evidence. The first four stages
set out the possible combinations of the semantic elements
while Stage V deals with semantic relationships between
clauses within the same sentence. The profile concludes
with an extended sample from a 55 year old dysphasic man.
We see from the analysis of this sample how this patient's
relatively advanced grammatical ability, in terms of well
developed clausal and phrasal structures, contrasts with a
restricted semantic ability. At first sight, it would
appear that the main problem emerging from the PRISM-G
profile is a heavy use of deictics. As this feature is
obvious from a quick reading of the transcript, one might
argue that the more detailed analysis required by the profile
is unnecessary. However, further analysis reveals that
deictic forms increase when the patient uses more advanced
clauses and that they are used as exponents for the semantic
roles of actor, experiencer and entity, whereas the roles
of goal, temporal and locative are well specified. In
other words, the problem is not just an overuse of deictics,
but the use of deictics to cover deficiencies in certain

areas.   This information should support any further
decisions about the structure of a remediation programme.

Enough has been said about the profiles to show that they
are based on sound linguistic principles.   However, it
would do less than justice to this book if the main
impression conveyed were that this is a list of linguistic
categories and a set of illustrative examples.   Indeed,
as mentioned earlier, there is a danger of the profile
procedure being seen as merely labelling a set of linguistic
behaviours and arriving at something not much more
informative than a standardised test score.   In fact,
one of the main points which emerges from a close reading
of Crystal's analysis of the data presented in the book is
that a remedial path as well as potential future problems
are pinpointed.   An example from LARSP will illustrate this
point.   An analysis of a sample shows how a child has
reached Stage V in the use of conjunctions such as and and
cos.   At the same time, there is a lack of good clause and
phrase structure.   The presence of these features is easily
noted from the chart but not their potential relationship.
For example: if clause structure is not developed, problem
sentences such as the following could be predicted: he
kicked the man and can fall down.   Similar perceptive
analyses occur throughout the book for each of the profiles.
So, essentially there are two main strengths in Crystal's
approach which go beyond the careful analysis of the data.
On the one hand, there is an intelligent interpretation of
the profiles and, on the other, there is an attempt to
explore significant interactions between the levels of
language represented individually by each profile.   It is
to be hoped that these important points will be taught to
students in addition to the equally important first stage of
learning to sample and analyse language data accurately and
systematically.   Perhaps a future book will set out in
greater detail the principles which underlie the author's
interpretation of his data.

Finally, we turn to the practicalities of linguistic
profiles.   It is by these that the approach will stand or
fall.   Here the relevant questions are whether clinicians
can learn to use the systems, whether they have time to use
them, and whether they will be convinced that this approach
is preferable in practical terms to more traditional
procedures.   Certainly, experience has shown that practising
speech therapists can be intimidated by profile charts such
as LARSP.   Further profiles such as PROPH, which are even
more detailed, could add to this problem.   It can take time
to teach even the mechanical procedure of labelling and
categorising, never mind the more important interpretation
and analysis of the results.   For this reason, the profiles
will probably be most successfully taught on speech therapy
courses in conjunction with the related theoretical background.
As far as their usefulness in clinical practice is concerned,
there is no doubt that the transcription and analysis of
language data is extremely time-consuming.   However,
practitioners should be prepared to be convinced by Crystal's

argument that time spent initially could save time spent
later, especially if subsequent remediation programmes can
be based on well-informed decisions rather than what
amounts to little more than intelligent guesswork. The
amount of time and energy required by linguistic profiles
cannot be minimised. But then, this is only a recognition
of the complexity of language and an attempt to come to
terms with the extremely varied nature of language disorders.
For these reasons it is to be hoped that this book will
receive the careful reading that it deserves and that it
will form the basis for further empirical research in
language pathology.

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REVIEW of CILT eds (1982) <u>Communication Skills in Modern</u>
<u>Languages at School and in Higher Education</u>.
London: Centre for Information on Language
Teaching and Research. Pp. viii + 120.

Since language is both a formal system or code and also a
context-sensitive medium for expressing meaning, language
teaching must deal with both these aspects. The emphasis
given to each of the two aspects, and the extent to which
a relationship is established between them, changes from
time to time in response to developments in human knowledge
or the organisation of society. A few voices calling
for changes are raised, others join in, the new formulations
gain increasing acceptance, either out of conviction or
uncritically, though the silent majority continues along
established paths. Gradually some elements of reform,
more soundly argued than the rest, receive official sanction
through changes in examinations; new textbooks are published,
and for a time the dilemma between language as code and
language as message seems resolved.

We are now, in the early eighties, witnessing a new
emphasis on meaning. 'Communication' and 'communicative'
have become the watchwords of the current movement for
reform in language teaching, and the conference convened
by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching and
Research in September 1981 at the University of St Andrews
on 'Communication skills in modern languages at school
and higher education' reflected this trend. The title
and the choice of venue were significant. The organisers
wished to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and
experiences relating to communicative teaching, and they
sought to bring together people active in all parts of the
educational system in England and Scotland. The two-day
conference was attended by about 100 people and the 11
principal speakers represented the whole spectrum of
education. Several were able to report new initiatives
in their own field: the publication of the <u>Tour de France</u>
course for the first two years of secondary school
(McKinstry), the East Midlands graded assessment
feasibility study (Dunning), proposals for an alternative
A-level in French put forward by teachers in London
(Murphy) and for a continuation course in Scotland
(Giovanazzi), the projects undertaken by French departments
in the Scottish Universities (Lodge). Others described
higher education courses for special purposes (Winslow,
Green, Rae); and two final papers considered the
implications of the new trends for teacher training
(Johnstone, Hornsey).

However interesting these individual situation reports were, each could necessarily only deal with one part of the educational scene. One of the aims of the conference organisers was 'how to establish a positive reinforcement spiral between schools and universities' (Trim, Introduction, p.v.). These conference papers on their own do not allow us to judge how much progress was made along that road. There is no record of what took place in the group discussions and there is no summing up to balance the powerful and realistic opening address by Taylor and bring out the main convictions and preoccupations of the participants and the leitmotifs of the conference.

What, then, is the impression made by the papers themselves? The first is undoubtedly one of pleasure at seeing so many efforts to make language education more purposeful in its objectives and methods. As Johnstone observes in a very thoughtful article, there is now widespread agreement on the general direction in which language teaching should proceed: 'Teachers, teacher trainers, advisers, inspectors, and indeed pupils themselves are in the process of acquiring a meta-language with each other about what they are all trying to do - which represents a great step forward!' (p.90)

However, on the evidence of these papers, much remains to be done. First, if the positive reinforcement spiral is to be continuous, the crucial middle section, representing the 14-16 age group and the first public examination, has to be secured. Yet this area was left completely unexplored by the speakers.

Second, the relation between aims and means needs much further clarification. Not all the speakers interpreted 'communicative' in the same way. As Johnstone reminded his audience, education can be seen in terms of both product and process, with public priority at present being given to product (p.93). This was certainly true of the majority of speakers, who interpreted communicative language learning as working towards an objective defined in terms of topics and registers to be studied, language activities to be performed (exposé, summary, gist comprehension), or notions and functions to be expressed. The proposals for new courses and examinations for the 16-18 group (Giovanazzi, Murphy) and the account of language courses in higher education for language specialists (Lodge) and for specialists in other subjects (Rae) concentrated on the two first objectives. Lodge's description of an experimental course devised at Aberdeen for final year students, where six three-weekly cycles are each geared to a particular lexical field (eg énergie-écologie, urbanisme, justice) and also to a particular language activity (eg exposition, réfutation, résume oral ou écrit, débat) makes exciting reading. At the lower level McKinstry sees the aim of courses like Tour de France as teaching personal and classroom language, broken down in a list of about 50 notions and functions such as, for example, 'describing your own and someone else's eyes and hair, saying what you ate for dinner at school, what the food was like, asking your teacher to do something, etc.' (p. 17).

Few of these speakers however discussed what was involved in terms of classroom procedures to achieve their objectives. Only Dunning, in a sometimes sibylline but thought-provoking paper, emphasises the process. 'Whether or not the language exchange is communicative has less to do with the topic and rather more to do with the way in which the communicative interaction is set up' (p. 25). He gives several examples of ways in which pupils can find out unpredictable information from each other. Winslow mentions some exercises suitable for advanced learners (p.63).

Finally, the place and the function of grammar needs to be much more clearly defined in relation to teaching and to testing, for the different stages of the learning process and for different pupils. The reaction against the arid grammatical teaching of the past sometimes takes on an exaggerated form. Thus Murphy, explaining why the ILEA working party decided not to define a grammatical syllabus for A-level, writes that 'it would be fatal to turn to the grammar sections of traditional A-level manuals, unless, of course, one merely wished to teach the sort of structure required for writing French novels' (p.32). Similarly Rae, describing the requirements for the postgraduate Diploma in European Marketing and Languages, maintains that it is possible to achieve correct understanding of a foreign language and the production of grammatically correct language 'without the learners having to devote hours to talking about the rules, and even more hours to mastering all the exceptions to the rules!' (p.81). Conversely the predilection for notions and functions leads at times to very simplistic statements.

Thus Murphy, describing the functions which the ILEA working party wished to see tested in the oral examination of A-level, mentions 'the usual range of functions, eg making statements, asking questions, expressing a variety of emotions' (p.33). How can 'making statements' be considered a suitable objective for teaching, how can it be tested, unless details are specified about the ideational content and syntactic complexity thought appropriate for A-level? Fortunately both Dunning and Hornsey take a more balanced approach. The former argues for 'a grammatical approach to communication, a communicative approach to grammar' (p.22), though without explaining this in detail, and the latter echoes Wilkins himself (Wilkins 1976: 66-69), when he states: 'The arguments about syllabuses and about whether they should be constructed on notional, situational or structual lines are largely irrelevant because clearly all three approaches leave their appropriate parts to play' (p.110).

What is to be our conclusion about this book? Perhaps the gaps and contradictions noted above will prevent it from making the wide impact desired by the conference organisers, but some at least of the papers (Taylor, Dunning, Lodge, Johnstone, Hornsey) will retain their

value. The collection as a whole can be called a faithful reflection of the profession's best aspirations and also of its uncertainties in the early eighties; a hopeful, if at times hesitant, step towards better teaching.

The presentation of the book is neat and pleasing; a useful bibliography follows the papers.

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