

working papers in linguistics and language teaching

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POLICY

Working Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching publishes work in a number of areas, including: general linguistics, language teaching methodology, evaluation of teaching materials, language curriculum development, language testing, educational technology, language and language teaching surveys, language planning, bilingual education. Articles on Chinese and Chinese language teaching may be published in Chinese

Working papers is aimed primarily at Hong Kong and, as such, is intended to be informal in character, but it is hoped that it may also be of interest to specialists in other parts of the world, especially in Asia. There are two issues per year.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

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Working Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching,
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 - Oller, J.W. and Streiff, V. 1975. 'Dictation: A test of grammar-based expectancies,' English Language Teaching Journal 30(1):25-36.
- 13. Books and pamphlets should be referenced in the following way:
 - Foss, B. (ed.) 1974. New Perspectives in Child Development. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 14. Articles in books should be referenced in the following way:
 - Kvan, E. 1969. 'Problems of bilingual milieu in Hong Kong: strain of the two language system.' In Hong Kong: A Society in Transition, edited by T.C. Jarvie and J. Agassi, pp. 327-343. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

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Introduction

A four stage experiment was conducted in order to investigate the validity of a prevalent view that phonological variation in Cantonese is random and meaningless. This was felt necessary especially in view of the dearth of research into diachronic aspects of language change in Cantonese and particularly the social dimensions of such changes. Cantonese in this paper is defined as that variety currently spoken in Hong Kong.

Two groups of subjects were used. A younger group (GI) with a mean age of 20.6 years was tested separately from an older group (GII) whose mean age was 29.6. There were both male and female subjects in each group. GI's parents were, with one exception, from a loosely defined 'working class' ranging in occupation from 'hawker' and 'part-time waiter' to 'timber worker'. GII subjects had several years experience as secretaries, programmers and engineers. They were all keen to continue their education although none had ever formally entered university. They had all taken enrichment/advancement extramural courses in such subjects as management, law, urban studies, finance, German and French. Unfortunately, no one has ever done a social stratificational study for Hong Kong that could provide this study with quick and easy access to a truly random sample from predefined social strata. As a result, it would be hasty to generalize results from this experiment to the entire Hong Kong Cantonese speech community. Nonetheless, the aim of discovering significant patterns of variation that could fruitfully point the way to future research was achieved. The patterns that appeared are discussed below.

Speech data was elicited from subjects in situations of increasing contextual formality similar but not identical to Labov's casual style, reading passage style and wordlist style². For convenience, the speech styles elicited in this experiment are labelled CS, RPS, and WLS. A fourth experimental component consisted of a modified matched guise procedure designed to test subjects' propensity to assign a particular socioeconomic designation, based only on perceived phonological differences, to either of the 'two' stimulus (S) speakers. A second part of this modified matched guise asked for subjects' direct evaluation of the speech of the 'two' S speakers.

Phonological Variants

The variant pairs chosen for study were initial $[\eta]$ and $[\eta]$; initial [n] and [l]; and initial $[k^W]$ and $[k]^3$. The first member of each pair was taken to be the conservative form, and the latter,

the innovative form. However, it was hypothesized that [7] was not perceived to be a conservative form. The other conservative variants [n-] and $[k^W-]$, form contrasting minimal pairs in abundance with their innovative variants [1-] and [k-]. On the other hand, [n-] and [1-], formed precious few, if any, minimal pairs. The problem is that in Cantonese syllabaries and Cantonese-English dictionaries, both initial [n] and [1] are prescribed forms for different words4. The saving grace is that a great majority of lexis currently possibly realizable in Hong Kong Cantonese with $[\eta-]$ and [1-] are assigned to the initial $[\eta]$. By sheer frequency of natural occurrence, lexis with initial [n] would tend to dominate, making it reasonable for speakers to generalize that $[\eta-]$ was correct for all lexis in this category. For example, a $[\eta-]$ prescribed word ngóh (Yale romanization used throughout) (我) "me/I" can currently be realizable with either initial $[\eta]$ or [1]; however, there is no prescribed [7] - initial word to form a minimal pair with ngóh. Similarly, a [7-]- prescribed word aan (3) 'late' also realizable with either variant in Hong Kong, has no $[\eta]$ - initial prescribed word to constitute a minimal pair. Thus a realization with either variant could not possibly be mistaken for another word which is not the case for the other two pairs of initials. On this basis, it was hypothesized that speakers felt only one variant to be correct, prescribed, appropriate: the initial $[\eta]$.

The Experiment

Stage I: GI and GII were tested on different days but the 4-stage sequence was strictly adhered to for both groups. First, informal speech (CS) was elicited in an informal discussion among the subjects after viewing a 27-minute video-taped TV drama on a then topical subject in Hong Kong. Individual lavalier microphones were used to reduce self-consciousness to a minimum. It was felt this would encourage the informal give-and-take conducive to the production of natural speech⁵.

Stage II: The modified matched guise procedure was presented when discussions ended (GI: 181 min., GII: 32 min.). Subjects listened in sequence to two versions of the same unfinished story recorded by the same stimulus speaker. They were deliberately told that two different speakers had been painstakingly 'matched' for 'voice' quality but without further elaboration. This tactic was felt necessary since conventional use of the matched guise technique usually involves one speaker using different dialects or even languages, and there is never any substantial suspicion among subjects that there could in reality be only one speaker⁶. Since the matched guise in this experiment employed extremely low level differentiation -- at the phonological level-there was a danger of subjects thinking there were two speakers. Misleading subjects could have forced some to differentiate at some level where otherwise they would or could not. But this deliberate ruse was designed to encourage subjects to focus on the theoretically sole source of differences -- use of different variants in the two versions -- in order to assign perceived relative socioeconomic status to a speaker.

Stage III: The unfinished story used in Stage II provided a natural continuation for the elicitation of RPS--a style more formal than CS. Subjects were asked to choose one of two written endings, prepared by the

author, they felt to be appropriate. Subjects' suspicions that some psychological factor was being tested (because they were asked to select either a 'positive' or 'negative' ending without actually having read either one) were intentionally left unchallenged in order to strengthen the validity of the data elicited. Upon choosing, subjects then simply read them out and these were recorded via the lavaliers. Lexis with target variants had been embedded in both endings.

Stage IV: WLS was the most formal style elicited. Part I required subjects to read and record a 68-item list of Cantonese lexis each of which could be realized with different variants. In Part II, subjects listened to the author's rendition of the same list but with each item read twice in succession: the first using the conservative variant, and the second, the innovative variant. After each pair reading, subjects indicated which variant they considered proper and which they themselves used.

Results

The data seems to indicate that variation is not free but patterned for both groups in an almost identical way. The more formal the context of speech, the more speakers attended to their speech resulting in increasing percentages of conservative-form production. Conversely, the less formal the speech style, the higher the percentages of innovative forms produced.

Table 1

COMPARISION OF GROUP % CONSERVATIVE-FORM PRODUCTION
IN CS, RPS AND WLS FOR 4 VARIANTS

		GI (younger)	GII (older)
[ŋ-]	CS	33	83
	RPS	66	84
	WLS	68	77
[7-]	*CS RPS WLS	 48 46	55 51
[n-]	CS	13	18
	RPS	26	41
	WLS	42	52
[k ^W -]	CS	8	25
	RPS	32	46
	WLS	64	47

*No data available due to extremely low occurrence of initial [7]- prescribed lexis. 4 of 7 subjects produced none at all; 2 produced only one and the remaining 1 produced two.

The pattern of increasing use of the conservative variant with increasing contextual formality holds true for the [n-/1-] and the $[k^W-/k-]$ pairs for both groups. It also holds for the [n-2-] pair for GI. GII's relatively high percentage cluster of scores for [n-1] production throughout contextual styles seems to reflect their generally heightened awareness of the existence of variation which apparently quided them in choosing prestigious forms more often.

Perception and Choice of Prestige Forms

In Stage IV, subjects labelled certain variants 'proper' and 'better'. It appears that conservative forms are perceived to be more prestigious than innovative forms. This provides support for the view that linguistic change, here, is '... operating in the direction away from the prestige standard...' If it were operating toward a new prestige standard, the innovative forms would of course be viewed as prestigious and are usually led by women?. Table 2 also shows that GII on the whole seems more sensitive to prestige forms.

Table 2

COMPARISON OF GROUP % CONSERVATIVE FORMS

CHOSEN AS "PROPER" AND "BETTER"

	GI	GII
[7-]	76	80
[ŋ-] [2-]	41	35
[n-]	59	70
$[kW_{-}]$	74	69

It was mentioned earlier that initial [2] was hypothesized to be a non-conservative form. GII's lower rating for the glottal conforms to the finding that conservative forms are perceived as prestigious. The ratings for the glottal for both groups are the only ones below 50 per cent. Apparently the initial glottal is perceived to be radically different in nature from the other three conservative-prestigious variants. That the pattern of prestige ascription to conservative variants is wellestablished seems clear. Although this pattern may be a consequence of an inherent bias in the sample in that subjects have had a substantial number of years of formal education, keeping in mind the traditional Chinese reverence for learning as an official mark of status and achievement, certainly innovation exists. That subjects are aware of this is just somewhat less than absolutely certain, and that they bravely resist according prestige to innovative variants but reserve this for perceived traditional/conservative variants is very probable in the light of experimental results.8

Age as a Factor

The data from $Table\ 1$ shows the older group GII consistently realizing more conservative forms than the younger GI group -- in all contextual styles. Their very high realization of [7] will be discussed separately below. One could surmise that GII, being ambitious achievers on the threshold of success, or at least having securely moved out of the blue-collar ranks, would be subject most to social pressures to adhere to and opt for perceived prestigious linguistic forms. No doubt this plays a part. But their preference may also be due to a comparatively wider and longer exposure to both conservative and innovative variants. The two factors probably interact; a greater awareness of choice of variants provides the requisite base on which social pressures can act in influencing the consistent choice of one set of variants over another. Accordingly, the younger group's lower awareness of choice, especially toward the informal end of the speech spectrum, seems to lend support to the idea that younger speakers lead the way in innovative change and that the innovative [1-] and [k-] variants are well advanced.

[7] Generalized as Non-Conservative

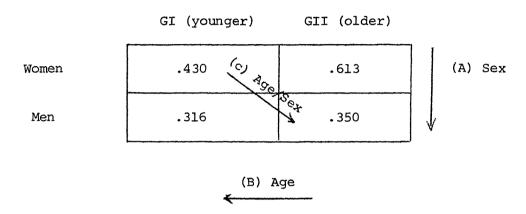
If [7-] were perceived to be a legitimate conservative form, the pattern of [?-] production should have conformed to those for [n-/1-] and $[k^W-/k-]$. They do not. Data for CS for [7-] - prescribed lexis is omitted as noted above; this only underscores the dominance of $[\eta-]$ in naturally occurring speech which helps to explain that $[\eta-]$ is perceived to be conservative-prestigious, and not [7-]. But for RPS and WLS, the percentage of scores for both groups cluster tightly around 50 per cent the point of greatest variation--or greatest ambivalence. Whereas with increasing attention to speech, the conservative $[\eta -]$ was increasingly produced for $[\eta-]$ -prescribed lexis, there was a general reluctance to treat [7-] as the conservative form for [7-]prescribed lexis as formality increased. This is particularly evident when viewing GII's very high scores for $[\eta-]$ which seem to exhibit an acute awareness of the appropriateness of $[\eta-]$ use for $[\eta-]$ - prescribed lexis throughout contextual styles. The evidence indicates that there is variation between $[\eta-]$ and [1-] but that this seems more advanced in younger speakers and that the [7-] is not generally perceived as conservative, correct, or prestigious.

Sex as a Factor

Similar to the older age group, women showed more sensitivity on the whole to prestige forms and correspondingly produced more conservative variants across all contextual styles. Both the younger and older women scored higher than the men in their own age groups, [(A) in Table 3 where sex is the variable]. Comparisons with age as the variable (B) have already been discussed.

Table 3

SEX/AGE GROUP INDEX SCORES FOR CONSERVATIVE-FORM PRODUCTION ACROSS 3 CONTEXTUAL STYLES



In the age/sex crossover comparison between GII women and GI men, the two groups form the two extremes and bear out the original hypotheses that older speakers who are female would produce the most conservative variants. In the crossover comparison (C), it seems that sex is more important than the relative age of speakers of the two groups as the younger women score higher than the older men.

Phonological Assimilation

In investigating the extent of variation between phonological variants in speakers, particularly in several contextual styles, one must take into account the process of phonological assimilation. This is especially true for informal speech data. In the present study, the extent of innovative-variant use could well have been much higher for more than half the subjects. Table 4 shows the increased hypothetical production of the innovative [1-] for all subjects if certain cases of [n-] production were discounted as 'true' [n-] production but were due rather to progressive phonological assimilation masking the 'true' innovative [1-]. That is, had it not been for assimilation, the innovative [1-] would have appeared even more frequently.

GI Subjects	% [1-]	% [n-]	% [n-] ^A	% [1-] ^H
1	84	16	80	97
2	74	26		9/
3	87	13	75	97
4	89	11	, <u> </u>	<i></i>
5	91	9		ere ess
6	100	0	***	
7	86	14		
GII Subjects				
1	62	38	14	68
2	77	23	11	80
3	77	23	71	94
4	92	8	100	100
5	94	6	60	98
6	91	9	Major Cirlor	time time

Key: % [1-] = Percentage of innovative [1-] produced in CS.

% [n-] = Percentage of conservative [n-] produced in CS.

% [n-] A = Percentage of [n-] production occurring under conditions where phonological assimilation can

Hypercorrection

The author's informal observations that Cantonese speakers often hypercorrected for [1-] had often been questioned but in fact, as is evident from the following table, this does exist. The measure of hypercorrection derived only from WLS data is discussed below. In general, the older group was expected to hypercorrect more than the younger group. But this held only for hypercorrecting [1-] to [n-]. In fact, the younger group hypercorrected the [1-] to [η -] more than the older group although only by 5 per cent. Hypercorrection for [k-] to [kW-] was level at about 2 per cent although hypercorrection for this particular initial was totally unexpected based on informal pre-

experimental observations. The very high scores for hypercorrecting to [ŋ-] provide further support for the theory that [7-] is generalized to be a non-prestigious form regardless of subjects' actual production across contextual speech styles.

The pattern of hypercorrection between age and sex groups was hypothesized to be identical to that of production of conservative -prestige forms discussed above. That is, in rank, they would take the following configuration:

* where positions 2 and 3 were uncertain

Table 5
% HYPERCORRECTION BETWEEN
SEX AND AGE GROUPS FOR 3 VARIABLES

	GI Men	GI Women	GII Men	GII Women
[2-] to [y-]	33.3	70.0	20.5	63.8
[1-] to [n-]	14.7	11.0	33.5	22.3
[k-] to [k ^W -]	0.0	3.3	0.0	3.3
		Manager of Property and Propert	With the Property of the Control of	And the second second second
Group Mean	16.0	28.1	18.0	29.8

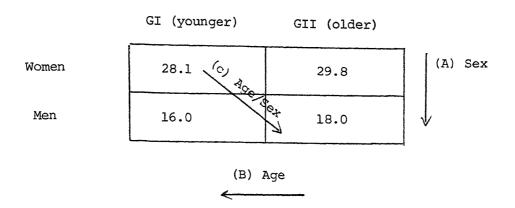
The actual rank configuration was:

1 GII women 2 GI women 3 GII men 4 GI men

In fact, this age/sex group hypercorrection configuration is identical to that for the production of conservative-prestige forms by age and sex groups. Women hypercorrected more than men (A), and older speakers hypercorrected more than younger speakers (B).

Table 6

COMPARISON OF TOTAL HYPERCORRECTION BY SEX AND AGE FOR 3 VARIABLES



The younger men were expected to hypercorrect least and the older women, most. The second age/sex crossover comparison between younger women and older men (as with the production of conservative-prestige forms) resulted in sex as the apparently more dominating factor at the expense of relative age.

Modified Matched Guise Procedure

The two tapes presented to subjects differed only in that only conservative variants were used in the first version and only innovative variants were used in the second version but with the same stimulus speaker recording both versions. In the first part of this test, subjects assigned either a higher or lower socioeconomic status to each of the speakers of the two versions. In the second part, they directly evaluated the speakers' speech in terms of perceived correctness and euphony as an indication of prestige value.

It was hypothesized that the higher SES would be assigned to the speaker who used conservative variants and that her speech would also be judged more correct and euphonic. It was thought that women more than men, and older more than younger, speakers would react in this way.

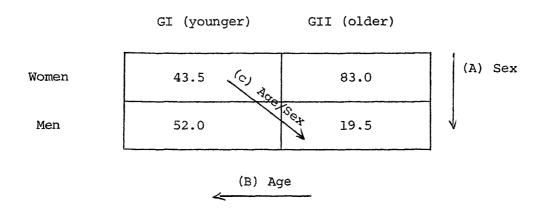
Table 7

8	PAM	CHIN	SERVATIVE RELATIVE		
			GI	GII	
	rt rt an		49 45 47	61 63 62	

The older group, taken as a whole, did rate the conservative variant version higher than the innovative one. Incidentally, subjects also seemed to perceive the 2 Parts as reflecting similar values since the spread for both groups is very narrow--4 percentage points at its maximum.

COMPARISON OF % MATCHING CONSERVATIVE-FORM S SPEAKER WITH HIGH RELATIVE SES BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS

Table 8



Within age groups with sex as the variable (A), the general hypothesis is borne out overwhelmingly only in GII, but contradicted in GI where men scored higher than women. Within sex groups with age as the variable (B), again the men contradicted the hypothesis by scoring higher than their older counterparts. Naturally, then, the hypothesized lowest ranking for GI men was also upset, although the other extreme--GII women as the highest scorers--held. The second crossover comparison between younger women and older men (C) also held where it seemed sex remained the operating factor with women outscoring men.

The younger men's comparatively high scores may in fact be the result of a 'variant-exposure' factor mentioned earlier that indicates they could not discriminate well between the 'two' S speakers, particularly as their score hovers around the 50 per cent mark of greatest ambiguity. The younger women's relatively high scores, approaching 50 percent, can be seen in a similar light. It may well be that these scores are merely reflective of a generally decreased ability among the younger speakers to discriminate between variants due to their shorter and narrower exposure to both members of variant pairs. Conversely, older speakers tend to discriminate well due to a relatively richer exposure to variants and their choices reflect their commitment to a particular send of variants. One final table is offered in support of this theory.

% CONSERVATIVE VARIANTS CHOSEN AS "PROPER" AND "BETTER"

IN WLS FOR 4 VARIABLES BY AGE AND SEX GROUPS

Table 9

	GI (younger)	GII (older)
Women	62.3	66.3
Men	63.3	58.5
Mean	62.5	63.5

Table 9 shows that both GI and GII for both sexes, do rate conservative forms as prestigious indicating to an almost identical extent their feeling that conservative forms are the 'proper' and 'better' ones as opposed to innovative forms in the wordlist part of the experiment. In light of this, GI's unexpected scores in matching S speakers with SES appear somewhat misleading. This in turn lends credence to the speculation that younger speakers are just not as conscious of variation, which makes it difficult for them to discriminate at a phonological level toward the informal end of the speech continuum.

NOTES

- 1. See Pan, P.G. 1981. <u>Prestige Forms and Phonological Variation in Hong Kong Cantonese Speech</u>. M.A. dissertation, University of Hong Kong (unpublished).
- 2. Contextual styles are adapted from Labov's Sociolinguistic Patterns (73). CS in this paper does not correspond strictly to any of the 5 sub-contexts A₁₋₅ for casual speech which were primarily adjuncts to careful speech (Context B) in the interview situation. In this paper, CS was based not on interviews but on small group discussion. RPS in this paper was loosely based on Context C although variables were not grouped in successive paragraphs nor were they juxtaposed to form minimal pairs in the text itself but were randomly spread throughout. WLS was also adapted from Context D and D' where the essential formality was retained by requiring subjects to produce words in isolation.
- 3. These 3 pairs were chosen from 8 pairs studied by H. Yeung in Some Aspects of Phonological Variations in the Cantonese Spoken in Hong Kong, 1980 as an unpublished M.A. dissertation at the University of Hong Kong. These 3 pairs showed unequivocal variation. The other 5 pairs were: [ts-] and [t-]; [-m] and [-n]; [-p] and [t]; [-η] and [-n]; and [-k] and [-t].
- 4. Lexis used in the study were taken from 10 sources comprising Cantonese syllabaries and Cantonese-English, Cantonese-Portugese, and Cantonese-French dictionaries:

1	Williams	1856
2	Chalmers	1907
3	Aubazac	1912
*4	Cowles	1965
5	Wells	1931
6	Meyer-Wempe	1935
7	S.L. Wong	1938
8	Macao Government	1962
9	Huang	1970
10	Lau	1977

^{*} published in 1965 but compilation began in 1922.

A sample of the lexis used in the study focusing on prescribed initial [Ŋ] and [l], culled from the above sources follows. Note that no minimal pair combinations exist although there are very minute differences in the way in which various sources prescribe certain lexis to be realized in terms of the initial.

Key: X = realized as indicated
 -- = not an entry in the source

[1] = glottal stop prescribed

[ŋ] = velar nasal prescribed

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ngấuh	X	X	X	х	X	х	х	Х	Х	х
ngaang	Х	X	X	X	X	Х	х	Х	Х	х
ngaih	Х	X	X	Х	X	х	Х	Х	X	x
ngāak	[7/2-]	X	X	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	х	[1-]
ngàih	Х	X	x	X	Х	X	Х	Х	X	х
ngáahn	Х	X	x	X	х	Х	Х	х	X	Х
ngāam	Х	X	Х	x	Mary space	X	Х	х	X	Х
ngoih	Х	х	X	X	X	х	Х	X	X	х
ngoh	X	X	X	X	х	Х	x	X	X	x
ngahn	Х	X	X	X	Х	Х	х	X	X	X
ngohk	Х	X	x	Х	X	Х	X	Х	X	x
ngàaih	Х	X	X	X		X	X	X	***	
ngàaih	Х	X	X	X	Х	X	X	X	X	[ŋ-/2-]
ngāi	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Х	X	X
ngāhp	Х	X	X	X	X	Х	-	-		Х
aai	X	X	X	Х		X	x	X	[ŋ-]	х
àai	Х	X	X	Х	X	X	X	Х	[7-]	[2-/ŋ-]
aan	Х	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	[ŋ-]	X
aap	X	X	X	Х	Х	X	Х	Х	[ŋ-]	X
aat	X	X	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	[ŋ-]	X
ái	X	X	X	Х		Х	X	X	[ŋ-]	X
āk	X		x	X	244 MM	Х	X	X	X	Х
am	X	X	x	Х	Х	Х	X	X	[ŋ-]	X
ūk		X	X	X	Х	X	X	X	[ŋ-]	Х
ou	X	X	Х	Х	Х	Х	X	X	Х	X
oi	Х	x	X	х	X	X	Х	Х	[ŋ-] *	
ok	х	X	X	X	Х	X	х	X	[ŋ-]	
on	x	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	[ŋ-]*	
ung	Service Madel	x	X	X	Х	Х	X	Х	[ŋ-]	X

^{*}Main entries designated [ŋ-] but the [1-] rendering is possible under other certain lexical combination entries.

(Yale romanization used.)

- 5. Two major reasons dictated the use of individual lavalier microphones: to adequately reproduce very low levels of phonological variation in running speech in a group discussion context, and to reduce self-consciousness. The use of one microphone for the entire group would have meant a hopeless mixing of sources of speech data as well as a masking of valuable realizations of target variables. Indeed much useful data was obtained through having recorded each subject on his own tape track that would otherwise have been lost. As to reducing self-consciousness, a measure of how successful this was can be seen from the great number of almost torn shirt fronts and sweaters as subjects began to leave the room at the end, having forgotten their microphones were still clipped on. Although no subject in either group actually got up and walked around during the discussion, the lack of a constraining single overhead microphone probably contributed significantly to the feeling of a lack of constraint conducive to natural speech.
- 6. The matched guise procedure is ultimately an exercise in deceit. Any objections to the overt direction to subjects that there are "two" speakers fail to realize that deceit is deceit whether it be covert or overt. Covertness (or overtness) is not a measure of the degree of deceit; it is only a matter of style.
- 7. Trudgill, Sociolinguistics, p.99.
- 8. For a detailed discussion, see Pan, Prestige Forms, 1981.
- 9. Alternate measures of hypercorrection not reported in this paper included the use of data indicating subjects' choices of "proper" and "better" forms, and their own reported use of variant forms. This was compared with subjects' actual production. It is interesting to note that if these measures were used, 4 of 7 subjects in GI hypercorrected for [k-] rather than just 1 if WLS data is used. In GII, it would have been 4 of 6 subjects instead of 1, where one of the hypercorrectors did it 63% of the time and another 38% of the time.

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ways tards drive about stood stood stood tards asses asses attack about most stood and

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF WRITING SKILLS TO LEARNING OF CANTONESE

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Prose writing is one of the skills taught in the two year full-time Cantonese as a second language programme at the University of Hong Kong. However, spoken Cantonese can be very different from the written language, which is closer in vocabulary and syntax to Modern Standard Chinese. This article explores ways of helping students to bridge the gap between spoken and written forms. In so doing, the writer draws attention to:

- 1) problems that would arise in having to teach written language through a spoken form, which is distinctly different from writing at all linguistic levels.
- 2) additional interference problems from the students' mother tongue.
- 3) the importance of working out a systematic organized writing course which would guide the students towards functionally appropriate prose writing.
- 4) the necessity of maintaining motivation by offering practice in specific areas of interest.
- 5) the importance of extending the scope of vocabulary to avoid unnecessarily vague or over-generalized expressions.
- 6) the importance of widening the learners' experience in areas they want to write in and making them feel a need to acquire a variety of expressions for effective communication.
- 7) the fact that students have differing needs at different times and that, as a teacher, one should respect those needs and adjust one's demands accordingly.

談談對外國成人學生的漢語作文教學

黄婉真

我所教的學生初來時都是完全不懂中文的外籍成人。他們來自英、美、法、澳洲、加拿大、西班牙;也有來自日本與菲律賓的。他們學習中文有的是爲了在本港工作(如教會的神職人員)及生活的需要;有的全是爲了興趣。修業期限兩年。畢業時要求他們不但會說流利的廣東話,而且能看懂一般簡易的書報,並能恰當地運用常用二千漢字,以較通順的中文表達出意思。因此,在語和文的教學方面,我們面臨很大的挑戰,也碰到不少困難。這些困難仍有待大家研究,設法逐步解決。

由於我們是採用粵語進行中文教學的,口語和我們所要求寫出來的規範化漢語有很大的出入。也就是說,以粵語進行中文教學,語和文常常是不一致的。而這,也就增加了學生一重困難。為了逐步掃除說和寫不一致的困難,我們所有的學生都得先學說話兩個學期(五個月,共二十二週,每週16小時),讓他們基本上都掌握了說話的規律,初步能表達簡單而較完整的意思以後,才讓他們開始學漢字。這一來,每個學生就都有了會說話的較好基礎了。如何善用這一基礎,逐步引導學生把要說的話用規範化的漢語表達出來,正是作文課的教學目的與要求。

爲了貫澈這一教學目的,似須充份估計所能 連用的教學時間。事實上,每學年只有四個學期;第一、二、三學期每學期只有十一週,第四學期只有八週。兩年合共八十二週。除了考試兩週外,實剩八十週。粵語學生還得除去第一學年的第一、二學期全部學說話,不學漢字的二十二週,實際只有五十八週是語和文並學的。按照每週編排一節作文課分配,每個學生只有五十八節作文,極其量兩年也只可以練習寫作五十八篇。如此有限的習作,以一個對中文完全陌生的外國成人來說,即使他們有怎麼好的天才,恐怕也難達到理想要求。所以該怎麼樣把語和文的教學緊密互相配合;怎樣同時兼顧堂上和課外的寫作練習;怎樣從遣詞、造句的基本訓練做起,以至擴展到片段和全篇短文、書信等的寫作,都是很值得商計研究的。讓就個人在教學實踐過程中的一些方法,提出討論。

(一)強調以"我手寫我口"的簡易方法。首先提高學生與趣與信心,使他們明白只要記得漢字的寫法,並掌握一些語和文不同的表達規律及詞語,就能把自己要說的話用規範漢語寫出來。

例如一開始教寫字就先教會他們寫好自己的姓名、國籍和校名。學生一下子上了手,自然與趣盎然,並初歩欣賞漢字的藝術美。

跟着,我就把口語和譽面語並沒有差別的句子口述出來,要學生寫下:

- (1)我想來見你,好嗎?
- (2) 我要去大學, 你呢?
- (3)請你等等,我就來。
- (4) 你看書, 他寫字, 我唸中文。

這一來,學生就眞正體會到自己會講就會寫,簡直是"以手寫口"那麼簡單。因而與趣與信心俱來,完成了作文教學的第一步目的要求。

經過上項的一兩次練習後,第二步就該把語和文表達的不同地方指出來,逐步比較、分析、引導 學生掌握了。

例如: (1) (講) 對唔住,我而家唔得閒,第日傾喇!

(寫)對不起,我現在沒工夫,改天談吧!

- (2) (講) 點解你無食飯呀?
 - (寫) 爲什麽你沒吃飯呢?
- (3) (講) 佢病咗,唔想吃嘢啦。
 - (寫)他病了,不想吃東西了。
- (4) (講)我寫嘢字無你寫嘅字咁靚噃!
 - (寫) 我寫的字可沒有你寫的這麼漂亮啊!
- (5) (講) 我地學漢字之前,要學三個月講話先。
 - (寫) 我們學漢字之前,要先學說話三個月。

- (6) (講) 以前我係住喺法國嘅,舊年至嚟呢處。
 - 寫)以前我是住在法國的,去年才到這兒來。
- (7) (講) 佢話我知已經寫咗兩封信啦,重要再寫一封先至寫完。
 - (寫) 他告訴我已經寫了兩封信了,還要再寫一封才寫完。

上述句子的分析比較,目的使學生能理解到粵語和書面漢語遣詞造句方面的差別,從而熟習它。不過,儘管反覆介紹、練習,學生還是很容易把 "不"和 "沒有"的用法混淆和課用的。我看,這主要是受了英語 "DO NOT" "DID NOT"等的影响吧。至於 "吧" "啊" "呢"等語氣詞的誤用,更是沒熟習漢語特點的結果。所以,像這類容易寫錯的句子,除了着重講解文法的區別外,(如例句(2) "沒吃"與(3)之 "不吃"的時式區別;例句(5)也可以用 "之前",但例句(6)就不可以用 "之前" ① ,似乎反覆練習,使學生熟練,也是很需要的。不過,這些 "語"和 "文"的差別是 應該全面而有系統地先教學生呢,還是根據進度,結合教課文時同時比對講解、練習呢?要怎樣才獲得更好效果呢?倒是值得 討論討論。

(二)在口述指導造句過程中,似應有重點地使學生掌握中文的特點,區別中英詞語運用及結構的異同,這才能避免寫出不倫不類的中文來。

例如從學生的造句習作中,常發現下列的針誤:

(1) 我不想你是鋁了。

這顯然是來自"I DON'T THINK THAT YOU'RE WRONG"的直譯。

學生把 "THINK" 千篇 一律的寫爲 "想" ,凡英文有 "ARE" "IS" 等的就必用 "是" 來表達。句子以否定句形式出現,那是英文的習慣,而中文却多用肯定句說法; 在描述句中,中文是不用 "是"字的。根據這些特點,就須改爲:"我認爲你沒錯"才是漢語的寫法。

(2) 他說他不會囘來到四點。

這又是脫胎于"HE SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT BE BACK UNTIL FOUR"。

學生受母語影响直譯出中文來,同時又不懂 "才"的用法。所以必須改爲:他說四點才回來"以符合中文的規律。

(3) 我奇怪如果他明白會來看我。

同樣,這是"I WONDER IF HE WILL COME TO SEE ME TOMORROW"的意思。學生只懂得"WONDER"與"IF"為"奇怪"如果"之意,却沒有掌握這句的特殊意義,因而把疑問句的意思也弄錯了。所以 講解時,必須指出"WONDER"與"IF"在句中有"WHETHER OR NOT"的意義時,就得寫成:"我不知道他明天會不會(或是否會)來看我"了。

(4) 他去了美國,我不能接頭他。

這又是受了英語 "CONTACT HIM"的影响。應改爲 "他去了美國,我不能 跟 他接頭"。

他如"條件句式""因果句式"的倒置等等,都是和英文的影响有關係。所以,對於某些漢語結構 、 遭詞、 造句的特點和學生因受母語影响必然產生的錯誤,應該先予誦授,避免錯誤呢,還是先讓 學生熟習中英文結構相同的句型後,才逐步讓他們掌握中文的特殊規律,使能更易入手呢?這一點 仍在摸索、試驗中。

(三)有計劃、有系統地把學生所學過的詞語、句型結構等組織 起來,融匯在要指導學生寫的書信或文章中。要知道學生怕作文,一是記不起生字;二是不會運用詞語;三是上下文不連貫;四是詞彙貧乏,寫不出。針對此,對二年級學生的作文指導就不該只是句子練習那麼簡單,也不可出了題目任由學生自己去寫。因爲這些外國學生根本還沒可能寫出創作性的東西來(當然日本學生例外)。我認爲教師應該心中有數地先把該作文課要求學生必須掌握、鞏固的詞語、句型等組織好,融匯在句子段落中,逐段逐段以至全篇的由老師口述或以粵語拼音寫出,引導學生思索、同憶,運用所學過的詞語、句型結構等,再寫或書面漢語。這樣地練習一個時期,使學

生習慣了有系統 地用已有的漢語 知識 表達思想後,才放手讓他們自己去寫作,相信會較有效。例如下面的故事,就是用這種方法由教師口述,引導學生寫成的:

陳英是一個二十來歲,可愛的女孩子。兩年前在廣州唸完初中後,由于家庭生活不大好,到一個工廠做工。本來她很努力,也很有上進心,所以同事們都非常喜歡她,跨她是個好姑娘。可是,自從去年她結識了一個從香港同去的親戚以後,她變得越來越愛吃好玩和講究打扮了。那個親戚送給她一些在與州很難買到的東西,好像漂亮的衣服呀,收音錄音機呀等等,又常常帶她上館子吃吃喝喝,使她個直沒心工作了。她又聽了那個親戚的話,認為年青好看的女孩子,在香港是很容易找到工作的。只要有工作,就會有好享受。於是,她相信香港真的是天堂,便決心非法逃來香港了。

去年春節的一個黑夜,陳英果然偷偷地游水逃來香港了。可是當她游到香港邊界的山邊,已沒有知力再走的時候,就給邊界的黑社會份子發現捉住了。從此,陳英給他們賣去當舞女。 兩年來,她要逃逃不得,想死死不成。她被害得又病又弱,直到最近,才不得不何警方報告,請求帮助。

這是一件慘事,也是一個好教訓。

從上文中,那些有"·"符號的詞語,就是有意識地要讓學生掌握運用的。尤其是那些連詞的運用,如:"由於"、"本來"、"所以"、"可是"、"自從……以後"、"只要……就"、"於是"、 "從此"、"才"等,讓學生熟習成自然,也是很重要的。

(四) 寫作內容要結合學生學習情況、生活實踐和實用價值,達到活學活用。而寫作形式也該以記敍 文爲主。

學生們一開始寫作,就要緊密地和應用文結合起來。指導他們用所懂得的次字去寫留言、便條、簡單的通知和短信等。那怕是所識詞語有限,也可達到目的要求。

例如:聖誕、新年時賀年卡片、送禮卡片的寫法;慰侯短簡、告假通知、留言工人應做事項,以至明信片報告旅遊簡況等,都在練習之列。這一來,學生就覺得十分實用,因而信心漸增了。

又如:指導二年級畢業班學生給友人覆信,囘答 關於來校就讀中文證書班問題時,就是一邊口述,一邊引導他們把申請入學應辦手續,學習內容及個人意見等,層次分明而簡要地介紹出來的。而信中所運用的文字都是他們學 過的。這樣就使學生明白怎樣取材,如何安排層次,和怎樣運用已學 到手的漢語 知識去表達思想了。這些經歷,都是他們親自體驗到的,材料也是熟悉的。 所以引導他們說來、寫來,也就毫不費勁。課後學生也喜歡把握練習應用文的機會,常常留言家中工人,指示應辦事務;向校方申述請 假原因;祝賀同學添丁,慰問留醫親友和向老師報告旅遊情況等等。雖然文字上有時憑有點兒毛病,可是基本上是達意的。

(五)逐步在學生原有基礎上,豐富他們的詞彙,真輸生動而又易學易記的詞組及同義詞等,使寫作更充實、更優美。例如在描寫女人的"美"時,學生就只會用"漂亮""美麗",教師不妨提示他們選用"可愛"、"動人"、"清秀"、"好看"等詞,描述不愉快情緒時,可引導他們運用"生氣""發怒"、"不開心"、"悶悶不樂"、"拉長了臉"等。說人有本領,又可提示他們運用"本事"、"能幹"、"了不起"、"真要得"、"頂瓜瓜"等。他如描述歡樂氣氛的,試教他們運用"歡天喜地"、"喜氣洋洋"、"嘻嘻哈哈"、"談天說地"等等。這些詞組學生不一定學過,也未必懂,但是那些字大多數却是學過的。教師只要把他們學過的字另外組成別的詞或詞組,賦以剝意,那麼,學生得來全不費工夫,寫作的語言也就較多姿彩、生動活潑了。

(六)要沒法打開學生思路,引導表達思想與抒發感情,提高他們學習與運用中文的與趣與信心,為 日後進修及進一步運用中文鋪好道路。

由於成人學生思路廣濶,有見解,有經驗,感情亦豐富,只要善予啓發文思,他們要說、要寫的話就會滔滔不絕了。

例如我在参加了學生的三次活動:(1)參觀宋城;(2)看電影"今古奇觀";(3)應邀到學生新居作客以後,就會以(一)"參觀宋城記"(二)"看今古奇觀後"及(三"寫意的一天"命題。我用廣東話拼音把組織好的內容寫出來,要求學生轉寫爲規範化的記錄文。而各篇文章選材與描述重點又不相同。比方第一篇,着重訓練學生如何取捨材料,明確何處該着重寫,何處可以一筆帶過,從而把最有意義的、臘像院裏

的中國歷史人物價值介紹出來,使人們明白爲什麼值得參觀。而第二篇則着重敍述"奇觀"的事蹟及抒發觀後感想。至於第二篇却着重寫出感到寫意的"情"和"景"了。在還不同內容與重點的寫作練習中,都要根據學生實際程度,盡量路發他們同憶,運用所烹識的、簡明生動的詞語去表達思想感情,才能收到預期的效果。所以,儘管每次學生要花上兩三個鐘頭去完成一篇寫作,可是他們迄不以爲苦。還說:"自己也想說、想寫這些話,但是不知怎麽說起,怎樣寫好,經過老師一開路,奇怪,自己倒能說得、寫得頭頭是追了"。

不過,這種在老師指導下的寫作練習,却也有壞的一面,那就是形成老師的"包辦代替",而學生喪失了獨創寫作的練習,到頭來,只變得會給人"寫話",而不會自己抒情達意了。所以,我認爲這個方法只適宜作爲過渡時期採用。一俟學生說順了口,寫順了手,就得停止採用了。各位先進,你們的意見又怎樣呢?

(七)區別對象,決定批改作文的尺度:

對不同年級、不同背景與情況的學生,最終教學目的雖然是一致的,可是每人不同時期的要求却各有不同。初級學生只求句子沒語法錯誤就算了。習作以少改,盡多保留原文爲原則。高級學生要求應嚴格些,句子不但要注為,還要求寫得通順。段落、結構也要較完整。當發現學生能恰當地模仿範文詞語及章法進行寫作時,就得盡量鼓勵、表揚。即使學生有詞不達意的現象,也不宜草卒地删掉原文或改得面目全非。反之,應該當面了解學生寫時的意圖,盡量奪重學生原意,並根據其原意去引導他們明白地表達出來。這樣,才能做到有的放矢,使學生眞正學會怎樣表達自己的意思。至于批改過的地方,尤其是犯嚴重語法錯誤及詞不遠意的,更須事後當面分析,講解淸楚,才能提醒注意,糾正錯誤,避免重犯

總的來說,每一堂作文教學,從提供、鞏固什麼語言材料,訓練、熟習哪些寫作能力與技巧,以至怎樣結合學生實際情況等等,都是經過細心考慮,緊密配合漢語讀本和生活實踐步署的。多年來事實證明,畢業班的學生都能寫出尙算通順的普通中文信而沒有什麼錯誤。至於與他們本身工作,生活有關的簡單報導等,也多會寫得明白清楚。這總算是符合我們的教學要求的。不過,這種成績並不鞏固,要是學生畢業後沒有繼續進修、練習,再鞏固基礎,再提高水平,那恐怕很快就會把二千漢字忘記了大半,而中文寫作也會大大退步了。因為兩年的時間畢竟有限,而中文的豐富實藏,又是取之不竭,用之不盡的。一個外國人,要眞正把中文學到手,要學會使用中文寫作儼如他們使用母語一樣,我看還得假以相當時日及配合以"地利""人和"了。我們所提供的兩年教學指導,只不過是給他們奠下較好的基礎吧了。

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This article outlines and discusses some of the major considerations one has to make in designing a course in Putonghua for Cantonese students. The first one makes use of comparative studies between the learners' native tongue and the target language. Since both Cantonese and Putonghua share the same written form but differ in their phonological and syntactic systems there is a higher possibility of interference from the native language for Cantonese students than for learners who speak a language totally different from Putonghua. With this in mind, the writer tested the efficiency of using course books which do not offer characters alongside romanization symbols, as against conventional books which do. This experiment was based on the hypothesis that to a Cantonese, the presence of characters actually impede the production of Putonghua. With the class which was given characters as well as romanization symbols, initial results confirmed this impression. On the other hand, with the class which was given romanization symbols only, the students did perform better in pronunciation but suffered in fluency.

The resulting course is divided into two levels. The elementary level aims at 'corrective' pronunciation, and tries to provide a solid foundation for typical sounds in Putonghua. Only romanization symbols are used in the class text. Before each lesson, students are advised to look up a section at the back of the book which gives the situation/conversation in Chinese characters. This is aimed at minimising Cantonese interference and at the same time, freeing the teacher from excessive explanation of the situation, thus giving the class more time to improve on fluency. The advanced level is for students who have mastered the phonological system of Putonghua and is mainly aimed at increasing vocabulary for practical situations. It is at this stage that comparative lexis and syntax are focused on. Activities include project-type discussions and speech-making. The writer invites comments from readers on the above design.

一套普通話教材的構想

梁雅玲

在香椹大學語文研習所開辦的普通話課程中,有一部份是專爲以用廣東話爲母語的學生而設的。主要任務是在短期內教會他們聽和說普通話,完成這個任務要靠教師和學生的努力與合作;要靠教師對工作有一份熱情,對所教的課要有深入的了解,豐富的知識,又能深入淺出地爲學生講解,使學生易於接受;還要有一套適用的教材。

會「聽」普通話對一般人來說不是太困難的事,主要是因爲我們漢民族有共通的書面語,而普通話 基本上與選共通的書面語相通,所以方言區的人聽懂普遍話並不太難。

會「說」就是另外一囘事了,因爲這涉及到實際的發音技能問題。學例來說,粵語中沒有 zh ch 、 sh 、 r 的擔舌音; j、q、x和z、c、s 與粵語的發音相似,但發音部位又不同,所以廣東人說這幾組音就有一定的困難。如「手術」(´shǒushù),「手續」(shǒuxù),「繼續」(jīxù),「技術」(jīshu); 「資本」(zīběn),「基本」(jīběn)。

聲調方面的問題,由于粵語的第一聲原是降調,但亦可讀成高平調,所以學生對降調和高平調的差異很難區分。如果問與東話的學生「詩」、「杯」兩個字怎麼讀,他們大多會讀成高平調,然後你讓作降調問他們那麼讀對不對,他們會表示「也可以」。所以我們在教廣東人聲調時,難點是第一聲和第四聲。需要反覆練習,如比較「珍惜」、「青春」(zhēnxī 、 qīngchūn)和「擴大」、「業務」(kuòdà 、 yēwù);「豐富」、「經驗」(fēngfù 、 jīngyàn)和「特殊」、「措施」(tèshū 、 cuòshī)等。

廣東人易設錯的另一類字是在粵語中是同晉字而在普通話中却不是的。如:「流」、「樓」;「王」、「黃」;「院」、「縣」;「忘」、「亡」;「小」、「少」等等。

此外,就是粵語中選保留有入聲字,而普通話中已沒有入聲字了,所以把粵語中的入聲字用普通話讚出時易出錯。以上所談的都是在語音方面的問題。

其次,談談詞彙上的問題:粵語中還保留了古漢語的用法,如:「吃」叫「食」;「喝」叫「飲」;「跑」叫「走」;「走」叫「行」……。

再有 粤語 中一些詞的 詞彙次序與普通話正好顚倒,如:

再加上衣、食、住、行的常用語中,所用的詞彙都有一些出入,量詞也不盡相同。語法也有一些不同之處,因此在編寫初級組的教材時,首先注意把發音的基礎打好。然後練習一些日常生活用語,如: 稱謂、職業、在銀行、在郵局以及在百貨公司購物等。使學生上完初級組就可以用普通話與人交談了。

在教學實踐中證明,學生看見方塊漢字自然而然會想到他們熟悉的母語,那對學好普通話是一種極大的干擾。我在編寫教材時曾試過漢字在上,拼音在下;也試過拼音在上,漢字在下。無論把漢字放在什麼地方,首先撲入學生眼臉的還是漢字,於是在七九/八〇年度的 PB3 和PB4 我們第一次做試驗: PB3 只用拼音教,學生的講義上完全沒有漢字,而 PB4的講義上拼音和漢字兼用。結果顯示拼音班的成績較好。成績如下:

,	聽寫 (25%)	理解 (25%)	閱讀(25%)	會話(25%)	總分
PB3 (10人)	18 • 04	21•39	18 • 2	17 • 8 6	75 • 5
PB4 (9人)	19 • 69	19 • 27	16 • 66	16 • 25	71 • 88

如上的試驗我們又繼續做過幾次。證實光用拼音舉習的班級,發音基礎打得較好,學生發音比較準確,其中成績優秀的同學,發音完全扭轉,可達到聽不出粵語腔。而這些同學原來的背景是相似的:都以廣東話爲母語,都會說英語,所以在學習捲舌音時並沒有大大的困難。不過,在採用拼音教學過程中又出現了相對的問題,就是學生在會話方面不夠流利。教師們研究後認爲可能是由于課本上沒有漢字,所以教師在講解上花了較多的時間,因此學生練習說話的機會就相對地減少了。

普通話班分為初級班及高級組。初級組上課時間為 1 0 0 小時,包括在語言實驗室聽錄音及練習的時間在內;高級組上課時間為 6 0 小時,亦包括聽錄音及練習的時間在內,我們對這兩組的要求是不同的。學生在初級組要打好發音基礎,學好拼音,因為這是學好普通話的根本問題。學生學好的拼音,自然在聽、說、寫三方面都可以反應出來。初級組學習成績優良者——成績在 B等以上——可申請讀高級組。因為高級組的上課時間縮短了,又任務繁多,教學重點不再放在拼音上了,所以要求學生一定是已經學好拼音,打好發音基礎的才能上高級組。在高級組的課程中要提高學生朗讀的能力、會話的能力,並能参加專題討論會及訓練學生用普通話演講。

現在我把自己構想的一套普通點教材提出來和各位討論,希望各位能提出實貨的意見及娃融,以便 改進今後的普通話教學。

『初級組教材』:形式上前半部是拼音,後半部是相對應的 英字及練 省答案。這種形式可减少上課時 漢字對學生的干擾;有相對應的漢字做 參考,又可減少教師在課堂上講解的時間,使學生有更多練習會話的機會。

內容方便除了講解普通話的發音原理外,並根據廣東人學習普通話的困難編出「難音練習」「一字多音練習」「輕聲」和「兒化」的練習等。初級組的會話材料以日常生活包話為主,如:稱謂、職業、交通、天氣、娛樂、飯館兒、打電話、在郵電局、在銀行、在醫院、體育運動、百貨公司等。還有趣味性的小話劇,以便同學們可以排演,或作錄音練習。每課後都有與課文內容有關的練習,而且盡量做到形式多樣化,引起同學們的與趣。

『高級組教材』:包括兩大部份

第一部份:內容包括朗讀材料及廣東話及普通話語法問題的比較及探討。朗誦材料又分爲五個單元,每個單元有自己的重點。在選材上照顧到學生所需的詞彙及挑選一些與青年人有切身關係的題材,便于學生討論或辯論。如第一單元是介紹有關中國的地理環境、省份等詞彙,並介紹歌頌黃河、長江的詩篇。第二單元是討論人生哲理的問題。什麼是痛苦與快樂;什麼是生命與愛;時間爲什麼實質等。第三個單元是青年人的問題,談自知與自信,大專的學生怎樣才可以更好地返過大學的黃金時代,鼓勵學生學好語文的演講詞等。第四個單元是以對大自然的歌頌爲主。第五單元包括單口相聲、話劇、諷刺小品等,是不同的文學體裁。以上只是概括地介紹第一部份的內容,由於選材是多方面的,所以詞彙量比較大,可豐富同學們的詞彙。

第二部份:內容以「中國旅遊」爲主。希望同學們能做到學以致用。詞集的範圍是很廣的。從普通的到國內旅行需知到具體的過海關住旅店都作了介紹。還有比較專用的課題,如通過介紹中國的名山及岩洞,介紹了有關地理自然科學的詞彙;通過介紹石窟藝術亦簡單介紹佛教如何傳入中國,石窟雕像在不同的歷史時期有何特徵等;通過「中原之旅」及「絲綢之路」等介紹中國的歷史及文物;「靑藏獵奇」介紹少數民族的風俗習慣等。

高級組還有一些專題討論的課題,那是配合社會情況、時事、政治、教育等問題而組織研討會,培養學生有演論的能力,這是我們考核學生的項目之一。

我希望學生能在一百個課時內學好普通話。以上只是我 個人對普通話 教材的構想,不免有不夠全面,考慮不周之處,希望各位多提意見,謝謝。

STORYING: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Abstract

This paper focuses on narrative as a methodological approach to the education of minority groups, particularly in the field of literacy where narrative can be more than just the telling of stories. It is a way of initiating the ESL learner into the language, the culture, and the social mores of the target language community, and the literate patterns of the language he is learning. The type of writing produced in traditional ESL classes is contrasted with work produced in a bilingual program that emphasizes storying. The implication is that the narrative is a way of reaching out towards children's experiences as it is a primary means by which children learn their mother tongue in any culture, in any country. It may also be an important way of helping minority group children in a bilingual, bicultural program as well as contributing to their personal development.

Introduction

The central concern of this paper is to highlight the significance of storying as a major contribution towards helping second language learners in learning their second language. For many reasons, there is no overall agreement on a common goal in the education of bilingual children nor on a common method of teaching ESL. Various methods in the past ten years have proved unsatisfactory: one reason for this is that major shifts of theory in ESL methodology have caused confusion and debate while these controversies themselves have had virtually no effect on traditional classroom practice. In fact, what has been of importance to researchers in linguistics and psychology has not necessarily led to drastic alterations in the methods used in the classroom (Sampson 1977). Another is that common TESL methods such as the direct method or the audio-lingual approach have laid emphasis on the acquisition of grammatical structures, and this has dominated the behaviour of both teacher and student alike, as well as the content of learning. The teaching of grammar as a means for teaching a bilingual child his second language does not seem to have given the learner much chance to think in the language or make it real for himself by relating it to his own personal experience (Diller 1976). Over and above that, we do not know as yet how the conscious teaching of selected and graded items affects the mental development of children (Ravem 1973).

The Bilingual Context

Thus it was with a feeling of dissatisfaction with the prevailing methods of teaching ESL that a project began in a London school in England.

The ordinary school context tended to place minority group members into remedial streams which emphasized their weaknesses rather than their strengths (Derrick 1977). The responses of the bilingual children described below and the school context itself in no way reflect the typical ESL practices elsewhere in the UK. It is also appropriate at this point to clarify a number of notions such as bilingual education which at that time (1976-78) and in that situation mainly involved the teaching of English as a second language rather than teaching both the Ll and L2 of the students in the group. The bilingual context mentioned is therefore really the use of two languages in the classroom, Cantonese and English, spoken by the bilingual teacher, that is, the present writer, and the students in the class, aged between 11 and 16. The need for a bilingual teacher was clearly apparent with regard to the Chinese population in that school from the evidence of classroom observation before and during the project. It was clear that the children before the commencement of the project were in a severe state of withdrawal, responding to no-one and perhaps with little comprehension of the tasks demanded. Their silence was interpreted by their peers as a lack of cognitive ability with the result that they were largely placed in remedial streams in class.

Crucial to the project of course was the hypothesis that L2 learners, who were allowed to read stories, have stories read to them and retell stories, could achieve a higher degree of literacy than L2 learners on a strict diet of structural and pattern drills. All the above activities come under the umbrella term of storying. The idea of storying as a methodological approach to TESL and in bilingual education has hitherto been largely unexplored except in first language teaching where there is a proliferation of literature (e.g. Piaget and Inhelder 1958; Opie 1961; Kermode 1966; Moffett 1966; Britton 1970; Chukovsky 1973; Spencer 1976; King 1977; Meek et al 1977; Brown 1977) on the value of the narrative as a major contributing factor in the mental growth and development of children. The assumption here is that if children learn a great deal of their mother tongue by means of stories being read to them, listening to stories and reading stories themselves, it should be easy for children to learn their second language by the same means that is both personal and experience-related. Storying could then become a means by which first language teaching and ESL methodology might find a common goal that is beneficial to both the linquistic and mental development of second language learners.

The Significance of Reading and Storying

On the surface, the term storying involves the reading of stories, listening to stories and the retelling of stories. Simple enough in the three basic activities, but there are a number of psychological processes which are stimulated by each activity that we still do not know enough about. However, we do know from recent research findings into the reading process, (namely Iser 1974; Goodman & Goodman 1977; Smith 1977; Wolf 1977;) that between the author and the skilled native-speaker reader there is a dialogue in the gathering of information, sorting, interpreting and analysis of the text (Wolf 1977). The text, though fiction, carries potential meaning and represents for the reader a world of reality in which he brings his own personal experience, and which in turn contributes to the different semantic interpretations possible. The text therefore has a dynamic quality in the presentation of a fictional reality full of social

and historical implications in the way it plays with time, thus making certain cognitive demands on the reader's memory. For it is the omissions in the text which require the reader to replenish psychologically what is not explicit. The reader has to establish links in the action, in anticipation of what is in store and in retrospect of what has been. And in the process of reading, it is not the text that is changed but the reader who is changed by the experience, for the text can only take on full significance in the (native speaker) reader (Iser 1974).

Children who are not yet able to read but who are used to being read to in their mother tongue seem already to have an internalized representation of what stories are about by their mode of retelling (Brown 1977). Like skilled readers, children are able to predict events and reconstruct the past, being capable of responding psychologically to the game of time created by the text. The hypothesis is that children who eventually become good readers usually come from homes in which being read to and early reading occurs (Clark 1976; Smith 1977). And it is in the reading of and listening to stories that print and the printed word take on a semiotic significance for the reader/listener as well as developing in him a metalinguistic awareness.

Storying is a mode of retelling experience, a reconstruction of life, whether real or imagined and 'a universal habit that transcends all cultural barriers' (Meek et al 1977). Children tend to think about a story long after the reading of it is past, and they will remember the language and how words create images that contribute to their feelings and enjoyment (King 1977). Children learning to become proficient readers through stories, learn to read through meaning (Goodman 1970; Spencer 1976) and this is emphatically different from reading through the decoding of linguistic structures. The author's supposition is that stories read and told to beginning second language learners will introduce them to patterns of meaning in their Target Language (TL) and to the way this language is constructed. 'They will learn from the shape of anecdotes, the punchline in jokes, the timing of a climax, how a written story emerges ... and what conventions it adheres to so that they have the rules as part of their expectations when they read stories on their own' (Spencer 1976). More recent research in the field of listening while reading for poor readers (Sticht 1972; Swalm 1974; Guthrie and Tylers 1976; Neville and Puch 1978; Elgart 1978) points to the fact that listening while reading could divert attention away from word identification and syntactic constraints to the use of context and comprehension as a whole.

While Giunchi (1978) maintains that language materials give ESL students particularly in foreign countries little exposure to the sounds of English as spoken by native speakers in either spontaneous conversation or literary discourse, he suggests that listening to stories would be an appropriate way of introducing the students to the literate aspects of the language. In listening to stories in their Target Language, second language learners and bilingual children could acquire the phonetic symbols of the language they are learning and gradually learn to match sound to print. ESL learners also tend at a particular level of syntactic comprehension to be given graded or simplified readers that are written not by 'real' writers but by writers who impose on themselves linguistic constraints with a restricted sense of audience (Lee 1978). And as a result of these varied constraints, the writing in these simplified readers often omits the emotions and feelings that a good story-writer creates in the text. The linguistic constraints notwithstanding, children

too are able to distinguish between 'real books' as apart from 'readers' (Huck 1977).

Storying in a Bilingual Class

The power of imagery and how words have their way of evoking emotions and feelings all contribute to a secondary world of story which children may or may not take as real or imagined (Meek at al 1977). The narrative works differently for children than it does for adults, and it evokes different realities that are conjured up by the reading process.

To show how reading of a narrative can affect the progress of a group of L2 learners, the impact of the story and its momentum are illustrated below in the transcript of a class of 11-13 year old Chinese children retelling the story of Giant Finn which they had just read. The class was conducted in two languages, Cantonese and English, spoken by both teacher and students, though the students' proficiency in English was elementary (i.e. they could barely read). The procedure of the class normally began with the bilingual teacher reading the story in English first, then asking the children to read the story in turn, explaining vocabulary, grammar and concepts as they occured, and lastly getting the children to retell the story in their mother tongue, Cantonese, to ensure that they understood it well. Often these activities took more than a 35 minute class and extended into the next period. Lessons were recorded and transcribed and the one discussed here was typical in all respects of the teacher's and children's behaviour, occuring about 1/3 of the way through the school year.

TRANSCRIPT OF LESSON ON 27.1.78 WK, CH, SH GROUP 1

THE STORY OF GIANT FINN

Coding: Roman type = in Chinese Italic type = in English

Teacher: Right, now, Chi Hing, tell me the story about the Giant Finn.

CH : ... very easy. There's a Giant called Finn. He hit ...

Teacher: No, it isn't.

CH : He fought a battle (Giggles with others)

Teacher: Go on, calm down come on

CH : He lives in IreZand.

Teacher: Where does he live? Ireland ... O.K.

CH : He likes to fight, and whenever he fights he wins, he wins when he fights.

WH : He fights.

CH : Then he boasts about his fights, says that he is the best fighter in the world. Then there was another man ...

WH : Very big.

CH : Very big, maybe bigger than he is, and a better fighter than he is ... (incomprehensible)

Then ... er, the people in the village tells him (the other giant) that Finn was the best fighter in the world, so the other Giant tells the people in the village to tell Finn that if he wants to fight him, he'd better come. There's more ... When

Finn heard this, that there was a giant bigger and a better

fighter than he was, he was afraid ...

WK : He was anxious.

WH : He was anxious (dramatising to himself the motions of being

afraid, mumbling all the while)

Teacher: Right you carry on

WH : (sighs)

Teacher: You carry on (everyone laughs, WH acting all the time)

WH : Where have we stopped? Very anxious

Teacher: Yes, very anxious (everyone goes through motions of being

scared - laughter)

WH : Finn wanted to leave as he thought that if he fought with this

giant, he would certainly lose. Then his wife told him to leave it all to her. "You put on these baby clothes, and the pants." She gives him the cradle to lie in, and then ...

CH : One thing you forgot to say!

WH : What?

Teacher: Oh, yes, yes what? What is it?

WH : What? The finger?

Teacher: What does his little finger have?

WH : Oh, yes, his wife says, er...er... I've heard of the little

finger of this other giant (giggle from CH)....no, he says

that he will win just fighting with his little finger.

Teacher: No, his little finger has some special strength.

See! So his wife told him to wear the baby's clothes and get WH

into the cradle. Then his wife made some cakes, some oat cakes, and put some stones in the oat cakes. When she had finished,

the other giant arrives

Kok! Kok! Kok!

"What?! Aren't you tiny?" (laughter)

The other giant was surprised, "How come she thinks I'm tiny?"

er..er. I want to fight with Finn.

Did the baby start crying?

Teacher: Yes.

WAH! (laughter) (Pause)

You gave me a fright! (laughter) WK

Teacher: So what was the use of the oatcakes?

His wife said: "The baby's hungry." WH

"Who's baby is that?"

"It's Finn's, I'm going to give him some oatcakes. No, she made others ... that is, she made special ones for Finn to

eat.

Teacher: What's in the oatcakes?

Stones big ones. :

Teacher: Stones, the oatcakes with the stones in ... who does she give

them to?

She gives them to the other giant. When he bit it ... Quack WH

....! His tooth came out ... and then ...

WK, thanks. (laughter) Teacher: Yes O.K.

WK Where did we go up to?

WH Quack! His tooth came out. (Laughter and giggles)

(At great speed) And then, he says "How come the baby can WK

bite something this hard?" He could not believe it and gave his little finger for the baby to bite. When the finger was in the baby's mouth, Giant Finn immediately bit his finger.

"Aaaaaah!" he said. "Let me go! Let me go!"
And then he said (pause)

Teacher: What did he say?

WH Where are we up to?

WK "Let me go! Let me go!"

Help! Help! Let me go! Let me go! (Laughter) WH

Yes, that's it! (probably imitating teacher) CH

Teacher: (laughing) Yes, that's it!

WH : Help! Let me go! Let me go!

WK : (takes up story again) He says: "I don't want to fight! I

don't want to fight! When the baby is like this!"

Teacher: When the baby is as strong as this, right?

WK : And then there was thunder in the sky. Then the lady said

"I hear Giant Finn coming" and she acted as if she was happy

that he was coming back.

CH : Not at all happy!

WK : Then the Giant said: "Let me go! Let me go! I won't ever

come back again." and he went.

Giant Finn took off his shawl and they both laughed (he and

his wife).

Teacher: Right! That's it! That's the end of the story. (teacher

cleans blackboard) O.K.

CH: (laughs artificially) Now let me say it all. This is a ...

no, there are a lot of stories in the world, but the one that

we have just told is only one of them.

If we look carefully at the transcript, much of the retelling is done in Cantonese by the children in the group except for a few phrases and vocabulary items which they have grasped, such as 'very easy' in line 2 and the name 'Finn'. (The Cantonese transcription is represented by the non-italic Roman typeprint.) The children also imitate particular parts of the story, such as 'Help! Help! Let me go! Let me go!' and the teacher's mode of encouragement to the children 'Yes, that's it!'. Though these imitations do not necessarily presuppose full comprehension of meaning on the part of the children, it is suggested by Clark (1977) that imitation is a possible means of advancing a learner's language competence.

The retelling of the story of Giant Finn in the children's mother tongue reveals a lack of full comprehension on the part of WH, the youngest member of the group, at a most significant point of the story—the particular strength of the giant's little finger. If the class had been conducted by a monolingual teacher, it would not have been possible for the teacher to fully gauge the comprehension of the story by the students in the group. The impact of the retelling would also have been lost had the teacher not been bilingual for it could very well have produced silence or monosyllabic responses for a monolingual English teacher.

The bilingual teacher enabled the children to retell the story in their mother tongue and in their own way, which they were able to make more dramatic than the actual story itself in written form. The sighs, the knocking sound of the door, the cracking of the tooth and the baby crying enhanced the dramatic quality of the retelling much more than was in the text itself. The dramatisations also owe much to the youngest member of the group, WH, who stimulated the sense of the dramatic considerably more than the other two. Notice how he picks up the feeling

of anxiety from WK (middle of page 5) and acts upon it. Having created the atmosphere (of anxiety), this is immediately picked up by the others while the teacher redirects the turntaking.

Teacher participation here is minimal and only at crucial points in the narrative to indicate the turn of the next narrator. Even when the story is being picked up by the next teller, it is the children who indicate the exact point at which the previous narrator has stopped, understanding fully how the story has been told and how it should continue. At the end of the narration, CH takes it upon himself to give it a sense of an ending (Kermode 1967), showing that he was fully aware of the conventions in stories:

'Now let me say it all. This is a ...
no, there are a lot of stories in the world,
but the one that we have just told is only
one of them.'

(CH, aged 14, 1978).

The transcript above demonstrates the children's oral skills in their mother tongue and it seems that these are clearly linked to the children's original listening to and comprehension of the English story. Some people could argue that more important than this is the children's growth of self-confidence and willingness to participate through language in story-telling. The gains made by these children in their reading of English seemed quite remarkable though it would be hard to claim a direct cause-effect relationship.

Before this actual class, only one of the boys, WK (aged 12), had had a full year of this type of lesson with the bilingual teacher. The other two came into the school only 3 months before. WH was classified as a remedial reader while learning to read by the phonics method in the remedial department, though he was by far the most lively narrator of the three. Within six months of extra English in the bilingual class, he was well on his way to being literate in his second language.

Learning to read in their second language for these children therefore took on a more personal and experience-related significance than in the standard academic procedure in ESL classes where the bulk of reading exercises have been designed to consolidate mastery of structure rather than develop children's ability to read. Very often word identification is encouraged much more than the acquisition of meaning in the text (Lezberg and Hilferty 1978). It is a common assumption amongst ESL text book writers (e.g. Slager and MacIntosh 1972; Kernan 1974) that ESL learners should acquire mastery of linguistic structure before fluency, while it is the practice in first language teaching that children should be schooled into literacy via the use of the narrative, by being told stories, and by reading stories themselves.

While the relationship between the reading of stories and conceptual development in children and adolescents has been well documented in first language learning (as previously cited), the relationship between storying, second language learning and conceptual development in bilingual children has been little explored. This would be an interesting field in which further research could be established, particularly into the psychological implications of exposure to the narrative and the role of

storying in bilingual education. It would be valuable also if a direct relationship could be demonstrated between listening while reading and the effect of this on students' writing.

The Effect of Storying on Writing

Though the project described in the London school was not a properly controlled experiment—and indeed it would be very difficult to control all the elements in a project of this nature—it provides us with the means of making a comparison between writing produced in a bilingual program largely consisting of storying and that produced in the more coventional type of ESL instructional program. The following structure drill exercise on the use of the verb 'have got' is typical of the standard ESL worksheets given to second language learners, including the children in the storying group when taught by the conventional ESL teacher. Even with the pictures, it neither inspires or excites the imagination of the student as much as the group retelling of the Story of Giant Finn. In a structural exercise of this type, the student is only required to reproduce syntactically correct answers by filling in blanks regardless of meaning the child could bring with him into the classroom. On the positive side it pinpoints the extent of the child's linguistic knowledge of the verb 'have got' and shows how the verb can be used in a sentence.

HAVE GOT 2

Tim and Tony, a football?	Have the rabbits got any carrots?	Have the men got any umbrellas?
<i>i</i> 1	any carrots?	any umbrellas!
	24	The Man work
tey have.	Yes they have	Yes, they Trains
the dog any bones?	Hove Tim and Tony?	Hove the houses go
any bones:	Q Q	4
The state of the s	8 8 8 8	
E 65	apples	
they have.	No trey haven't	No they haven't

Answer in your books.



I. What has the fat woman got in her bag?

2) Look at the boys what have they got?

3) Have the man and the small woman got hats?

4) Have the women got any rabbits? 5) What has the girl got?

Has the man got a stick?

Thave the dogs got tails?

What has the fat woman got in her bag?

Thow many buttons has the fat woman got?

That the & small woman got shoes or boots?

Teachers are familiar enough with the type of sentences produced in response to exercises like these and will recognize the limitations in the children's output. There could be no greater contrast than the writing produced by children in a class used to storying. Here is WK's story of 'The Thief in the Supermarket' written entirely on his own initiative about a month after his participation in the retelling of The Story of Giant Finn:

> Story by WK, (Aged 12) 1978 The Thief in the Supermarket

One day my mother said 'WK can you went to the supermarket buy some bread, sugar, fruit and orange drink.' I went to the supermarket. In supermarket I saw a man looking around carefully, and stealing the foods. I was quite to tell the manager. Manager said, 'Where did the thief now.' And I tord the manager where the thief is. The manager came the thief not here! And the manager went to the cashier and ask.

'Did you sew a man wearing a blue shirt black trousers?'

'Yes. I sew him out from there. But he only buy some breads.'

'O.K.' said the manager.

'Can you tomorrow come if the thief come again. You can tell me who was it' manager asks me.

Next days on the afternoon. I went to the supermarket. I looked around the supermarket. the manager come and said 'you just looks around the supermarket. I was went to whit behind the door.' The manager went to told the cashier, 'when you sew a man just buy one thing or two things, can you told me.' 'O.K.' side the cashier.

The thief come on 3 o'clock. When he come in. He wearing bule shirt. black trousers. again. The manager sew him wearing same colour. manager was following him on the back. Manager went to me said 'did he comeing tooks my foods at this shop.' 'Yes' I said. 'I sew him yesterday.' 'O.K.' 'Thank you' said the manager.

The man look around. and tooks the foods on the pocks and tooks one coco and went to the cashier. When he wented. Manager couth him on the back, said 'Hello. did you tooks some foods from my shop.' 'I did not tooks anything.' side the thief. 'let me saw your pocks.' side manager. 'Why. I side I do nothing.' 'If you do nothing why you no give your pocks to me' side manager.

'O.K. but inside the pocks have some foods.' side the thief and he tooks the pocks to the manager. Manager looked in he sew the foods on it.

'This foods from this supermarket.'

'How did you know this foods from this supermarket.' the thief side the manager,

'I sew you tooks this foods from supermarket.'

'Only you eye sew me tooks your foods' side the thief.

'I sew you took the foods from the supermarket, '... and where did your foods get from '

I was running out, asks the theif

'I...I... b...u..y This...foods...from...from...orther shops.' said the thief.

'Can you show me where you tiking,' I asks the theif.'

The shops haven't got any ticking to me.' the thief said to we are, 'Can you show me. when the shops.' I asks. The thief, and the thief didn't said anything. The manager brought him to the police offrice.

Syntactically and grammatically, the accuracy of the language elicited in the story is far below that elicited by the structure drill exercise. On the other hand, the amount produced in the story is proportionately greater than the worksheet exercise, hence the opportunities for making mistakes are far greater. It also seems to be common practice in TESL to first aim at a mastery of structure before allowing pupils to write compositions of a freer nature. The sustained piece of writing here was produced after a year and five months of a bilingual program largely consisting of reading and retelling of stories. The next piece of writing however was produced only six months after the student had arrived in England:

Story by CH, (aged 14) 1978 Story of a Fall

One day WH and SH were playing in the Park.

WH He saw a dirds next, He side "there's a birds next. at the top of the tree. I want to get it." but SH Side, "No, you can't get it."

"don't be a beby, you can't but I can."

Side WH, So He started climbing up the tree. but suddenly He fell down on ground. "See I told you, you can't get it" said SH WH was crying Said "oh my leg" SH sew the. leg said "I think your leg its broken" WH was crying. SO SH ran to the telephone and dialled 999 He said: This is Hyde Park, near Hyde Park Corner. A boy hurt his leg I think it's broken, Please send an ambulance" They put him on a stretch The ambulance came. Quickly, the ambulance drove to the causalty Department at the hospital.

A muse met WH. she wrote his name and address on a card then she took WH to the X-ray department. WH sit behind an X-ray machine, the nuse took pictures of the bones in his arm. Then a doctot came and looked at the pictures. He said "yes. its broken. The doctor gave Bill an injection. so he didn't feel anything, then he. set the broken bone and put a plaster. so it didn't move.

WH. and SH drank some tea. and WH's mother. came to the Hospital. She came to the Casualty. Department The nuse said "you can go home now but you can't climb a tree now. Come back in a week, WH and his mother and SH Thanked the nurse and the doctor ther they went home.

The WH mother said you must never climb a tree, SH said "I told him so".

Though CH might have had English instruction in Hong Kong before coming to England and it is not known for how long, some of the sentences seem very accurate grammatically, and the student had of course been helped by the bilingual teacher in writing them down. If we look at the content of the piece of writing, it is a description of a day in the life of the writer and his friend (another member of the storying group), a personal piece which related directly to his own experience, whether in part or whole. For a beginner learner who had been only 6 months in England this was an ambitious undertaking and the result is an amazingly sustained piece of writing.

It is the hypothesis of George Kelly that the 'personal construct' of a person is important in contributing towards his learning. In this instance, if a child learns to construe himself as a reader (Kelly 1963), it will make a significant contribution towards his becoming a reader, and if he can perceive through the printed word a model of writing and written prose, it will also make a significant contribution to his ability to write. Students of psycholinguistics will already be familiar with the notion that the so-called passive skill of listening is in fact a far from passive activity. With regard to listening to the printed word in work on first language learning, it is the hypothesis of James Britton that children who listen to stories are gaining experience of the written forms of language and this activity is particularly important for those who cannot yet read for themselves. For this reason,

listening is a valuable preparation for later reading (Britton 1970). Though Britton's work is chiefly in connection with first language learning, the author would add further that in the act of comprehension, the second language learner as reader or listener will instinctively absorb patterns of language and linguistic structures in the appropriate context of application (Lee, 1978). That is, he will be able to absorb syntax and grammar used in context whereas structural drills are often given out of context with the result that learners are not able to see how a construction functions in normal language use. While reading and listening to stories, the learner will at the same time form his own hypothesis of the nature of the language system he is learning. It is through the narrative that most children are schooled into literacy in their first language, by having adults read to them, hearing stories being told and reading stories themselves. It is also possible that second language learners may be schooled into literacy in their second language learners may be

The Influence of Reading on Writing and its Significance for Second Language Development

The ESL teacher has at his disposal various techniques for monitoring the progress of the learner but it is primarily in the production of written work that he gauges his student's ability and achievement. Thus writing is a more permanent record of the pupil's learning of his second language than his oral production. Research by a British team, led by James Britton into the development of writing abilities for first language learners between the ages of 11-18 discovered that children in the early stages of writing tend to relate writing with talking as if the writer were talking to a trusted adult (Britton et αl 1975). An early writer learns to document experience as he feels the first impact and does not distinguish between the real world of experience and that which belongs to the person who experiences it. Britton calls this the 'expressive' mode of writing, one that is best suited to exploration and discovery. It is a form of writing that stays close to the speaker and is therefore often fully comprehensible only to one who knows the speaker and shares his context. It is suggested by Britton's research team that this 'expressive' mode of writing develops along with a child's reading. Further, this form of writing is understood to be a matrix from which all other forms of mature writing develop, from the transactional to the poetic, as shown in the diagram below:

TRANSACTIONAL **** EXPRESSIVE **** POETIC

(Mature writer) (Learner) (Mature writer)

To quote Britton, 'it is language that externalizes our first stage in tackling a problem or coming to grips with an experience' (Britton 1970), and 'it (the expressive) is a mode of writing that contains a vital link with speech in which up to this point a child's linguistic resources have been gathered'.

The discrepancy between the age at which first language learners begin writing and the age at which second language learners begin writing stories depends of course on the age at which L2 learners begin their Target Language. It is not to be supposed that by adolescence L2 learners will have entirely grown out of the narrative and into the use and understanding of the formal language of the school text as described by Olsen

(1976, 1977), that demands the use of language in context-free elaboration referred to by Bruner (1975) as 'analytic competence'. There is in fact another burst of storying activity at adolescence where its contribution is again crucial to cognitive development (Piaget and Inhelder 1958; Meek et al 1977). The advanced reader in the mother tongue may be brought into a world of imagined reality from an adult viewpoint by the novels that are read. The L2 learner, whether in childhood or in adolescence, is hampered by linguistic constraints but may nevertheless be able to benefit from the rich oral tradition of each culture as represented by the narrative in myths, fables and children's stories.

Implications

From the survey of the literature reviewed plus the samples of writing illustrated, it seems that storying has a significant role to play in the ESL context as well as in the bilingual, bi-cultural class-room. The reading process has been shown (Iser 1974; Wolf 1977) to have many psychological implications for the native-speaker reader who in turn relates to the text in terms of his own personal experience. This dynamic perspective may be particularly important for the cognitive development of children with regard to the function of language in the text. For the mother tongue learner, the narrative represents his first insight into the literate language (Olsen 1977) and it is suggested in this paper that it could also give the L2 learner insight into literary discourse in his TL. It will be through the literature that the L2 learner will perceive socio-cultural patterns of behaviour of his second culture, as well as the way this language is used in social situations.

The sample transcript of a bilingual class shows how the narrative can make use of the learner's habitual interests and how a bilingual teacher can handle both languages in dealing with a common theme in the classroom. The stories written by students on the other hand indicate how the reading of the narrative can affect the production of their L2 in written discourse and how they reflect the students' knowledge of the conventions of their TL culture and society. While less can be said of the accuracy of the ESL students' use of English grammar in free composition in comparison with what they could produce in the pattern drill exercise, it can be seen that the task of writing a story has been tackled with more verve and meaningfulness than in the structural drill exercise.

Though the argument produced here for a more widespread use of the narrative in ESL classrooms cannot be conclusive, taken in conjunction with a review of the literature from first language learning, it is enough to indicate a need for further experimental research in this direction. One important area for research is the way in which listening while reading may affect the learning of a second language in connection with the development of cognitive abilities in ESL learners. Another is how the reading of narrative can affect the written production of the L2 learner's Target Language.

While the goals of bilingual education remain unclear and while there is still debate over TESL methods, much use can be made meanwhile of stories and storying, at least in elementary grades, as a viable method for teaching bilingual students. It is thus possible that ESL methodology may find common ground with first language teaching in storying, and that this may indeed be 'a universal habit that transcends all cultural barriers' (Meek $\ensuremath{\it et}$ $\ensuremath{\it al}$, op cit).

NOTES

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