

working papers  
in linguistics  
and language  
teaching

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## LEVELS AND LABELS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

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### *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

In recent years there have been a number of articles attempting to resolve the seeming chaos of terminology in Applied Linguistics, at least as regards that part of the field connected with Language Teaching. The over-riding aim of most authors is to give precise meanings to terms like 'Method' which are frequently used in vague or ambiguous ways. Not the least of the ensuing problems is that different authors resolve the problem in incompatible ways. The first part of this paper attempts therefore to reconcile two slightly differing approaches to the question of the levels on which language teaching should be analysed, namely the papers by Anthony (1963) and Richards and Rodgers (1982). Part 2 takes up the specific problem of adequately defining a syllabus, again by examining two independently produced descriptions, only this time it will be argued that no obvious method of reconciliation seems to exist and that it is therefore more useful to simply retain two different models of course design.

### *Part 1. Levels of Analysis*

In 1963 E.M. Anthony put forward the suggestion that the different aspects of language teaching can be envisaged as a hierarchy comprising three levels, which he labelled 'Approach', 'Method' and 'Technique'.

An Approach consisted of "a set of correlative assumptions dealing with the nature of language and the nature of language teaching and learning. An approach is axiomatic. .... it is often unarguable" (5). The idea of having a set of assumptions about language performance and language learning based on research is clearly useful, as it will help one come to conclusions about what one might wish to teach (or have students learn) and the ways in which one might go about teaching it. At the same time, assumptions about what it means to be 'educated' and to speak a particular language might form a third, more culturally-based, component of an Approach. However, assumptions about the nature of language teaching seem to belong for the most part to a level which concerns itself with how ideas in an Approach might be implemented, rather than to the Approach itself. What Anthony means by requiring that the axioms in an Approach be "correlative" is not entirely clear. If he means no more than that they should bear some vague relationship to each other, there is no real objection. If, on the other hand, he means that they should not conflict, then a moment's reflection will show that this is not a realistic restriction. For example, what is optimal from the point of view of communicative performance is not necessarily optimal as a stimulus to learning. If I want a cigarette but do not speak the language well, I can optimise my performance by signalling via gestures. This may well produce the desired cigarette, but could easily prove useless as an aid to my discovering how to phrase such questions in the language concerned. Similarly, monitoring one's speech heavily after articulating (what Morrison and Low 1983 call 'postmonitoring') may well aid learning a language more than monitoring before uttering the words, but

for the listener, heavy postmonitoring of discourse can lead to virtual incomprehensibility and even to a marked desire to avoid the speaker on all future occasions. Thus there would seem to be no good reason to expect what is ideal in one area to be necessarily ideal or even desirable in another.

J. Richards and T. Rodgers in 1982 redefined Anthony's proposal in a way that takes account of the above comments. An Approach "defines those assumptions, beliefs and theories about the nature of language and the nature of language learning which operate as axiomatic constructs or reference points" (154). We may therefore accept the Richards and Rodgers definition, with the proviso that an Approach is in practice unlikely to resemble a set of non-conflicting axioms.

Anthony's second level is Method. "Method is an overall plan for the orderly presentation of language material, no part of which contradicts, and all of which is based upon, the selected approach. An approach is axiomatic, a method is procedural" (6). Now, the 'procedure' of planning of language teaching programmes necessarily operates at several levels of abstraction. The following, at the very least, need to be distinguished in any theory of levels of language teaching:

1. General ideas about how a language teaching course could be structured.
2. Frameworks (e.g. types of syllabus) applicable to many courses.
3. The structuring of part or all of a specific course.

Anthony would presumably put (1) under Approach and (2) and (3) under Method. We have just argued, however, that (1), being concerned with how one might go about language teaching, is more appropriately located in Level 2. Moreover, both (1) and (2) operate at the level of theory, while (3) is simply an empirical description, denoting an actual solution which happened to be adopted for a specific course. Both (1) and (2) are therefore of greater generality and could be used to produce a variety of different but related solutions to whole range of actual problems. The answer is either to split Method into two separate levels, a theoretical and a practical (or programme development) one, or to simply allow the single level of Method to have two subdivisions. Since both areas relate to course planning, the latter suggestion is adopted here.

Richards and Rodgers, confusingly, retain the term Method as a general cover label for all three levels. They assume the viewpoint of the materials evaluator who, faced with an actual course or system of teaching, wishes to group his or her comments according to different levels of analysis. They thus coin the term Design to describe what Anthony calls Method. We may adequately summarise R and R's description via four short quotations:

1. "Design relates to "The relationship of theories of language and learning to both the form and function of instructional materials and activities in instructional settings" (154).
2. "Methods typically differ in what they see as the relevant language and subject matter around which language instruction should be organised and in the principles they make use of in structuring and sequencing content units within a course. These involve issues of selection and grading that ultimately shape the syllabus adopted in a language course as well as the instructional materials" (157).
3. "The syllabus is the first component of the level of Design. The other

components concern the use of the syllabus in the system by the learners and teachers as they interact with the instructional materials" (158).

4. "The level of Design also includes "specifications of (1) the content of instruction, i.e. the syllabus, (2) learner roles in the system, (3) teacher roles in the system <and> (4) instructional materials types and functions" (157).

While the above quotations do mention explicitly things at different degrees of abstraction, no attempt is made to divide the level into a theoretical and a practical half. The Johnson (1981) model of course design (to be considered in Part 2) demands a rigorous split between the setting up of objectives, which need not relate to a specific course, and the ordering of those objectives within an actual programme. The quotations given make it clear that Richards and Rodgers envisage both procedures as part of syllabus design, and thus their concept of levels seems to be too closely tied to one of the two models of course design which will be examined below. Nevertheless, since Level 2 is concerned with planning of various sorts, the label Design seems preferable to Anthony's Method.

The last of the levels is that of Technique, according to Anthony.

"A technique is implementational - that which actually takes place in a classroom. It is that particular trick, strategem or contrivance used to accomplish an immediate objective" (7).

What actually happens in practice (which of course need not necessarily take place in a classroom) is clearly something of a different order from the planning of courses either in general or in particular. Thus it makes sense to envisage it as a separate level. However, the above quotation identifies this level (i.e. of teacher and/or learner behaviour) with (a) tricks and contrivances and (b) immediate objectives. There would seem to be little justification for either of these two restrictions. Firstly, tricks can be, and indeed often are, planned as integral parts of courses. Secondly, an analysis of, say, classroom interaction will necessarily be concerned with far more than a few tricks thought up by the teacher. Thirdly, what "actually takes place" must serve as evidence indicating the degree of achievement of short, intermediate and long term objectives. The scope of Level 3 should not be limited by what one might conceivably choose to do with data relating to it.

Richards and Rodgers prefer the label Procedure to that of Technique. As the word Technique connotes to some degree the idea of tricks and contrivances, we shall follow them and use Procedure instead. Despite the more satisfactory labelling, however, Richards and Rodgers still base their definition of the concept on tricks and contrivances and immediate goals:

1. "Here the focus is on the actual moment to moment techniques, practices and activities that operate in teaching and learning a language according to a particular method" (163).
2. "Differences in approach and design are likely to manifest themselves at the level of procedure in different types of activities and exercise materials in the classroom and in different uses for particular types" (163).

To summarise the argument so far, we have suggested that one may either operate on a four level system, or else follow Anthony and Richards

and Rodgers and use a three level one, as long as the second level has general and specific (or theoretical and programme development) subdivisions. The three level system is reproduced in Table 1 for reference.

LEVEL	LABEL	CONTENT
1	APPROACH	Assumptions about using and learning languages. Culturally-based feelings about what it means to speak certain languages.
2	DESIGN	a. General ideas about how assumptions may be implemented and any conflicts resolved. Includes descriptions applicable to numerous possible courses. b. Descriptions of specific course plans.
3	PROCEDURE	Actual teacher and/or learner behaviour.

Table 1: The three-level model of language teaching activities

The term Method can therefore be used in the loose imprecise way in which most writers seem to use it anyway, describing vaguely how something might be taught (e.g. McKay 1980). Using the argument that words which are widely used in a vague or ambiguous way should be avoided as candidates for precise technical terms, it could be claimed that an alternative should also be found to the use of Approach as a label for Level 1. Perhaps 'Foundation' or 'Assumptions' would do, but as Approach is in fact frequently used with something resembling the desired meaning, I have chosen to retain it here.

## *Part 2. The Syllabus*

There is little disagreement that, whatever else they might actually be or do, syllabuses relate essentially to the activity of planning, that is to say to the level of Design.<sup>2</sup> Without the tidying up in Part 1 (above), it is of more than passing interest that Richards and Rodgers would be forced to include some aspects of syllabuses (the planned tricks) at a level of Procedure, while Anthony would be forced to allow these and others into both Level 3 and Level 1 (e.g. assumptions about the nature of language teaching). The present formulation is now broad enough, however, to allow us to examine competing models of syllabus design wholly within the level of Design. While this statement is hopefully uncontraversial for the majority of situations in which languages are taught, it has been argued (Rinovoluceri, personal communication) that the split between Design and Procedure is unclear and thus untenable as regards Community Language Learning (v. Curran 1972 and Stevick 1976: 125-133) and methods involving 'Learner Autonomy' (v. Holec 1979 for a review) in particular. In the case of CLL, learners simply say what they want, first in the L1 and then in the L2. In many instances of learner autonomy, a not-inconsiderable part of the course is intentionally devoted to a discussion about what to learn.

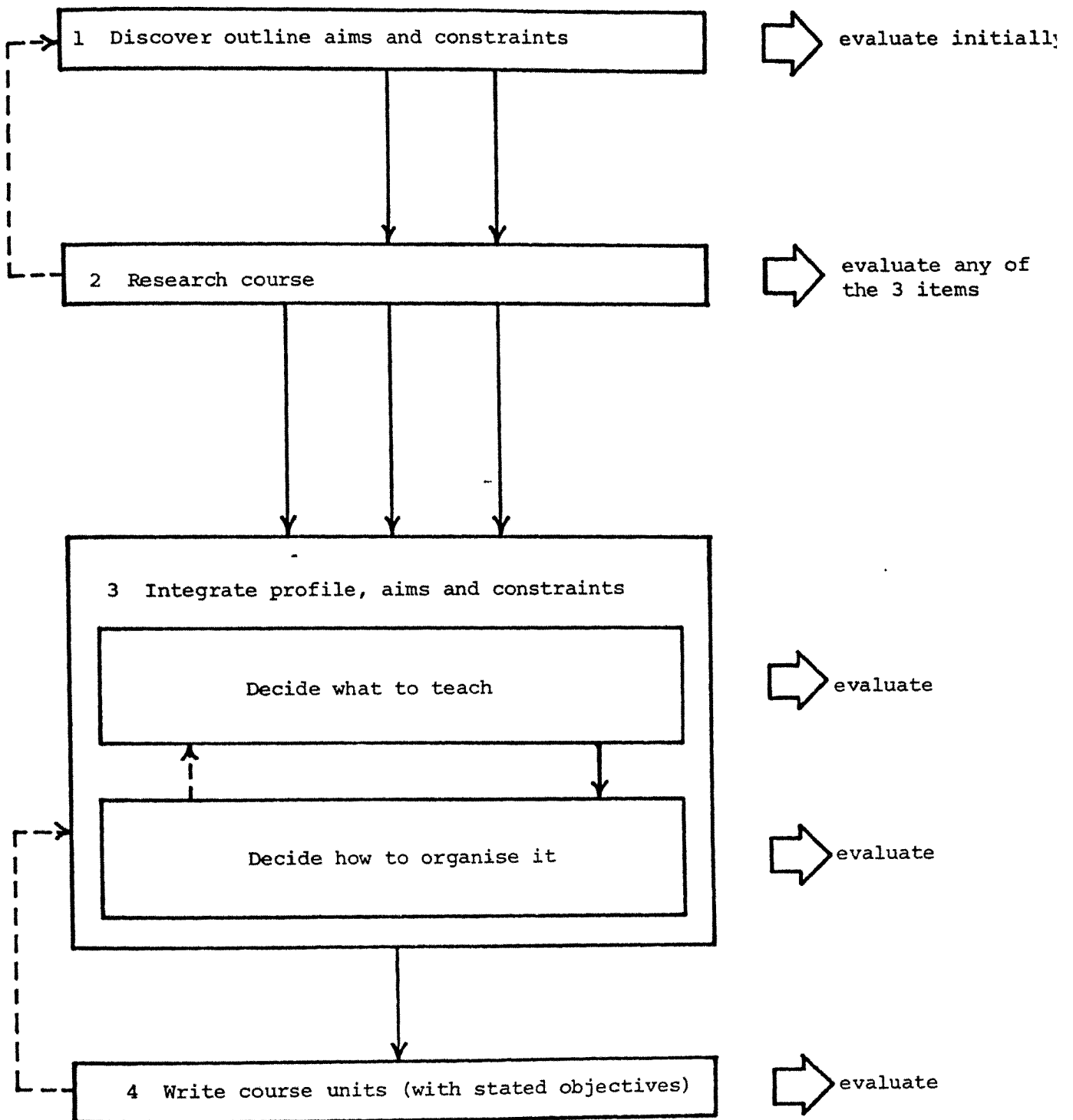


Figure 1. The Designer model of course design (from Low 1979)



However, in both cases, the teacher has a clear idea about what lessons should look like, even if the content is unplanned. Hence there are still objectives and plans concerning ways in which these can appropriately be implemented. The problem is thus not the division between planning and what in fact happens, which is still relatively clear, but simply how to handle the idea of a syllabus. There would seem to be three possible solutions: (1) to introduce a label like 'Post-course syllabus' which would refer to a list of language items which were ultimately covered, (2) to argue that there is nothing in either of these two particular cases which merits the use of the term syllabus, or (3) to borrow from Systemic Grammar and suggest that the syllabus has been embedded in a level other than its usual one (and downgraded?), with the result that it now serves a slightly different function. There would seem to be no compelling reasons for preferring any one of these three. All three allow us to continue the argument by examining the 'normal' role of syllabuses in situations where the term is felt to be appropriate.

The two design models chosen for discussion are from R.K. Johnson (1981) and Low (1979). They are not arbitrarily selected, but are each intended to be broadly representative of groups of similar models published over the last decade or so. For the sake of readability, the references to cognate models have been put in the Notes at the end.<sup>3</sup> We may begin with Johnson (1981).

Johnson (1981) argues that the setting up of objectives is a quite separate activity from the planning of actual programmes. A set of objectives should be drawn up by an appropriate committee and then promulgated. Designers and publishers can then organise these objectives how they please in the design of any number of specific courses. Feedback from the general to the specific subdivision of the Design level (v. Table 1) consists of evaluation results which serve to indicate in a reasonably objective manner, the extent to which specific courses in fact meet the criteria established by the syllabus. This clearly represents a rationalisation, indeed an idealisation, of what actually happens in most educational systems where academic control is at regional or national level. It does not therefore seem unreasonable to label this the 'Institutional' model.

The design model in Low (1979), on the other hand, takes a very different view, especially of the role of feedback (v. Figure 1). A course outline is considered to be the end product of attempts to integrate three sets of activities: (1) establishing relevant design constraints, (2) profiling learners possible needs and (3) setting up ideal course objectives. These contributing activities guide, but do not totally determine, the final course outline. The important point is that a decision at one stage can lead the designer to return to an earlier stage and modify objectives, for example, which turn out to be unrealistic or badly formulated. The process of course design is thus envisaged as a highly flexible procedure which allows and even encourages continuous evaluation of present and previous stages. The model is neutral as to whether the term syllabus is applied to an unordered list of objectives or a course outline.<sup>4</sup> If it is important for any particular reason to be precise, then the terms 'set of objectives' and 'course outline' are sufficiently unambiguous. What is held to be prime in this model is the retention of control by the designer over all aspects of the planning process, and the dynamic system which ought to be the result. Model 2 might accordingly be labelled the 'Designer' model.

The question is, can the two models be reconciled and even if they can, is the attempt of any practical use? Perhaps the best way to approach

the topic is to examine the advantages and disadvantages that might accrue from using either one.

Let us begin, arbitrarily, with the Institutional model, with its clear division between the activities of (and by implication, personnel involved in) setting up objectives and programme design. It would seem to have one major advantage, which has already been mentioned; it allows for relatively objective evaluation of whether the criterion has been met by any of a number of courses, and, in theory at least, it allows competing courses to be compared. The need for independent evaluation would seem to be particularly important where the future of large numbers of learners depends crucially on the results produced by the courses concerned and/or where there is a need to control possible exploitation of publishing royalties by members of, say, a Ministry of Education. In such a situation, the Designer model is therefore considered to be inferior precisely because strict accountability has been sacrificed. Lastly, and somewhat less importantly, the Institutional model can draw some support from the fact that it takes the reality of what most of the world's education systems actually do, or aim to do, as prime.

The Designer model has a number of rather different advantages. Firstly, it takes an organic and all-encompassing view of course design. Secondly, it allows the analyst to predict problems in the Institutional model. For example, since feedback has been markedly reduced in the latter, one would predict that a proportion of objectives will often remain poorly formulated or inappropriate and that no way of altering them will be immediately available to the parties concerned. One would also predict that designers of actual courses are likely to have to make compromises with their materials that would not be necessary if greater feedback existed, and that they may well attribute the inadequacy of their courses to the inadequacy of the syllabus, over which they, of course, have no control. Thirdly, the Designer model can easily handle non-linear design procedures, where the sequence of activities involves going back to previous parts of the third box in Figure 1 (a worked out example of a non-linear procedure can be found in connection with the so-called 'Discourse-Task' syllabus in Low and Lau 1983; a second example is suggested by K. Johnson 1982:212). Lastly, the Designer model can cope particularly well with learner opinions, since the possibility of constant feedback implies that both objectives and teaching materials can be rapidly altered if necessary. It can even cope with the extreme view that no advance content specification is needed, it being preferable to let students and teacher develop this as the course proceeds (v. Stern 1982:421 for a brief discussion). From the perspective of the Designer model, the Institutional model traditionally adopted by governments and education authorities is seen as an unfortunate compromise necessitated by bureaucratic procedures rather than the provision of optimal teaching materials. However, the complaint that objective accountability is no longer seen as central cannot easily be dismissed, since the responsibility of the designer has clearly been extended to cover all aspects of planning and development. This loss may well not be crucial where the number of students concerned is small, their needs can be specified with tolerable clarity, and/or where changes in patterns of language use, learning difficulties, class attendance, or even timetables can occur without much warning. It may also not prove crucial in situations where the designer can explore new ideas, perhaps as a form of pilot study.

It is thus clear that the two models of course design derive from, and attempt to optimise, quite different educational situations. They are therefore not strictly comparable and, as such, remain essentially unreconcilable.

## *Conclusion*

While it is possible to reconcile Anthony (1963) and Richards and Rodgers (1982) to produce a system of three analytic levels which will satisfy the demands of most applied linguists involved in language teaching, the same does not seem to be true of aspects of course planning within Level 2. It has been argued in essence that continual debate concerning which model should be seen as the one and only way of envisaging the design of language teaching courses is not a particularly fruitful exercise. It seems better to accept that there are two ways of looking at the problem, two viewpoints, which highlight different parts of the process, and which are not fully compatible. As a result, a designer may choose to use whichever he or she judges to be more suitable in a specific situation, as long as it is made abundantly clear which model has been selected and what exactly one means by the term 'syllabus' at any given point.

## NOTES

1. My thanks to Gregory James (University of Exeter), R. Keith Johnson (University of Hong Kong) and Mario Rinvolucris (Pilgrims) for reading earlier drafts of the paper.
2. No attempt is being made to imply that sets of objectives, course outlines, or documents labelled syllabuses may not, in addition to their basic contents, contain the assumptions on which they were based or suggestions about things that could take place in classrooms. The position adopted here does not therefore appear to conflict with that taken by Strevens (1977) who argues that syllabuses relate to Approach as well as Design (in the sense in which we are using it here). A good example of a syllabus - deriving as it happens from the Johnson model - which includes both assumptions and procedural suggestions is the 1981 Hong Kong Primary English Syllabus (C.D.C. 1981; v. also Tongue and Gibbons 1982: 63).
3. The Johnson model is broadly similar to that of Langley and Maingay (1983) and also, it would seem, to Stern (1983), in that the latter appears to favour a clear separation of 'ends' and 'means' for the purposes of evaluation (pp. 437-440).

The Low model is broadly similar to that of Breen and Candlin (1980), Candlin, Kirkwood and Moore (1978) and Richards and Rodgers (1982).
4. McKay (1980), Shaw (1977) and K. Johnson (1982) all use the term syllabus to denote an organised set of objectives and/or content. While McKay and Shaw appear to fit more or less into the Designer model, it is not clear where to locate K. Johnson, as he makes no mention of accountability, evaluation or feedback, except for a brief discussion about a non-linear design process on page 142. On the slender basis of this latter passage I shall consider him too as falling within the Designer model. Tongue and Gibbons (1982) also constitute a classification problem with regard to their Activity Syllabus. They make it clear that they want detailed suggestions for organising class activities as part of their syllabus, yet base their paper on the Hong Kong primary education system which does not have the feedback possibilities required to make it optimal for the Designer model. On the other hand the distinction they make between 'theoretical syllabuses' (those containing a set of linguistic objectives) and 'applied syllabuses' (those containing information about what should happen in the classroom) can only be maintained within the Designer model.

It should perhaps be pointed out that idiosyncratic uses of the term syllabus (as where Munby 1978 uses it in the sense of a restricted type of language needs profile) are not considered in this paper.

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### *Introduction*

This paper begins from a general theory of natural categories, developed in the 1970's by Eleanor Rosch and her colleagues (Rosch et al, 1976) and referred to here as prototype theory. This theory has been applied to linguistic categories by George Lakoff (1982) under the heading 'cognitive linguistics' and can be shown to be consistent with the conclusions of a number of other 20th century linguists who have addressed semantic rather than purely formal aspects of language. It is suggested that prototype theory offers a principled approach to the exemplification of form - meaning relationships within language and to the development of language teaching exercises which focus upon specific aspects of the language system and which offer 'enriched' input to the 'Language Acquisition Device'; i.e. it offers a principled basis for the development and application of pedagogical grammars.

### *Prototype Theory*

Rosch et al. offer a theory of the ways in which human beings and other organisms deal cognitively with their perceptions of the world 'out there'.

"The world consists of a virtually infinite number of discriminably different stimuli. One of the most basic functions of all organisms is the cutting up of the environment into classifications by which non-identical stimuli can be treated as equivalent." (Rosch et al., 1976:383)

They claim that this process is principled and depends on the 'real-world attributes' of what is perceived, and also upon the characteristics of the perceptual apparatus itself (i.e. We can only categorise on the basis of what we can perceive and, all things being equal, that which is more easily perceived will be of greater significance to the categorisation process.)

Rosch and Mervis (1975) have shown "that the more an item is judged to be prototypical of a category, the more attributes it has in common with members of contrasting categories" (Rosch et al., 1976:433).

At the same time however, Rosch et al. (1976:384) point out that:

"It is to the organism's advantage not to differentiate one stimulus from others when that differentiation is irrelevant for the purposes in hand."

There are then two basic cognitive principles operating: the first is to achieve maximum differentiation, with the prototypical instance of

a category being that which distinguishes it most clearly from all other categories. The second is to avoid cognitive overload, which would result from over differentiating and a consequent loss in flexibility in grouping those things which share important characteristics, whilst being in other respects unlike.

The principle of differentiation has been central to linguistic theory since de Saussure, who maintained that the language system is one in which "tout se tient" and in which "il n'y a que des differences" (de Saussure 1953:166). The similarity between de Saussure's theory of language system, and the prototype theory of natural categorisation is well illustrated by de Saussure's account of the 'value' of linguistic elements, which I take to mean the cognitive or meaning value expressed by a linguistic form. These values are defined .....

"... non pas positivement par leur contenu, mais négativement par leurs rapports avec les autres terms du systeme. Leur plus exacte caractéristique est d'être ce que les autres ne sont pas." (op: cit.)

The notion of negative definition is a difficult one to work with, but the principle of identification through contrast has been central to the synchronic description of language throughout the 20th century, regardless of the particular school of linguistics involved.

Lakoff (1982) summarises Rosch's work in cognitive psychology and its application to cognitive linguistics as encompassing entities - colours, events, actions, perceived spatial relations, causation, social institutions, syntactic entities (nouns, verbs, subjects, grammatical constructions) phonological entities, mental images, etc."

Lakoff (1982:44) notes further:

"This research has produced overwhelming support for prototype theory, or more properly for the need to develop further a theory of natural categorisation along the lines of Rosch's results."

In relation to each of the above areas of research, Lakoff discusses instances of prototypical category membership and boundary phenomena where category membership is unpredictable and dependent largely upon context and communicative purpose.

Other linguists have tackled the same phenomena and have come to similar conclusions. J.R. Ross (quoting Lloyd Anderson) formulated the question as follows:

"One should not ask 'Is the phenomenon in question discrete or non-discrete?' but rather 'How discrete is the phenomenon?'" (Ross 1974:121) and adopted the term 'squish' in papers on boundary phenomena amongst linguistic categories (Ross 1972, 1973).

W. Labov in experimental studies conducted over a ten year period, focussed like Ross upon boundary phenomena. He concluded (1973:143):

"Instead of taking as problematical the existence of the categories, we can turn to the nature of the boundaries between them. As linguistics then becomes a form of



boundary theory rather than a category theory, we discover that not all linguistic material fits the categorical view: there is greater or lesser success in imposing categories upon the continuous substratum of reality."

The "greater or lesser success in imposing categories" is interpreted here in terms of degrees of prototypicality as defined by Rosch. Rosch's position is indeed the reverse of Labov's. Where Labov chooses boundary theory as a way of escaping from the problems associated with categorisation, Rosch proposes an approach which allows the category to be the main focus of attention while at the same time accounting for boundary phenomena.

In addition to the experimental studies he discusses, Lakoff suggests that the psychological validity of prototype theory receives support from the existence of linguistic terms which appear to indicate degree of prototypicality. He gives '*sort of*' and '*kind of*' as examples of expressions which indicate non-representative members of a category, while such terms as '*par excellence*' indicate prototypicality (1982:44); Lakoff also quotes from Kay's (1979) analysis of '*loosely speaking*' and '*strictly speaking*', amongst other linguistic 'hedges'. He concludes:

"In short, if words can fit the world, they can fit it either strictly or loosely, and the hedges *strictly speaking* and *loosely speaking* indicate how narrowly or broadly one should construe the fit."

Prototype theory can be extended beyond lexical and grammatical levels to discourse and textual levels of analysis. Brown and Yule (1984) summarise much of the recent literature on '*story grammars*', '*frames*', '*schema*', '*scripts*', '*scenarios*' and '*schemata*'. These notions like the work of Sacks and others on turn-taking, appear to suggest that all '*grammars of expectancy*' are based upon what Lakoff, borrowing from C. Fillmore, calls Idealised Cognitive Models (1982:48) and which are essentially prototypical informational interactive structures as opposed to grammatical or lexical entities. However, while noting that the application of the theory may be wider, this paper restricts the discussion to the area traditionally associated with pedagogical grammars.

Prototype theory therefore seems to suit the needs of some linguists very well. It provides a theoretical framework within which it is possible to solve at least some of the problems associated with adding the semantic dimension to linguistic investigation. The fact that a theory is relevant to linguistic theory does not of course make it necessarily relevant to language teaching and learning. The differences between these two enterprises, in terms of participants and goals, product and process, have been emphasised frequently and judiciously over the last twenty years. Applied Linguistics has turned increasingly towards Psycholinguistics and the processes of language acquisition for inspiration and for theoretical support. It is interesting therefore to note that prototype theory has also been extended to this area.

In first language acquisition studies, the problems in determining a child's meaning are well-known, if too frequently ignored. The attempt to introduce notions of prototypicality in relation to an early stage of language development might therefore seem overambitious. Nevertheless, one study at least, by Labov and Labov, (1974) reported by Clark (1979) suggests that the child's lexicon, however exotic it may appear in its

earliest stage of development, can be interpreted in terms of prototypicality, or, from the standpoint of Labov's interest in boundary theory, degrees of non-prototypicality.

In this study Labov and Labov recorded the over-extensions of the word 'cat' (one of two words in the child's total repertoire) and claimed to have identified a set of 'core' features. Animals fitting any or all of these core features were called 'cat'. However, the more core features were involved, the more confident the child appeared to be in her use of the word. Animals with none of the criterion features were never named 'cat'.

In studies relating to second language acquisition in adults, the notion of prototypicality is more manageable, since it is possible to assume a fully developed mother tongue language system which is mapped onto and realises a speaker's cognitive competence.

In this context, recent discussions of transfer from the first language to the second language (e.g. Gass and Selinker, 1983) suggest strongly that prototype theory and theories of markedness and of universality in language have much in common. S. Gass (1984) reviews the evidence from a number of studies of transfer, in particular her own and those conducted with J. Ard, those by E. Kellerman (1979, 1983) and by W. Rutherford (1982, 1983). Gass proposes that there are 'core' meanings, which I take to be equivalent to the prototypical categories discussed above, and concludes that:

"... meanings which were closer to the 'core', that is, were more *basic* in meaning, were more likely to be transferred than those which were furthest from the core." (Gass 1984:129)

Gass gives as examples, '*kick the bucket*' and '*kick the ball*' with the latter being perceived as the more transferable of the propositions. Similarly Kellerman (1978) showed that Dutch students were more willing to transfer the meaning of the Dutch verb '*breken*' to an English context such as '*He broke his leg*' than '*The waves broke on the shore*' though both are equally acceptable in Dutch and English.

Hatch makes a similar point in her discussion of transfer (Hatch 1983) claiming that transfer is not random but systematic, with a tendency to be limited to core meanings. Hatch notes however that language 'distance' may be a factor. The more similar the languages appear to be, the more likely the learner is to extend the transfer; the more distant, the more conservative the transfer will be.

As was suggested earlier in the discussion of hedge terms, language users appear to have a strong intuitive 'feel' for the degree of prototypicality of meaning - form relationships in various contexts. The discussions of transfer referred to above suggest that the notion of prototypicality of meaning is related in interesting ways to theories of the nature of language universals, to marked/unmarked distinctions both within languages and across them (unmarked being more universal, less language-specific and more transferable) and therefore to speed and ease of learning and, using Hatch's analogy of a cognitive punch card system, to the question of whether 'meanings' for the different language forms require modification to existing cards or whether new cards have to be 'punched'.

The problems for the language teacher who attempts a direct approach to the teaching of specific aspects of the language system have been well documented. Theoretical and practical objections have been raised in profusion since the grammar-translation approach was condemned for, as Rivers succinctly expressed it, teaching about the language instead of teaching the language. Eliminating (or at least radically curtailing) overt instruction about the grammar did not end the problem or the objections to 'structural' exercises. These have been seen to be irrelevant to the "necessary and sufficient conditions for language acquisition" (Newmark and Reibel, 1970), as indeed they are, and as a mere waste of time, which is more arguable; as a cause of teacher-induced error (Corbluth 1974) (and most honest language teachers wince in recognition of the at least partial truth of this); as promoting "language-like behaviour" (Spolsky 1968), "structure-talk" (Dakin, 1973), & "usage" rather than language "use" (Widdowson 1978). Yet the structural exercise lives on, deprived now of its behaviourist and structuralist underpinnings, it nevertheless seems to be an essential element within most language teaching programmes, and is regarded as such by most teachers.

In practical terms, addressing specific aspects of the language system can be unsatisfactory, if not downright embarrassing for the teacher who values clarity and consistency in explanation and/or exemplification. 'Rules' (i.e. the form-meaning relationship realised by a linguistic element) at times appear to operate consistently in differentiating the semantic functions of related elements (equated here with prototypical instances), at other times the distinction disappears (boundary phenomena).

The data presented below exemplify the problem and demonstrate the applicability of prototype theory to pedagogical issues of the linguistic system, first to show that prototype theory has general application, and secondly to substantiate the major claim of cognitive linguistics, which I take to be as follows: *Every linguistic form expresses an underlying cognitive entity (or meaning) which can be differentiated from all other such entities where the realisation of those entities is prototypical.*

The first example attempts to clarify what I am *not* talking about. It illustrates purely formal problems within the grammar. Sapir said that "all grammars leak", and Ross, from whom this example is taken, states that such sentences "... fall between the cracks of the core system."

1. *Either Tom or the girls (was/were) responsible.*

There is no solution within English grammar to this problem of subject/verb agreement. Users of English simply have to avoid such constructions if they wish to avoid formal error. Formal problems of this kind would (I like to think) cause enormous difficulties for that hypothetical autonomous, context-free, sentence-making machine as it grinds on through eternity generating all and only the sentences of the language. Such problems do not concern us here.

Example 2 illustrates what I will refer to as 'weakened' meaning values, or 'boundary' phenomena.

2. *They were both wearing the same hat.*

There is a systematic distinction in English between *same* and *'identical'*. Given the prototypical values of this distinction, (2) could possibly be the caption to a rather weak joke, or an entry in a fancy dress parade; yet very few people would interpret (2) in that way. It would be read as meaning that two people were wearing identical, or similar, hats. In (3), no joke interpretation is possible.

3. *(Lady entering a friend's flat) We've both got the same stair-carpet!*

There is nothing unnatural about (2) or (3). No ambiguity or uncertainty about the meaning of the utterance results from this weakening of the meaning value of *'same'* and the consequent blurring of the 'polar' distinction with *'identical'*. (4) gives *'same'* and *'identical'* their prototypical values.

4. *(Customer in a jewellery store) Is this the same gem stone that you showed me before, or an identical one?*

One might also speak of *'identical twins'* and *'non-identical twins'*. The *'same twins'* would have a quite different meaning, and no change of context could render *'same twin'* equivalent to *'identical twin'*. In this sense, prototypical values are context-free.

Numerical reference might seem to be one aspect of the language which would be unlikely to exhibit weakened or variable semantic values. The following characterises the prototypical values of a part of that system:

All: more than two  
Both: two  
Either: one or other of two  
Neither: not either

5. *They surveyed the land on either side of the river.*

Example 5 means that both sides of the river were surveyed. Some second language speakers of English, however, understand (5) as meaning: 'the land was surveyed on one side of the river but not on the other', because they have applied the prototypical value of the word *'either'*, while native speakers do not. It is of course easy to illustrate the prototypical values in operation, as in (6).

6. *You can have either of these, but don't take them both.*

The semantic features which *'either'* and *'both'* share relate to *'twoness'*; and in particular contexts the prototypical value of *'either'* weakens to express these shared features. In paired oppositions of this kind, one element may therefore be regarded as marked (*'identical'* and *'both'*), its value being capable of being subsumed by the unmarked element (*'same'* and *'either'*).

The next set of examples investigates the relationship within the verb phrase between the perfective aspect and simple forms of the verb phrase. Example 7 illustrates the prototypical distinction between the present perfect and the past simple tense.

7. (*Interviewer to interviewee*)  
(a) *How long have you lived in London?*  
(b) *How long did you live in London?*

In (8), the distinction, if it exists at all, is minimal, affecting neither the appropriacy of the question nor its communicative effect.

8. (*Wife to husband as he is getting into bed*)  
(a) *Have you locked the door?*  
(b) *Did you lock the door?*

The semantic feature shared by the past simple and present perfect tenses is 'pastness', the polar opposition between the two tenses expresses the relevance, or lack of it, of a past action to a present situation.

In (7b), the choice of the past tense indicates a presupposition on the part of the speaker that a situation no longer exists (i.e. the addressee no longer lives in London). In 7a, the choice of the present perfect tense indicates a presupposition that he or she does still live in London. In (8) however, the notion that a husband after locking up the house for the night, might unlock it again, would be too machiavellian for most readers, and most wives; so the distinction becomes redundant.

Similarly, the past perfect tense may operate prototypically in opposition to the past simple tense as in (9);

9. (a) *When our guests finally arrived, we had eaten all the food.*  
(b) *When our guests finally arrived, we ate all the food.*

Or it may not, as in (10).

10. (a) *We Walked for ten miles before we got a lift.*  
(b) *We had walked for ten miles before we got a lift.*

The perfective aspect may even be considered only marginally acceptable in contexts such as (11); though its use would seem to be 'correct' judged by purely formal criteria.

11. (a) *We were having a good time until you arrived.*  
(b) *We had been having a good time until you arrived.*

The future perfect tense also may maintain a clear meaning distinction between itself and the future simple;

12. (a) *We will have finished when you get there.*  
(b) *We will finish when you get there.*

Or the distinction may be weakened to the point where it no longer operates.

13. (a) *We will finish before you arrive.*  
(b) *We will have finished before you arrive.*

The past perfect and future perfect tenses express the relationship in time of one event to another. However there are other ways of expressing sequence; the order in which events are recounted is assumed to be the order in which they occurred and it is only when this assumption is incorrect or when other markers such as 'before', 'after', are absent that these perfect tenses express their polar values (i.e. in 9a and 12a).

Within the noun phrase system, determiners, quantifiers, countability and plurality are used below to illustrate this same feature of the rules and their relationships. The polar meaning values may be reduced to the point where the choice of one or other of the related forms is equally natural and in no way changes the meaning: e.g. (14) and (15) for 'a/the' and 'some/any' respectively.

14. (a) *I asked a taxi driver who brought us here.*  
(b) *I asked the taxi driver who brought us here.*

15. (Butcher to customer)  
(a) *Would you like any sausages today, Mrs. Brown?*  
(b) *Would you like some sausages today, Mrs. Brown?*

In (16) and (17) the polar values are in full opposition, and the meanings expressed are therefore clearly different.

16. (a) *I'm looking for a wife.*  
(b) *I'm looking for the wife.*

17. (a) *Some of my friends would lend you the money.*  
(b) *Any of my friends would lend you the money.*

In polar opposition with 'a', 'the' expresses such semantic features as 'known', 'specifiable', and 'unambiguous in terms of reference' as in (16).

It could be objected that (16) is a highly colloquial usage ('the wife'), but there is no reason why colloquial usage should require a set of rules distinct from formal usage; quite the contrary. The meaning values of this usage conform precisely to those indicated above, and are paralleled by such other examples as 'the pub', 'the church', 'the car', 'the shop' and for that matter 'the old man'. However, (18) provides a more 'standard' illustration showing both weakened and polar values of 'a' and 'the'.

18. *As I was crossing (a/the) busy road in town, dodging cars and bicycles to catch (a/the) bus that was just leaving, (a/the) driver slammed his brakes on and then swore at me.*

In the three instances in (18) where 'a' or 'the' may be inserted, the choice is semantically empty in the first two. A native speaker might use, or accept the use of, either, and the meaning of the message as a whole would not be affected in any way. The shared features of 'a' and 'the' seem to be the purely formal ones associated with their status as determiners: i.e. for each of these noun phrases there is a formal requirement for a determiner. Either 'a' or 'the' can fulfil that requirement. In the third instance, however, the polar opposition is crucial to the identification of the swearer; 'a driver' would signify any one of the many using the busy road at that time; 'the driver' must refer to the driver of the bus, the only specified vehicle, and therefore by implication, the only specifiable driver. Similarly 'some' and 'any' have a definite/indefinite polar opposition as in (17), which may be weakened to the point where either is merely a generalised marker of quantity (15).

The feature of 'countability', which distinguishes 'mass' nouns from 'countable' nouns in English, has a clear semantic value in distinguishing 'stone' the material from 'a stone'; 'glass' from 'a glass'; 'cloth' from 'a cloth'. But in some contexts the distinction is weakened to the point where either form may be used.

19. (a) *The mixture of gas in these containers is explosive.*  
(b) *The mixture of gasses in these containers is explosive.*

The relations discussed above are essentially paradigmatic; i.e. they illustrate the differences in meaning which may, or may not, result from substituting one element in an utterance for another element, depending upon whether the values expressed by the opposition between the elements is operating strongly or weakly. Constraints also operate syntagmatically; e.g. determining whether a non-finite verb should be realised as an infinitive or as a present participle in a particular embedded clause. The verb 'want' (20) is said to co-occur with or 'take' an infinitive:

20. *I want to talk to her at the party.*

While 'enjoy' co-occurs with the '-ing' form of the embedded verb (21).

21. *I enjoyed talking to her at the party.*

These restrictions are generally considered to be purely formal; i.e. they do not mark any semantic value, and examples such as (22) appear to support the notion that no semantic value is involved, and even to raise questions about the centrality in the language system of the meaning-form relationship.

22. (a) *He likes talking to people at parties.*  
(b) *He likes to talk to people at parties.*

Example (23) however shows that there is a meaning distinction when the prototypical values operate.

23. (a) *He's too drunk to remember to post the letter.*  
(b) *He's too drunk to remember posting the letter.*

The infinitive seems to express or relate to unfulfilled conditions or future actions, while the participial form seems to express fulfilled or completed actions.

The fact that the verb '*want*' can only be associated with the infinitive form tends to confirm that the choice is semantically based since '*want*' implies an unfulfilled condition (20). Enjoyment, it seems, can relate only to what has been experienced or is being experienced, and not to unfulfilled conditions (21). Thus co-occurrence with the infinitive or participial forms seems to be determined semantically and not formally. However, this leaves for consideration verbs said to take either form. Cases such as (22) can be accommodated within the theory being presented here as 'boundary' phenomena, but further investigation shows that such verbs are in fact affected by the same semantic criteria and that prototypical instances do arise.

24. (a) *I would like to borrow your car, if I may.*  
(b) *\*I would like borrowing your car, if I may.*

In (24), where '*like*' has many of the features of '*want*', (a) is clearly acceptable, and (b) is not. In (25) the situation regarding acceptability is reversed.

25. (a) *I liked driving your car very much last weekend.*  
(b) *\*I liked to drive your car very much last weekend.*

In (25), '*like*' has much the same semantic value as '*enjoy*', and in this case the '*-ing*' form is acceptable, and the infinitive is not.

Thus, the essence of the theory of language presented here is that it is a 'meaning-driven' system. Linguistic rules exist, to use Sapir's expression, in order to keep meanings apart. Linguistic forms are discrete entities, but the meanings these forms express are not discrete in any sense. Their values are determined by the nature of the relationships obtaining with other elements within the system. These relationships are not constant, but may be strongly expressed through opposition of prototypical meaning values, or these values may be weakened in non arbitrary ways depending upon context.

The prototypical values discussed and illustrated in this paper are clearly not the basic units of meaning. These have been referred to here rather informally as 'semantic features' or 'cognitive elements'. Linguists, psycholinguists cognitive psychologists and philosophers, anyone in fact who might be interested in the study of the nature of meaning, must clearly focus upon these abstract underlying elements. However, the level of abstraction chosen for discussion here is that which is considered most appropriate for pedagogical purposes; i.e. the level at which meaning value can be related most transparently to its realisation as linguistic form. As will be obvious by now, the claim being made in this paper is that prototypical instances of form-meaning relationships offer 'enriched' input to the language acquisition device.



In an important sense, the ways in which the mind processes and stores input are irrelevant to language teaching and learning. The 'language acquisition device' may be relied upon to do whatever it does, provided only that the necessary and sufficient conditions for language acquisition are met. The question then arises whether it may be possible to enhance the necessary and sufficient conditions by 'enriching' the input to the L.A.D. in various ways. The question has not been addressed directly in this paper, but the assumption here is that intervention is possible and desirable, and promotes more rapid and more effective language learning than would otherwise be possible.

The particular type of intervention under consideration here is the 'structural exercise', involving the identification of a particular 'rule' within the language system (i.e. a particular meaning/form relationship) and the development of a series of learning experiences which will enable the learner to focus upon, gain access to, and finally integrate that rule into the internalised language system; thus moving the learner forward along the interlanguage continuum.

### *Summary and Conclusion*

This paper has discussed a particular theory of cognitive categorisation, prototype theory, which has been applied to linguistics under the general heading of cognitive linguistics. The data presented illustrate the variable nature of the semantic realisation of linguistic rules showing that meaning-form relationships may be realised strongly, i.e. prototypically, or weakly depending upon context. It is my contention that prototypical instances offer precisely that enriched data which should facilitate the work of the language acquisition device. The nature of the teaching and learning activities which would best exploit the potential of such instances must be left to a future paper. The question whether such intervention is in fact of any value must be tested empirically.

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DESIGNING 'COMMUNICATIVE' 'SELF-STUDY' MATERIALS  
FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING

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*I. Introduction*

'Self-study' courses, with the freedom they offer in terms of time, place and rhythm of learning, represent an attractive option for the intending student of a foreign language and one which the increasing range of technological resources at the home learner's disposal would seem to give added potential. The shortcomings of a mode of study in which the learner attempts to work in isolation at what is essentially an interpersonal skill are, however, self-evident, particularly with reference to currently prevalent 'communicative' views of language learning and teaching, which seem to incorporate the tenet that:

*"Learners should be provided with ample opportunities to use the language themselves for communicative purposes."*  
(Littlewood 1981: (ix))

Interpersonal communication is seen as a means towards the attainment of a greater or lesser degree of 'communicative competence' for as Chastain points out (1970:334/5).

*"Directly or indirectly language involves social interaction through linguistic exchange .... social interaction seems to be an indispensable component of the learning process ..... . At the communication level students must interact with each other."*

The fact, then, that the 'self-study' learner is likely to have few opportunities to engage in such interaction would seem to make any attempt to ally a 'communicative language teaching' with the 'self-study' mode particularly problematic. As a result publishers, aiming at a largely adult market, seem to prefer not to take the risk, and there appear to be few commercially available self-study courses which lay any real claim to being 'communicative'. In fact, many courses currently on the market, aimed at the English mother-tongue learner, seem to reflect earlier trends in language teaching - e.g. grammar/translation, or audio-lingual methods. This is true not only of courses which were published when such trends were prevalent - such as many of those in the still widely available 'Teach Yourself' series - but also of some which have been published relatively recently. A case in point would be the largely structural 'Dutch in Three Months' (Hugo: 1983).

In addition to these are courses which adopt a 'phrasebook approach', consisting of lists of frequently de-contextualised expressions with accompanying translations, and still others which appear to fit none of the above categories exactly, drawing on many trends, and, as a result, being rather 'eclectic' in nature.

An attempt will therefore be made here to reconcile the 'self-study' mode with a 'communicative' language teaching. It will be argued that an alliance between the two is possible if adjustments are made on both sides. Whether the resultant compromise can truly be termed 'communicative' will, however, remain open to question.

In the light of this investigation a number of tentative course design principles will be stated and subsequently put into practice in the production of an extract from a unit of a hypothetical 'self-instructional' Dutch course.

## *II. Preliminaries To Investigation*

Since the principles for design are intended to be maximally applicable within the specified limits of the field, they will be rather broadly-based, resting upon identifiably generalisable aspects of both the 'self-study' mode; and of a 'communicative view' of language teaching. It must, however, be pointed out, that in a particular case, the designer might build upon these by drawing upon the characteristics of the type of 'self-study' course in question and weighing these against aspects of the particular model of a 'communicative language teaching' he/or she is following.

### *(A) 'Self-Study'/Self-Instruction: Definition And Limitation of Field*

The terms 'self-study' and 'self-instructional' will be used interchangeably to describe the type of course of study where the learner works, without a teacher, and most probably alone, in a location of his own choosing, to learn a new skill or to study a particular subject, in this case a foreign language, using 'externally directed materials' (Holec 1979:3). These materials may consist of one or more books or manuals together with support material such as video tapes, audio tapes or computer packages.

### *(B) A 'Communicative Language Teaching'*

Whilst to attempt a definition here would be both difficult and dangerous, it does seem possible to identify a number of common strands from which to proceed.

Firstly, as Johnson and Morrow (1981:10) state, it seems to be the case that:

*"a communicative language teaching is, in the most general terms, one which recognises the teaching of 'communicative competence' as its aim."*

'Communicative competence' can be thought of as incorporating both knowledge and skill in the areas of language 'system', 'signification,' and 'use' (appropriacy) Johnson and Morrow further state that.

*"It is at the level of 'aim' that such language teaching distinguishes itself from the more traditional approaches where the emphasis is heavily on teaching structural competence."*

Thus, the language content of a course will tend to be specified in terms not merely of grammatical structures and lexis but also in terms of meaning and use (notions, functions etc). This might be arrived at on the basis of observable learner needs. A course can therefore be 'learner centred'.

As has been mentioned the learner will learn through 'doing'. For as Morrow (1981:63) points out,

*"Only by practising communicative activities can we learn to communicate."*

The nature of a 'communicative' activity and the role of both teacher and learner in such a system will be touched upon later.

### *(C) Framework For Investigation*

An attempt will be made to match a 'communicative language teaching' with the 'self-study' mode in the following areas.

- (1) COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
- (2) LANGUAGE CONTENT OF COURSE
- (3) THE TEACHING ROLE
- (4) ACTIVITY TYPES

## *II. A Communicative Self-Study Course?*

### *(A) Aims:*

The ultimate goal of a 'communicative' language teaching, can as has been noted, be seen as the development of a greater or lesser degree of 'communicative competence' in the student. Whilst it is recognised that the lack of opportunities for learning through communication in the 'self-study' mode might make this difficult to achieve, it must also be borne in mind that many 'self-study' learners probably embark upon language courses with some intention of eventually using the target language for 'communication'.

Thus a statement of course aims might well inform the student that following it might help, to some extent, to foster his 'communicative ability', but it should also be made clear that for more progress is likely to be made in 'receptive' areas than in the development of oral proficiency. As Hill (1982:71-72) states:

*'Basically most learners underestimate the difficulties of achieving oral fluency and, particularly where a learner is studying without outside contacts the level of competence that can be achieved is very low. It may be that course designers should try to persuade their students from the outset of the value of comprehension, both listening and reading, and to come clean with their students on the limited degree of oral fluency that can justifiably be expected.'*

Since the 'self-study' student will be placing far more reliance on the course materials than his classroom counterpart it would also seem particularly important to limit the target population and make it quite clear to a prospective buyer who the course is aimed at. This is not always the case with currently available materials; Macmillan's 'Mastering German' (1982: ix-xvi) for example claims to be suitable for a series of seemingly incompatible prospective learners - beginners, intermediate students who have already 'mastered the rudiments of German', tourists, businessmen and those 'preparing for public examinations' (the nature and level of which remain unstated.)

### *(B) Language Content*

The first, and best documented route to the language content of a 'communicative' course involves prior specification on the basis of learner needs. Another, more controversial, route does however exist which is

*"based not on content, nor on language but on problem-solving operations, each of which exemplifies and generates language, but the grading of which is based on the problem to be solved and not the language systems themselves"* (Brumfit 1984:101 on the Bangalore project)

On reflection it would seem that the lack of 'on the spot' guidance available in a 'self-study' course would tend to exclude the second route and point to the first as the most viable. We have already then, a situation in which there is:

*'a limitation of creativity by prior specification'*  
(Brumfit *ibid* p.91)

It has already been noted that where the route of 'prior specification' is chosen, language content will be specified in terms of learner needs. Yalden (1983:86-7) drew up the following list of 'components of a communicative syllabus' arrived at following a consideration of 'current theories of how the language teaching operation should proceed'. She notes that various 'syllabus types' have emerged according to which of the ten categories listed below receives most attention but that the kind that is 'increasingly referred to as communicative' is one which features all of them. The ten components are:

- (i) A consideration of the purposes for which the learner needs the target language.
- (ii) The settings in which he will have to use it.
- (iii) The roles he might assume in the language.
- (iv) The type of 'communicative events' in which he will take part.
- (v) The language 'functions' involved in these events.
- (vi) The language 'notions' involved in these events.
- (vii) Discourse and Rhetorical Skills.

(viii) Language varieties that will be needed.

(ix) Necessary grammatical content.

(x) Necessary lexical content. (86-7)

Whilst it is not impossible to imagine that the language content of a 'self-study' course might feature 'notions', 'functions', 'discourse skills', etc, it is more difficult to imagine how such content might be arrived at where the learner is an unknown entity to the course designer.

Peck (1976:97) suggests one way in which this problem might be overcome . In an article which concerns the design of the BBC's German Course 'Kontakte', he proposes that language content might be arrived at by means of 'intuition' (of the course writer) and 'consensus' (the opinions of native speaker informants). This would obviously be a more viable solution where the type of course and the target population are most clearly defined eg. 'English for International Telephone Operators'.

### *(C) The Teaching Role*

It is with a consideration of the teaching role that the difficulties of producing a 'communicative' self-study course begin to become more apparent. Frankel (1982:53) points out that, in order to help the teacherless learner to cope:

*"the pedagogical role normally performed by the teacher needs to be written into the materials"*

Whilst this is certainly true perhaps his assertion is not quite far-reaching enough. It might be expanded and restated as follows:

*"aspects of the teaching role need to accompany or be written into the materials or be taken over by the learner himself." (53)*

Exactly how this should be achieved depends on how the 'teaching role' is viewed by the course designer. Littlewood (1981:92) proposes one description of the role of the classroom teacher within a 'communicative language teaching' which might usefully be adapted for 'self-study' purposes. He holds that the teacher is primarily a 'facilitator of learning' and 'may need to perform a variety of specific roles separately or simultaneously'. These roles include:

- (1) (Classroom) Manager
- (2) Co-ordinator of Activities
- (3) Instructor
- (4) Consultant or Adviser
- (5) Co-communicator

These will be considered with respect to a 'self-study' course.



(1) *Management:* To some extent this is taken over by the learner himself in a 'self-study' course since he is responsible for aspects of practical organisation - time, place etc. Other aspects, however, need to 'accompany' the materials. These include the giving of clear and comprehensible instructions and the clear and realistic statement of aims at all stages (overall course, unit, section). Where necessary these can be given in the learner's first language, though in other cases it might be treated as an opportunity to exploit the target language for 'real' communication.

(2) *Co-Ordination:* Littlewood sees this as ensuring that a 'coherent progression' leads towards 'greater communicative ability' (92). In a 'self-study' course such a progression needs to be made clear to the learner for the purposes of maintaining levels of motivation and will be reflected in the organisation of materials at all levels - course, unit, activity etc. e.g. at unit level a standard procedure from presentation and explanation through to production.

The demonstration of such a 'progression' is clearly linked to the statement, of aims and showing the student that these aims have been fulfilled by means of restatement, self-assessment, recycling etc.

(3) *Instruction:* The role of 'instructor' could be conceived of as including:

- (a) presentation of new language and explanation.
- (b) overseeing of practice activities and provision of feedback and correction.
- (c) the supplying of opportunities for 'recycling'.
- (d) the carrying out of 'evaluation'.

It would not seem particularly problematic to include adequate presentation and explanation, again where necessary in the first language, in the 'self-study' mode, though care should be taken to ensure clarity and lack of ambiguity. Furthermore every effort should be made to avoid the pitfall which many 'self-study' courses appear to fall into of 'overloading' the student by presenting a surfeit of new items. Nor does it seem especially difficult to provide opportunities for recycling. It is in the areas of 'feedback' and 'evaluation' however, that seemingly unsurmountable problems confront the designer.

It would seem that 'feedback' from the materials themselves is only possible in the early stages of learning a new language item - i.e.: where the learner is able to compare his version to a given version as the focus is on correctness of form, or in 'closed answer' type activities. Beyond that the only solution would appear to be to train the learner to engage in 'self-monitoring' for example by recording and checking his performance.

e.g. CONVERSATION

Take the roles of two businessmen/women -  
Mr/Mme Delacroix and Mr/Mme Peyrou.  
Act out their conversation  
Record what you say  
Check your performance

SITUATION

The two have arranged to meet in a restaurant - La Tour d'Argent - for lunch. Mr Peyrou is late - his taxi was stuck in a traffic jam. He apologises to Mr Delacroix. Mr Delacroix accepts his apology.

Mr Delacroix suggests they have a drink before eating - Mr Peyrou agrees - he asks Mr Delacroix what he would like. He replies that he would like a 'pastis'. Mr Peyrou calls the waiter and orders two 'pastis'.

The problem of lack of 'feedback' is especially acute in a 'communicative' context since as Morrow (1981:64), Scott (1981:72-3) etc point out, different things might be considered mistakes at different stages of learning - i.e.: incorrect forms in the early stages versus unsuccessful communication in the later stages. In a mode of study with no co-communicator the second type of mistake is rather difficult to distinguish.

We are faced furthermore, not only with the apparently intractable problems concerning the provision of 'feedback', but also with the, as yet, unresolved question of how 'communication' should be evaluated.

Oskarsson (1981:104) expresses the view that the increasing priority of the development of 'communicative competence' in language teaching has made the evaluation of results a far more difficult task. He points to the problems of determining whether or not 'communication' has taken place, deciding whether to base judgement on 'correctness' in terms of syntax, pronunciation, etc; or on fluency; deciding whether or not to include 'non-verbal' language in the evaluation and choosing whether to take the learner's own view of his progress into account.

As one means of attempting to overcome some of these difficulties, Oskarsson advocates bringing the learner himself into the process of evaluation on the assumption that he is aware of his own objectives and should therefore be capable of judging how close he is to achieving these. He experimented with a range of techniques for 'self-assessment', correlating the results of these with results from the administration of test batteries and teaching reports on students. On the basis of these comparisons, he was able to conclude that ... "the adult learner seemed capable of judging his own performance in a reasonably satisfactory manner."

Although it is recognised that further research needs to be done in this field, if 'self-assessment' techniques are proposed for use in a 'communicative' language testing in general, they could certainly find a place in a 'self-study' course. It must, however, be remembered that, it might be far more difficult for the learner working in isolation to judge his performance, than the learner who has regular opportunities to try out what he has learnt in 'real' communicative situations.

Thus, the carrying out of 'evaluation' might be jointly shared by the materials - 'controlled' answer type tests can be included, and the learner, who attempts to rate his own performance. It is recognised, however, that whatever opportunities for evaluation are provided, these are, by the very nature of the mode of study, extremely limited.

(4) *Advice And Consultation:* As far as the roles of 'consultant' and 'adviser' are concerned, it seems that the teacher is irreplaceable. Consultants and advisers normally offer information and advice in response to a request or in a specific situation. The 'self-study' mode virtually eliminates the possibility of spontaneous 'consultation' since it is impossible to predict, and therefore provide for, all those requests which learners might make, or all those situations in which they might find themselves. An attempt can be made, however, to provide some general advice which accompanies the learning materials. In a course introduction, for example, students might be given 'advice' on various learning strategies, or on the use of basic reference tools, such as a monolingual dictionary.

At the end of a 'self-study' course, students might be given hints as to how best to 'further their learning of the language through their own efforts' - a 'carry on learning' guide might be provided. Coursebooks might also contain appendices for 'consultation' when needed. These could include not only lists of grammar points, pronunciation guides, etc, but also ideas on how to cope with learning problems.

(5) *Co-communication:* Littlewood notes that in a 'communicative' classroom situation the teacher might occasionally be expected to play the role of 'co-communicator'. This aspect, in a 'self-study' course can be taken over, though to a much lesser extent, by both the materials and the learner himself. In the first case the course might include cued-dialogues or open dialogues, featuring audio/video tapes, whilst in the second the learner might be asked to play several parts himself and record and judge his own performance in a given situation. These solutions, however, seem far from satisfactory.

Thus, many of the aspects of the teaching role in a 'communicative' language teaching could be written into, or accompany the materials, or else be assumed by the learner. However, it was observed that there are apparently intractable problems in the areas of feedback, evaluation, advice and consultation and co-communication.

(D) Activity Types

Brumfit (1984:70) advocates 'three major isolable activities in language work for most students' as an alternative to the traditional - four skills distinction. These are:

- (i) conversation or discussion
- (ii) comprehension (speech or writing)
- (iii) extended writing

Since native speaker tolerance level of inaccurate written work appears to be lower than for inaccurate spoken language however, the difficulties of providing feedback within the 'self-study' mode would make it advisable to exclude the teaching of writing unless some kind of 'send-away' correction service were provided.

The problems of limited and rather artificial opportunities for conversation/discussion have already been touched upon (see pages 27 & 32) and it was earlier noted that 'receptive' skills (Brumfit's 'comprehension') offer greatest possibilities for 'self-study' courses. However, it was also observed that many learners probably embark upon such courses with the ultimate goal of 'speaking' the language in question, thus ways need to be found to provide as many opportunities as possible of increasing oral proficiency.

Brumfit (ibid:50) draws a distinction between two types of activities which are 'complementary in the language teaching environment'. These are 'accuracy' activities which focus 'primarily on language' e.g. form, pronunciation etc and 'fluency' activities in which the objective is

*"quite distinct from the formation of appropriate or correct language - the language will also be a means an end" ..... "The claim is that by putting students into positions where the demands of the situation force them to use language as fluently as possible the process of creative construction should be assisted."*

Most 'self-study' courses seem to focus on the former, more mechanical type of activity - drills, exercises, controlled response dialogues etc with few seeming to venture into the realm of 'fluency'. It has already been suggested, however, that the learner himself and the materials might be able to assume a limited 'co-communication' role - e.g.: in role plays etc.

Morrow (1981:62-3) suggests that 'communicative' activities should aim to replicate one or more of the 'real-life' processes of choice (of 'appropriate' language), 'information gap', and 'feedback' (from a co-communication). On the basis of these it would seem that the type of activities available in the self-study mode could only possibly hope to qualify on the first count and thus it is doubtful that many of them could truly be termed 'communicative'. Perhaps 'quasi-communicative' might be a more appropriate label. Littlewood (op cit) proposes two categories of 'activity' within a communicative language teaching for classroom purposes. Thus alongside this distinction could be another which applied to the

'self-study' context, which might consist of the following two categories.

- (a) 'pre-communicative' activities
- (b) 'quasi-communicative' activities

For the purposes of a 'self-study' course these might be described in the following terms:

*(a) pre-communicative activities:*

As per Littlewood's distinction. A range of activities where responses are to a greater or lesser extent controlled, which focus primarily on language form, but at the same time lay the foundations for the later focus on communication:

For example:

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| Q. | What's your job?  | <u>Aim:</u>  |
| A. | <u>I'm</u> a teacher<br>bank manager<br>lawyer<br>typist<br>taxi driver | Practice form:<br><br>TO BE + JOB<br><br>controlled answer<br>therefore feedback<br>can be supplied. |
| Q. | What's his job?   |  |
| A. | <u>He's</u> a teacher etc.  |  |

*(b) quasi-communicative activities:*

As for Littlewood's 'communicative' activities these should focus on 'function', 'getting one's meaning across' and/or 'appropriacy'. However, it is recognised that the range of activities in this category will be necessarily limited to certain types of 'role-play' and/or 'simulation' with materials, or student himself, supplying the role of 'co-communicator'. They will tend therefore to feature only the communicative process of 'choice', and not those of 'information gap' and 'feedback'.

For example:

<u>ROLE PLAY</u>	<u>Aim</u>
Herr Schmidt telephones Herr Hausmann to try and arrange a business lunch appointment at a convenient time next week. Below are both their diaries. <u>Act out</u> their conversation. <u>Record</u> your own performance. <u>Playback</u> to check what you have said.	Role play telephone conversation 'Making arrangements'

#### IV. Motivation:

The maintaining of levels of motivation would appear to be a potential problem for the learner working in isolation, and one which the course designer needs to take into account. As Hill (1982:72) points out:

*"A teacher interacting with his class, sensitive to the signals he is receiving, is able to some extent, to create and sustain motivation. The learner identifies with a good teacher and is able to draw considerable strength from his enthusiasm and from his direction. For the student at home there is no such help and it is vital to the success of any self-study course that the designing of the materials takes into account the need to provide consistent intrinsic motivation. It is not sufficient to assume that the learner wants to learn and that this will carry him through regardless".*

Hill goes on to stress the need to provide clear statements of aims and comprehensible explanations at all stages. He further emphasises the importance of the student's having a 'sense of progress' (through feedback and evaluation), of his having contact with 'authentic language' (e.g. on tape) and for a unit to be "manageable in a relatively short space of time".

The course designer might take all these observations into consideration. He might also bear in mind the dangers of demotivating the student by overloading him with too many new language items at any one time.

#### V. Proposed Design Principles

On the basis of the preceding discussion the following principles for the design of a 'communicative' self-study course for foreign language learning might be proposed:

##### LEVEL

##### A) COURSE AIMS

##### 1) Realistic Aims:

Aims should be realistic in view of the limitations of the mode of study. Learners should be made aware of these limitations especially with regard to the development of oral proficiency.

##### 2) The 'unknown' learner:

To attempt to overcome some of the problems of designing for the 'unknown' learner the target group should be clearly and realistically specified. To minimise the occurrence of user/materials mismatch, exactly which type of learner the course is aimed at should be described to the prospective buyer/user.

B) LANGUAGE  
CONTENT

Selection of Content

Content might be specified, on the basis of the supposed requirements of the target group, in terms of the 'components of a communicative syllabus'. It could be arrived at by means of intuition and consensus.

C) THE  
TEACHING  
ROLE

In a 'self-study' course aspects of the teaching role will:

- be taken over by the learner.
- be written into the materials.
- accompany the materials.

These might relate to:

1) Management of learning:

- a) The learner himself will be responsible for many of the practical aspects of organisation (time, place, speed)
- b) A unit should be manageable in a reasonable amount of time, with care being taken not to 'overload' the learner.
- c) Clear and comprehensible statements of aims, and instructions should accompany the teaching materials at all stages.

2) Co-ordination:

The materials should ensure a 'coherent progression towards segment/unit/course objectives. Thus the learner should be made aware of aims at all times and be shown that these have been fulfilled by means of re-statement, review, recycling and evaluation.

3) Instruction:

- a) Language points should be presented and explained in the materials in a lucid and concise fashion.
- b) Opportunities for 'recycling' should be included in the materials.
- c) As much 'feedback' as possible on learner performance should be provided by:
  - i) the supplying of keys for closed answer type activities.
  - ii) training the learner in the skills of 'self-monitoring'.

- d) The materials should provide opportunities for evaluation by means of
  - i) closed-answer type tests.
  - ii) learner 'self-assessment'.
- 4) Advice/Consultation  
 This might accompany the materials - for example in appendices etc.
- 5) Co-communication  
 As far as possible the course should allow for the learner to be provided with a 'co-communicator' either:
  - i) in the materials - by exploiting audio/visual resources.
  - ii) by involving the learner in 'quasi-communicative' activities in which he plays his own co-communicator.

D) ACTIVITY TYPES

- 1) Comprehension:  
 It should be recognised that most can probably be achieved in this area.
- 2) Communication
  - a) For the purposes of student motivation, however, opportunities should be found to develop oral communication skills through two types of activity.
    - i) 'pre-communicative' (repetition → cued response dialogue)
    - ii) 'quasi-communicative'  
 (role plays, simulations e.g. with learner himself filling the co-communicative role)
  - b) Unless a 'send away' correction service is provided any attempts to teach writing should be minimal.



## VI. Extract From 'Self-Study Dutch'

The following extract from a hypothetical 'communicative' 'self-study' course attempts to illustrate how some of the proposed principles might be put into practice:

### A) Course Aims:

The extract is from a beginners Dutch course which emphasises the development of oral and listening skills. It is aimed at the general learner who wishes to acquire the Dutch he needs, at a fairly basic level, to 'survive' and 'socialise'. It might, for example, be followed by someone intending to go and live and work in Holland, or someone intending to spend a reasonable length of time in the country.

### B) Language Content:

This has been selected on the basis of the supposed requirements of learners who fit the above description. Prior to the production of the course the proposed language content was specified in terms of the components of a 'communicative' syllabus. Each course unit is labelled according to the main topic area on which it focusses, for example, 'Shopping' 'Eating Out'. Beneath this heading the new language in the unit is then listed in terms of e.g.: functions, notions, grammatical constructions, lexical areas.

### C) The Unit:

Unit Three, entitled 'Meet the Family' can be classed as a 'socialising' unit.

The previous two units have been:

Unit One        'Meeting People' - Greetings, Introductions.

Unit Two        'Getting to know people' - Exchanging personal information.

The extract below represents only the first part of Unit Three.

### Comments

### UNIT THREE

# 3

*Clear statement of overall unit aims (in terms of lexis, functions, grammar).*



Aims: In this unit you will learn:

- i) the names of family members.
- ii) how to ask, and respond to, questions about the family.
- iii) how to ask, and respond to, questions about jobs.

Comments cont.

(iv) how to use the verb 'hebben' (to have)

Recycling language →  
from previous  
units

You will revise

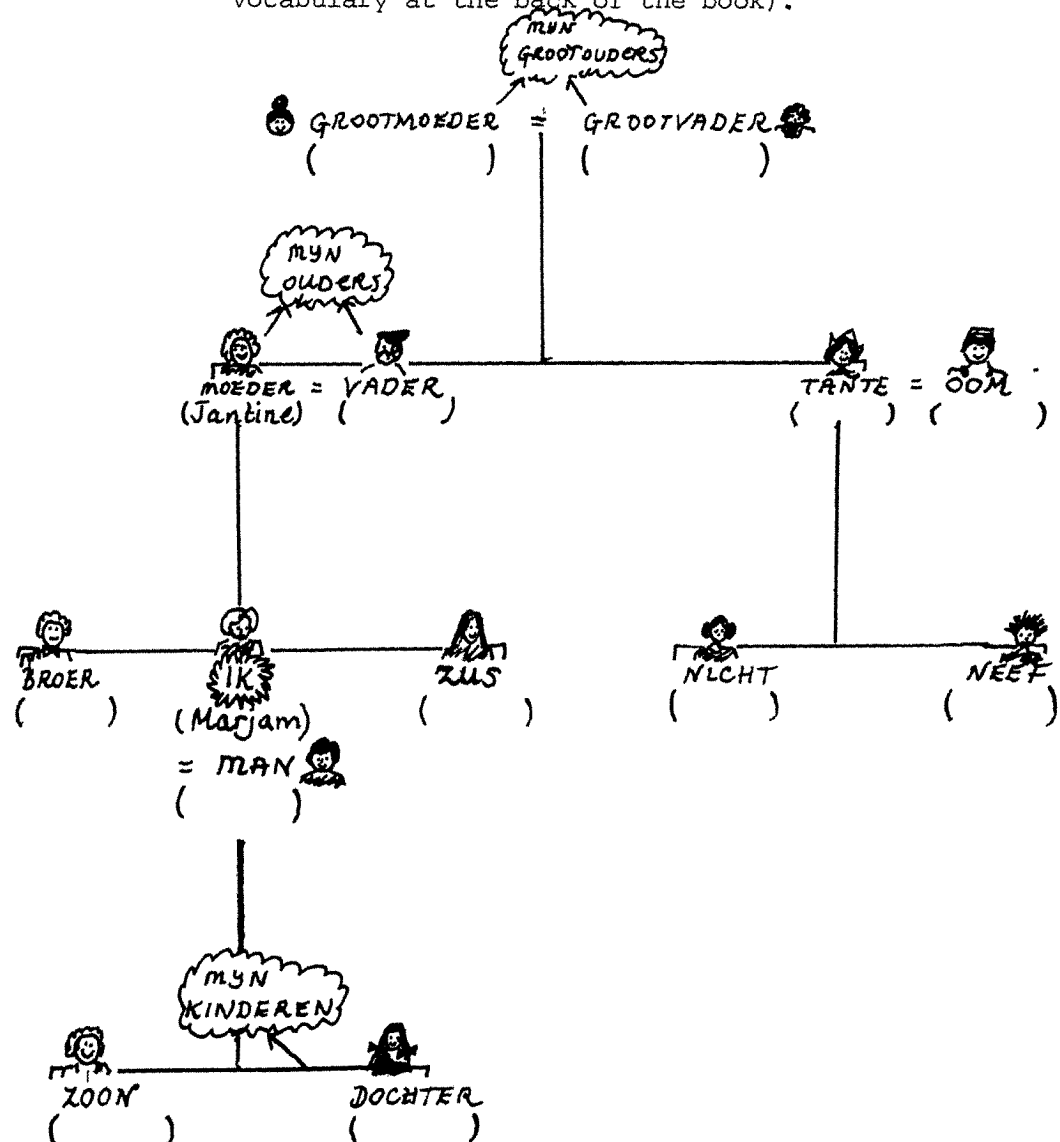
- i) greetings (unit 1)
- ii) introductions (unit 1)
- iii) numbers (unit 2)  
1 - 10

Clear statement  
of section aims →

Section I. The aim of this section is to help you to learn to recognise, and pronounce the names of family members.

Clear instructions →  
Comprehension/  
Recognition activity,  
:Reading

- A) Look at the family tree.  
Work out the meanings of the family terms.  
(If you are not sure check in the vocabulary at the back of the book).



Comments cont.

Instructions

'pre-communicative'  
activity

'Instructions'



B) Listen to the tape.  
Practise pronouncing the family terms.

C) Watch the video  
You will see Marjam introducing members of her family to an English visitor. Here are some names. Fit the correct name into the correct place on Marjam's family tree above. Her mother's name has already been filled in as an example (Jantine),

e.g.: Marjam says:

'James. Dit is myn moeder, Jantine'

Comprehension/  
Recognition

activity: Listening →

Names:    MALE                      FEMALE

Piet	Jantine
Edwin	Margje
Willem	Alie
Cor	Linda
Gerrit	Anita
Henk	Anneke
Koos	

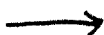
Instructions



D) Here is a Dutch newspaper article about, an actress. Read through and underline all the family terms in the passage:

Comprehension/  
Recognition

activity: Reading



Zangeres Anita Meijer arriveerde op Schiphol. Vergezeld door haar man, Jaap, en hun drie kinderen - Tineke is Anita's enige dochter, ze is 10 jaar oud, haar zoon Hans is 6 en Piet is 4 jaar.

Anita kwam terug uit de Verenigde Staten ze met haar moeder optrad in een Broadway productie. Anita's zuster, Janneke, ontwierp de kostuums voor deze show die de titel "Tulpen uit Amsterdam" had.

Comments cont.

Section II.

The aim of this section is

to practise using the terms you learnt in section one and to revise introductions and greetings:

*Section aims*



*Instructions*



*Use of audio/visual resources*



A) Watch a short extract from the video film again:

Notice what Marjam says:

*Exemplification*



M. Susan, dit is myn man, Will.  
S. Hallo.  
W. Hallo.

*Instructions*



*'Pre-communicative' activity - use of audio resources*



B) Listen to the tape. Repeat each of the things that Marjam says.

e.g. (i) Dit is myn man, Koos.

*Instructions*



*'Pre-communicative' Feedback: Self-monitoring or check against key*



C) Make sentences following the same pattern using the cues below. Record what you say: Check it carefully.

- i) oom/Gerrit
- ii) nicht/Anneke
- iii) zus/Jantine
- iv) zoon/Henk
- v) dochter/Alie
- vi) broer/Piet

*Exercise aims*



D) Below are two role plays in which you can practise introductions greetings and family terms.

*Instructions*



*Self-monitoring*



Record what you say. Play it back and check it carefully.

*Instructions*

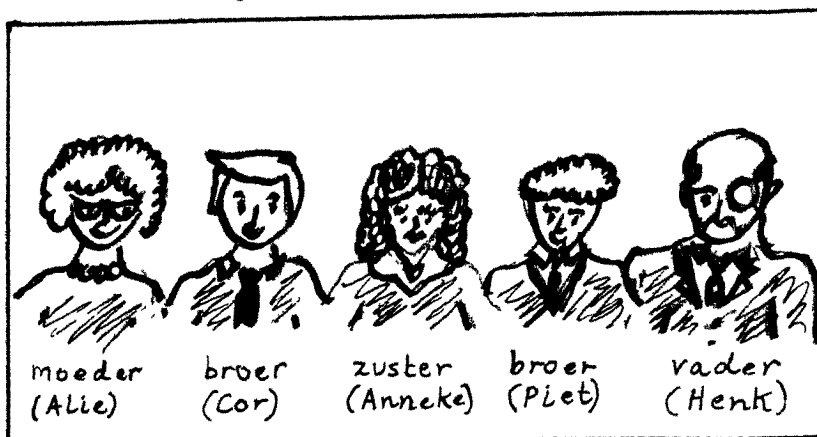


*'Quasi-communicative' activities (Final stage following a 'coherent progression' towards aims)*



- i) In this role play you will need to take the parts of
- Hans or Anneke: a Dutch person.
  - Charles or Anne: an English visitor.
  - All the members of Han's family in the picture below.

Situation: The Dutch person introduces the members of his family to the English visitor.



Comments cont.

'Quasi-communicative' activity (simulation → possible 'real-life' situation)

ii) In this role play you will need to take the parts of

- Yourself
- Henk or Marjam: a Dutch visitor
- Members of your family

Situation: You introduce the members of your family to the Dutch visitor.

\* \* \* \* \*

Then, other sections will follow which deal with talking about members of one's family, their ages, the jobs they do etc.

At the end of the unit a resumé of language items covered will be given followed by a 'self-assessment' section such as the one below.

\* \* \* \* \*

e.g. SELF ASSESSMENT

Self-Assessment →

How well do you feel you know .... ?

Restatement: aims which have been fulfilled →

	<u>VERY WELL</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>	<u>NOT SO WELL</u>
i) the names of family members	←————— —————→		
ii) how to ask and respond to questions about the family	←————— —————→		
iii) how to ask and respond to questions about jobs	←————— —————→		
iv) the present tense of the verb 'hebben'	←————— —————→		

If there are areas in which you don't feel very confident go back and do the relevant sections again.

## *VI. Conclusion:*

An attempt has been made to establish a set of principles for the design of a 'communicative' self-study course for foreign language learning. It can be concluded, however, that whilst the production of such a course is to some extent possible, problems arise, particularly in the areas of co-communication, feedback and evaluation which can, at least, be only partially overcome.

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## DISCOURSE AND THE TEACHING OF INTONATION

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The inadequacies which are felt to exist in language teaching materials dealing with intonation, are often attributed to the lack of a comprehensive theoretical description of the role of prosodic features in language. However it is interesting to note that early British accounts of prosody were actually motivated by language teaching considerations, thus Crystal (1969:39), for instance, blames the "pressing demands of a pedagogical context ..." for the production of "partial descriptions which in the absence of sufficient theoretical and descriptive research regularly involved oversimplification and misinterpretation".

In the light of these comments, it is perhaps to the credit of the Discourse Intonation model that it was not developed primarily to serve pedagogic needs! However various aspects, both of its theoretical origins and associations and of its basic constituent "choice-systems" would seem to me to be especially well-suited to adaptation for language teaching purposes, particularly in view of the predominant focus on communicative teaching, materials, methods and learning environments generally.

One of the major barriers to the effective teaching of intonation in the past has been the lack of descriptions based on (real) spontaneous spoken language. Instead, linguists have been preoccupied with written, sentence-based data: the general assumption seems to be that once the basic features of intonation are described, their integration in conversational use is straightforward, and therefore of no further interest. A corollary of this approach is the virtual lack of any indication, in existing systems, of how the prosodic features they describe fit into a more comprehensive model of spoken language.

Crystal (1969:40) using the distinctions established by Abercrombie (1956), argues that the use of data comprising 'spoken prose' as opposed to 'spontaneous conversation' has resulted in much oversimplification through neglect of the fact that firstly, spoken prose lacks the variety of language found in conversation, and secondly, that "connected speech makes important modifications to the units into which it can theoretically be broken down."

The unfortunate result of this focus on 'spoken prose' in intonation teaching materials is well-known, where the general trend towards a communicative language teaching methodology is not reflected in the intonation handbooks, which still rely largely on single-sentence models and citation-form drills. Many of these intonation manuals consist of long lists of (usually single) sentences which illustrate every possible tone pattern identified within that descriptive system, the assumption being that as long as the student practices all these patterns assiduously he will be able to use them in spontaneous speech situations (shades of behaviourist drilling methodology!)

In practice, both teachers and students may find it extremely difficult to relate this type of intonation material to the 'authentic



language' they are increasingly dealing with in their other course material.

In fact, given that the emphasis on communication in language teaching methodology has proceeded to the point where Candlin, Breen and Waters (1979) in suggesting basic principles for materials design, can claim that "many teachers now see their main purpose, in language teaching, as enabling learners to become communicatively competent" and that new kinds of materials are needed to "exploit data from language as communication," it is surprising to find that almost none of the intonation systems in common pedagogical use are actually based on the significance of the role of intonation in communicative interaction.

More often than not, the intonation models selected for teaching purposes are those based on the relationship which they claim exists between intonation and sentence function, (e.g. Jones 1957, Gimson 1962, Lee 1960, Cook 1968, O'Connor and Arnold 1961). Typically the classification of intonation patterns is based on a rather restricted selection of sentence-types: statements, wh-questions, yes-no questions, commands and exclamations. The appeal to teachers who adhere to a grammar-based view of language is obvious.

However this approach has come under much criticism (Crystal 1969, Brazil et. al. 1980) for being highly selective in the structures studied, for oversimplifying the prosodic contrasts involved and for a lack of statistical support. More specifically, it has been shown that some of the relationships established by the sentence-function based studies are actually misleading. Crystal (1969: 4) for example, points out that despite the many assertions that rising intonation is the usual mark of Yes-No questions, and falling intonation that of WH-questions, in conversational English, both falling and rising tones may be used with either type of question depending on the attitudes and other contextual features (i.e. the "discourse conditions") involved.

Most language teachers are already aware of the problems involved in trying to relate generalised statements about intonation and grammatical function to the language used in connected speech. The teacher's position is further complicated by the literature on language as communication which stresses that, unlike grammar, which can be described as a "fixed", "finite" system, the interactive process is different in a number of crucial ways: it is "creative", "dynamic" and "negotiable" - and therefore demands a different pedagogical approach (Candlin, Breen and Waters, 1979).

Although I feel that the suggestion, by Candlin et. al., of polarisation here (i.e. between language as "grammar" and language as "communication") is too strong, the lack of materials and methodology which deal adequately with any aspect of the interactive process certainly exists. I would like to suggest that this lack can be characterised as a lack of awareness of, and/or the lack of means to deal with, *discourse*. A major thrust in this paper then, will be the suggestion that, whether or not one accepts the analysis of spoken discourse (i.e. the Discourse Analysis model) to which the Discourse Intonation model is attached, the DI model itself provides an excellent means, for language teachers, of entering the arena of interactional language, of analysing for themselves and with their students what Candlin et. al. have described as the "inherently creative and potentially dynamic ... interrelationships ... of communicative knowledge."

## *The Discourse Intonation Model (DI)*

My main aim, in this paper, is to discuss the teaching possibilities of the DI system and to indicate what I see as the advantages of adopting this model for pedagogical purposes. Thus, the description of the actual system will of necessity be somewhat selective. Further, I am assuming readers are already aware of the fundamental features of the DI model and that, in any case, a fuller explication is easily available in the form of several articles on the subject (see Bibliography) and the book *Discourse Intonation and Language Teaching* (Brazil Coulthard and Johns (BCJ) 1980).

The DI model as expounded by Brazil (1978, 1980, 1982) takes intonation to be a highly significant aspect of the description of *interaction*: a "set of speaker-options" which together provide a comprehensive range of information which includes "the structure of the interaction, the relationship between, and the discourse function of, individual utterances and therefore the state of convergence and divergence of the participants" (Brazil 1980:11)

The theoretical underpinning of the description of the communicative value of intonation consists of two related metaphors. Firstly, language is seen in terms of 'action'; as being used to *do* things as distinct from being used to *mean* things (Brazil 1978b: 4) and secondly, the notion is put forward of a "context of interaction", that is, of the "existential state of play" among parties to the discourse which comprises their awareness of the here-and-now interaction between themselves as well as the background of "shared and separate universes" they bring to the situation.

As for the relationship between intonation and grammar, unlike Halliday's (1967) assertion that all "English intonation contrasts are grammatical", Brazil (1978: 3) sees intonation as primarily concerned with adding specific interactional significance to lexico-grammatical items. Thus, although it is accepted that in reading sentences aloud (spoken prose) intonational divisions may coincide more readily with grammatical ones, it is maintained that in spontaneous interaction, their role is to add "moment-by-moment situationally specific meanings" to the lexico-grammatical items being used.<sup>1</sup>

One further principle which forms part of the theoretical support for the DI model, is that "there is no constant relationship between particular acoustic phenomena and particular analytic categories: it is contrasts and not absolute values which are important" (Brazil and Coulthard 1979).

The DI model has so far established four major systems of speaker-choices: Tone, Prominence, Key and Termination. Each of these are "realised by pitch phenomena ... and work within the tone-unit." Further, each of these areas of speaker-choice is seen as an independent system. (Brazil et. al. 1980).

In considering how a speaker divides his utterances into tone-units, Crystal (1969: 254) points out that as "the theoretical justification of the division of utterance into sentence-type has been taken for granted", it has followed that although some analysts have indicated that grammar affects intonation only to a "certain degree", most pedagogical texts normally take the clause as being co-extensive with the tone unit.

Halliday also takes the one clause - one tone unit structure as the unmarked norm.

Brazil however asserts that although in "citation experiments ... certain grammatical features of the sentences acted as clues to the discourse setting...", as far as intonation is concerned, there is nothing 'deterministic' about clause structure, - and the experiments described in Crystal (1969: 257-261) would support this. Brazil et. al. take tone-unit structure as deriving from "information structuring", based on the speaker's "Markovian, step-by-step, real-time decisions about the status of individual words." (Brazil et. al. 1980: 121).

*Tone Choice* Brazil (1978, 1980) recognises five major types of pitch-movement altogether, but his starting point is a binary distinction into falling tones and rising or fall-rise tones. Choice of tone is based on the moment-by-moment decisions, by the speaker, of the state of convergence or divergence between himself and the hearer(s). Thus rising tones represent an existential choice by the speaker to treat the verbal text thus realised as part of the shared world between himself and the hearer, that is, it treats the matter of the tone-unit as if it were already negotiated in some way. These tones (the rise and the fall-rise) are termed "referring" or r-tones.

Conversely falling tones represent a choice by the speaker to mark the matter of the tone-unit as 'new' or somehow 'enlarging' the area of common ground between the speaker and hearer. These latter tones are termed "proclaiming" or p-tones.<sup>2</sup>

The division into p and r tones may seem very similar to Halliday's (textually) new/given distinction. In this respect, Coulthard and Brazil (1979) point out that they are dealing with the "interactionally" given. This is not the place for a detailed theoretical comparison between the intonation systems of Halliday and Brazil, however one very broad but essential difference in the two approaches is that, whereas Brazil (1978, 1980 and Coulthard 1979) places intonation within the framework of the EXCHANGE and interpret speaker-behaviour structurally in terms of MOVES, Halliday's syntax-based theory suggests that the clause is the arena of all structural distinctions.

*Prominence* The notion of prominence provides the basis for a further set of meaningful speaker-choices within the Discourse Intonation System. A departure from previous descriptions of spoken language, it places syllables in a fundamental binary distinction - as "prominent" or "non-prominent".

Consideration of how prominence is assigned to a word is based on what Brazil calls the "now-coding aspect of speech". To explain this he draws on a distinction between the "general paradigm" which is the set of items made available by the whole of the language system, and the much smaller set of possibilities which exist in the here-and-now situational circumstances - the existential paradigm.

The placing of prominence is based on the notion of *selectivity* in the existential paradigm - which is only available to the participants of the discourse. Thus, for example, in the unit below,<sup>3</sup>

(1) (i) //<sub>r</sub> WHAT you've got to DO // (is solve a problem)

there is only a very slight chance of "to" being selected for prominence in that position and it is the only really non-selective item in the unit. The other words all have the possibility of carrying prominence but the actual selection represents the speaker's "assessment of the relative information load carried by particular elements in his discourse: (BCJ 1980: 40). In the above example the speaker is focusing on the task the hearers had to "do" but the unit could just as easily focus on the distinction between his task and theirs'.

(1) (ii) //<sub>r</sub> what YOU've got to do// (is solve a problem)

Brazil (1982) also points out that the notion of prominence does not rest on word selection but on sense-selection, an essential part of the speaker's moment-by-moment decisions. However it is not necessarily the case that a given context will result in predictable selection of prominent syllables, but that the intonation choices themselves may "project a certain context of interaction" (Coulthard and Brazil 1979) - and of course all the intonation systems are open to exploitation by users.

*KEY* Pedagogical intonation systems often centre the meaning-carrying potential of the prosodic system on the variation in pitch movement or "tune", particularly in the nuclear syllable. The significance of the "prehead" or "pretonic" is also commonly defined in terms of pitch movement. Brazil (1978, 1980), however argues that "the only important pre-nuclear choice is the *relative* pitch of the *ONSET* syllable". (BCJ 1980: 9) - the onset being the first stressed syllable in the unit.

Three main pitch or key levels are used - high, mid and low and it is maintained that a speaker selects pitch level at each new tone-unit. This choice is independently meaningful and is made at the same time as decisions in the other parameters described. The most significant feature is that: "key choices are made and recognised with reference to the comparable pitch choice of the immediately preceding tone-unit ... there are no absolute values for high, mid and low key" (BCJ 1980: 24)

Mid key often functions as a sort of "norm" or "unmarked" version in many intonation systems, however in the DI approach, the selection of mid key is seen as an active choice determined by the parameters of the existential "context of interaction" which influences all the choice - systems. The significance of mid key is that it realises the speaker's decision to mark the matter of the tone unit as additive to the ones preceding it. A typical example would be that of a list of facts and figures.

The communicative value of the high key choice is that it can be used to particularise or pick something out for special attention, or more significantly to express a contrast, as in the example below:<sup>3</sup>

(2) A: //<sub>p</sub> FOUR hours was it //

B: //<sub>p</sub> no THREE hours //

Low key, on the other hand, is used to indicate an equivalence relationship between the matter of adjacent tone-units. Thus in the example below, the words "outcome", "motorcyclist" and "crushed" are all linked in an existential state of equivalence. Further, the low key option often, as in this case, functions to mark off a parenthetic remark or aside.<sup>3</sup>

(3) //p its CALLED //o the CRUSHED //p CYclist //p THATS the OUTcome //  
 //o ERM //p in FACT he's a MOTorcyclist //o alRIGHT //  
 //p //p //p //p  
SO he's gonna get CRUSHed

Details of how key combines with tone choice and choices in the lexico-grammatical system can be found in Brazil (1978) and Brazil et.al. (1980).

Crystal (1969: 236) points out that in most studies of intonation, there is very little consideration of "inter-tone-unit relations" i.e. of the fact that tone-units do not exist in isolation but "work in sequences in connected speech." Thus one of the most frustrating problems for foreign students who may be following a standard intonation textbook is that "the jump which has to be made between satisfactory performance of single tone-units ... and comparable performance of connected speech is too great to be coped with by the majority ..."

It is certainly the case that in several intonation handbooks (e.g. Halliday 1970, Trim 1965, Armstrong & Ward 1967) the tone patterns, in single sentence examples, are given detailed explication, while short stretches of (usually invented) connected speech may only be found in the last chapter. It is not that studies of intonation have totally ignored this whole area, but that the pre-occupation with the written sentence, coupled with the lack of a theory of connected speech mentioned earlier, has resulted in a fairly constricting approach which starts from a selected group of grammar structures and then analyses the intonation patterns involved. Thus, Halliday 1970 and Lee 1960 include the patterns of "lists", subordinated and co-ordinated clauses, etc. Crystal (1969: 236) discusses this issue but offers no solutions for what he refers to as "the question of ... tonal collocation" that is, the extent to which the formal co-occurrence of tones displays predictable restrictions.

However, two of the choice-systems of the DI model, KEY and TERMINATION (and the structural unit which is defined by them - the PITCH SEQUENCE) provide realisations of precisely these 'predictable restrictions' in tone-unit relations, in terms of the communicative value of Key and Termination choices.

Thus in tone-units with two prominent syllables, the choice of pitch of the onset syllable determines the KEY of the whole segment. However the fourth independently meaningful system in the Discourse Intonation model, TERMINATION, depends on the choice of pitch of the tonic syllable. Three pitch contrasts are recognised in this system, high, mid and low and their communicative functions are most clearly defined at points of speaker-change.

In transcripts of spontaneous speech, Brazil (1978) and Brazil and Coulthard (1979 & 1980) have found that there is a tendency for the termination choice of the final tone-unit in an utterance to influence the key choice of the next, in a way that can be described, very generally, as a "pressure" or "constraint" towards pitch concord. Although these

"constraints" are not binding on the second speaker there is a sense in which all utterances can be seen to set up "expectations .... within which the contribution of the next speaker is heard" (Brazil 1978:25). Thus, BCJ (1980:75) give an example:

- (4) H DRY skin  
 D : M // it's // ISN't it //
- H  
 P : M // MM //
- L

This is cited as "the most common link; mid termination followed by mid key" and the interactive significance here is that the doctor's utterance constrains the patient's response by implying "agreement with a presumed shared opinion." (BCJ 1980:75)

If high termination is selected however, as in the following example from the same interview: (BCJ 1980:75)

- (5) H IRritating you say  
 D : M // VERY //
- L  
 H VERY irritating  
 P : M // //
- L

the doctor's high termination expects a high key response - which he gets. The interactive force of this choice would be heard as 'asking for confirmation of a fact in doubt' (BCJ 1980:76) where the second speaker can respond with either YES or NO.<sup>\*4</sup> As with all other aspects of the system however, the speakers can break the expected pattern, as in the example below, where speaker B declines the expected YES/NO answer to assert that she is standing apart from the action, that she is not in a position to agree or disagree:

- (6) aGREE on this  
 A : //r+ do we //
- i haven't  
 B : //<sub>p</sub> got anywhere NEAR it //<sub>p</sub> but ANYway //

Low termination, on the other hand, sets up no such constraints on the second speaker because it indicates closure and if it coincides with a point of speaker change, the next speaker is then free to choose high mid or low key for his next utterance. Because all pitch constraints cease at low termination, this is used, in the DI model, to define " a phonological unit of indefinite length, the PITCH SEQUENCE, which begins immediately following a tone-unit with low termination and includes all succeeding tone-units until the next one with low termination". (BCJ 1980)

The main generalisable purpose of the pitch-sequence is that it has a clear organisational function at a level above the tone-unit. Brazil (1978), BCJ (1980) and Brazil & Coulthard (1979) further specify the significance of pitch sequences by expounding a number of local meanings they contract in connected speech.

Briefly, the communicative significance of pitch-sequences is defined largely in terms of the key choice at each boundary. Thus although the same general relationships are attributed to pitch choices, (i.e. that high key conveys contrastive mid key additive and low key equative meanings), a distinction is made between the value of key choices in tone-units within a sequence, termed "internal key choice" and those which form "sequence-initial" tone-units. The key choice in the sequence - initial tone-unit articulates the relationship between the whole of the adjacent pitch-sequence. Thus sequences beginning with high key carry contrastive value to the extent that they indicate the sequence is quite 'distinct and separate' from the previous one. Speakers often use this option to mark the start of a new topic or sub-topic. Initial mid key is used to indicate that the second sequence adds to the informing value of the first one in some way, thus in example (7) below, the two questions are held together as one chunk by initial mid key. (three strokes mark the pitch sequence boundary):

(7)           how LONG  
 ///<sub>p</sub>                          //<sub>o</sub>   does it TAKE   //<sub>p</sub> before he first REACHes //  
  
 //<sub>p</sub> the SLOWER                  ///<sub>p</sub> how FAR //<sub>r</sub> has he TRAVeled // ....  
                                   CAR

(before he is finally crushed between the two cars?)

Pitch sequences that start with low key are fairly uncommon, partly because what is equative has no informing value, although they can be used for parenthetical utterances, e.g.

(8)  
 A : //<sub>r</sub> HMM //<sub>p</sub>   amBIGuous ///  
  
 B : ///<sub>r</sub>    //<sub>p</sub>    ///  
           amBIGuous is the word                    I would use as well

Although the DI model is sometimes criticised for its somewhat 'simplified' system of tunes or tone patterns, the use of pitch level in key and termination choices and the various combinations of these with tone and pitch-sequence patterns means that in many ways, the DI model is capable of explaining a wider range of intonation contrasts and more subtle distinctions than intonation systems which attribute most of the meaning value to variation in tone pattern above.

### *Teaching Intonation*

In many current language-teaching situations, teachers of 'general English' courses are forced to deal with intonation by using whatever incidental references to "tunes" there may be in their course-books (e.g. Over to You - R. Boardman, English 901 - Strevens et. al.) References to intonation in textbooks such as these usually involve sentence functions (the intonation of questions, exclamations, etc.) which do not build up towards a consistent generalisable description in a systematic way. It is hardly surprising then, given the relatively short length of time ever spent on 'pronunciation'/intonation in general English

classes that the effectiveness of any points that the teacher does make will often be lost, thus confirming the common assumption that effort spent on phonological features is wasted.\*5

Of course there are materials which concentrate only on teaching aspects of the English sound system (e.g. The Teaching of Pronunciation - Haycraft 1971, A Coursebook in Spoken English - Halliday 1970, A Practical Course of English Pronunciation - Gimson 1975). These are systematic and usually involve a fairly comprehensive description of prosodic features. However their relative lack of popularity today probably springs partly from the fact that they do not readily fit into current communicative teaching methodology, and partly because they are often extremely difficult to follow even for the native English-speaking teacher, let alone the foreign-language student working with tapes. Even when these textbooks are used extensively they are seldom integrated with the rest of the speaking skills course at an early stage in the language learning process. Most commonly they are seen as an expendable appendix to an advanced course, to be implemented only if students specifically need to 'polish up' their accents.

It has already been mentioned that intonation materials based on the analysis of written sentence and/or models of sentence function, are not easily accommodated in courses which aim to deal with language as communication. The only system widely used for teaching purposes which does attempt to describe the significance of intonation in interaction is that of O'Connor and Arnold (1961, 1973). Their basic principle is that intonation chiefly expresses "the speakers' attitude at the moment of speaking, to the situation in which he is placed."

However it is difficult to accept the validity of the attitude-based approach, firstly, because no two people necessarily express attitudes in the same way - even in the same situation (and this is borne out by the experiment described in Crystal 1969:297). Secondly, the number of attitude labels required by this method is so large as to become meaningless when it comes to establishing generalisable principles.

In addition, Brazil et. al. (1980) point out that intonation systems based on attitude labels (cf. Haycraft 1971 and O'Connor & Arnold 1961) are essentially confusing the "local effect of a given intonation feature when it occurs in a specific context" and its more abstract value as part of a formal system. Thus Brazil et.al. (1980) show how certain pitch phenomena described by O'Connor and Arnold can be explained in terms of the assumption of common ground on the part of the speaker, termination and key pitch choices, the particular contextual features evoked by the lexico-grammatical choices, etc., *all* of which may contribute to our perception that a particular attitude is being expressed.

A major advantage of the DI model, for the purposes of pedagogic use, is precisely that it does involve a formal generalisable system which links certain phonological features of language to definite communicative meanings - to that extent it is a finite system with certain clearly expressed contrasts and relationships; which possibly constitutes the necessary basis for *any* descriptive system to be learnable.

In considering the potential contribution that the DI model could make within a course in spoken English, I shall return to the comments



made earlier, on the nature of language as communication. Candlin et. al. have pointed out that it is "inherently creative and potentially dynamic" and further, that "authentic communication data represents an inter-related system of systems" and "the on-going relationships between these systems cannot be reduced to some predictable or finite system." (Candlin, Breen & Waters 1979).

I would like to suggest that the DI model constitutes a finite description of (at least) one of these systems, and as such, could function as a sort of lynch-pin for dealing with the "infinite relationships" of interactive activity. Thus the kind of teaching materials that could be derived from the DI model would, necessarily employ contextualised examples of utterances from connected speech (either dialogue or monologue) rather than single-sentence patterns.

Secondly, the very make-up of the DI systems described above means that that, when analysing a (transcribed) segment of speech, teachers and students would *not* simply be labelling the clause-structure (as they would with an exercise based on Halliday 1970) or distinguishing attitudes (as do Haycraft 1971 and O'Connor & Arnold 1961) to account for the tone-choices made. Instead, they would be involved in analysing aspects of the pragmatic behaviour of speakers, where the 'finite' rules of the DI system would function as hooks or hinges on which to base interpretations of how choices in these particular systems are related to the speaker's selections in the other choice systems, (e.g. lexis) available in that situation. For example analysis of the segment of authentic language below (taken from Advanced Conversational English - Crystal & Davy 1975 and transcribed using the DI system) \*6

- THEN i dis
- (9) 1. //r+                    COVERed // how- //
3. //p how LOVely maidavale                    IS                    //r i can                    SEE trees                    //
5. //r                    from my                    WINDow // and - //                    WALKing -                    //
8. //r                    WALKing to                    SAINsbury's //p is                    LOVely                    // because there -
11. //p there are some FLATS //p and theres LOTs of                    //                    LAWN
13. //p and                    TREES and                    //p some LOVely                    //                    OLD houses
15. //p on the                    //                    OTHER side of the ROAD

I do not, at this stage wish to suggest specific pedagogical contexts or materials-design methods, simply that discussion even of a segment of monologue could well cover some of these features of interactive language:\*7

(a) A speaker's assumptions about the world he shares with the hearer, realised in the tone-choices made. These assumptions are not necessarily based on real-world "truths", as all the choice-systems are open to (social) manipulation. Thus the referring tone in tone-unit #8 could have been selected for the purpose of insinuating the assumption of shared understanding between them, as it suggests that the centrality, in life, of "walking to Sainsbury's" is already negotiated! Similarly, in the following tone-unit (#9) "is lovely" cannot really be seen as 'new' information - the lexical item itself is 'empty' semantically - but the use of proclaiming tone and high key combine to give it the force of a new and informing/surprising assertion.

(b) Communicative language can create or project a situation as the interaction goes along. Thus, tone-unit #3 does not simply pass on information about what's out there in the real world. Rather, the choice of high-key proclaiming tone on "is" projects a situation of contrastiveness - perhaps even an expectation that the hearer will not agree or will react with surprise. Another example occurs in tone-units 12-15 where low key on the words "lawn", "trees", "old houses" and "other side of the road" links them together so that the separate lexical items become 'equivalent' in contributing to the particular image the speaker wishes to evoke. Interestingly these tone-units do not employ the 'listing-tone' (i.e. all tone-units rising except for the last one - falling) which is described in some intonation handbooks, but reflect the speakers' decision to proclaim each item as enlarging the common-ground between herself and the hearer.

(c) In communication, social purposes may determine many lexical and phonological choices. For example in tone-unit 1, the high-rising (r+) tone choice with "then I discovered" indicates that the speaker is assuming social 'dominance' (in Brazil's terms) which in this particular case, can be interpreted as the exploitation of this option to add weight to what is being said, and to keep the listener in suspense.

(d) It is interesting that Crystal and Davy's notes on this conversational segment include a wider socio-cultural element in that they describe the speaker's voice quality, lexical choices, etc., in terms of general assumptions based on the speaker's age social/educational background, relationship to hearer and the situation of the conversation, all of which they relate to their interpretation of the more 'strictly' intonation features.

The need for learners to become familiar with "cultural socio-linguistic habits" (Crystal and Davy 1975:8) to enable them to be 'in tune' in the foreign language has long been acknowledged, but teachers do not always have the opportunity to focus on conversational features such as hesitation, turn-taking, response vocalisation etc., in a natural way in the classroom, without seeming embarrassingly trivial! However, it may well be the case that the "fluency, intelligibility and appropriateness" which Crystal and Davy suggest are components of successful interaction, could be handled quite effectively, albeit covertly, through a course based on the DI model and the kind of real conversational speech data illustrated above.

As far as language teachers are concerned, probably an important factor in the handling of intonation remains that of providing accurate reliable transcriptions. However, I suspect that a descriptive system based on contextual meaning is likely to be much less intimidating than one that draws heavily on phonetic - type analysis and terminology.

Although I do not wish to enter into discussion, here, of the description of "process" materials as Candlin et. al. define them, it is interesting that the DI model seems to provide the means for integration of the "prior selection and organisation" which characterises materials that concentrate on form ("content" materials) and the more open-ended nature of language as communication, characterised as being "not amenable to systematic categorisation". (Candlin et. al.'s 1979 rationale for advocating "process" materials). Although the DI model is by no means comprehensive yet, it *does* provide the means for ELT practitioners to be more explicit about, for instance, the "convention-creating" aspect of communicative language which may prove fairly difficult for some learners to grasp and use if they are simply encouraged to "communicate in order to develop their own learning" (Candlin et. al. 1979) - laudable though this objective may be.

Candlin et. al. have pointed out that there is as yet little agreement on what the elements of a communicative syllabus are and how these can be selected and structured for teaching purposes. However, as most learners already possess fully developed communicative abilities in their own language, it has been suggested that certain aspects of the "target communicative knowledge" would be provided as prerequisites for facilitating students' development in the second language. I would like to suggest that the DI model could provide just such a prerequisite 'degree of knowledge'. This is not a simply because it is based on interactive meaning - after all a description of interaction is no less static than a description of grammatical structures. But if, as Candlin et. al. suggest, "the way(s) learners may act upon and interact with ... data ..." is the central issue in communicative teaching methodology, then I think that the *process* of learning intonation from the Discourse perspective in itself provides a way in for students and teachers to explore, not just the phonological features of intonation, but the very nature of real-time interaction.

### *Conclusion*

The suggestion in this paper is that the Discourse Intonation system could form the basis for integrating phonological features meaningfully in spoken skills courses which deal with language as communication. A final point about possible implications and outcomes is that the teaching of basic tone-unit structure and the placing of prominence could also form the basis for dealing with certain aspects of *written* texts. Brazil et. al. (1981) have suggested that reading aloud is a highly effective way for learners to become familiar with the choice-systems available to them (and/or the writer). This could help second language learners to

become more aware of such things as 'emphasis' and authorial 'attitude' which are often, difficult and inaccessible aspects of reading comprehension. In fact, one of the wider implications of the pedagogic use of the Discourse Intonation model is that it could provide the first step towards conveying a real awareness of *text* generally, something which most ELT practitioners would agree is of great importance in communicative language learning but which has yet to find systematic expression in materials/methodology.

SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Prominent syllables are capitalised, e.g.	OTHER
Tonic syllables (which are by definition prominent) are capitalised and underlined e.g.	<u>ONE</u>
Tone-unit boundary	//
Incomplete tone-unit	// AND the - //
Tones:	Proclaiming: p, p+
	Referring : r, r+
	Level : o
The tone of the tonic syllable is indicated by a single lower-case letter following the boundary at the beginning of the tone-unit, e.g.	// <sub>r</sub> <u>YEAH</u> //
Stretches of discourse not transcribed are represented as: (the other is coming directly towards it). Following Brazil 1978 this convention is used for parts of the utterance not relevant to the point under discussion.	
The three-line presentation indicates <u>key</u> and <u>termination</u> choices.	

## Notes

1. In fact Brazil 1978 accomodates both spoken prose and spontaneous conversation on a scale between *oblique orientation* (i.e. towards a text) and *direct orientation* (i.e. towards other participants in the interaction) and discusses some of the intonation changes involved. For further details see Brazil 1978:39 and Brazil et. al. 1980:81.
2. The description of tone-movement so far, is based on RP English and does not claim to be able to account for, say, Australian - New Zealand English or so-called 'non-standard' varieties of British English.
3. Examples 1,2,3,6,7 & 8 are taken from a corpus of spontaneous speech. (Unpublished M.A. thesis, E. Samson, 1984, ELR, University of Birmingham)
4. Incidentally Brazil et. al. (1980:77) also point out that it is the *high termination* of "items which are declarative in form" which cause them to be heard as 'questioning', not the tone movement used, which in any case is usually falling rather than the rising (= 'questioning') tone described by intonation text-books.  
E.g. - not //<sub>r</sub> YES // but //<sub>p</sub> YES //
5. The exception perhaps being certain audio-lingual methods which devoted a relatively high amount of time to phonological features.
6. This excerpt was transcribed originally by D. Brazil at ELR, University of Birmingham.
7. For dealing with beginners, Brazil, Coulthard & Johns, (1980) outline several methods by which the language teacher could use short contextualised samples of speech to introduce and develop familiarity with the phonological contrasts used in interactive speech.

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CONNECTIVES: ON THE OTHER HAND, WHO NEEDS THEM THOUGH?

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*Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

There is a fairly entrenched body of support for the value of discourse connectives in a reading course for foreign learners. Ronald Mackay, for example, says

"... there are logical relationships holding between sentences or stretches of text, marked by the use of logical connectors ... The student's attention should be focussed upon these discourse markers and the meanings they introduce can be explained whenever they occur."

Also, Sim and Bensoussan, on the basis of the results of an experiment to compare comprehension difficulties caused by content words as opposed to function words (including conjunctions) conclude that

"... the results, within the limits of the experiment, support the contention that function words<sup>2</sup>, being an apparent cause of reading difficulty, need to be taught and tested to the same extent as content words."

Only in a speed reading text designed for use with Hong Kong students did we encounter a different perspective. P.D. Reynolds, the author of that text (*Speed Check*), advise that "... Little attention need usually be paid to connectives such as 'and', 'but' and 'therefore'."

The purpose of this study is to explore the validity of the conventional view that connectives are essential reading aids and see whether in fact the inability to decode these connectives is a serious cause of reading difficulty. Although it seems likely that the commoner, more comprehensible ones can provide a clue to the logical structure of a text, many others are too abstract or too opaque to offer much help, especially to students whose first language is either deficient in such terms or uses a different conceptual scheme altogether. It appears that classical Chinese has few connectives, and, while modern standard Chinese has many more, (as a result of borrowing from foreign languages), use of these connectives is not generally regarded as good style. (See also Young, 1982) Discourse structure thus seems to be different in Chinese and English and these connectives may be grasped with greater difficulty than are content words. Further complicating this is the possibility that even among native speakers of English there is a good deal of idiosyncractic usage, both in the extent to which connectives are used in a passage and in the ways in which these connectives are used.

This study will examine only the most basic of these issues, namely the extent to which the presence or absence of such connectives influences the comprehension of the logical relationships between the propositions in a text.



## *The Target Group And The Test Procedure*

98 first-year students of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Hong Kong participated in this investigation. The basis of selection was that they were at the time taking a reading course run by the Language Centre of HKU for students who scored 50% or lower on the reading component of a multi-skill diagnostic test of English. This test is an attempt to test students' ability to handle academic reading. It has been extensively validated (Lee, 1981) and is considered to be adequately reliable for present purposes. The results of an item analysis indicate that the questions cover a range of difficulty levels and that there is a reasonable balance of easy and difficult questions. The percentages of item contribution to test scores are also quite even and a composite reliability index ( $r_{tt}$ ) computed using the method suggested in Lee (1981) is high enough for research purposes (81% accuracy). It is therefore felt that the students enrolled in the course on the basis of these test results will have particular difficulty with their academic reading.

The reading course itself is taught in classes of 12-16 students and the connective test was administered to our 98 subjects in their normal class groupings. Each class was randomly divided into two groups, A and B. Group A received an intact text whereas group B received the same text with the connectives deleted. The questions were the same for both groups. No fixed time limit was set but students were advised that the test should take in the region of 20 minutes. In the event the times for completion ranged from 14-27.5 minutes.

### *Text And Test*

#### *(a) General Constraints on Text Selection:*

The original intention was to choose a text from a coursebook or recommended textbook so that the authenticity of the material would not be in question. This proved impractical for two main reasons. Firstly, it would tend to favour students studying the particular subject selected and possibly prove somewhat impenetrable to other students. Because of the specialization existing in the Hong Kong school system there is no academic subject that could be assumed to be familiar to all of the students. Secondly, it was difficult to find a complete text of a manageable length. The understanding of an extract, it was felt, would not be inherent, being to a greater or lesser extent dependent on the co-text. Other factors, particularly the students' familiarity with the topic, would then play an important role.

To meet these criteria (brevity, completeness, comprehensibility) we then examined newspaper and magazine feature articles but found other problems: the topics had little relevance to students' reading needs, the texts were too lightweight, and the style was overly journalistic.

The text finally selected was written by an academic and published on the Commentary and Analysis page of a specialist economic & financial newspaper, the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. It proved to be a fortunate compromise on many counts. Stylistically it is a solidly argued, lucid piece of exposition. It is self-contained and lengthy enough to allow adequate exploitation of the material but it is not so verbose as to cause a negative backwash of tedium or confusion within the time limits envisaged. Moreover, the topic (the future of Hong Kong) could not, it was felt, fail

to have both relevance and familiarity to all students in Hong Kong regardless of their particular academic discipline. The text can be found in Appendix A.

(b) *Constraints Concerning Connectives:*

Once the general constraints on text selection--length, style, topic, exploitability, comprehensibility, etc--had been worked through, attention was turned to the central issue: the question of the connectives themselves. There is tremendous variation in the number of connectives used. Some writers use connectives in virtually every sentence, others use them only sporadically. Although texts containing occasional connectives are common enough, it is comparatively rare, outside of tightly controlled argumentative passages such as philosophical texts to find a text with as many connectives as the one we are using, considering the length limitations within which we had to work.

The range of connectives was an additional problem. Many texts mark a contrastive turn with "but" or "however", but make use of very little else. For our purpose it seemed appropriate to examine the notion that connectives in general are a problem to learners by including in our survey as wide a range as possible. Based largely on the classification system of Quirk et al. (1972), supported somewhat by Halliday and Hasan (1976), the twelve connectives in the passage selected fall into 5 groups:

GROUP	EXAMPLES	FREQUENCY
1. Replacive	<i>instead</i>	1
2. Antithetic	<i>however, but</i>	3
3. Enumerative	<i>first, second, also, finally</i>	4
4. Exemplifying	<i>for example</i>	2
5. Resultative	<i>thus</i>	2

(c) *Deletion of Connectives:*

As explained above, approximately half of the subjects of the investigation worked with a text from which all 12 of the connectives had been deleted. In order to do this without interfering with the text in any other way it was necessary to select for deletion only those items which were free-standing 'conjunctive' elements (in the sense of Quirk et al. 1972:520). Further, their discourse force was to be inter-sentential, or rather, inter-propositional. The items chosen are listed above.

This, however, has posed a number of difficulties. 'But', strictly a conjunction rather than a free-standing conjunctive element, in the sense that the latter is separable by means of commas, has been deleted when it occurred sentence-initially (col. 1: para. 3; 1:9) (and therefore with inter-sentential force) but not sentence-medially (where it has merely interclausal force) [2:4]. The difference is, of course, frequently stylistic rather than semantic, being a question of the writer's preference. The conjunctive preposition "in addition to" [1:4] was not deletable without changing the subsequent wording and thus, reluctantly, we have left it alone. Two free-standing attitude disjuncts 'clearly' [1:10] and 'fortunately' [2:5] and one non-free-standing concessive adjunct which occurs three times ('even' 3 x [1:2; 1:4; 1:10]) were not deleted, on the grounds that they contribute more to the text than mere logical connection. Also a number of anaphoric and cataphoric reference signals with very

strong cohesive functions were not deletable without radically altering the text: these were 'other' [1:6, 2:5], 'this' [2:1, 2:2, 2:4], and 'these' [2:8].

After deletion of the connectives, the passage was physically doctored by closing the spaces so that the readers would not be aware that they were dealing with anything but an integral text. This is psychologically important because a text with blanks (representing the deleted connectives) is not only incomplete, it is also non-authentic. The presence of a blank would impel the reader to supply the missing connective lexically -- i.e. to guess at the physical realization of the item--whereas we are more concerned with having him intuit the logical connections between the surrounding propositions.

(d) *Design of the Questions*

The usual type of questions employed in investigations of this nature which make use of a reading passage are: open-ended comprehension tasks (e.g. summary); open-ended, free-response comprehension questions; true or false questions; and multiple choice questions. After attempts to adapt these to our purposes, all were rejected on the grounds that they would direct undue attention to details of the content per se of the text, whereas the presence or absence of connectives is a matter more of the relations between propositions than of the truth or otherwise of the propositions themselves. Other reasons for rejecting these conventional question formats were (a) practical considerations--that open-ended and free-response comprehension questions can only be judged subjectively and therefore would present considerable difficulties in assessing the extent of correctness and (b) communicative considerations -- that the T/F or MCQ formats hardly represented the kind of operations that students would normally encounter in their subject-related reading tasks at university level.

The format finally adopted, we believe, meets all of these requirements. It offers an objective choice which allows easy correlation of results. It is an appropriate communicative task for our tertiary level students in that it offers two essentially true rephrasings of the original text in the way that a commentator or even the student himself might re-present it. Most of all, however, is the fact that the difference between the two statements is essentially a reflex of the connective. That is to say, the semantic force of the connective is re-worded as a noun, a verb, an adjective, etc. and then re-integrated into one of the statements. Thus, 'instead' becomes 'an alternative', 'for example' becomes 'illustrates' 'but' becomes 'although', and so on. The other statement reflects a more disembodied relationship with the context: assuming the absence of the connective (such as the B group would encounter) no attempt is made to supply its missing force. The idea is that, if connectives do indeed play an important role in reading comprehension, students whose passage contains the connectives intact should immediately see that the connective is represented in spirit by the paraphrasing noun or verb and they should have little difficulty in choosing the better statement. However, students whose passage has the connectives deleted will have no such prop. They must either choose the disembodied statement (because it represents more exactly the wording of their passage) or they must supply the rhetorical force of the missing connective themselves through their innate mental processes. If they can supply this rhetorical force adequately it should demonstrate that the presence or absence of the connectives is extraneous to an adequate comprehension of the text, as the connections between the propositions are

inherent in their basic content and become apparent when channelled through the reader's cognitive processes. It has been shown elsewhere (eg.e. Psychological Gestalt Theory) that human beings supply connections and patterns where they are missing and, given adequate context, as here, these are consonant with ratiocinative thought.

### Results

The text results are presented in Table 1 below. This shows the results of F and T tests performed on differences between the scores of Group A and Group B students, with respect to 4 simple or composite variables. In both cases  $\alpha$  was set at .01. The mean and standard deviation are supplied for additional information. Section 1 shows the results for all 10 questions including the dubious item, Q6. The second section shows the results with question 6 excluded. There was a large swing in favour of the B group on this question and we wanted to determine whether or not this was skewing the results. The third section shows the times taken by each of the groups, again to remove the possibility that the B group attained parity of performance by spending a greater amount of time on the test. In the event, they had a marginal advantage. All the tests showed no significant differences between the two groups indicating that the A group's apparent gain in terms of slightly better overall results is not statistically significant. Furthermore, the means and standard deviations of the two groups show considerable similarity.

TEST	MEAN	SD	N	F-TEST p <.01	T-TEST p <.01 2 tailed
1. Connectives (all 10 items)					
Group A	6.63	1.31	48	Obs 1.22	Obs 1.80
Group B	6.12	1.45	50	Crit 1.94	Crit 2.62
2. Connectives (9 items - Q6 removed)					
Group A	6.5	1.29	48	Obs 1.12	Obs 2.53
Group B	5.82	1.37	50	Crit 1.96	Crit 2.62
3. Time (in min.) (Range 14-27.5)					
Group A	20.76	2.98	48	Obs 1.49	Obs 0.35
Group B	20.57	2.44	50	Crit 1.94	Crit 2.62
4. Diagnostic Test (28 items)					
Group A	11.64	3.21	45	Obs 1.26	Obs -0.29
Group B	11.83	2.85	47	Crit 1.96	Crit 2.62

Table 1. Reading test results (Connectives).

As a further, *post-hoc* validation of the results, the scores from the reading component of the multi-skill diagnostic test mentioned above (see *Target Group and Test Procedure*) were compared for the two groups to ascertain whether either group had a natural advantage in terms of reading ability. As shown in section 4, the results are non-significant, indicating that the two groups appear to be well matched.

In Table 2 below the results have been translated into percentage terms for each question. The differences in performance between the groups can be clearly seen, including the slight, though statistically non-significant, advantage to the A group, and the anomalous Q6 result. Excluding Q6, which incidentally removes a considerable B group advantage, it can be seen that the scores range from a low of 46% to a high of 92%. The B group obtained both of these scores and thus can be said to range over the whole field, though the A group have slightly more upper-level results (see Table 3), and the B group slightly more lower-level ones. Although the results on some questions (e.g. Q10) show a significant advantage to the A group, the statistical non-significance of the results as a whole indicates that while we would not deny that some benefits derive from the understanding of connectives, we would question the high value placed on them in traditional reading courses.

Q	A % correct	B % correct	A%-B%	Connective deleted
1	75	68	7	<i>instead</i>
2	85.4	72	13.4	<i>for example</i>
3	64.6	58	6.6	<i>but</i>
4	47.9	46	1.9	<i>first, second</i>
5	83.3	76	7.3	<i>but</i>
6	12.5	30	-17.5	<i>however</i>
7	60.4	46	14.4	<i>thus</i>
8	89.6	92	- 2.4	<i>thus</i>
9	58.3	50	8.3	<i>for example</i>
10	85.4	62	23.4	<i>also, finally</i>

Table 2. Question listing with percentage of correct responses

### *Discussion*

In interpreting these results we must acknowledge two underlying areas of fundamental difficulty, each of which is capable of influencing students' perceptions of the text and the questions so that one cannot always be certain that the selection of a particular answer was the direct result of the presence/absence of a particular connective. These are:

1. the complex nature of text: such things as the quality and clarity of the writing, the cohesion and coherence of the text, or the presence of difficult, abstract, metaphorical language.
2. the complex nature of the response to reading a text: such personal factors as motivation, fatigue, background knowledge, the purpose for which the text is being read, or preconceived notions about the topic.

Reading a text is clearly not like calculating compound interest. It is not automatically true that the more text one reads or the more time one spends on it the more one's stock of comprehension grows. The various factors indicated under the two areas above all militate concurrently to make the end result different from the sum of the parts.

We shall now examine the students' performance on each of the 10 questions in terms of the rank ordering of the questions according to the percentage correct for each group. The figures are set out in Table 3. Comparison of these ratings should give some measure of the relative performance of the two groups and reveal significant similarities or differences between them.

GROUP A Order	GROUP B Order	A Advantage Order	Operational Division
8	8	10	
10=	5	7	Upper range
2=	2	2	
5	1	-----	
1	-----	9	
-----	10	5	Mid range
3	3	1	
7	9	3	
9	-----	-----	
-----	7=	4	Lower range
4	4=	8	
6	6	-----	
		6	Exclusion

Table 3. Rank ordering of questions

Let us first examine the performance of the A-group. As they have the complete text and as the complexities of the questions are based essentially on the presence or absence of the connectives, in theory the A-group should score 100% on each question. Obviously human fallibility (in connection with the factors above) would make this a practical impossibility. We can, therefore, probably accept the upper-range scores of questions 8, 10, 2, 5 and 1 (success rates 89.6% - 75%) as corresponding to reasonable expectation and not in need of further analysis. The mid-range results of questions 3, 7 and 9 (success rates 64.6% - 58.3%) are below expectation and require investigation. A common element in all is the lexical/grammatical/semantic complexity of either the question or the text, for example in 3, the incorrect answer (3a) is clearly much more appealingly simple than the correct one (3b). In 7, the correct answer (7b) is again the more complex of the two, having a main-subordinate clause structure as opposed to main-main for 7a. Moreover, the 'thus' of the text has to be deciphered in relation to a preceding sentence with no less than 6 embedded clauses. In 9, the correct answer is marginally more complex, with three clauses--main, relative, subordinate--as opposed to two. More importantly, there is firstly, complex embedding within the text involving both subordination and apposition, and, secondly, the fact that the correct answer links the initial proposition via the 'for example' with the preceding paragraph whereas the wrong answer links it more simply with the following statement in the same paragraph.

Finally, the very low success rating of question 4 (47.9%) seems again to depend on the choice of the more straightforward but incorrect answer (4b) in spite of the clear wording of the text '*... two reasons. First ..... Second ...*' The B-group's low performance on this question is explicable in terms of the difficulty in identifying the two reasons in view of the omission of the connectives '*first,*' and '*second*'.

The result for question 6 was felt to be so anomalous that, as mentioned above, it was decided to discard it from the reckoning.

Turning now to the B-group, we note that their performance overall parallels very closely that of the A-group in terms of the distribution of the results and the rank ordering of the questions. There is overall a downward shift in the percentages of correct responses (apart from Q.8 with a slight upward shift and Q.6 which has been excluded). This is very much to be expected given the reduced nature of their input text. The main result in need of further investigation is no. 10, which represents the biggest advantage by far of the A-group over the B-group (23.4%). For the B-group, the cohesiveness of the penultimate 3 paragraphs is difficult to grasp without the presence of the linking expressions '*for example*', '*also*' and '*finally*': there is little indication left that the three points are connected with '*... other considerations deterring Peking*' in a preceding paragraph. Furthermore, the journalistic technique of fragmenting the text into brief paragraphs serves to further isolate the points from one another.

### *Conclusion*

In concluding we would like to look more broadly at questions of textual cohesion in general and the educational significance of these findings. If we consider from Table 2 the nature of the deleted connectives and the students' performance, we will find very little consistency: the same connective produces very divergent results either by its presence (group A) or by its absence (group B). The two occurrences of "*thus*" produced the highest and the lowest scores for the B group, that is 92% and 46% (excluding the anomalous Q6) and a wide divergence for the A group (89.6% and 60.4%). The two occurrences of "*but*" produced wide differences: A group - 83.3% and 64.6%; B group - 76% and 58%. Similarly, '*for example*': A group - 85.4% and 58.3%; B group - 72% and 52%. This is also true of the two sets of "*enumerative*" connectives, which demonstrate similar cohesive properties even though their exponents differ: "*first*", "*second*"; and "*also*", "*finally*": A group - 47.9% and 85.4%; B group - 46% and 62%. It seems clear from these results that there is nothing inherent in the connective itself which makes it or its cohesive function simple or complex. We must therefore examine the context of the connective more carefully.

To accomplish this, let us take as representatives Q's 8 and 9 and examine the relevant portions of the text. The two questions have no direct relationship with one another except that they exemplify results which, in one case, are good for both groups and, in the other, are mediocre for both. Looking first at Q8 and its context, we see that the text exhibits cohesive devices other than the connective "*thus*", namely lexical cohesion. In the sentence preceding the "*thus*" are found the phrases "*economic disaster*" and later "*the major source of government revenue*". In the sentence following the connective, "*disaster*" is repeated, followed by the phrase "*profitable for Peking, both in earning foreign exchange and*

*in generating revenue*". It seems more than likely that the redundancy contained in this lexical cohesion supplies the reader with the clues that are needed to intuit the relationship between these two propositions, making the connective largely superfluous.

This situation may be contrasted with that of Q9, where both groups obtained indifferent scores and where the surrounding text contains no cohesive devices other than the connective "*for example*". Although it is not so easy in this case to hypothesize that the lack of other cohesive devices is directly the cause of the poor performance on this question, the results have indicated a definite trend in this direction. In sum, those questions where both groups performed well and where there are relatively small differences between the two groups all refer to parts of the text in which there is a certain amount of redundancy (Q's 1, 2, 3, 5, 8). Conversely, those questions where both groups performed less well (Q's 4, 7, 9), or where there is a large difference between the performances of the two groups (Q's 7, 10), all refer to parts of the text in which the relevant connective is the only cohesive device used.

The educational significance of this for teachers of reading would seem to be that the connective alone. (i.e. unsupported by other cohesive devices) is a much weaker link than is commonly supposed and that concentration on the rhetorical force of the connective as an entity in itself may be an unfruitful way of tackling a text. It seems better to adopt a more holistic approach by directing attention to the cohesive structure of the text in general, particularly to other verbal clues more closely associated with the content, and then to look at the coherence and logical development of the propositional matter.



## NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Reading Association's 10th World Congress, Hong Kong 30 July - 2 August 1984.
2. The examples of function words given by Sim and Bensoussan are *as a matter of fact*, *however* and *its purposes*.

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# Hong Kong Fooled by Role As Breadwinner for China

b

By Lucian W. Pye

AS it became the world's third largest financial center, Hong Kong miraculously defied all conventional reasoning. Now it seeks to defy Samuel Johnson's dictum that imminent demise by an executioner "concentrates the mind wonderfully."

The colony seeks solace in wishful thinking. Even outbursts of self-criticism really have reflected unrealistic hopes. Criticism of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1982 for unduly annoying Peking officialdom actually came in reaction to a wish shattered: Hong Kong had hoped that somehow London would find an ingenious solution for keeping intact its prime colony.

The most basic self-delusion has been the argument that China can't afford to alter the essence of the current set-up because it needs the foreign exchange earned through Hong Kong.

The argument has the veneer of plausibility for two reasons. China does gain substantial foreign exchange from transactions with Hong Kong. China gains foreign exchange by being Hong Kong's rural hinterland. Peking gains the wherewithal to purchase exotic foreign products by supplying Hong Kong with fresh vegetables, eggs, chickens, ducks, pigs and even water. In addition to its rural products, the Chinese also gain from remittances — even from stoutly anti Communist refugees — and by exporting goods destined for re-export.

British officials have said that 10% of China's foreign exchange comes through Hong Kong. (That conclusion caused Mrs. Thatcher to say that China has a "materialistic interest" in Hong Kong, while Britain, concerned only with the Hong Kong citizenry, has a "moral interest" — thereby exasperating the Chinese, who never enter negotiations without seeking to claim the moral high ground.)

Other estimates set the figure somewhat lower. U.S. Consulate General officials anxious not to offend the Chinese on any score, come up with the lowest estimate, that China gets about 25% of its foreign exchange from Hong Kong transactions. Academic researchers have put the percentage at between 30% and 35%. A Canton-based Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences study came up with 31.5%.

## A Windfall Profit

Exactly how much foreign exchange China earns through trade with Hong Kong, is a moot question. The point is that China gets foreign exchange from dealings with Hong Kong because the residents of Hong Kong are able to provide goods and services that people elsewhere in the world find desirable.

It is true that when China's boundary is moved to encompass the colony, the Bank of China no longer will get convertible currency exchange from the sale of produce by Guangdong peasants to the people of Hong Kong.

A China expanded to include all of Hong Kong would become the beneficiary of all the foreign exchange that the people of Hong Kong would continue to earn from the goods and services sold to the rest of the world. If all other things were to stay as they are today, this would mean that the Bank of China would fall heir to a windfall profit in foreign exchange.

Clearly, even the most dedicated Marxist or passionate "Hong Kong patriot" doesn't believe the

changeover in 1997 will leave Hong Kong as well-off as it is today. The question is only how great the damage will be.

If foreign exchange were the only factor in Peking's calculations, then the sooner China recovers Hong Kong the better. This is because officials of the Bank of China should be able to design measures that would ensure that enterprise managers in a recovered Hong Kong would find it desirable to procure more of their raw materials from the rest of China rather than importing from abroad — while continuing to produce for the export market. China's total foreign exchange earnings from Hong Kong would increase.

The degree to which the Hong Kong economy might collapse depends upon many imponderables. A key element in this would be the skill with which the Bank of China might manage inducements to export while restricting imports.

Although it is hard to figure out the exact composition of Hong Kong's earnings that don't appear in the current accounts, it is possible to make calculations based on published figures. These statistics indicate that China could get more foreign exchange from a recovered Hong Kong exporting only 30% to 40% of current levels than under the present arrangement.

## The Shanghai Example

It is this possibility that the wishful thinkers choose to ignore, but that Chinese officials no doubt have in mind when they claim they can successfully manage Hong Kong because of their experience in running Shanghai. Today's Shanghai is an economic disaster in the eyes of devotees of market capitalism; but for the Chinese, Shanghai has been the major source of government revenue, providing nearly 60% of the national budget. A Hong Kong seen by others as a disaster could be profitable for Peking, both in earning foreign exchange and generating revenue.

Fortunately, there are other considerations which may be more important than foreign-exchange earnings in deterring Peking.

For cadres who like to make much about the differences between "before" and "after" liberation — a comparison that can be hard to measure exactly — it could be humiliating for the "after" of a Hong Kong reversion to be dramatically worse than the "before". That comparison will be easier to measure and certainly will become the crowning test of the merits of communism in its Chinese variety.

Peking will have to treat the recovery of Hong Kong as a subordinate part of the larger game of trying to recover Taiwan. There is the question of Peking's reaction should the people of Hong Kong, as they most assuredly will, awake politically and assert demands about their future.

These considerations, and others, certainly will be more important in influencing Peking's actions than considerations about losing foreign exchange. Clear thinking about the future of Hong Kong must begin with dispelling the myth that the colony is somehow protected by its role in providing China's foreign exchange.

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LAS Number: \_\_\_\_\_ Subjects: \_\_\_\_\_

Of the two alternative statements, choose the one which best conveys the meaning or intention of the text.

- 
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. The colony engages in wishful thinking as an alternative to rational thought.<br>(a)   | The colony engages in wishful thinking as an outcome of its rational approach.<br>(b)   |
| 2. The criticism of Margaret Thatcher illustrates that Hong Kong was hoping for an ingenious solution to the 1997 question.<br>(a)  | In spite of unrealistic thinking, Hong Kong criticised Margaret Thatcher for annoying Peking in 1982.<br>(b)  |
| 3. The argument that because China needs Hong Kong she will not make any changes also illustrates Hong Kong's hope for an ingenious solution.<br>(a)  | The argument that because China needs Hong Kong she will not make any changes better illustrates Hong Kong's hope for an ingenious solution than does the criticism of Mrs. Thatcher.<br>(b)  |
| 4. The main reasons given for (3) above are that China gains foreign exchange through her business with Hong Kong and by supplying it with farm produce. Some foreign exchange is derived from remittances from Hong Kong residents and re-exports channelled through Hong Kong.<br>(a) | The main reasons given for (3) above are that China gains foreign exchange through her business with Hong Kong, by supplying it with farm produce, from remittances from Hong Kong residents and from re-exports channelled through Hong Kong.<br>(b) |
| 5. Although China would lose the revenue from the sale of Guangdong produce to Hong Kong, it would gain all of the revenue Hong Kong earns from foreign sources.<br>(a)   | China would lose the revenue from the sale of Guangdong produce to Hong Kong, and then gain all of the revenue Hong Kong earns from foreign sources.<br>(b)   |
| 6. Although China would gain more foreign exchange from an unchanged Hong Kong, there are indications that Hong Kong will not be left unchanged.<br>(a)   | Although China would gain more foreign exchange from an unchanged Hong Kong, there are positive indications that Hong Kong will undergo extensive change.<br>(b)  |
| 7. After take-over, Hong Kong would purchase more raw materials from China; China's foreign exchange earnings from Hong Kong would also increase.<br>(a)  | After take-over, China's foreign exchange earnings from Hong Kong would increase as a result of Hong Kong purchasing more raw materials from China.<br>(b)  |
| 8. Hong Kong and Shanghai might be seen by the Western world as economic disasters, but they could play a successful role in China's economy.<br>(a)  | Although Shanghai looks like an economic disaster to the Western world, it plays a successful role in China's economy: it follows that Hong Kong could play a similar role.<br>(b)  |
| 9. One consideration which might deter Peking is the humiliation if the "after" of Hong Kong were obviously worse-off than the "before".<br>(a)   | Whether the "after" of Hong Kong was obviously worse-off than the "before" would be the ultimate test of communism.<br>(b)  |
| 10. China will consider the recovery of Taiwan as more important than the possibility of Hong Kong citizens making political demands.<br>(a)  | Other considerations which might deter Peking are the question of the recovery of Taiwan and the possibility of Hong Kong citizens making political demands.<br>(b)   |

TIME COMPLETED:

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TIME COMPLETED:

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## LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES OF CHINESE ADOLESCENTS IN HONG KONG

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### *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

In the past few years researchers (e.g. Pierson, Fu & Lee, 1980) have been pursuing studies on the linguistic attitudes of Chinese adolescents. The research has been conducted in Hong Kong, which has been under British administration since 1842. It is a place where China and the rest of world have many opportunities to interact freely. While nearly 98% of Hong Kong's six million inhabitants are Chinese who speak a Chinese dialect (mainly Cantonese) on almost all social occasions, the English language is nevertheless highly valued. It plays an important role in government administration and commercial development, is the main language for higher education, and possesses high social prestige within the community. The spread of English is part of the socio-cultural fabric of Hong Kong; the use of English in Hong Kong has been beneficial to trade, tourism, industry, and international finance (Luke & Richards, 1982).

Over the years of British administration, an educational system has developed wherein English is taught as a foreign language in the early years of primary school, and gradually becomes the main language of instruction for the majority of secondary school students by the time they are ready to graduate. In recent years there has been mounting evidence that such language use in education elicits mixed student reactions towards English (Lyczak, Fu & Ho, 1976; Cheng, 1979; Pierson & Fu, 1982). In addition there is a suspicion on the part of educationists that the investment of time and human effort spent in learning English as a second language has not produced commensurate results in learner achievement. By the time he or she reaches Form V (grade 11), the average Hong Kong student has studied English for ten or more years. All these factors have directed the current researchers away from the traditional research into language pedagogy and applied linguistics and towards research which looks more deeply and directly at social-psychological phenomena involved in second language learning.

It was, therefore, decided that an investigation into the attitudes that Chinese adolescents have towards Chinese and English might partially explain the occurrence of underachievement in learning English. Other researchers have made similar investigations (Brown, 1973; Schumann, 1975, 1976; Oller, Hudson & Liu, 1977) in different localities because of the perceived relationship between affective variables and levels of achievement in second language learning. It should be noted, however, that while some researchers (Carroll, 1958, 1967; Pimsleur, Stockwell & Comrey, 1963)

have argued that language aptitude is the strongest predictor of achievement, others (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972) have argued that the case is not clearcut. The controversy is an old one, and in spite of all the advances in applied linguistics, the fact of underachievement remains.

Practitioners have tended to attribute learner underachievement to student laziness, faulty syllabus design, and defective materials, but research has not substantiated these claims (Spolsky, 1969). Such claims are sometimes simplistic and ignore the mounting evidence from social science that learning a second language is a complex process for each individual, the outcome of which is related to such factors as personality, age, ethnicity, language aptitude, attitude, motivation and the whole socio-cultural and educational milieu. The most promising studies of second language learning processes have come from social-psychologists (Lambert, 1978; Clement, 1978; Gardner, 1979; Giles & Byrne, 1982) who use language as one dependent variable in their study of social interaction. It was decided here to follow the lead of these researchers in the hope of reaching a deeper understanding. Why do many students in Hong Kong not reach a level in the second language seemingly proportionate to the time and effort expended? In order to address this question, a study was designed with the following research aims:

1. the construction of a linguistic attitude questionnaire and its evaluation by factor analysis,
2. an investigation of the relationship between linguistic attitudes and general academic achievement, including language achievement,
3. a comparison of linguistic attitudes between different groups of respondents.

### *Methodology*

*Instruments.* The study was planned in two stages. During the first stage the attitude questionnaire was carefully constructed, based on previous experience (Pierson, Fu & Lee, 1980). The questionnaire (written in Chinese) comprised sixteen statements about attitudes towards Chinese and English. Each statement was answered by circling the desired number on a five-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. This questionnaire was administered to Form IV (10th Grade) students in three different schools. Since no common tests of achievement for all schools are administered at the end of Form IV, attitude measures obtained from the questionnaire could only be analyzed in relation to the internal assessments of individual schools. Having analyzed the data within schools, it was found that some encouraging results were emerging. For example, among the factors which emerged there were two clear ones (an English attitude factor and a Chinese attitude factor) which could roughly explain the intercorrelations among the attitude variables. It was then decided to carry the study into Stage II which would allow comparison across schools in the Anglo-Chinese group and in the Chinese-medium group. Anglo-Chinese schools teach all subjects through the medium of English except for Chinese language, literature, and history subjects. Chinese-medium schools teach all subjects in Chinese except for the English language classes.



In Stage II, Form III (9th grade) students were used as Ss since they are eligible to sit for three scaling tests in the subjects of English, Chinese, and Mathematics in the Junior Secondary Education Assessment System (JSEA). The results obtained in the JSEA scaling tests are used by the Education Department in Hong Kong to scale the internal assessments made by the individual schools. These scaled internal assessments, recorded in one of eight grades (grade A = 8 to grade H = 1), were analyzed in relation to the responses on the attitude questionnaire. In short, the scaled internal assessment allowed for comparison across schools in Stage II, which was not possible in Stage I.

*Subjects.* In Stage I, 384 Form IV students (186 boys and 198 girls) from three English-medium secondary schools were selected as Ss. The three schools included one co-educational school (N = 97), one boys' school (N = 127) and one girls' school (N = 160). Two of these schools received government subsidies and one was a private independent school. After the administration, 12 of the returned questionnaires (6 from boys and 6 from girls) were found to be incomplete and hence discarded.

In Stage II, the Form III Ss comprised a total of 1,022 students (604 boys and 418 girls). The Ss came from seven representative secondary schools in Hong Kong. These included three co-educational schools (N = 134, 66 and 191), two boys' schools (N = 249 and 136) and two girls' schools (N = 108 and 138). Four of these were English-medium schools, one was Chinese-medium, one had both an English and Chinese stream, and one was a prevocational school. With respect to funding, one of the schools was government operated, four were government subsidised, and two were private and independent. As three of the returned questionnaires were incomplete, the final sample consisted of 1,019 Ss (603 boys and 416 girls).

*Procedure.* Principals of the selected schools were informed in advance that the present research study was being carried out, together with another study examining psychological orientation, by the Social Research Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong and that the questionnaires were designed to survey the attitudes of Hong Kong students towards English and Chinese. All selected schools agreed to participate in the study. The Stage I questionnaires were administered in June 1980 immediately after Ss' school examinations, and the Stage II ones in April-May 1981, shortly after the JSEA testing. The schools provided internal assessments for the Form IV Ss and the JSEA-scaled internal assessments for the Form III Ss about three months after the administration of the questionnaire.

Students were given about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaires under the general supervision of a research assistant. Names were not required. However, to facilitate the matching of school-internal assessments with the responses on the questionnaires, students were asked to put down their class, class number and sex on the answer sheet. It was stressed that individual students' responses to the questionnaires would not be released to schools, and the school authority though releasing school-internal assessments to the researchers, would not release names of individual students. The class numbers thus served as the link between the questionnaire and the internal assessments for individual students.

## *Statistical analysis and results*

*Exploratory factor analysis of attitude questionnaire.* The direct attitude statements relating to Ss' feelings towards the use and study of English and Chinese were assessed by a factor analysis model. As expected, among the factors occurring, two clearly interpretable ones were found: an English attitude factor and a Chinese attitude factor. These factors appeared for both the Anglo-Chinese and Chinese-medium groups, for both the male and female groups. The attitude statements with Varimax-rotated loadings of 0.35 or larger for the various groups are reported in Table 1. The statements from the questionnaire which appear in Table 1 are given in Appendix A. The consistency of the emergence of the two-factor patterns across different groups of respondents (male and female; Anglo-Chinese and Chinese-medium school Ss) indicates that the linguistic attitude questionnaire being used is able to measure separately the attitudes towards English and Chinese.

*Relationship between attitudes and achievement.* The relationship between linguistic attitudes and general academic achievement, including language achievement, was measured by correlating attitude factor scores and school internal assessments. The correlations of the factors and various examination scores for Form III Ss are given in Table 2.

For Anglo-Chinese schools moderate correlations were obtained between the English attitude factor and various examination scores. The correlation between the English attitude factor and English is .40; with Science .35; with Social Science .38. This compares with the correlation between the English attitude factor and Chinese of .20; with Mathematics of .19; and with Chinese History of .14. On the other hand, the Chinese attitude factor has a minimal correlation (ranging from -.12 to .09) with the examination scores, even with the Chinese language examination results (.09). The findings are basically the same for both male and female groups.

For the Chinese-medium schools, the correlations between the Chinese attitude factor and various examination scores (ranging from -.08 to .18) are slightly more significant than those for the Anglo-Chinese schools. The sign of the correlations is largely positive whereas for the Anglo-Chinese group it is largely negative. Still, the English attitude factor has higher correlations (ranging from .15 to .24) than the Chinese attitude factor with all the various examination scores except Chinese History. For the Chinese-medium school group, the higher scores on the English attitude factor correspond to better examination results.

*Comparisons of means of attitudes between groups.* It is of interest to compare the means of the Chinese attitude factor as well as the means of the English attitude factor for different groups of subjects, e.g. the male group and the female group; students from Chinese-medium schools and students from English-medium schools. This kind of comparison is obtained via the multiple group confirmatory factor analysis model (see e.g. Joreskog, 1971; Lee and Tsui 1982) with the COFAMM program (Joreskog and Sorbom, 1976). A brief discussion of the model is given in Appendix B.

Factor means were compared for the following pairs of groups:

1. Form IV students from the three schools in Stage I (N = 372) and Form III students from the same three schools in Stage II (N = 415).

2. Male (N = 180) and Female (N = 192) from Stage I data (Form IV Ss).
3. Male (N = 603) and Female (N = 416) from Stage II data (Form III Ss).
4. Form III Chinese-medium students (N = 138) and English-medium students (N = 635) from Stage II data (excluding Ss from the school which has both English and Chinese medium streams).
5. Form III students with good grades (A or B) in English (N = 128) and students with poor grades (G or H) in English (N = 174) from Stage II data.
6. Form III students with good grades (A or B) in Chinese (N = 130) and students with poor grades (G or H) in Chinese (N = 164) from Stage II data.

### *Analysis procedures*

I. Search for a plausible model for the data. The Bentler-Bonett (1980) goodness-of-fit index was used to test the appropriateness of the proposed model. More specifically, this index is defined by

$$(F_0 - F_1) / F_0 ,$$

where  $F_0$  is the minimum loss function value of a *rough model* and  $F_1$  is the minimum loss function value of the *proposed model*. The index is bounded above by 1 and large values indicate a good fit of the model. Unfortunately, the statistical distribution of this index is unknown and hence there is no absolute standard. According to Bentler and Bonett (1980), a value of about .9 is sufficient to conclude a good fit of the model. The rough model that was picked in order to obtain  $F_0$  is a diagonal matrix. The model proposed is a confirmatory factor analysis model (see e.g. Joreskog, 1969) with two nonoverlapping factors and correlated error measurements. For the present study, the Bentler-Bonett indices are reported in Table 3. There is a value of about .85 for the first four pairs, and .90 for the other two pairs. This is taken as indicating that the fit is quite good. Therefore the proposed model was accepted as a plausible model for the data.

II. Test the hypotheses of equal attitude factor means: for each pair of groups, it was necessary to test the hypotheses.

$$\mu_1 : \mu_1(1) = \mu_1(2)$$

and

$$\mu_2 : \mu_2(1) = \mu_2(2)$$

The interpretation of  $\mu_1$  is that the means of the Chinese attitude factor of the first group and the second group within that pair are equal, likewise the interpretation of  $H_2$  for the English attitude factor. Based on the theory discussed in Appendix B, to assess  $H_1$ , the data was analyzed with one constraint imposed on the model. Namely, it was imposed that

$$\mu_1(1) = \mu_1(2)$$

The corresponding chi-square value  $\chi^2_d$  was obtained. The hypothesis  $H_1$

Maximum likelihood estimates of the unknown elements in  $\underline{\mu}_g, \underline{\Lambda}_g, \underline{\Phi}_g, \underline{\Psi}_g$ ,  $g = 1, 2, \dots, G$ , may be obtained by maximizing  $\log L$ . However, it is slightly more convenient to minimize the loss function

$$F = \sum_{g=1}^G N_g [\log |\underline{\Sigma}_g| + \text{tr} (\underline{T}_g \underline{\Sigma}_g^{-1}) - \log |\underline{S}_g| - p] .$$

This is the loss function that was used in the Bentler-Bonett index.

To apply this method in our context, we considered  $G = 2$ ,  $p = 16$ ,  $k = 2$ ,  $\underline{\mu}'_g = (\mu_1^{(g)}, \mu_2^{(g)})$ , the form of  $\underline{\Lambda}_g$  as in (1),  $\underline{\Phi}_g$  is a  $(2 \times 2)$  correlation matrix and  $\underline{\Psi}_g$  is a  $(16 \times 16)$  symmetric matrix. The minimum of the loss function in this setting, which can be obtained by the COFAMM program, gave  $F_1$ . As for the rough model, we considered  $\underline{\mu}_g = \underline{0}$ ,  $\underline{\Lambda}_g = \underline{0}$  and  $\underline{\Psi}_g$  is a diagonal matrix (Bentler and Bonett, 1980). The minimum of the loss function under this situation gave  $F_0$ . Thus, the Bentler-Bonett index can be computed. Moreover, from well-known asymptotic theory (e.g. Rao, 1973, p.418) in large samples, the minimum value of  $F$  is approximately distributed as chi-square with degrees of freedom equal to

$$d = \frac{1}{2} Gp(p + 3) - t,$$

where  $t$  is the total number of independent parameters estimated in the model. This chi-square value can be used in comparing different models. In general, let  $H_1$  be any specified hypothesis concerning the parametric structure of the model which is more restrictive than an alternative hypothesis,  $H_0$ , for example, in large samples one can then test  $H_1$  against  $H_0$ . Let  $\chi_1^2$  be the chi-square value under  $H_1$  and let  $\chi_0^2$  be the chi-square value under  $H_0$ . Then  $\chi_1^2 > \chi_0^2$ . Under  $H_1$ ,  $\chi_d^2 = \chi_0^2 - \chi_1^2$  is distributed approximately as  $\chi^2$  with degrees of freedom equal to  $d_0 - d_1$ , the difference in number of independent parameters estimated under  $H_0$  and  $H_1$ . In many situations, it is possible to set up a sequence of hypotheses such that each is a special case of the preceding one and to test these hypotheses sequentially.

To apply the above test in our context, let  $H_0$  be the model as we proposed originally with  $\mu_1^{(1)}$  not necessarily equal to  $\mu_1^{(2)}$ . Then let  $H_1$  be the model with one additional restriction, namely  $\mu_1^{(1)} = \mu_1^{(2)}$ . Under  $H_1$ ,  $\mu_1^{(2)}$  is no longer an unknown parameter because its value is equal to  $\mu_1^{(1)}$ . Hence the difference in number of independent parameters is 1. As a result, the test statistic  $\chi_d^2$  has a chi-square distribution with 1 degree of freedom. The hypothesis  $H_1 : \mu_1^{(1)} = \mu_1^{(2)}$  is rejected at  $\alpha$ -level if  $\chi_d^2$  is larger than chi-square table value  $\chi_1^2, \alpha$ . The hypothesis  $H_2 : \mu_2^{(1)} = \mu_2^{(2)}$  can be tested similarly.

is rejected if  $\chi^2_d$  is larger than the value in the chi-square table based on 1 degree of freedom. To assess  $H_2$ , the other constraint was imposed

$$\mu_2(1) = \mu_2(2)$$

and the procedure was similar. The procedure was repeated for other pairs of groups. The results obtained from the COFAMM program are summarized in Table 4. These values are compared with the chi-square table values based on 1 degree of freedom. If the significance level  $\alpha = .05$  is picked, the corresponding value is 3.84. Hence  $H_1$  is rejected for pair (2), and  $H_2$  is rejected for pairs (1), (4), (5) and (6).

Based on statistical results in testing  $H_1$ , it was found that the Chinese attitude factor means were significantly different for pair (2) male and female groups. The female group had a better attitude towards Chinese than did the male group.

Similarly, from results in testing  $H_2$ , it was found that the English attitude factor means were significantly different for pair (1) Form IV students of the three schools from Stage I data and Form III students from the same three schools in Stage II; for pair (4) Chinese-medium and English-medium Form III students; for pair (5) Form III students with higher and lower English grades; and pair (6) Form III students with higher and lower Chinese grades. The Form IV students had a better attitude towards English than did the Form III students. The English-medium students had a better attitude towards English than did the Chinese-medium students. Students with higher grades in English had a better attitude towards English than did those with lower grades in English. Finally, students with higher grades in Chinese also had a better attitude towards English than did those students who had lower grades in Chinese.

### *Discussion*

The results of the factor analysis of the direct attitude questions regarding English and Chinese in the present study show that the factor patterns are quite consistent across different groups of respondents. It would seem therefore, that attitudes of this kind may be obtained by use of direct means.

The results with Form III Ss in Stage II indicated that there was a relationship between language attitudes and achievement as measured by scaled internal school assessment, although it was not particularly salient. For these Ss, attitude towards English had a tentative but not strong relationship with achievement in other subjects. Previous research (Oller Hudson & Liu, 1977; Pierson, Fu & Lee, 1980) led the researchers to believe that language attitude would relate significantly to language achievement. For example, in Pierson, Fu & Lee 1980, the multiple correlation coefficient of ESL proficiency and some significant attitude factors was as large as .44. It was thus felt that a negative attitude towards English would contribute to underachievement, while an open accomodating attitude would contribute towards achievement.

In the present study the relationship between Chinese attitude and achievement was considerably weaker than the relationship between English attitude and achievement. In many cases, in fact, the correlation was a negative one, meaning that the higher the attitude score, the lower the subject grade tended to be. For male Anglo-Chinese students, in fact, this was true of the Chinese language (as a subject) as well, which is quite surprising. Even the grades of Chinese-medium school students seemed to be more related, overall, to their English attitude score than to their Chinese attitude score.

It is quite possible that the Ss, influenced greatly by their parents, perceive that English (as represented by hours spent in the classroom, internal school assessment, and grades in public examinations) is a means for eventual social mobility in Hong Kong. They feel that English is invariably one of the prerequisites for entry into a potentially better career. It would seem that the instrumental type of motivation for second language learning first suggested by Lambert and Gardner (1959) is most likely a powerful factor in motivating the Ss to achieve in school and on public examinations. This is a situation which is reported also in India (Lukmani, 1972; Kachru, 1977), a former British territory, where instrumental motivation appears to be a prime factor in English achievement.

From another perspective the issue can perhaps be considered as a difference between attitudes towards one's first language and one's second language. Perhaps there is a tendency simply to assume one's first language, and not to consciously think about it or question it. It is a part of one's identity and therefore does not specifically relate to one's performance in other areas.

It is not possible to generalize from the findings with pair (1) because the groups studied did not involve the same individual Ss. However, the findings might suggest that students' attitudes towards language study change with age and that a longitudinal study might well be called for. Such a study might also give further insight into the reason why girls in the Form IV group had a better attitude towards Chinese but that this did not appear for English attitude or for male or female groups in Form III. The interesting thing is that Chinese-medium students did not, as might be expected, have a more positive attitude towards Chinese, although English-medium students did have a more positive attitude towards English. Students with higher grades in English had a better attitude towards English. Students with higher grades in Chinese did not have a significantly better attitude towards Chinese, but they did have a better attitude towards English.

Several factors should be considered when analysing these results. First, it should be remembered that Chinese-medium schools are generally the less prestigious schools in Hong Kong and the less sought-after by parents for their children. Students in these schools may thus have a rather negative attitude towards their educational situation in general: this might preclude a positive and confident approach to the Chinese language by extension. Secondly, it may be that the more intellectually able students do better in both Chinese and English, and that doing better, they have positive attitudes towards their subjects. Finally, the point should be reiterated that Chinese as the first language may simply elicit less conscious response than does English as a second language, at least

in the Hong Kong context.

The overall goal of this research was to provide a deeper understanding of the linguistic attitudes in Hong Kong for the purpose of improving second language instruction. This was accomplished by constructing a linguistic attitude instrument, by means of which certain attitude factors were discovered and separated. Correlations were obtained between these attitude factors and various examination scores. In addition, comparisons were made and discussed of factor means of linguistic attitudes across different groups of respondents.

As Hong Kong moves closer towards the 21st century, certain educational, social, and political changes will undoubtedly occur. These will perhaps be reflected in student attitudes towards English and Chinese. For this reason further work on this kind of linguistic research should be continued to assess the extent to which any societal or political changes might be mirrored in linguistic attitudes.

There is no doubt that a deeper understanding of these factors will aid in providing better and more appropriate second language instruction in Hong Kong.

#### NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented by G. Fu at the Sixteenth Annual TESOL Convention, Honolulu, Hawaii, May 1-6, 1982.
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a. All Anglo-Chinese school students.

English Attitude Factor		Chinese Attitude Factor	
Q6	-.38	Q1	.37
Q9	.38	Q2	.44
Q10	.42	Q3	.72
Q11	.47	Q5	.39
Q12	.54	Q7	.49
Q13	.43	Q8	.60
Q14	.57		
Q15	.57		
Q16	.47		

b. Female Anglo-Chinese school students.

English Attitude Factor		Chinese Attitude Factor	
Q6	-.39	Q1	.38
Q9	.45	Q2	.48
Q10	.41	Q3	.75
Q11	.47	Q5	.43
Q12	.47	Q7	.45
Q13	.38	Q8	.58
Q14	.52		
Q15	.50		
Q16	.52		

c. Male Anglo-Chinese school students.

English Attitude Factor		Chinese Attitude Factor	
Q9	.42	Q1	.41
Q10	.39	Q2	.43
Q11	.46	Q3	.69
Q12	.52	Q5	.36
Q13	.50	Q7	.52
Q14	.56	Q8	.61
Q15	.58		
Q16	.41		

d. All Chinese-Medium school students.

English Attitude Factor		Chinese Attitude Factor	
Q10	.51	Q1	.58
Q11	.60	Q2	.38
Q12	.70	Q3	.49
Q13	.39	Q4	.65
Q14	.64	Q6	.49
		Q7	.59
		Q8	.59
		Q9	.37

Table 1. Factor loadings with value  $\geq 0.35$  for various groups of Form III Ss.

a. All Anglo-Chinese school students (N = 811)

	EAF	CAF
Chinese	.21*	.09*
English	.40*	- .12*
Mathematics	.19*	- .04
Science	.35*	- .08*
Social Science	.38*	- .06
Chinese History	.14*	.00

b. Female Anglo-Chinese school students (N = 480)

	EAF	CAF
Chinese	.19*	.09*
English	.33*	- .11*
Mathematics	.17*	.03
Science	.29*	- .04
Social Science	.32*	- .06
Chinese History	.23*	.03

c. Male Anglo-Chinese school students (N = 331)

	EAF	CAF
Chinese	.14*	- .10
English	.31*	- .12
Mathematics	.19*	- .09
Science	.26*	- .10
Social Science	.30*	- .05
Chinese History	- .04	- .08

d. All Chinese-Medium school students (N = 208)

	EAF	CAF
Chinese	.22*	.18*
English	.36*	- .08
Mathematics	.15*	.09
Science	.24*	.02
Social Science	.18*	.11
Chinese History	.16*	.17*

Note: \* means significant at  $\alpha = .05$  in testing the null hypothesis that the correlation is zero.

Table 2. Correlations of the factors and examination scores for Form III Ss.

	Groups					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bentler-Bonett index	0.84	0.84	0.86	0.85	0.90	0.92

Table 3. Bentler-Bonett index of goodness-of-fit

	Groups					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
H <sub>1</sub>	1.37	5.26*	1.62	1.64	3.72	2.47
H <sub>2</sub>	6.99*	1.76	1.63	8.63*	36.39*	19.34*

Note: \* the hypothesis is rejected at  $\alpha = .05$  level.

Table 4.  $\chi^2_d$  value for Tests of equal attitude factor means.

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APPENDIX A

Statements (Factor loading  $\geq 0.35$ ) from the questionnaire which appear in Table 1.

- Q1. I am very proud of being able to read and write Chinese.
- Q2. I think parents in Hong Kong should encourage their children to study Chinese.
- Q3. I like studying Chinese very much.
- Q4. I think that every educated Chinese person should have a good command of Chinese.
- Q5. I like to spend some of my spare time reading Chinese magazines.
- Q6. My history, geography and mathematics textbooks should be written in or translated into Chinese.
- Q7. If I had the time, I would take extra courses in Chinese.
- Q8. I am glad that my school has given me the opportunity to learn Chinese.
- Q9. I think it is good for my friends to practise English with one another outside school.
- Q10. I think it is good that students in Hong Kong are required to study English.
- Q11. I wish that I could speak more fluent and accurate English.
- Q12. I would study English even if it were not a compulsory subject in school.
- Q13. I try my best to find opportunities to improve my oral English by speaking with others.
- Q14. I am glad that my school has given me the opportunity to learn English.
- Q15. I would like to join an English club in my school.
- Q16. I like to spend some of my spare time reading English magazines.

## APPENDIX B

### Multiple Group Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Multiple group confirmatory factor analysis is a multivariate statistical method which analyzes quantitative data from several independent groups of individuals by means of the confirmatory factor analytic model. It was first developed by Jöreskog (1971) and further studied by Lee and Tsui (1982). With the help of the computer program COFAMM (Jöreskog and Sorbom, 1976), this technique has extremely wide applications in assessing data from behavioral research. In this section, we shall discuss briefly a special case of the model that was used in this paper.

Let  $\underline{x}_g$  be a  $(p \times 1)$  random vector, representing the measurements obtained in group  $g$ ,  $g = 1, \dots, G$ . It is assumed that  $\underline{x}_g$  has a multivariate normal distribution and that a factor analysis model holds in each population so that  $\underline{x}_g$  can be accounted for by  $k$  common factors  $\underline{f}_g$  and  $p$  error measurements  $\underline{e}_g$ , as

$$\underline{x}_g = \underline{\Lambda}_g \underline{f}_g + \underline{e}_g \quad ,$$

where  $\underline{\Lambda}_g$  is a  $(p \times k)$  parameter matrix of factor loadings. It is assumed that the expected values,  $E(\underline{e}_g) = \underline{0}$  and  $E(\underline{f}_g) = \underline{\mu}_g$  and that  $\underline{e}_g$  and  $\underline{f}_g$  are uncorrelated. These assumptions imply that the mean vector of  $\underline{x}_g$  is  $\underline{\Lambda}_g \underline{\mu}_g$  and that the covariance matrix of  $\underline{x}_g$  is

$$\underline{\Sigma}_g = \underline{\Lambda}_g \underline{\Phi}_g \underline{\Lambda}_g' + \underline{\Psi}_g \quad ,$$

where  $\underline{\Phi}_g$  and  $\underline{\Psi}_g$  are the covariance matrices of  $\underline{f}_g$  and  $\underline{e}_g$  respectively. The parameter vector and matrices in the model are  $\underline{\mu}_g$ ,  $\underline{\Lambda}_g$ ,  $\underline{\Phi}_g$  and  $\underline{\Psi}_g$  for  $g = 1, \dots, G$ . These parameter vector and matrices contain parameters of three kinds: (i) fixed parameters which have been assigned given values, (ii) constrained parameters which are unknown but equal to one or more other parameters, and (iii) free parameters which are unknown and not constrained to be equal to any other parameter.

It is assumed that the specification of fixed, free and constrained parameters is done in such a way that all free and constrained parameters are identified, i.e., uniquely determined from  $\underline{\mu}_g$  and  $\underline{\Sigma}_g$ ,  $g = 1, 2, \dots, G$ .

Let  $N_g$  be the number of individuals in the sample from the  $g$ -th population and let  $\bar{\underline{x}}_g$  be the usual sample mean vector and  $\underline{S}_g$  the usual sample covariance matrix. The logarithm of the likelihood for the  $g$ -th sample is

$$\text{Log } L_g = -\frac{1}{2}N_g [\log |\underline{\Sigma}_g| + \text{tr}(\underline{T}_g \underline{\Sigma}_g^{-1})] \quad ,$$

where  $\underline{T}_g = \underline{S}_g + (\bar{\underline{x}}_g - \underline{\mu}_g)(\bar{\underline{x}}_g - \underline{\mu}_g)'$ .

Since the samples are independent, the log-likelihood for all the samples is

$$\text{Log } L = \sum_{g=1}^G \text{log } L_g \quad .$$

Reviewed by Martin Anderson

At their most encompassing, Richard Walker's objectives in writing 'Language for Literature' include bridging the gap between language and literature studies (with particular reference to such examinations as the Cambridge Certificate of Proficiency in English). The expression "bridges the gap between language and literature studies" occurs both on page six of the author's Introduction and on the book's cover. It can, therefore, be considered as a serious pedagogic statement and one intended to be particularly prominent in focussing the potential buyer's attention.

On a more specific level, Walker's objectives as stated in his Format and rationale include developing the "feel for literary style" and increasing the students' confidence in reading literary texts. It is the opinion of this reviewer however that there is an incompatibility in these two sets of claims.

First, though, it needs to be explained what the statement "bridges the gap between language and literature studies" suggests. Walker is right in that there does seem to have been, since the Greeks' made a distinction between Grammar and Rhetoric, the perception of a 'gap' between the activities of studying language and literature. The difference has often most palpably been sensed as being between a study which places emphasis upon understanding how a language works and a study whose main preoccupation is in responding (aesthetically, imaginatively ..) to texts and tracing in them the origins of such a response. Doubtless, at the far flung poles of such activities could sometimes be found the enthusiast eager to devote an entire lecture to the different ways in which a verb could be conjugated, and or another eager to devote even more time to examining whether or not, for the purposes of biographical veracity, a text's indications matched the weather reports at the time of its composition. Such behaviour, while not perhaps characteristic of the domains of language and literary studies, does, even so, emanate from a substantial distinction of purpose felt to be inherent in them.

While today we are not in the position of seeing such a distinction lessened as regards the academic study of literature, we have drawn a little closer to dissolving some of the seeds of distrust which were sown a few years ago. Whether there will eventually be teachers who will be able to combine the analytical acuity of the linguist with the imagination and sensitivity of the literary critic remains to be seen. The prospect, however, of applying linguistic criteria to the study of literature and, through them, of drawing attention to the linguistic material of such texts itself nevertheless remains a worthwhile objective.

Although '*Language for Literature*' contains a range of exercises which are classified under the headings 'literary' and 'language', the latter do not in any significant way seem to differ from the kind of random questions one would expect to find in traditional reading comprehension passages.



Despite this methodological objection, the questions are generally sensitive, intelligent and pertinent and could no doubt contribute to developing what Walker calls a "feel for literary style". The word '*feel*', however, suggests not the systematic application to texts of concepts derived from a close scrutiny of their language, as the book's claim about it bridging the gap between language and literature studies led me to believe, but the more intuitive procedures we associate with the teaching of literary appreciation to first language users. While a reader whose native language is English can often be expected to naturally develop this ability to '*feel*' the style of literary texts, it is very doubtful whether the run-of-the-mill second language learner can. Of all people, it is probably the second language learner who most needs a systematically conceived introduction to language as used in literary texts.

It is a pity then, especially in view of the author's and publisher's claims, that this book makes no attempt to provide such an introduction nor does it dispel the impression that it is, designed not so much for the literature student, but to give the general language student a wider and somewhat more intensive range of readings than he would normally get. For if, as the publisher insists, it will "prove invaluable to all those following an English literature course, or a language course in which literary studies may form a part, (such as the Cambridge Proficiency syllabus)", (a claim I strongly dispute) what justification can there be for the failure to include a single poetry exercise in the book. Poetry often constitutes a sizeable proportion of that particular examination's questions, and an even more sizeable proportion of the second language learner's difficulties with literary texts in general.

It would surely not have been unreasonable, in view of the author's and publisher's claims, to have constructed a book designed, rather like an EAP course, specifically for Literature students - which is, as I said above, what was in my mind when I came across the momentous sounding phrase "bridging the gap" on the cover. What would perhaps have been more helpful would have been a course that addressed itself to the real difficulties second language learners have in, for example, distinguishing alterations of everyday word order in poems and deletions or omissions due to the restraints of metre and rhyme. Or a course that attempted to display how the key elements of rhythm, sound and diction are often inextricably entwined in the verbal fabric. Or a course that would assist students in '*focussing*' a poem, a problem they often have particularly with contemporary poems, by applying theories of metaphor to determine how far, on a semantic level, the poem manipulates or appropriates '*reality*' ... The list goes on and on.

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Across the Curriculum

Singapore, 22-26 April 1985

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- \* TO CONSIDER HOW FURTHER INTEGRATION CAN BE EFFECTED, FOR EXAMPLE, WAYS IN WHICH THE CONTENT AND STUDY SKILLS REQUIRED IN OTHER SUBJECTS CAN BE INCORPORATED INTO THE LANGUAGE CURRICULUM;
- \* TO DISCUSS HOW INFORMATION FROM THE LANGUAGE CURRICULA MIGHT PROVIDE GUIDELINES TO TEACHERS AND DEVELOPERS OF CURRICULUM IN GENERAL SUBJECTS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WRITE TEXTBOOKS, SET EXAMINATIONS AND PRODUCE TEACHING AIDS OF VARIOUS KINDS;
- \* TO EXPLORE THE WAYS IN WHICH SYLLABUSES FOR DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, AND THE CURRICULUM MATERIALS SUPPORTING THEM, CAN BE COORDINATED AND SEQUENCED SO THAT KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS ACQUIRED IN ONE LANGUAGE CAN BE EFFECTIVELY TRANSFERRED IN THE PROCESS OF ACQUIRING OR STUDYING A SECOND LANGUAGE.

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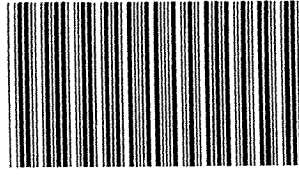
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