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A nos lecteurs

Nous savons qu'il n'est pas habituel d'ouvrir un numéro de cette revue par une introduction. Celui-ci, pourtant, en mérite une. En effet, les trois premiers articles que nous y présentons ont fait l'objet d'une communication lors du 5ème Congrès international de linguistique appliquée de Montréal (20-26 août 1978). Ceci explique le fait, inhabituel pour le *Bulletin CILA*, qu'ils soient rédigés en anglais uniquement.

Nous avons retenu ces exposés parce que chacun, à sa façon, traite une question de l'enseignement des langues qui intéressera sûrement nos lecteurs. L'article de W. HIRTLE remet en cause certaines formes d'enseignement de la langue maternelle et montre l'utilité de cette discipline lorsqu'elle est bien comprise. P.A. EDDY étudie les effets de l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère sur la compétence verbale en langue maternelle, sujet qui est d'importance dans des pays, telle la Suisse, où tout écolier est obligé de s'initier à la connaissance d'une autre langue que la sienne. Quant à P. VAN DE CRAEN, il montre l'attitude sociolinguistique de locuteurs de dialectes à l'égard d'un parler standard, problème fortement ressenti en Suisse alémanique, par exemple.

Enfin, nous avons choisi de publier un article de H. MURRAY qui, bien qu'il n'ait pas été présenté au Congrès de l'AILA, conclut fort bien cette série. En effet, il traite, de façon critique, une approche pédagogique actuellement en vogue: la compétence de communication.

F. Redard

Chronique de la Cila

La plus importante des activités dans lesquelles la CILA s'est engagée au cours de 1979 a été sans conteste le 11^{ème} Cours organisé par M. René JEANNERET à Neuchâtel (24 septembre–5 octobre 1979). Son thème était: «L'enseignement des langues étrangères à la lumière des techniques nouvelles: comment développer la compétence de communication». Ce cours a été préparé sur la base du rapport d'un groupe de travail «Cours futurs» mis sur pied avec l'aide du Centre de perfectionnement de Lucerne et dont les options se sont révélées judicieuses. Il a été suivi par 102 personnes, dont 40 maîtres de français, 28 maîtres d'allemand et 34 maîtres d'anglais. En outre, sept personnes provenant de l'étranger se sont jointes à leurs collègues suisses, issus, eux, de 19 cantons. Comme par le passé, la CILA a pu compter sur la participation d'animateurs renommés dont la plupart ont déjà enseigné dans d'autres cours CILA. Dans l'ensemble, ce cours s'est déroulé dans d'excellentes conditions. Les rapports écrits reçus sont en général très positifs. Deux problèmes néanmoins reviennent constamment dans la discussion, à savoir celui de la répartition de la matière entre la théorie et la pratique ainsi que celui de la durée du cours. L'expérience montre toutefois que la formule que la CILA a adoptée correspond le mieux aux objectifs fixés.

En novembre, à l'occasion d'une séance plénière tenue à Lugano, la CILA s'est donné l'occasion de s'ouvrir au problème de la politique des langues en invitant deux chercheurs fortement engagés dans ce domaine au niveau européen. Le prof. J.-P. VAN DETH, secrétaire général du «Centre d'information et de recherche pour l'enseignement et l'emploi des langues (CIREEL)» de Paris a traité le sujet: «Le problème de la politique des langues en Europe: le point de vue du culturalisme politique». Pour sa part, le prof. F.-J. ZAPP, de Munich, a intitulé son exposé: «Pour une politique des langues en Europe: le cas de la Communauté européenne».

Les exposés ont été suivis d'un débat auquel la CILA a associé un certain nombre de collègues tessinois. Vu l'intérêt des sujets traités, nous espérons pouvoir publier ces deux conférences dans notre prochain Bulletin CILA.

Dans notre Chronique parue dans le No 28 de ce Bulletin, nous annoncions que la CILA envisageait d'organiser un congrès de linguistique appliquée pour 1980 afin de fêter le 15^{ème} anniversaire de sa création. (C'est en effet en décembre 1966 que se sont réunis pour la première

fois un certain nombre de linguistes des diverses universités suisses afin de coordonner les activités et de combler les lacunes existantes dans le domaine de la linguistique appliquée). L'idée d'un congrès n'a cependant pas résisté à l'analyse de ce qui se faisait à l'étranger et plutôt que d'organiser une manifestation dont l'intérêt et la taille risquaient de ne pas correspondre à tous les espoirs, la CILA a décidé d'organiser en 1980 un colloque comprenant deux parties: l'une d'aspect scientifique, l'autre plus ouverte où nous souhaitons pouvoir faire participer un public plus large. Le thème retenu est: «Le Schwyzertütsch, 5^{ème} langue nationale? (Les différentes communautés linguistiques de Suisse face au Schwyzertütsch)». Ce colloque se tiendra du 24 au 26 septembre 1980 à Neuchâtel.

Le colloque de Soleure (1978) avait mis en évidence l'intérêt des participants pour une discussion concernant l'évaluation du matériel nécessaire à l'enseignement des langues étrangères. La CILA a chargé M. EBNETER de l'Université de Zurich d'organiser un cours de perfectionnement sur ce thème. D'abord prévue pour 1980, ce cours aura lieu au printemps de 1981.

On sait que la CILA a consacré une partie importante de ses forces à l'évaluation de bandes magnétiques produites dans divers instituts de linguistique appliquée de Suisse. Plusieurs séries de bandes ayant à nouveau été soumises au collège d'experts. M. GUËX a été chargé d'éditer un nouveau catalogue (le cinquième du genre) des bandes à disposition.

Sur le plan international, MM. BENNETT et GUËX ont représenté la CILA au colloque du CIREEL qui s'est déroulé à Strasbourg du 17 au 21 avril 1979 et qui avait pour thème «Langues et coopération européenne».

M. WYLER, vice-président de la CILA, s'est rendu à la séance du Comité international de l'AILA qui s'est tenue du 24 au 26 août 1979 à Stockholm. Cette réunion a été essentiellement consacrée à l'organisation du VI^{ème} Congrès international de l'AILA qui aura lieu à Lund (Suède) du 9 au 15 août 1981. Rappelons ici que la date limite pour l'envoi des communications a été fixée au 1^{er} août 1980. Pour tous renseignements, s'adresser à l'adresse suivante:

AILA World Congress 1981
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Personalia. L'Ecole polytechnique de Zurich a donné suite aux nombreuses démarches entreprises par la CILA afin qu'elle se fasse représenter auprès de notre commission. Dorénavant c'est chose faite: le président de l'EPFZ a en effet désigné le prof. B. VICKERS comme représentant de l'EPFZ auprès de la CILA. De ce fait, la CILA comprend dorénavant des représentants de toutes les universités et hautes écoles de Suisse. Nous souhaitons la bienvenue à ce nouveau collègue.

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Jean-Pierre Métral

Meaningful Grammar Teaching

This article is an attempt to say something critical and something constructive about the teaching of the mother tongue, which, in my opinion, is the most important and the most difficult matter to teach. It is the most important because our whole intellectual life stems from the mother tongue so that anything else we learn by way of the intellect depends, ultimately, on it. Even mathematics must be approached by way of language. And yet, notwithstanding the fact that most educators acknowledge the importance of teaching the mother tongue, recent decades have witnessed a decline, not to say an abandoning of language teaching. One naturally seeks the causes of this decline. True, in some areas there are welcome indications of a renaissance, but the success of these attempts may well be short-lived if the factors which led to abandoning language teaching in the first place are still operant. The first part of this article will, therefore, be concerned with these factors. Only after this discussion can constructive suggestions be made.

Let it be said at the outset that I shall not try to deal with all aspects of language teaching, but only with the teaching of grammar. Furthermore, there will be no attempt to cover all the factors involved in abandoning it. Leaving aside the social, psychological, political and other such causes, I want to concentrate on a linguistic and a pedagogical factor, both of which contribute to the difficulty of teaching the mother tongue. Paradoxically, both these factors stem from the fact that teachers and pupils alike have a most intimate knowledge of the mother tongue and this before they study it in the lecture hall or the classroom. However, to make this clear, I must invite you to consider for a few moments the unique status of the grammar of the mother tongue.

Perhaps the most effective way of making this first point is through a comparison with the teaching of a second language. The student of a second language must learn not only the paradigms of this language (the various forms, both regular and irregular, of verbs, of nouns, of adjectives, of pronouns) and the different grammatical words (prepositions, conjunctions, articles, etc.) but also how to make appropriate use of these forms in a sentence. In the study of the mother tongue, on the other hand, there is no need to do this. No English-speaking student has to learn, for example, the principal parts of the verb or the paradigm of the noun. Except, perhaps, for a few dialectal variants which the teacher may wish to bring closer to the chosen norm, his working knowledge of

these forms is probably as good as his teacher's. Nor is any anglophone student ever taught how to use, say, the progressive form. It is simply taken for granted that he knows how to use it. In short, by the time an anglophone gets to English grammar class, he already knows, in a practical way, the morphology and syntax of English. This is the linguistic factor I mentioned.

The fact that we know our grammar before we are taught it naturally has far-reaching pedagogical consequences, and this brings us to the pedagogical factor, which, of course, has two facets. Insofar as the students are concerned, the most immediate pedagogical consequence is the risk of boredom. After all, there is nothing so dull as being taught what you know already. As a result, grammar teaching of the mother tongue is often little more than a process of identifying and naming. At least, that is the way it was when I went to school. On the level of morphology this consisted of identifying the part of speech and the part of the paradigm (e.g. *noun, singular*) manifested by each word – what is called *parsing*. On the level of syntax, it consisted of identifying the relation between words, phrases and clauses within a sentence – often called *analysis*. These two activities might involve the use of symbols, arrows, brackets, boxes, free diagrams, or simply words to depict the reality of the sentence, but whatever the technique, they amounted to identifying and naming. All this reminds one of the early phases of some introductory courses in biology or chemistry, where one has to learn to manipulate a certain terminology. Unfortunately, in many a classroom parsing and analysis never got beyond the naming phase. The concepts involved were never put to use and the names remained mere labels. In such cases, grammar teaching was little more than an academic activity which never really came into contact with the student's feeling for his language. Is there any wonder that it has been gradually abandoned?

What has gone wrong here? To understand why grammar teaching has ended in a *cul de sac*, and in order to prevent it doing the same thing again, we must turn our attention to the other facet of the pedagogical factor: the teacher. Perhaps the best way to make the point here is to consider that other subjects like history, physics, literature or a foreign language can be studied throughout high school and college, and even to the end of a university degree. In fact this is how most teachers of these subjects are prepared. How about English grammar? In my day, it was taught no further than grade 9 or 10, and today probably not that far. And whoever heard of anyone doing a degree in English grammar? But how, then, are teachers of English grammar prepared? This last question is not rhetorical. As far as I can see, the answer, incredible though it may

seem, is as follows: teachers of English grammar are prepared by having them study either a foreign language or English literature. Granted the incongruity of this situation, we can begin to understand why grammar is taught no further than, say, grade 9. For one reason, by that time the teacher has generally taught all he knows about it.

Someone may wish to raise an objection at this point to the effect that I am exaggerating, that students at university *do* study English grammar in linguistics courses and can even specialize in linguistics. This, of course, is quite true. Within the last couple of decades most universities, in Canada at any rate, have instituted courses and even programmes in linguistics. However a recent survey throughout the country reveals that only about 5 % of these courses deal specifically with English, and of these, about half are concerned with the phonetics, the phonology, the dialectology, the lexicology or history of English. Even courses on the theory of English grammar are often concerned primarily with theory and only incidentally with grammar.

The point I am trying to make here is not that linguistics programmes are poorly conceived, but that, in this country at least, they are conceived for ends other than that of preparing future teachers of English grammar. Although one cannot justly criticize programmes of study for not doing what they were not intended to do, one can, I think, reproach the discipline of linguistics itself with having contributed very little to what should be its most important field of application. Why has linguistics had so little to offer to grammar teaching? Is it because linguists attach little importance to the teaching of the mother tongue? Or is it that linguists have as yet nothing to contribute? The question cannot be pursued any further here. Suffice it to say that if grammar has been badly taught, or not taught, one of the reasons is that English teachers do not know enough about it. In fact, outside of the terminology, they often know little more about grammar than the students they are teaching.

Another objection might be made to my contention that lack of preparation is responsible in large part for inadequate grammar teaching. The objection is this: that it is misleading to compare grammar with physics or history or even literature because these are taught as disciplines, or at least as fields which have a certain educational value in themselves; grammar, on the other hand, is taught merely as a means to acquiring a skill, namely, greater competence in the use of our mother tongue, and particularly in written expression. There is, therefore, no need to carry the study of grammar any further than, say, grade 9 because the aim is not to form grammarians.

Let us accept for the moment the point of view involved in this objection – that grammar is nothing but a means to a practical end – though I shall return to it later on to enlarge on it and suggest that grammar can also foster intellectual development, like any other discipline. Even from this limited point of view, the three points I have been trying to make serve to emphasize the incongruity of the situation:

- 1) I have been suggesting that grammar often remains an academic subject which helps to identify words, but not use them better. If grammar is supposed to be a practical subject, why is it not put into practice?
- 2) I have also been mentioning that grammar is rarely taught beyond the ninth year of school. If it really is a means to a specific end – better written expression – why is it abandoned before this end is attained?
- 3) I have been pointing out that grammar teachers do little or no specialized studying in their subject. If grammar, like other subjects such as physical education or typing, is taught as a means, why should grammar teachers not be as specialized as other teachers?

So far then it has been argued that a combination of linguistic and pedagogical factors goes a long way toward explaining why grammar teaching is so difficult and why some educators, confronted with many fruitless classes, have thought it best to abandon this teaching, either partially or wholly. I can understand their attitude, though I disagree with it.

Up to this point the discussion has been aimed at finding out why grammar teaching has declined and so has been largely critical. However I do not wish to leave the impression that the picture is completely black. On the contrary, there has been much good grammar teaching, and to convince you of it I should like to quote some passages from a stimulating article on English teaching by F.E.L. PRIESTLEY¹. The author has been describing the time when English was separated into literature, composition and grammar, and goes on to indicate how this arrangement was gradually destroyed.

The first breach in this triple pattern came while I was still teaching school, and occasioned one of the savage quarrels I often had with inspectors. As I have said, the grammar textbooks were very bad, and many teachers followed them me-

¹ «English: an Obsolete Industry?» in *In the Name of Language!* ed. J. GOLD, Macmillan of Canada, 1975.

chanically, turning grammar into the dull set of mechanical rules that gave the subject a bad name. It is one of the fundamental principles of Canadian educational systems that if a subject is being badly taught, the simple remedy is to abolish the subject. Then no-one can complain that it is badly taught. So grammar was first drastically reduced. I had at that time a grade ten class that was fascinated by grammar, by parsing and analysis, so that we played a regular game in which I would concoct sentences of increasing subtlety for them to parse, and they would unravel them all triumphantly. The inspector caught us at it and forbade it. I must not give them problems like that, it was too hard for them. But they were all doing them successfully. No matter, they were not to do it. They were actually at the stage where they could have read Milton's prose not merely with ease but with delight at its architecture, but Authority would have none of it. Of course I ignored him, but not all teachers would or could, and soon grammar virtually faded out of the curriculum.

He then goes on to describe how, before grammar disappeared, it was restricted to «the inculcation of 'correct' usage» by means of learning 'rules». This contrasts strikingly with what he aimed at in his grammar classes: «to get students interested in the structure of the language, excited by its potentialities, and fascinated by the way in which it worked». According to this dean of English teachers in Canada:

The two important things about that class were that they learned through grammar the relation between structure and meaning, and became closely observant readers and flexible and precise writers, and that they got great enjoyment out of it as a game. It seemed to me, and still seems, a great pity to discourage so innocent and profitable a study.

Several points should be brought out here, and this will bring us to the constructive part of our discussion. First of all, these comments on teaching grammar are not the effusions of some ivory-tower pedagogue. They reflect the experience of a man who has devoted his life to teaching English and so deserve to be taken seriously. Secondly, his teaching seems to have been effective because he attained the ends generally set for grammar teaching: «closely observant readers and precise writers». Indeed, to the extent that his students «enjoyed» it, were «excited» and even «fascinated» by it, one can be confident that they were learning. In other words, grammar teaching can be both effective and enjoyable, a fact which constitutes an irrefutable answer to those who favour reducing or abandoning it. Finally, the author indicates how he achieved his goal of making students better readers and writers: «they learned through grammar the relation between structure and meaning». Since this raises the crucial point – how to make grammar teaching effective – it deserves to be examined and developed in some detail.

The key point here is that grammar provides access to meaning. It was mentioned above that often grammar teaching was merely a process of

name-sticking, of labeling, which did not impinge on the student's feeling for language. Now the student's feeling for a sentence is, in large measure, the meaning he gets from it, so that if grammar gives access to meaning then it becomes meaningful, it becomes part of the student's universe of experience. If the teacher can show his students how they accede to meaning through grammar, they will learn something about meaning, and about grammar. However, this is not learning in the sense of acquiring hitherto unknown facts; rather, it is a matter of becoming more aware of what he knows already, of making more explicit and developing and refining this implicit knowledge of his language which he already possesses when he comes to the grammar class. This revelation of the familiar, this seeing the well-known in a new light, can give rise to the sense of discovery which characterizes true learning. And the basis of this is, I repeat, the recognition that grammar involves a «relation between structure and meaning», that, consequently, when the grammatical form changes, the meaning changes. This is a far cry from those who consider grammar as merely a set of labels (or boxes or arrows or diagrams) or as a set of «rules of usage».

The difficult thing, of course, is to put a principle like this into practice. Professor Priestley gives a good example of how he did it on the syntactic level. He cites an ambiguous line from Gray,

And all the air a solemn stillness holds.

Here, either noun phrase («all the air» or «a solemn stillness») may be subject, an ambiguity giving rise to two different meanings. The teacher's role here is to make students aware of the different structures and the resulting senses. Work of this sort plays on various syntactic relations; it rings the changes between parts of a sentence and so involves the traditional activity of analysis. Provided it always relates these changes to resulting shifts of meaning, this sort of work goes beyond traditional analysis to syntax. This is how syntactic concepts can be put to use. Here is the type of practice that can translate syntactic analysis into a greater awareness of the ligaments of a sentence, which is one prerequisite for more percipient reading and more coherent writing.

This, however, is not the only prerequisite. Just as important as an increased awareness of the relations between the words of a sentence is an increased awareness of the words themselves. Involved at this level is, first of all, the lexical meaning of a word with all its different senses, but we shall not deal with the lexical aspect here, important though it is. Rather, we shall be concerned with the grammatical meaning of a word, with its morphology. The problem here, in the domain of morphology,

is analogous to the one we have just seen in the field of syntax: how to relate grammatical form to meaning on the level of the word. We can make use of the same technique as above, ringing the changes on the word, and observing the corresponding changes in grammatical meaning, because each form of the paradigm has its own particular way of presenting the lexical meaning. Work of this sort would presuppose the traditional activity of parsing but would entail going beyond just identifying the form, in order to link it up with meaning. This involves putting morphological concepts into use. This type of practice translates parsing into a greater awareness of what a word can express in a sentence, of the meaning potentiality of its different forms. Knowing what words can do is also a necessary condition for better reading and writing.

The point here is the need to go further than merely identifying the form of a word, to go to the point of relating the form of the word to the particular meaning it evokes in the sentence under consideration. I am proposing that grammar teaching should go beyond parsing to morphology, if you will accept my use of the term «morphology» to denote both grammatical form and meaning on the level of the word. Few teachers of English grammar are familiar with this sort of work² because it is rarely found in grammar textbooks. Nor is it ever a concern in literature courses because, unlike syntax, morphology is never an obstacle to understanding a text, at least in Modern English. It may therefore be useful if we pause to give an example of the sort of teaching envisaged here.

I have chosen a form from the verb paradigm, the progressive form, to illustrate this proposal. Although the progressive is almost an earmark of English since it distinguishes the English verb from the verb in most other Indo-European languages, English teachers by and large are barely aware of its existence. And quite understandably so because the progressive, not being a form which native speakers use «incorrectly», is not treated in classes for «inculcating 'correct' usage». Yet the progressive is one of the richest forms in the language for subtle distinctions of sense. There is a practically inexhaustible mine of expressive nuances to be exploited here and brought to the awareness of students. One useful technique for bringing out the way the progressive form presents the lexical meaning of the verb is to contrast it with the corresponding simple form, starting with easily discerned distinctions of sense and gradually bringing in more and more subtle distinctions.

² The situation may well be different in the teaching of other languages. For example, the traditional *explication de texte* in French schools does involve some work in morphology. In this respect, one can not help wondering if different ways of teaching the mother tongue have not influenced language attitudes of the two linguistic groups.

To make this clear, let us consider some particular examples. Most students would have little trouble distinguishing between the different senses of the two forms in the past tense in sentences like the following:

At midnight we were eating a sandwich.
At midnight we ate a sandwich.

Where the progressive evokes some mid-point of the action of eating, the simple form evokes the whole action, beginning, middle and end. A similar distinction of sense, but with future reference, can be observed in the following sentences:

When you come in, I'll be making a speech.
When you come in, I'll make a speech.

The progressive evokes some moment in the middle of the event, whereas the simple form evokes the whole of the event. The distinction of sense between the next two examples is quite striking because of the ludicrous effect arising from the simple form:

I was dying to tell him.
* I died to tell him.

As long as the dying is presented as not reaching its term, the example makes sense.

Different nuances on the level of discourse are obtained when reference is to the present. Thus between progressive and simple forms in a pair like:

He is driving a station wagon.
He drives a station wagon.

there is the distinction between an activity going on at the moment of speaking and an habitual activity. Again in:

He is speaking English.

one evokes a present activity, but in:

He speaks English.

the most likely interpretation is the sense of 'capacity': he knows how to speak English.

These examples are typical of the more easily observed expressive effects provided by the two verb forms. Once students can readily discern

such differences and describe them adequately they can be introduced to slightly more subtle uses. For example, in a hockey broadcast the difference between

They are changing players as the play goes on.
They change players as the play goes on.

is like that already observed in the past tense: the progressive catches the action at some mid-point, whereas the simple form presents the whole action from beginning to end. Sports broadcasts offer numerous examples of this sort of distinction.

The nuance between the sentences in the next pair is readily felt but not easily described:

Look, it is floating!
Look, it floats!

Where the progressive merely evokes the present activity of the subject, the simple form evokes more a property inherent in the object. Thus we might use the sentence with the simple form when merely reading a description of the object whereas the one with the progressive evokes the actual floating.

Different again is the nuance separating the following pair:

I am hoping to finish my term paper this week.
I hope to finish my term paper this week.

Here it is a matter of how confident the speaker feels: the simple form suggests assurance as compared with the more tentative note of the progressive.

Space does not permit us to comment on other examples but a few can be simply listed to illustrate these and other nuances:

He is driving a bus for a living.
He drives a bus for a living.

You are being very clever.
You are very clever.

Things were beginning to change.
Things began to change.

I am seeing stars.
I see stars.

In some cases, the difference of nuance between the two forms is barely perceptible and so is particularly difficult to isolate and to describe. Typical of these more difficult cases are the following:

How are you liking it in Montreal?
How do you like it in Montreal?

Are you feeling better?
Do you feel better?

I'll be seeing you tomorrow
I'll see you tomorrow.

These examples can be left to the reader's own consideration, particularly in view of the fact that I have already commented on them elsewhere³.

These examples give some idea of the range and subtlety of nuance found in everyday speech. Once the student has been awakened to such expressive effects, he can be introduced to some less familiar ones found in literary works. Thus, to take another example from the same poet, the effect of the simple form in a line like:

The ploughman homeward plods his weary way

harmonizes with the atmosphere of the poem. Although it depicts the present activity of the subject, it does so in such a way as to evoke the accomplishment of the action as assured and so adds to the solemnity of the scene. The progressive here would have a jarring effect. A somewhat similar effect is obtained by Conrad through his use of the simple form *sleeps* in the following sentence:

... and may the deep sea where he sleeps now rock him gently, rock him tenderly to the end of time.

Students who are aware of the nuance here (as opposed to that of *is sleeping*) are more observant readers. That is to say, a knowledge of the morphological means an author uses can be of considerable help in appreciating the literary value of a text.

Awakening students to expressive effects like these cannot help but make them more sensitive readers. Furthermore, there is every reason to believe that their own writing will benefit from a greater awareness of the means of expression made available to them by the English language. Important though these practical ends are, however, they are not the only educational benefit to be obtained from the teaching of grammar. A further possible end has already been mentioned, namely, the fostering of intellectual development, and I should like to say a word about that at this point.

³ *The Simple and Progressive Forms*, Presses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 1975, pp. 78, 79, 109.

By making a student more and more aware of the numerous and varied expressive effects to be obtained from grammatical forms like the simple and progressive, the grammar teacher can develop his capacity to observe language use and give him a greater knowledge of individual facts, of the particular. For the student to derive what may be considered a properly intellectual benefit from his knowledge of particular facts he must, here as in other disciplines, be led to generalize on the basis of what he has observed. He must learn to see particular facts as dependent on more general facts since the capacity for sound generalization is so important in our intellectual life. It has even been said that the whole power of man's intellect is bound up with this ability to generalize. The study of grammar can help develop this capacity provided it proceeds like other disciplines in showing students how to integrate individual facts into a greater whole, to relate observed data to an underlying principle. This means that in more advanced classes (I will not venture to speculate on what level this might be) students are shown how the various senses of a form like the progressive, observed in numerous sentences, all arise from the single, underlying meaning potential of the form. (I have already established elsewhere⁴ that the potential meaning of the progressive is an impression of incompleteness, as opposed to one of completeness underlying the simple form.) That is to say, the expressive effects mentioned above – 'catching an action at some mid-point', 'present activity', 'something temporary', 'tentative attitude' – and many others are all shown to be consequences of combining an impression of an incomplete event with a verb's particular lexical meaning and situating it all in a particular context. In this way, the student can be led to view language as a coherent whole, as a system, rather than as a mass of individual facts.

There are, of course, many other questions of usage that can be exploited in the way just suggested for the progressive. For example the use of the so-called perfect forms of the verb provides a rich field for observation of different senses and a challenging problem for generalization. The distinction between the *-ing* form and the infinitive, both in expressive effect and in potential meaning, is another interesting question. In the field of the noun, the question of number, surprisingly enough, provides many interesting uses (e.g. the two plurals of nouns like *people: these people and these peoples*). *Some* and *any*, *each* and *every*, the demonstratives, the articles, and many other questions can provide teaching material for a grammar course which aims at awakening students to the resources of their mother tongue and eventually to a grasp of its struc-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

ture. There is certainly no lack of fascinating grammatical questions to arouse the native speaker's interest. There is, however, a very serious lack in our knowledge of these questions, and here I am referring, not to the students nor even to the teachers, but to the grammarians themselves (the linguists, if you prefer). Who, for example, can tell us the general distinction between *each* and *every*? For that matter, where can one find a good description of the various uses of these two words? Speaking as a grammarian, I would maintain that our knowledge of English grammar is so limited that it is by no means surprising to see grammar badly taught, or not taught at all, in the schools. I would even go so far as to suggest that the main cause of our present predicament is ignorance of grammar as a meaningful system. Consequently, any theory of grammar that fails to increase our knowledge in a way that is useful for grammar teachers leaves a great deal to be desired, at least from the point of view of its most important area of application.

In conclusion, then, what I am suggesting is that both parsing and analysis can be of value provided these activities are carried beyond mere naming and classifying into the fields of morphology and syntax respectively, where structure is related to meaning. Grammar teaching can be of practical value in making students more sensitive to the expressive effects of the forms and arrangements of words. At a more advanced level, it can be of scientific value in providing a field for the inductive-deductive operations inherent in any scientific discipline. The success of this most difficult teaching task depends in large part on the experience, tact and imagination of the teacher, but even the best of teachers must have sufficient knowledge to make grammar meaningful.

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The Effect of Foreign Language Study on Verbal Ability in the Native Language: A review of Evidence

Statements such as, «I never really understood grammar until I studied a foreign language,» are very often heard from students of both classical and modern languages. This «folk attitude» about the beneficial effect of second language study on native language performance is shared by many of us in the language teaching profession. In fact, one of the arguments we use to justify a place for language instruction in the curriculum states that second language study has a positive effect on native-language performance. Observations to this end appear frequently in the professional foreign language education literature in the United States, and in statements we make to the American public to persuade them of the benefits of language study.

For example, the texts designed to introduce prospective language teachers to the profession include such statements as the following:

«The American student can develop a clearer understanding of his native English by comparing it with a non-English communication system.»(GRITNER, 1969, p. 25)

«Studying a second language provides a comprehension of the connotations of words and the building blocks of expression that is unimagined prior to the study of a second language.» (CHASTAIN, 1976, p. 6)

HANCOCK quotes VYGOTSKYS observation that language study promotes mastery of the «higher forms» of one's native language and enables him «to see his own language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomenon under more general categories, and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations. . . .»

We in the language teaching profession have used similar statements to justify our discipline's existence to the American public. In the mid-1950's the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America adopted the following as part of its statement «Values of Foreign Language Study»:

The study of foreign language. . . provides. . . a new understanding of *language*, progressively revealing to the pupil the *structure* of the language and giving him a new perspective on English, as well as (from Foreign Language Program Policy of the MLA of A in *PMLA*, pt. 2, September 1956, xiv; reprinted in W.M. RIVERS *Teaching Foreign Language Skills*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 29)

When American educators were debating the issues of «liberal education» in the late 1950's, William Riley PARKER asserted:

If, for example, liberal education means broadening and training the mind by pursuing knowledge for its own sake, it should not be forgotten that mind-training is largely *verbal* training – and most «experts» in the liberal arts have signified their conviction that a single language just does not provide a sufficient range of verbal perceptiveness for a liberally educated person. (*The Language Curtain*, p. 126)

And more recently, when the «basic education» movement has in some locales adversely affected foreign language study by labeling it a «frill», Fred M. HECHINGER of the *New York Times* has concluded an editorial on the subject of language study with the statement: «Knowledge of a foreign language, including and perhaps especially Latin, may not be essential to the mastery of English, but it helps.»

While those individuals who have had successful foreign language learning experiences tend to agree with statements such as those just cited, the language teaching community in the United States has not collected supportive experimental data to buttress their claims. The aim of this paper is to examine critically some experimental evidence relating to the influence of second language learning on performance in the native language. Our discussion of related research includes an analysis of relevant results from elementary school Latin programs, research on bilingualism and intellect and elementary school programs in the modern languages.

Documentation of the value of Latin study on English vocabulary and reading skills has been provided in two recent reviews of research by MASCIANTONIO (1977) and MAVROGENES (1977). Most of this evidence comes from elementary school programs which provide a special Latin curriculum designed specifically to enhance word study skills. One such study describes the effect of special multisensory instructional materials in the School District of Philadelphia. The Latin students receive instruction by itinerant teachers for 15–20 minutes per day. In a matched pair analysis done in 1970–71 with controls for Iowa V pre-test, grade level and «neighborhood» (Socio-economic group and possibly contaminating reading experience), it was found that 5th grade pupils who were taking the Latin course were functioning one full year beyond the control students, as measured by the Iowa V subtest. (Latin students were performing at about grade level, whereas control students were one year *below* grade level.) (OFFENBURG, 1971)

In the 1973–74 school year, the Indianapolis Public Schools initiated an experimental program which used teacher-made or adapted materials designed to stress the importance of Latin root words. The experimental group of sixth grade students received one half hour of instruction in Latin per day with a Latin specialist teacher; the program was coordinated

with instruction in other subjects. In each of the two years (years II and III) for which tables are given in the report, the experimental group numbered about 400 for the October administration of the pre-test (Form H of the *Metropolitan Achievement Test*) and had been reduced to approximately 300 by the time of the March administration of the post-test (Form F of the same test). The control group numbered approximately 100 in years II and III. In addition to establishing group comparability through pre-testing, «the groups were selected on the basis of their similarity of economic, social and academic profiles.» (SHERIDAN, 1976, p. 4)

MASCIANTONIO (p. 377) reports that in the first year of the project, the experimental group showed a gain *over the control group* (emphasis ours) of: 8 months in word knowledge, one year in reading, one year one month in language, and 4 months in spelling. This statement is not quite accurate; SHERIDAN states (p. 3) that these gains are simply the net improvement in the experimental group's scores. There are no tables comparing experimental with control group for the first year of the project in SHERIDAN'S report. The report does contain comparative data on years II and III, however.

Pre-test scores show there to be non-significant differences favoring the control group in the sub-tests on word knowledge, reading or language (see Table 1). The experimental group was significantly better in spelling ($p < .01$). The post-tests showed that this advantage of the experimentals had disappeared (i.e. there was no significant difference between the groups on the spelling measure); the experimentals scored significantly higher than the controls in word knowledge ($p < .05$). Reading and language scores showed non-significant differences in favor of the experimental group. The results of year II's testing justify cautious optimism concerning the effect of FLES Latin on English language arts skills, but no more. First, who were those 100 students in the experimental group whose scores were not recorded in spring? They might have been the poorest (or the best) readers of the group. It would lend confidence to the results of this study to eliminate these students from the pre-test group. Second, in three of the four sub-tests, the gains of the experimental group are greater than those of the controls, but we cannot have confidence in these results since the differences in mean gain were not analyzed statistically.

The results of year III give cause for more optimism, however (see Table 2). The pre-tests found the experimental and control groups not differing significantly in the areas of word knowledge, reading and language. The controls held a significant ($p < .01$) advantage in spelling. On

the post-test, however, the experimental group performed significantly better on word knowledge ($p < .05$), reading ($p < .10$) and language ($p < .01$). There was no significant difference in spelling scores, although the experimental group gained ground on the controls.

It would seem then that the evidence from the Indianapolis project provides some support for the argument that FLES Latin can positively affect English language arts skills of elementary students. The overall results of the project were positive enough though that Latin instruction is continuing in Indianapolis schools.

The intent here is not to undertake an extensive review and critique of the evidence presented by MASCIAntonio and MAVROGENES. Though their results should not be accepted uncritically, they have provided interesting data, much of which support the value of special Latin curricula in helping Americans to develop verbal skills in their native language.

Until PEAL and LAMBERT's (1962) study of French-English bilinguals in Montreal, most research indicated a negative effect of bilingualism on intelligence and verbal ability (see PEAL and LAMBERTS review of the literature). PEAL and LAMBERT found, however, that bilinguals had acquired a significant «language asset», and that they were more facile at concept formation and had greater mental flexibility than monolinguals. The bilinguals' better achievement in school was attributed at least in part to their verbal facility (DIL, ed., 1972, p. 152f).

The experimenters realized that the superior performance of the bilingual population on verbal tests may have been simply a reflection of the bilinguals' overall higher intelligence. This study was the first to attempt to assure «balanced bilingualism» in the bilingual population; several measures were used to ascertain balanced bilingualism. When other tests were ambiguous as to the degree of balance, an English vocabulary score was given the highest weight. This procedure, according to the experimenters, tended to eliminate those students who might have been balanced bilinguals but who didn't have well-developed vocabularies in either French or English (DIL, ed., 1972, p. 140f).

CUMMINS (1976), in his review of the influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth, has made two observations which should be taken into consideration in looking at the impact of second language study on first language performance. His first observation concerns the importance of sociological, psychological and political factors in language matters. He observes that most studies which have shown a positive effect of bilingualism on intellect have been carried out in situations where the second language has been a socially relevant one, but one which is not likely to

replace the first language, which is a prestigious or dominant one. Studies which show a negative effect of bilingualism on verbal intelligence tend to treat situations where the second language is a majority or socio-politically dominant one which is likely to replace the first or minority language. (CUMMINS, 1976, p. 36)

CUMMINS second important observation is that there may be a threshold of competence in the second language which it is necessary to achieve before the positive effects of becoming bilingual may take effect. CUMMINS is careful to point out that this threshold level is not a basic causal variable but rather an intervening one. «... the attainment of the threshold is itself determined by more fundamental social, attitudinal, educational and cognitive (e.g. language learning aptitude) factors.» (CUMMINS, 1976, p. 23)

Evidence for the validity of CUMMINS first assertion may be found in two recent studies reported by BEN-ZEEV (1977 and 1978). Ben-Zeev found that both a middle-class Hebrew-English bilingual group of children and a disadvantaged Spanish-English group exhibited similar perceptual strategies which were superior to those of matched monolingual control groups. The strategies were attention to structure and readiness for reorganization, with the Spanish-English group showing less marked superiority than the Hebrew-English group.

We must assume that the Hebrew-English children were in a situation where one of the languages was not likely to replace the other totally. In the Spanish-English situation, however, English was undoubtedly the prestige language in the eyes of the bilingual children, since the typical subject reported that he thinks he speaks Spanish better, but likes English better. (BEN-ZEEV, 1978, p. 86)

BEN-ZEEV's most interesting results for our purposes were those obtained concerning the children's use of syntax. In the Hebrew-English study, bilinguals showed that they could generalize syntactic rules of the Berko-type as well as monolinguals. In the Spanish-English «Grammar Usage in Telling Stories» test, it was found that mastery of some basic rules such as for verb tense and person and for preposition choice was inferior for the bilinguals.

As BEN-ZEEV points out, it is difficult to compare the results of the Berko-type test with the «Grammar Usage in Telling Stories» test, since they are so different. The results would seem to support nevertheless the validity of CUMMINS assertion.

This overview of three important studies concerning the influence of bilingualism on intellect does not lead us to be optimistic about applying bilingual research results to our central concern: the influence of foreign

language study in an academic setting on native language skills. First of all, most studies of bilinguals measure language that has been acquired outside the classroom; it is reasonable to assume that classroom language learning and «natural» language learning are *not* comparable. STEVE KRASHEN'S Monitor Model sheds new and interesting light on this difference (see KRASHEN, 1977). He distinguishes between language *acquisition* (what happens in a «natural» or simulated natural setting) and language *learning* (what happens in most language classrooms: conscious mastery of patterns and lexical items). It could be, for instance, that language acquisition (as manifested in most bilinguals' second language) has very little impact upon native language arts skills. The conscious concentration involved in learning new forms and structures may on the other hand force the learner to look carefully at his native language and therefore perform better on the kinds of tests used to measure progress in English language arts.

Secondly, most bilingual learning situations are heavily influenced by social, political and psychological phenomena that have more to do with the way human beings interact together in the real world than it does with how they learn languages, either inside or outside of a classroom. Thirdly, if CUMMINS is right in thinking that there is a threshold level of language competence which must be passed before the positive benefits of bilingualism are manifested, we would be hard-pressed to find subjects to test the applicability of this hypothesis to the foreign language learning situation in traditional foreign language classrooms, since the level of proficiency attained is so low even in college language majors (see CARROLL, 1967). There is some evidence from Canadian immersion experience to support CUMMINS hypothesis (see BARIK and SWAIN, 1976).

Most experimentation concerning the influence of foreign language study in the elementary schools (FLES) on English language arts performance was done in the 1960's. During this period, advocates of FLES were attempting to prove that the time taken out of the elementary program for language study caused no *adverse* effect upon achievement in other subject areas. Overviews of this research may be found in DONOGHUE (1966) and DONOGHUE (1969).

In what follows, we will discuss first several studies which have shown no significant difference between FLES and non-FLES students on measures of English language arts skills; we will then review several studies which have shown significant differences. We will conclude that some of the positive results reviewed by DONOGHUE should have been interpreted more conservatively.

A large-scale study conducted in the schools of St. Paul, Minnesota from 1960-63 found no significant difference between the achievement test scores of fourth, fifth and sixth grade students on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills and the Stanford Social Studies Test. FLES students studied Spanish for 15 minutes a day, time subtracted from the study of social studies, language arts or arithmetic (LEINO and HAAK, 1963).

A two-years study of 120 elementary school Spanish students in Minnesota Spanish found that the addition of second language instruction did not adversely affect their achievement in reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, or language skills, as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. The students were randomly assigned to three classes of 30 each for instruction in Spanish with one control group of 30. Analysis of covariance was used with the September, 1963 administration of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills treated as the covariate, and the May, 1965 administration of the same test as the criterion. The .05 level of significance was used (SMITH, 1966).

In a project carried out in a New York State laboratory school, POTTS (1967) found no significant difference between the scores of the experimental (French FLES) students and those of control students on the California Achievement Test and the California Reading Test. During FLES language classes, the controls were involved in non-cognitive activity.

These studies are representative of those which show no significant difference for English language arts skills between those pupils who have studied a foreign language in elementary school and those who have not. Additional evidence for the lack of significant effect on English language arts skills of second language study in elementary school comes from the St. Lambert experiment (LAMBERT and TUCKER, 1972). After four years of very careful observation and measurement, it was found that the children in the first cohort, who had received instruction in French for the majority of their time in school and who had gained competence in French far superior to that of typical FLES students, exhibited no significant difference from the English controls on measures of English word knowledge, word discrimination and language usage. In addition, their reading ability, listening comprehension and knowledge of concepts in English were not significantly different from the English controls, and their spontaneous productions in English were as long and complex and their vocabulary as rich and diverse (p. 203).

Several studies in the FLES literature have reported a positive effect on English language arts skills. LOPATO (1963) reports a study involving two classes of third grade students at both a New York City (Bayside) and

a Long Island, New York (Valley Stream) elementary school. A total of 114 students comprised the population, with experimental and control groups in each school being equated for grade placement, age, intelligence and socio-economic status. The project lasted one school year, from September, 1959 through June, 1960, with the experimental groups receiving 15 minutes of (oral) French instruction per day and the control groups engaging in other (unreported) activity during this time. All sections of the Stanford Achievement Test, Elementary Battery, Form J, were administered to both classes at the beginning of the year and an alternative form of the test, Form K, was administered at the end of the school year.

Analysis of the two groups' achievement gains was done separately. At Bayside, there was no significant difference between experimental and control scores on the Stanford test of reading, spelling and language (.01 level had been chosen as criterion), although the experimental group had slightly higher mean gains in reading and language. The controls were slightly ahead in spelling mean gain. At Valley Stream, reading and language scores were not significantly different (at the .01 level), although there were higher means for the language students. The experimental group registered a significantly ($p < .01$) higher mean gain in spelling.

There are several aspects of this study which would lead one to question it as supportive of a positive impact of language study on English language arts skills. The first is underlined by the author herself: she points to the possible Hawthorne effect caused by the two experimental classes, since there was not a FLES program in place at either of the schools at the time. The second aspect involves what appears to be a significantly higher mean I.Q. in the experimental group at Valley Stream; it was this group that achieved a significantly higher mean gain in spelling than did the controls. Although LOPATO reports these I.Q. differences, she does not discuss them specifically, nor were I.Q. scores used as covariates in the analysis of the Stanford tests; simple t-tests were used for these comparisons.

A study conducted in the Champaign, Illinois public schools reported that fourth grade FLES students of Spanish scored higher on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills subtests for reading vocabulary and reading comprehension (JOHNSON *et al.*, 1963). FLES students (N=90) had studied Spanish for 100 minutes per week for one school year during time that had been subtracted from instructional periods in social studies, arithmetic and language arts. Control group students (N=90) attended school for the same number of minutes per day, and had full instructional periods of social studies, arithmetic and language arts. The experimenters report

that the groups were comparable with respect to chronological age, I.Q. and sex distribution. In addition, pre-administration of Iowa subtests on reading vocabulary, reading comprehension and language skills led the experimenters to believe that the groups were comparable.

In the post-test of the same Iowa subtests, experimental pupils showed slightly higher mean gains in reading vocabulary and reading comprehension, but showed lower mean gains in language skills. Reported t-values indicate that all three differences were non-significant. Despite this, however, the authors state in their conclusion that «the experimental group showed greater achievement in reading vocabulary and reading comprehension and that in language skills. . . the two groups varied little. . . » (p. 11).

It would seem prudent not to consider this study as solid evidence for a positive significant effect of foreign language study on English language arts performance because the confidence levels discussed in the report are not interpretable and do not appear to justify the conclusions quoted above.

A 1971 study in the District of Columbia Public Schools reported a significant effect of French and Spanish FLES instruction on reading test scores. Test scores on the *Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills* were compared for a combined French-Spanish group (N=249) and a non-language (N=650) group. Scores were obtained for vocabulary, comprehension and total reading in October, 1970 and in May, 1971; mean progress scores were calculated for both groups and subjected to t-test analysis. The French-Spanish group was found to have made significantly greater progress on all three measures ($p < .05$).

Several facts lead us to accept these results with caution, however. First, the report's authors are careful to point out that they have been unable to ascertain group comparability between experimental and control groups, though they do state that classes in the District of Columbia were heterogeneously grouped at the time of the study. The language classes had been «randomly chosen» by the principals of the elementary schools involved; there is no way to tell to what extent personal bias may have crept into these decisions. Secondly, the FLES students had been taking French and Spanish for three years prior to the pre-test so it is difficult to make inferences about what impact the treatment had on the measured outcomes. Were the measured gains of the FLES students attributable to the one year's experience they had between October, 1970 and May, 1971, or did these gains depend in some way on the prior training they had received in French or Spanish?

The more rigorously carried out of the FLES studies reviewed above indicate that there is no significant effect on English language arts skills in elementary students when they study a foreign language in elementary school for 15–20 minutes per day. In virtually every study where a positive effect was reported, there appear to be valid reasons to interpret more cautiously the experimenter's findings. This does not mean that we should abandon the search for a connection here, however. Further more closely controlled studies should be conducted, in order to replicate these positive findings.

This paper has provided a brief overview of evidence which appeared most likely to shed light on the influence of foreign language study on performance in the native language. The results of some studies done in Latin FLES programs show that specially designed Latin curricula appear to improve English language arts test scores, although results are not always statistically significant. Studies done in bilingual, immersion and language-switch programs appear to have only marginal relevance, since determining variables in those situations are usually sociological, economic or political rather than linguistic in nature. Also, the difference between learning a language in a communicative setting as opposed to the traditional foreign language classroom model is an important one. It could be, for instance, that learning a foreign language in a communicative setting (such as in the street or in an immersion program) has little or no effect on an individual's English language arts skills as measured by currently available tests. On the other hand, a foreign language learned in an academic environment, because of attention paid to such things as vocabulary and sentence structure, might indeed bring about higher scores in English language arts tests.

Results of studies comparing English language arts scores of French and Spanish FLES students with scores of non-language learners are not conclusive. Several studies have concluded that 15–20 minutes per day of FLES does not significantly influence English language arts scores either up or down; others have indicated that there is a positive impact, though we have seen that these studies are susceptible to criticism.

The Report of the Advisory Panel on the Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Decline (WIRTZ, 1977) addresses the question of the correlation between language study and SAT-Verbal test scores:

A clear parallel unquestionably shows up between students' SAT-Verbal scores and the number of foreign language courses they have taken in high school. Those who report having taken four or more such courses (about 10 percent of the test takers) average more than 100 points higher than those (about 8 percent) reporting no work in foreign language; and the averages rise progressively with the number of courses taken. (p. 27)

Data from Indianapolis Public Schools Project. (SHERIDAN, 1976)
 Table 1. Year II. Results on the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Battery of Experimental and Control Groups (Pre-test=Form H, Post-test=Form F)

Sub-test	Pre-test Scores (Form H)				Post-test Scores (Form F)				Signif.
	Experiment.	Control	T	Signif.	Experiment.	Control	T	Signif.	
Word Knowledge	4.3	4.4	.71	NS	5.1	4.8	1.97	p < .05	
Reading	4.0	4.3	1.61	NS	5.0	4.8	1.30	NS	
Language	3.9	4.0	1.02	NS	5.6	5.3	1.55	NS	
Spelling	5.3	5.0	3.73	p < .01	5.6	5.5	1.23	NS	

Table 2. Year III. Results on the Metropolitan Achievement Test, Intermediate Battery of Experimental and Control Groups (Pre-test=Form H, Post-test=Form F)

Sub-test	Pre-test Scores (Form H)				Post-test Scores (Form F)				Signif.
	Experiment.	Control	T	Signif.	Experiment.	Control	T	Signif.	
Word Knowledge	4.4	4.4	0	NS	5.3	4.9	2.09	p < .05	
Reading	4.2	4.2	.57	NS	4.9	4.6	1.69	p < .10	
Language	4.2	4.3	.59	NS	5.7	5.2	5.2	2.63	
Spelling	5.1	5.7	3.85	p < .01	5.5	5.3	1.25	
				NS					

The authors go on to question the causality of this relationship, stating that it could very well be that brighter students end up taking foreign languages, not that language study influences verbal ability.

It is clear that to get a satisfactory answer concerning the influence of foreign language study on native language, further investigation is needed. Although we have assembled in this paper a certain amount of research data that is suggestive, it is certainly not compelling. What is needed is a set of studies which will provide adequate data for each subject to enable us to control for I.Q., English ability *before* taking foreign language, socioeconomic status, language of the home, experience abroad, high school curriculum, language studied and grade received. When a longitudinal study can be accomplished which takes into account all the above variables, we should be able to say with more assurance that there is (or is not) an influence of foreign language study on native language usage.

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Developmental Communicative Competence and Attitudes in Education.¹

What is needed is a more basic enquiry into the nature of communication processes. . .
GUMPERZ and HYMES (1972, 14)

Introduction

In this paper we would like to discuss some issues in sociolinguistics which in recent years have evoked a considerable amount of attention. The ultimate goal is to criticize and enlarge the notion of communicative competence which will be studied in a diglossic urban setting. We will focus our attention on the primary school because we feel, together with AMMON (1977), that much of the tension between standard language and regional language or dialect is to be found in the educational system. Moreover, some very interesting research has already been carried out in this field, in the United States as well as in Europe (cf. BARATZ and SHUY (1970), CAZDEN (1970), CAZDEN, JOHN and HYMES (1971), HASSELBERG (1972), AMMON (1973a and b)). We will start out with some critical comments on the way sociolinguistics has been applied to the language-educational field. We will suggest particular approaches which we will later apply to a Belgian school situation. Finally, we will discuss the theoretical implications of our findings.

No researcher dealing with language-educational problems can overlook the notorious discussion about deficiency and difference theory. It is common knowledge that after the optimism provoked by the compensation programmes the difference theory produced heavy reactions not only from linguists, but from psychologists and sociologists as well. One of the most interesting aspects of the developments of the research field in recent years has been the severe criticism of the difference theory. It has been pointed out that it is not sufficient to state that there are *only* differences between, for instance, middle and lower class speech and that it is therefore altogether unimportant whether the child speaks a dialect or the standard language in school (cf. AMMON and SIMON, 1975). Linguists, of course, know that there is no such thing as a better language,

¹ This is a slightly revised version of a paper read at the Vth International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montreal, August 20-26, 1978.

but from a social viewpoint linguists also know or should know that in reality there is a big difference between whether one speaks a dialect or the standard language. To state, therefore, that we only deal with differences, and then to drop the subject or focus our attention on other aspects, has been a severe shortcoming. This will not help those children who do have problems (cf. SPOLSKY, 1972). For that reason difference theory should have been a starting point for further research but this has not happened. Moreover, it still has to be proven whether difference theory is a valuable theoretical starting point. AMMON and SIMON (1975) even go as far as to argue that there is no valid theoretical foundation for the difference theory and that empirical research on this question is far too incomplete.

There is yet another aspect of these language-educational problems. Researchers in this field are so optimistic as far as the power of their approach is concerned that they think, in SPOLSKY's words, that they «can cure all the ills» of society and that «language problems are basic» with respect to that society (SPOLSKY, 1972, 193). They often fail to realize the intimate complicated relationships in society which often go beyond language problems. One example by GILES and POWESLAND (1975) will make this clear. They mention a study by WILLIAMS, WHITEHEAD and MILLER (1971) where «listeners were asked to evaluate the speech patterns of a Black child whom they saw and heard by means of a videotape recording. Despite the fact that standard White speech patterns were superimposed on the tape, the child was nevertheless perceived to be speaking less standardly than a White child voicing those same speech patterns. Thus even if (. . .) the child was objectively able to speak the prestige code, he might still be perceived as speaking in a nonstandard way» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 109). SPOLSKY (1972) argues along the same lines: «unemployment patterns are not controlled by linguistic but by economic and racial factors. A Mexican American is out of work not because he can't read, but because there is no work, or because the employers don't hire Mexicans» (SPOLSKY, 1972, 194). Apparently we need more than language programmes to overcome societal pressures and prejudices.

This leads us directly to a third critique: the way one has been carrying out sociolinguistic investigation. One gets the uneasy feeling that we are more and more working with a number of issues that need more study and insight than is now available. We shall point out three examples. Assuming that there is such a thing as a language barrier, there are many questions that are still unanswered and which do not seem to draw much attention. How exactly does a language barrier come about? Do language

barriers differ from one region to another? In what kind of situation will these barriers be more powerful? What is the relationship between language barriers and general attitudes to the language variants of that region? What is the relation to other barriers in social life? A second example relates to the problems of standard language and education. Let us assume that the child's mother tongue is a dialect, that it has gone to kindergarten and that it has acquired some knowledge of the standard language. Now, the question arises in what way and to what extent do we have to teach standard language? Wouldn't it be more sensible to concentrate on language use than on language teaching properly? Anyway, both approaches seem better than the one we can often observe: a total disregard as to what the real problems are (cf. AMMON, 1977). If we adopt the learning theory, is learning the standard language the same thing as learning a second language as has been stated by some scholars? This has never been proven. Moreover, little research dealing with this problem has been carried out. The third example stresses the contribution of social psychology. LAMBERT (1972), GILES and POWESLAND (1975) and GILES (1977) have demonstrated the value of this branch of the social sciences for (socio) linguistics. «(. . .) applied sociolinguistics may be given a new lease of life [and may lead us] towards a richer theoretical base» Giles (1977, 36) writes. We will try to demonstrate this interesting notion using the speech convergence and divergence theory which states that according to different circumstances speakers may or may not decide to accentuate the similarities (convergence) or the differences (divergence) between oneself and others (cf. GILES, 1977). It is obvious that the explanation of processes like this may throw valuable lights on different aspects of sociolinguistics including language-educational problems.

We will not try to answer all the questions we have raised here but I think that it is by now clear that LABOV's plea for «a new way of doing linguistics» (LABOV, 1972, 259) requires a «new theory of language» (LABOV, 1972, 259). A theory which has to take into account many aspects which were hitherto considered superfluous to linguistics (cf. VAN DE CRAEN, 1978). If linguistics is primarily a social science, as we and others believe (LABOV, 1972), then it is only right to enlarge our view to include the social sciences. The ambitious task sociolinguists have put forward (cf. BRIGHT, 1966) cannot be achieved otherwise.

Empirical design

We will concentrate on certain aspects of communicative competence in a particular diglossic situation. We will argue that communicative

competence in our situation can best be regarded as an interaction process between speech diversities. We have chosen a community in the city of Antwerp, Belgium, in a predominantly working-class area. We did so because our first concern was to work with a homogeneous group as far as the social level was concerned. One school of 132 pupils was chosen because a previous study had shown that over 90 % of the pupils came from working-class families (JANSSENS, 1973). But first we would like to say something about the particular Belgian language situation before going into the experimental details.

Belgium is in fact a trilingual country, Dutch, French and German. We will focus on the Dutch speaking part, Flanders. Due to historical reasons dialects are still flourishing, often at social levels where one would normally expect the use of standard language². The study of language in Belgium is closely linked to political factors. Therefore, it is a very touchy subject and this touchiness is reflected in people's reactions to language, particularly in those areas where bilingualism or diglossia is thought to be socially relevant. In recent years, however, we have observed a rapid increase of the use of standard language (MEEUS, 1972). Together with this evolution researchers have noticed very interesting aspects of diglossia. Different pronominal forms, for instance, seem to indicate not only different grades of power and solidarity (BROWN and GILMAN, 1960) but also an evolution in the increase in use and prestige of the standard language (see BAETENS BEARDSMORE and VAN DE CRAEN, 1979).

Two important theoretical notions could be drawn out of the previous: first, that there exists a great sensitiveness towards dialect and standard language matters; secondly, that there is a big difference between the norm and the actual usage of language, which means that one may advocate one form but use another in conversation (see DEPREZ and GEERTS, 1978). These observations have served as a starting point for the present research in the school system. It was felt that the following three hypotheses would cover a great deal of the actual language use in the school in question:

- 1) Language sensitiveness runs parallel with attitudinal factors;
- 2) This sensitiveness will affect the children's verbal output in specific situations;
- 3) The reaction to this sensitiveness will vary according to age.

² For a detailed description of the language situation in Flanders, as well as for an historical outline, see WILLEMYNS (1977) and DEPREZ and GEERTS (1978).

The testing of these hypotheses is in fact part of a substantial long-term linguistic investigation in a working class community. We will report here on the results of the first stage where we have tried to link attitudinal factors with linguistic components in particular situations. From an early age children seem capable of modifying their language output according to the person spoken to, the setting and the topic. In the first stage we have tried to make these elements operative. We proceeded in the following way. A questionnaire was developed and distributed among the parents of the pupils attending the school. A semi-matched guise technique was used for the pupils. The results gave us a reliable view as to the general attitude towards standard language and the vernacular. We were interested in the attitude of the individual parents because we felt that they would strongly influence the children's attitude. We sent out 132 questionnaires and got back 94 (71 %) out of which 73 (55 %) were usable. 73 females and 55 males answered the questionnaire, giving a total of 128 persons. (Questions to be found in Appendix 1)

Significance on the 0.05 and 0.01 level for «strongly agree» or «agree» was found for the following factors:

- standard language should be spoken in school;
- standard language is a distinct language;
- my children should speak dialect as well as the standard language;
- dialect and standard language have the same communicative value;
- standard language is a dignified language;
- my child is allowed to speak dialect;
- you get more chance «to make it» if you speak standard language.

Significance on the same levels were obtained for the following as far as «strongly disagree» or «disagree» are concerned:

- dialects should be forbidden;
- the standard-language speaker has more money than the dialect-speaker;
- you have more chance «to make it» if you speak the vernacular;
- there is no difference between dialect and standard language;
- the vernacular is an ugly language;
- one should speak the vernacular in school.

The results indicate that:

- 1) the standard language has great prestige for educational and professional matters;

- 2) there is little, if any, social distinction felt, between a dialect-speaker and a standard-language speaker;
- 3) however, dialect is not forsaken:
 - one should speak both language variants;
 - they have the same communicative value;
 - children are allowed to speak it and not discouraged;
 - dialects should not be forbidden;
 - dialects are not ugly.

These results clearly confirm the tendencies which were previously discovered (MEEUS, 1972). One should, however, be aware of some important refinements. The fact that the standard language has greater prestige does not mean that it is often used. In nearly every aspect of social life the vernacular is used. Even in conversations with the teacher, both parents and teacher use dialect. Secondly, the denial of any social distinction between dialect speakers and standard language speakers stems from the fact that the lower- and middle-classes are never clearly distinguished by language factors. It is therefore to be expected that in the community in question people tend to deny any social distinction based on language alone, since at all levels the vernacular is used.

The pupil's attitudes were examined by the now famous matched-guise technique. Our approach can better be titled semi-matched guise as the majority of the children were immediately aware that language aspects were studied. Each pupil heard two identical stories on a tape recorder. One was read in dialect, the other in the standard language. The pupils were told they were going to hear one story read by two different female persons. Afterwards they were asked to judge the persons in terms of «pleasantness», «severity», «intelligence», «friendliness», which person they would prefer as a teacher, and how they would read the story themselves. However, care was taken to avoid the terms «dialect» or «standard language». Instead, the experimenter said: which person would you prefer, the one that read first, or the one that read second? In order to discover possible order influences, one half of the testees heard the dialect version first, the other half heard the standard language version first. Items like «friendliness», «severity» etc. were chosen because in a pilot survey these terms were found to be relevant as far as judging language and persons who spoke a particular language variant were concerned. Speaking the standard language is in the community normally regarded as being «friendly» and «polite» whereas speaking the vernacular is regarded as rather «severe». The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

age	order	pleasantness	severity	intelligence	friendliness	class	self
7	D - SL	pro D**				pro SL**	
	SL - D	pro SL**			pro SL**	pro SL*	
8	D - SL	pro D*		pro SL*			
	SL - D				pro SL**		
9	D - SL	pro D**		pro SL*			
	SL - D	pro SL**		pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
10	D - SL	pro D*	pro D*	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
	SL - D	pro SL**	pro D**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
11	D - SL	pro SL**	pro D**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
	SL - D	pro SL*		pro SL*	pro SL**	pro SL**	pro SL**
12	D - SL	pro SL**	pro D*	pro SL**		pro SL**	pro SL**
	SL - D			pro SL*	pro SL*	pro SL**	pro SL**

D : dialect

SL : standard language

pro : in favour of

* : significant at the 0.05 level

** : significant at the 0.01 level

A blank space indicates that no significance was found

class

: would like to sit in class with;

self : would like to read it that way;

This leads us to the following conclusions:

1. as was found earlier, the standard language has an enormous prestige;
2. in the situation we examined dialect is «pleasant» when presented first; when presented second it is not «pleasant» at all;
3. in the higher grades, however, disregarding the order in which the stories were presented, the vernacular definitely seems to be the language of «severity». This probably has something to do with the fact that when the teachers get angry they automatically switch to dialect, so for the child, this means a link between dialect and «severity».
4. the order in which the stories were presented seems to be of relative importance; the younger children seem slightly more affected by it than the older ones who already have clearly strong attitudes in favour of the standard language;
5. standard language is the language of «intelligence» and «friendliness» or in other words, standard language is the language of knowledge and civilised behaviour.

The results indicate that the school exerts an enormous influence on language attitude. The standard language thus becomes the language of intelligent and friendly people. It is normal that one speaks standard language in school. As one 11 year old boy pointed out: «We learn the standard language because we are being raised to become nice people». We may sympathise with another 11 year old girl who sighed: «They (i.e. The teachers) teach us how to speak the standard language, but is it that important?» This reaction touches on one of the unconscious reasons for frustration with dialect speakers of the lower-class. They realize that the standard language is the language of education, knowledge etc, yet their cultural values often go in different directions. The discrepancy between this attitude and their incomplete knowledge of the standard language is another reason why they might be turned away from what is generally considered as «culture». This may be one of the reasons why over 90 % of the children concerned never enter high school although their IQ is not necessarily lower than that of other groups.

It is very interesting to examine the influence these attitudinal aspects have on the actual performance of the spoken language of these children. In fact we were trying to answer the following question: given the attitudinal factors discussed above, would these be reflected in the actual verbal performance, would there be constraints or barriers on the use of the vernacular or of the standard language? In recent years a number of com-

municative tests have been developed, a famous one being the story recall-test aimed at finding out whether the child's expressive and receptive abilities differ according to the language variant (BLANK and FRANK, 1971). Our study deals with a homogeneous population in the sense that it is made up of dialect speakers who had been «learning» standard language for at least 3 years or for maximum 9 or 10 years. Therefore, we thought it superfluous to check whether dialect speakers would perform better in the vernacular or in the standard language. Moreover we were not so much interested in the children's knowledge of the standard language but in their use of one or the other variant.

An approach was developed to test whether the children's verbal reaction was a function of their attitude. A simple vocabulary test was used. The experimenter always spoke dialect to the testees. This test was taken one week after the attitude measurement. By this time the experimenter and the pupils knew each other fairly well. Pupils were asked to name a number of objects on pictures which were shown by the experimenter. Initially the experimenter never insisted on a particular language variant. We used 34 vocabulary items all belonging to the children's conversational vocabulary and which were chosen for their simplicity and their morphological and phonological richness as far as the difference between the two language variants were concerned. The choice of the language variant was entirely up to the testee, and it was felt that the result of such a spontaneous vocabulary test would teach us something about language constraints on the use of the standard language and the vernacular in a particular situation. A week after this spontaneous test the 91 testees were asked to name the same objects again but now they were told which language variant to use, first the vernacular, then the standard language or vice versa. The results are summarized in diagram 1.

Discussion

The spontaneous use of dialect variants, that is the number of dialect variants used when the choice of language variant was left open, decreases according to age. This means that between the age of six and twelve the children realize that the vernacular variants may not fit a particular situation whereas we might expect maybe a slight increase in the number of dialect forms. When attention was explicitly drawn to variants, however, we discovered an increase in the use of dialect words until the age of about ten years old. Thereafter we notice a rapid decrease in the use of dialect forms, although the experimenter had insisted on using

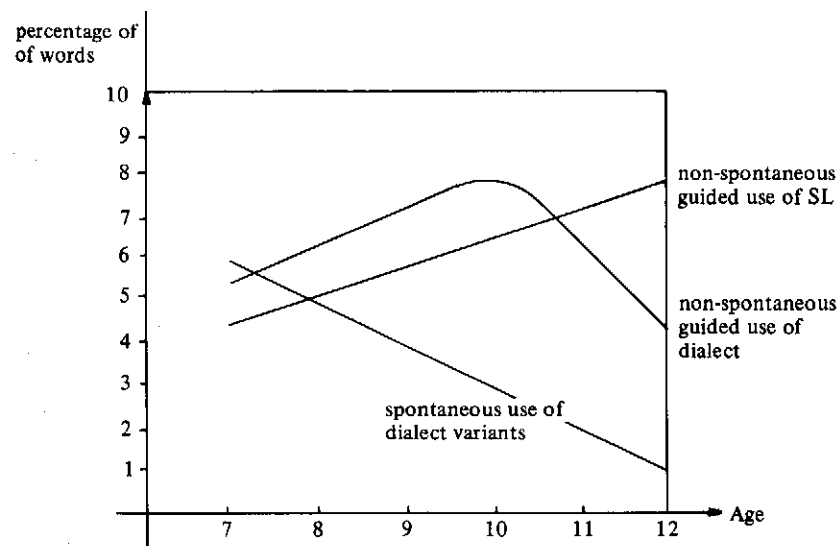


Diagram 1

the vernacular. This may mean that the child becomes fully aware of the social value of its dialect in a particular situation at about the age of ten. As its competence in the standard language increases and as it becomes aware of the value of the standard language in an educational context it increasingly tends to use the standard language. We can clearly observe a barrier on the use of vernacular variants. Yet, these lower-class children's knowledge of the standard language is still inferior to that of middle-class children. When put in a middle-class environment they will indeed suffer from their language situation. In this case we observe a clear case of so-called language deficiency. The child apparently uses language not according to its knowledge but according to the social values attached to that language variant.

Some may wonder if all this has anything to do with communicative competence. We think it has. Ever since HYMES (1967, 1972) introduced this notion it has evoked a large number of discussions (see HALLIDAY (1970), HABERMAS (1972), RIVERS (1973), PAULSTON (1974), WHITE (1974), VAN DER GEEST (1975), SORNIG (1977)). Yet, it remains unclear what exactly the term covers. Hence every researcher dealing with communicative competence, whatever it may mean, has to redefine the notion or at least state his position. SORNIG (1977) has made some relevant remarks as to this subject. «Basically, all the different specifications of

the concept of CC have one thing in common: in contrast with the conventional concept of competence, CC is not so much the ability to generate and identify (well-formed) sentences of a given language, but rather the ability to produce utterances and thereby realize communicative intentions. Therefore, the criterion by which acts of communication should be assessed is not mere acceptability, (. . .) but appropriateness or efficacy, success or failure, i.e. whether the utterances are appropriate to the task of getting information across, convincing somebody, getting things done etc». (SORNIG, 1977, 349-50).

It is clear that such a conception of communicative competence is miles away from the more traditional views where the notion of «competence» is heavily stressed. But in fact we do not know anything about competence. We agree with SORNIG (1977, 348) that «Performance might just happen to be the real thing actually». Indeed, we would even like to extend WHITE'S (1974) notion of communicative competence, namely that «the capacity to manipulate registers is an important part of communicative competence». We are inclined to say at this stage that the manipulation of registers in a social and situational context is identical to the notion of communicative competence. Of course, grammar plays a part in this «But then the ability can only be acquired by learning in actual situations which may be called genuine, insofar as the attention of the speaker is focused on the reactions between partners and their possible mutual responses towards each other» (SORNIG, 1977, 350 with reference to SPANNEL, 1973, 398).

Our data clearly demonstrate the «focusing on the relation between partners» as the language variants differ with age according to the presumed social demands, in our case, the refusal to use dialect variants in a particular situation. This approach of communicative competence gains even more value when we look at it from the viewpoint of speech diversity (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975). There is, of course, no doubt in the literature that individual speech patterns are a function of three factors: the person to whom one is talking, the topic of discourse and the setting. This is well-known. GILES and POWESLAND (1975) try to give a theoretical model that accounts for the adaptation or accommodation people's speech has towards that of their interlocutors (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 155). They distinguish (see also GILES, 1977) two important notions already mentioned. One is called convergence and one divergence whereby convergence «is a strategy of identification with the speech patterns of an individual internal to the social interaction» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). For instance, when the child is addressed by the teacher in standard language, it will react in a variant as close to

standard language as he possibly can; «speech divergence may be regarded as a strategy of identification with regard to the linguistic norms of some reference group external to the immediate situation» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). One may describe this external reference group as a person «who do not share his regular use of certain linguistic items» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 156). This is the case when, for example, a dialect speaking experimenter gets standard language variants in return. There is, however, no automatic gain of approval for those who adopt or try to approximate the speech style of the interlocutor. GILES and POWESLAND (1975) quote HYMES (personal communication) where in East Africa it is not fit to address an East African official in Swahili, first. Instead, one should first give an opportunity to demonstrate the interlocutor's knowledge of English. Afterwards one can switch to Swahili. Our data suggest something similar. The unusual accent of the experimenter, (unusual to the situation) is not approved by the interlocutors (the children). Therefore, we get divergent speech patterns in return. It can be seen that this divergence increases with age. Moreover the divergence seems to be a function of values and attitudes, as GILES and POWESLAND (1975, 156) have suggested. The discrepancy between the children's nearly perfect dialect competence and the attitude that the vernacular is an inferior variant on the one hand, and, on the other hand, between their rather incomplete competence in the standard language with the developing consciousness of the superiority of that language variant accounts for «a conflict between accommodative tendencies and constraints» (GILES and POWESLAND, 1975, 167).

Speakers who use a language variant with lesser prestige may do this for a variety of reasons. They might want to gain the listener's approval, for instance, in our case, the listeners, i.e. the children, clearly expect the standard language in this situation. They react with divergent speech patterns with respect to the experimenter's «downward convergence». Language sensitiveness and performance with respect to different language forms seem fully developed at the age of ten. At that age they tend to adopt the speech values of the school. There is some empirical evidence, however, that at a later stage, when the children are fourteen-fifteen year old, they want to stress their group identity. They will refuse to speak the standard language and stress the vernacular. Their speech behaviour will be one of divergence with respect to the cultural values they fostered earlier. At that stage it is completely impossible to «measure» their standard language competence because they will deny that they speak it. Actual language performance in a specific language variant is a function of attitudinal factors. Performance and communication are

affected by the way speakers expect one or another variant. As we advocate the idea that we can only know language competence through performance we suggest to use the term communicative performance instead of communicative competence in situations as we have studied. Communicative performance can be regarded then as an interaction process between speech diversities governed by attitudinal and situational factors.

Conclusion

We would like to finish with four remarks on sociolinguistics with respect to the findings above.

- 1) We join AMMON and SIMON (1973) when they state that from a theoretical viewpoint the deficiency hypothesis has more ground to stand on than the difference hypothesis. We have tried to give some evidence as to how language differences can come about in a particular social class; the deficiency finds its roots in social psychological reactions to linguistic data as communicative performance seems to get affected by these processes.
- 2) What we need now are tentative models and systems with sociolinguistic explanatory power because this is the only way to gain more insight into the linguistic processes which are the result of complicated interaction.
- 3) It seems extremely interesting within the same social class to specify language differences individually; thus we may account for differences that might not fit the model and this may enlarge our views towards the problem. LABOV (1972, 158) has remarked that [a speech community] «is best defined as a group who shares the same norms in regard to language».
- 4) Pedagogical directives as far as language and education are concerned should be based on detailed research. It is obvious that our data suggest that advice like «The language of the classroom should be the vernacular» or the opposite «Pay no attention to the vernacular» may be irrelevant with respect to the social psychological and (socio) linguistic facts.

We may hope that in the future tentative theories will eventually lead to an integrative theory of sociodialectology or sociolinguistics. We are

convinced that this will inevitably lead to more insight in linguistics proper, this is not meant tentatively.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire:

1. My child is allowed to speak dialect.
2. Dialects should be forbidden.
3. In order to «make it» it is better to speak the standard language.
4. My child should learn the standard language at school.
5. My dialect is more beautiful than the standard language.
6. I think my children should speak dialect as well as the standard language.
7. I think my child should be allowed to speak dialect in the classroom.
8. Standard language-speakers are more pretentious than dialect-speakers.
9. I think there is no difference between dialect and standard language.
10. If you want «to make it» it is better to speak French than the standard language.
11. The dialect and the standard language have the same communicative value.
12. At school the teachers should speak dialect with the children.
13. I think the standard language is a dignified language.
14. I think the common people should speak dialect.
15. I think that the dialect we speak is ugly.
16. It's easier «to make it» if you speak dialect.
17. Standard language-speakers are usually richer than dialect-speakers.
18. I prefer my child to get lessons in the dialect.
19. I think the standard language is more distinct than the dialect.
20. I think my child should not be allowed to speak dialect in the classroom.

Practice and Communicative Competence – Too Much of a Bad Thing

Language teaching, particularly spoken language teaching, is currently riding a communicative bandwagon. This movement reflects the concern of modern linguists to account not only for the formal coding of language, but for the appropriateness and meaningfulness of language in the context in which it is used. It has been marked by numerous and varied investigations into the many aspects of language in context: personal interaction, expression of intention, infratextual relationships, etc.

One of the first fruits of these investigations, filtered down to language teaching by way of applied linguistics, has been a functional/notional approach. Rare indeed is the material produced nowadays that does not mention its debt to WILKINS *Notional Syllabuses*, or does not bear the «new, improved» *communicative* imprimatur. This is not to say that there is anything wrong with signalling a change in product, nor do I wish to imply that these are steps in the wrong direction. Not at all. Communication as a language learning goal is legitimate, but some of the techniques now used in pursuit of that goal are not. I hope to show that most practice techniques, and perhaps the whole idea of practice as we now define it, are not sufficient for learning how to communicate. Instead, I shall stress the necessity of learner-centred analysis and communication activities.

The communicative approach has now been for the most part accepted by language teachers and materials producers and their publishers. It did not take much argument to persuade them that the learner's ultimate goal was communication – at least as far as the spoken language was concerned.¹ The way had in fact been well prepared by «situational» grammar teaching, which developed during the sixties. The battle against substitution drills and the stark stimulus-response model had been fought and won before terms like «function» and «speech act» arrived on the scene.

The dialogue – two or three people talking to each other – was (and is) the model of communication in situational courses. The «situation» was where the speakers were (in the restaurant, at the station), or what they were talking about (last summer's holidays, an interview for a job).

¹ I have chosen to deal with spoken language only here. For a communicative approach to written language, see WIDDOWSON (1978).

As such they were vehicles for the grammatical structures and vocabulary associated with and illustrated by that particular situation.

The situational approach saw natural language as existing only *in situation*, and so practice exercises were also rendered more natural by being made situational. They came, in time, to resemble a dialogue between teacher and student or even between student and student. Drills like this one,

Teacher: «He saw her yesterday. MEET.»
Student: «He met her yesterday.»

were changed to

T: «When did he meet her?»
S: «He met her yesterday.»

and finally became little situations in themselves:

T: «Yesterday Tony went to visit some friends of his. While he was at their house, he . . . Now, when did Tony see Sheila?»
S: «He saw her yesterday.»

The drill dialogue was made as natural as possible within the confines of structural practice.

This was about as far as the situational teaching of grammar had got when the impact of communicative competence theory was first felt on language teaching. It is not difficult to see why the new approach met with relatively little resistance. The notion of «situation» could be expanded to «sociolinguistic context» – not just *where* the speakers were having their conversation, but *who* they were and *why* they were having a conversation of this particular sort. The idea that written and spoken language were two different varieties appropriate to different contexts also made sense. A concurrent boom in the production of English language teaching materials² gave the communicative movement added momentum. Existing courses were revised with an added functional ingredient and new materials have been produced, which run the gamut from functionally-labelled traditional grammars to whole-heartedly functional courses.

The theoretical communicative model of language is extremely complex and its elaboration is incomplete. This has led, perhaps inevitably, to simplification for language teaching purposes, with certain factors be-

² There is, of course, a communicative movement in the teaching of languages other than English as well, but so far much more has been published for English language teaching.

ing emphasized at the expense of others. Functional teaching of the spoken language tends to stress the expression of intentions (persuading, giving opinions, making suggestions, etc.) along a formal-to-informal range.

Doubt and disappointment

At present, after three or four years' experience with communicative materials, I detect a mood of uneasiness and even dissatisfaction among some teachers because the results of functional teaching are not much more natural or communicative or appropriate than they were before. I hear teachers saying things like, «Students can apologize beautifully during the exercises practising «apology», but when it comes to a real apology situation things fall apart.»

In the hope of shedding some light on the problem, I would like to examine the way in which functions are practised and, in fact, raise the question of whether we want to do much practice of any sort.

Let us for the moment remain with the function of apology and see how it might be practised in a typical communicative course. First, there is usually a model dialogue featuring several exponents of the function under consideration. These instances of apology, phrases in most cases, are then picked out of the dialogue for the student, expanded, perhaps classified as formal or informal and then practised as individual items. The practice phase (at its worst) may be something like:

T: «Did you bring my book?»
S: «Oh no, I'm sorry, I left it at home.»
T: «And what about the pen I lent you yesterday?»
S: «Oh, I'm sorry, I forgot that, too.»

For those who reject the blatant behaviourism of the above, there is:

T: «You're at a friend's house and your child spills something on the sofa. What do you say?»
S: «I'm terribly sorry about your sofa.»

Or there are the more refined techniques of partner-practice, in which students simulate apology conversations after being given situations and roles:

Pairwork: You had arranged to meet your friend yesterday after class, but you forgot about it. Apologize to him/her.

Of course this sort of activity is not really communicative at all, in that the learner is not expressing his own intentions. Neither is he having any

effect on his interlocutor, since both know what he is supposed to be saying from the beginning. A further problem is the discrepancy between the whole and its parts which afflicts all forms of practice involving discrete items. Indeed, the meaninglessness of the practice and the unnatural repetition of apology situation after apology situation may cause learners to make errors in tone of voice, intonation, gesture and facial expression – errors which they might not have made in a *real* situation.

If we look at these practice exercises from a more theoretical point of view, we find that they have the following major faults:

- They over-simplify the context in which the appropriate utterance should occur.
- They compel the learner to be concerned with form rather than with meaning, by telling him what to mean or what he has meant.
- They ignore, by their emphasis on production, the other half of the communication model – comprehension.

Some suggestions

What, then, can be done to make language teaching more communicative? I can think of at least two things. The first is to create and/or foster genuine communicative situations in the classroom; the second is to help learners to become more sensitive to linguistic contexts.

There are many natural communicative situations that can arise in a classroom if they are allowed to. Genuine explanations, orders, requests and greetings can and do occur every day. The problem is that this routine classroom communication is often restricted and unvaried in regard to role, status and intention.

Teachers and course writers need to be more sensitive to these and other potential communication situations so that they can take effective advantage of them.³ In some cases this will mean that once the opportunity for communicative activity has arisen the teacher should step back from his role as determiner of the course of events. It may also mean encouraging students to help each other with corrections and explanations, and to decide for themselves how learning will proceed. Projects (e.g. planning a trip, making a multi-media dossier, conducting experiments), for which students assume most of the responsibilities, may be

³ For more ideas on potential classroom communication, see RICHTERICH and SCHERER (1975).

undertaken. They provide a change from using language to talk about learning language, which can become exhausted as a topic.

Certain games are also excellent opportunities for communicative language⁴, although, unfortunately, many language teaching games have been rendered non-communicative by their pedagogical component. Students can of course be encouraged to make up or bring in their own games.

My second suggestion for helping students acquire communicative competence is a stage in learning that is usually done *for* the learner by materials writers, or is run through very quickly in class before proceeding to practice exercises. I am talking about an analysis or sensitization phase.

In courses proposing to teach the spoken language there is usually a preliminary input phase in which a model of the language variety under consideration is presented (often in the form of a dialogue!). Teaching is divided up into three major phases:

INPUT → (model of language in context)	PRACTICE → (manipulation of input items)	APPLICATION (simulations, tests, real life...)
--	--	--

I have been arguing that the typical practice phase is probably not a very effective way of preparing learners for a communicative application phase. It emphasizes certain «bits» and disregards others which may be important to a realization of the «whole». It distorts by over-simplification.

If the learner were given a more active role in the analysis of the input model, instead of spending so much time on practice, some of this distortion and over-simplification might be avoided. To go back to the «apology» example, let us suppose that the learner is given a recording – the more authentic the better – of someone apologizing to someone else. The chunk of language should be big enough to provide a social and psychological context. To understand what is going on and to use this understanding in his own communicative efforts, the learner must be aware of (or be made aware of) who the speakers are, their relationship to each other, their moods and emotions, their social status, possible underlying motives for their conversation and so on.⁵ He should be allowed to and if necessary shown how to analyze a language model in the light of his own needs.

⁴ A handbook on Communication Games from the British Council's English Language Teaching Institute is to come out this year.

⁵ C. Candlin in his introduction to COULTHARD (1977) calls for a similar sort of analysis.

Teachers and course writers can help learners acquire sensitivity to language in context by developing a whole range of activities that bring the learner into prolonged and open contact with the language model. These activities may be factual, intuitive, affective or interpretational in nature. They may, for instance, involve acting, singing, drawing, matching photographs, checking recordings, as well as listening to or reading questions and answering them. In a sense, what we would be trying to develop here is «Sprachgefühl».

I have tried to argue that by using practice techniques left over from structural methods, language teaching has sabotaged its first attempts to teach communicative competence. This does not mean, of course, that the undertaking should be abandoned. More teaching time should, rather, be spent in sensitizing students to the communication going on in and outside the classroom, and in giving them the opportunity to apply this new knowledge. We cannot teach communicative competence with linguistic competence techniques.

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Communication

Colloque international «Langues et coopération européenne» (Strasbourg, 17–20 avril 1979) organisé par le CIREEL (Centre d'information et de recherche pour l'enseignement et l'emploi des langues)

Ce colloque a réuni des participants dont les horizons, aussi bien que les intérêts, se sont révélés très divers. Les thèmes traités ont eux aussi laissé une impression de disparité qui nous a fait parfois douter de l'intérêt de cette manifestation.

En effet, le colloque nous a semblé, dans une certaine mesure, poursuivre des buts autres que ceux qu'on aurait pu imaginer en lisant la documentation distribuées par les organisateurs. En particulier, bon nombre de participants ont trouvé déplaisant l'aspect parfois fortement politisé du colloque ainsi que le fait d'être utilisés comme des pions dans un jeu dont la «structure profonde» leur échappait, mais dont l'ambiguïté ne laissait pas d'être gênante. On peut se demander si le gouvernement français n'entendait pas profiter du colloque (et peut-être était-ce là son objectif premier) pour faire de la propagande contre l'anglais et en faveur du français.

Ceci dit, il faut cependant reconnaître que le problème du nombre de langues étrangères enseignées dans les écoles secondaires européennes, et surtout celui de leur choix, a été largement discuté. Il a été relevé que la question est particulièrement délicate lorsque, et c'est malheureusement souvent le cas, une seule langue étrangère est enseignée. Il est incontestable que l'anglais est devenu la principale langue étrangère étudiée dans beaucoup de pays européens (par exemple en Allemagne, près de 85 % des élèves du secondaire étudient l'anglais; chose assez surprenante, en Angleterre, où le français est la principale langue étrangère des écoles secondaires, il n'y a qu'un pourcentage relativement faible d'élèves qui étudie une langue étrangère, quelle qu'elle soit). A l'endroit de ce qu'on a appelé un «impérialisme linguistique», il y a eu des protestations que l'on peut comprendre; ce qui manquait, c'était des arguments bien fondés contre un état de choses peu souhaitable à bien des points de vue-mais sur ce point, nous sommes restés sur notre faim.

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Comptes rendus

Jeffers, Robert J. et Ilse Lehiste:

Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics, Cambridge (Mass.), M.I.T. Press, 1979, 209 p.

Cet ouvrage est l'une des meilleures introductions à la linguistique historique qui existe actuellement, et les quelques critiques qu'on peut y adresser sont peu de choses en regard des qualités de cette synthèse à la fois très complète, fort bien documentée et d'une lecture aisée. Plutôt que de prendre parti pour une théorie déterminée, les auteurs abordent les principaux problèmes en présentant et en comparant les idées des linguistes du XIX^e siècle (SAUSSURE¹, les néogrammairiens), des structuralistes américains et européens, de la théorie générative et de la phonologie naturelle – cette dernière n'étant d'ailleurs qu'un développement de la phonologie générative, ce qui ne ressort pas clairement à la lecture du texte.

Bien que les exemples soient empruntés presque exclusivement à l'indo-européen et au finno-ougrien (exception faite des passages consacrés à l'écriture au ch. 10), il s'agit bien d'une introduction à la linguistique historique dans son acception la plus large: outre les chapitres sur le changement phonétique, élément central en diachronie, on y trouve des chapitres sur la morphologie, la lexicologie, l'influence des contacts de langues, et même sur la syntaxe – domaine longtemps négligé dans les études historiques pour des raisons bien décrites par J. et L. L'importance accordée à la méthodologie et à la recherche d'explications fait de ce livre bien plus qu'une énumération de données et de concepts.

Soulignons que la lecture de J. et L. présuppose un minimum de connaissances en linguistique générale, et que le glossaire terminologique des p. 173–187 n'est qu'un rappel de notions supposées familières; les termes techniques n'y sont définis que succinctement et malheureusement sans renvois au corps du texte, mais l'index général (p. 195–209) peut pallier dans une certaine mesure cet inconvénient. Regrettons aussi que la bibliographie générale (p. 189–193) ne reprenne pas tous les titres cités à la fin de chacun des chapitres, et que les dates de publication mentionnées ne soient pas toujours celles de la première édition².

¹ *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*; cet ouvrage ne figure malheureusement pas dans la bibliographie générale de J. et L., et les indications bibliographiques données à la p. 54 sont inexactes.

² L'ouvrage important de R. ANTTILA, *Analogy*, cité comme manuscrit non publié, a en fait paru en 1977 (La Haye, Mouton).

Les erreurs et coquilles sont peu nombreuses et pour la plupart insignifiantes. Pourtant, p. 12, le sanskrit *nīḍa* est incorrectement noté *nīda*, et p. 30 le grec *thyra* est transcrit *tyra*, alors que dans les deux cas la différence est essentielle à la démonstration. A la p. 29, dans le «tableau généalogique» des langues indo-européennes, on s'étonne de ne pas voir figurer le sanskrit, d'autant plus que la confusion entre cette langue et la proto-langue indo-européenne est encore assez répandue. Quelques exemples sont erronés, ainsi la disparition supposée du mot «serpent» en grec ancien (p. 132), alors que le vieux mot *ophis* est attesté chez de nombreux auteurs et qu'il est à l'origine du grec moderne *phidi*. De même, il est inexact d'affirmer, dans le chapitre consacré aux sources philologiques (p. 170), que le Rig-Veda n'a été fixé par écrit qu'au XIX^e siècle.

Mais les mérites de ce livre l'emportent de beaucoup sur ces petites imperfections. L'accent mis sur la méthode historique, comparative ou interne, et sur les objectifs de la recherche diachronique permettra au lecteur de mieux situer la linguistique historique par rapport à la linguistique générale. Les auteurs insistent sur la nécessité de ne reconstruire que des formes ou des structures ayant une vraisemblance du point de vue synchronique (v. la discussion du système phonologique indo-européen au ch. 2), et aussi sur la nécessité de chercher des explications du changement linguistique. Ainsi, loin de n'être qu'une description de phénomènes diachroniques, la linguistique historique contribue à l'élaboration d'une véritable théorie du langage, et donc des universaux du langage. Selon l'image de KIPARSKY³, le changement linguistique nous fournit une fenêtre sur des aspects du langage qu'il est difficile d'étudier en synchronie.

Toutes ces questions sont présentées de façon très claire dans le livre de J. et L., dont on ne peut que recommander la lecture à ceux qui souhaitent se faire une idée actuelle de la linguistique historique.

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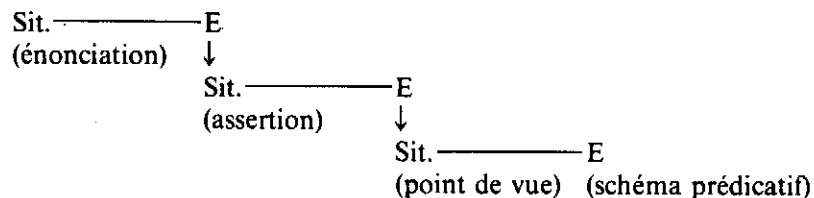
Christian Rubattel

³ P. KIPARSKY; «Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change», in E. BACH et R.T. HARMS (ed.): *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968, p. 174.

Fuchs Catherine, Anne-Marie Léonard:
Vers une théorie des aspects. Les systèmes du français et de l'anglais,
 Paris, Mouton, 1979, 399 p.

Si l'ouvrage de C. FUCHS et de A.-M. LÉONARD met en évidence le rôle fondamental des aspects même dans des langues dites non-aspectuelles comme le français, il va bien au-delà d'une étude comparative qui chercherait à réduire, en dernière analyse, différents systèmes de langues à un seul pris comme référent. Aussi, plus encore qu'une étude originale et approfondie de l'aspect, la tentative des auteurs est-elle avant tout une recherche théorique développée sur une conception du langage comme activité de *production-reconnaissance interprétative*.

Cette prise de position amène les auteurs à reconsidérer le classement traditionnel des formes verbales qui, s'appuyant sur des critères temporels, se trouve incapable de rendre compte de certaines productions fortement aspectuelles. Les catégories de la grammaire sont des *a priori* extérieurs à l'énonciation dont il faut se dégager pour faire apparaître les fonctionnements effectifs. C'est dire que le rôle des sujets par rapport à l'énonciation est central dans cette redistribution des temps morphologiques à travers une dynamique des degrés d'actualisation, l'implication ou la non-implication du sujet énonciateur déterminant deux plans énonciatifs, cadre de l'analyse: le plan du descriptif et le plan du constatatif qui traduisent la relation entre la situation d'énonciation (*Sit.* = \mathcal{S} sujet de l'énonciation, T moment de l'énonciation) et l'énoncé (*E* = \mathcal{E} sujet de l'énoncé, T moment de l'énoncé). A partir d'une telle relation initiale, les auteurs font apparaître par glose ou paraphrase des méta-opérateurs entrant dans la construction de situations méta-linguistiques qui constituent des niveaux où chaque E peut devenir *Sit.* pour un E d'indice supérieur,



Un repère devenant à son tour repéré pour un autre repère. Ce sont ces positions relatives, mobiles, des éléments qui assurent la dynamique du système et rendent compte de la variété, de la complexité, voire de l'ambiguïté des énoncés. Les repérages se font sur les sujets (énonciateur,

asserteur, du point de vue, thématisé) et sur les moments qui leur correspondent. C'est la mesure entre les écarts: identification/non-identification des sujets, coïncidence/non-coïncidence des moments, qui calcule l'aspect, le temps, la modalité qui sont, avec la diathèse, interactifs.

Ces opérations de *repérages énonciatifs* sont complétées par des *opérations prédictives* faisant appel aux mêmes opérateurs et aussi aux notions de *relation primitive* et de *schéma de lexis* empruntées à A. CULIOLI. Elles s'appliquent aux ultimes éléments de niveau E₂ et traitant de la diathèse montrent ses liens avec l'aspect.

Enfin, d'autres oppositions aspectuelles apparaissent au niveau de la relation primitive: ces nouvelles oppositions ne diffèrent des autres que par le niveau auquel elles s'exercent et constituent les types de procès: *type état*, *type processus*, définis linguistiquement et non intuitivement.

Il n'est fait mention ici que des grandes lignes d'un ouvrage extrêmement circonstancié – qui, par ailleurs, demande une certaine «fréquentation» de A. CULIOLI –, et une multitude de formules et d'exemples montrent le détail de l'application de la théorie. L'approche n'évite pas toujours l'écueil de l'analyse linguistique de la phrase: certaines ambiguïtés traitées au niveau de la phrase ne tiendraient pas une fois le contexte restitué. Cependant glose et paraphrase palient cette limitation et sont l'outil privilégié pour le passage de l'énoncé aux niveaux méta-linguistiques. Ce travail au niveau méta-linguistique entre dans une recherche plus générale sur des universaux de *fonctionnement* où n'entreront que des opérateurs et des relations sans charge sémantique. De cette recherche théorique C. FUCHS et A.-M. LÉONARD tirent un certain nombre de «formes» vides de «substance», propres à rendre compte des réalisations particulières de l'aspect dans une langue quelconque.

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Vandeweghe, Willy und Marc Van de Velde (Hrsg.):
Sprachstruktur, Individuum und Gesellschaft. Akten des 13. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gent 1978, Band 1, IX und 383 S.;

Bedeutung, Sprechakte und Texte. Akten des 13. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gent 1978, Band 2, XII und 404 S., Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1979

Was bringt eine Tagung mitteleuropäischer Linguisten am 21. Jahrestag der «Syntactic Structures», dem Geburtsdatum der TG?

In der gegenwärtigen Linguistik dürfen u.a. zwei Tendenzen hervorgehoben werden. Die eine wird von der Einsicht getragen, dass Theoretische oder Modellinguistik sowie die grammatikalische Beschreibung von Einzelsprachen einerseits und das weite Gebiet, das ich in EBNETER (1976) *Angewandte Linguistik* nannte, ein Kontinuum darstellen. In neueren Publikationen heissen die beiden Pole des Kontinuums Theoretische Linguistik und Sprachlehrforschung, während der dazwischenliegende Bereich entweder als Angewandte Linguistik zusammengefasst oder die Intersektionsdisziplinen einzeln aufgereiht werden. Die andere Tendenz ist die kritische Infragestellung des in den ersten zwanzig Jahren im Bereich des Generativismus Erreichten unter dem Zwang zu immer adäquaterer Beschreibung von Sprache.

Beide Tendenzen prägen die Akten des 13. Linguistischen Kolloquiums. Auf einen Abschnitt «Theorie und Methodologie» folgen im 1. Band syntaktische, phonologische und morphologische Problemstellungen, dann Sozio-, Psycho-, Angewandte und Übersetzungslinguistik, im 2. Band Semantik, Pragmatik und Textlinguistik. Wenn bei dieser Einteilung des Stoffes, die seit dem 10. Linguistischen Kolloquium gilt, die Abtrennung einer semantischen Domäne u.a. auch aus wissenschaftshistorischen Gründen verstanden werden kann, wäre in Zukunft ein Neuüberdenken der Anordnung sowohl von der Gesamtstruktur her als auch in bezug auf die Zuweisung der Beiträge wünschenswert. Was hier z.B. mit «Angewandter Linguistik» betitelt wird, ist heute «Sprachlehrforschung».

Im Kapitel über «Theorie» – der Zusatz «Methodologie» erübrigt sich – verdienen die Beiträge von BOSCH, BOSSUYT, BUNGARTEN und DEIMER Beachtung.

BOSCH untersucht im Gefolge von LAKOFF Vagheit und Ambiguität von Prädikaten. Kann in *John hit the wall and so did Fred* das eine Anschlagen unintentional und das andere intentional sein, oder müssen beide gleichartig sein? Anders gesagt, ist *hit the wall* ambig, bivalent oder monovalent, vague? Es ist die alte Frage des Lexikologen, ob zwei *hit*, d.h.

zwei Semanteme anzusetzen sind oder ein einziges, polysemes *hit*. Nach LAKOFF ist die VP-Tilgung mit *so did* im Englischen nur bei Nicht-Ambiguität möglich und ist somit ein Test zur Differenzierung von Ambiguität und Vagheit. Ein deutsches Beispiel: *Ich schlug an die Türe unserer Kabine und später auch meine Frau* ist entweder [-intentional] z.B. bei hohem Seegang oder [+intentional], wenn die Türe verklemmt ist. B. postuliert hingegen für VP-Tilgung nicht semantische, sondern interpretative Identität, wobei er die Interpretation eines Prädikatausdruckes mit dessen Referenz, d.h. mit dessen Begriff im Sinne FREGES gleichsetzt. Die Identität der Prädikate in *S and so AUX NP*-Konstruktionen würde danach auf der Identität der enthaltenen Begriffe beruhen. Vagheit liegt vor, wenn eine formal identische Kette auf Verschiedenes referiert. LAKOFFS Test sagt also nur verschiedene Referenz aus. Ambiguität hingegen ist durch die Bedeutung im Sinne FREGES bedingt. Das alte Problem der Unterscheidung zwischen Poly- und Monosemie, zwischen Vagheit und Ambiguität, ist damit aber nicht gelöst, sondern nur verschoben. Im Falle des obigen Beispiels ginge es um den Entscheid, ob Intentionalität zur Referenz oder zur Semantik gehört. BOSCH gesteht, dass der Entscheid weiterhin auf intuitiven Urteilen des Sprachbenutzers beruht. Der Beitrag betrifft ein altes semantisches Problem.

BOSSUYT schliesst an die gegenwärtige Diskussion über Kompetenz und Performanz an. In der klassischen Konzeption enthält die Kompetenz das System; neuere Theorien postulieren Systeme für die Gesamtleistung oder für Perzeption und Produktion getrennt, mit oder ohne Kompetenzsystem. Auf grund des neurologischen Befundes entscheidet sich B. für letztere Konzeption, was zur Folge hat, dass die TG zu einer taxonomischen Grammatik wird. Die für das Doppelsystem angeführten psycholinguistischen Prozesse finden sicher allgemeine Zustimmung; solange uns aber keine umfassende Beschreibung der beiden Systeme geliefert wird, liegt die Beweislast bei den Vertretern von Performanzsystemen.

BUNGARTEN diskutiert eingehend die sprachliche Intuition, DEIMER den Einbau des Adverbiale in die grammatikalische Logik.

Bei Beiträgen wie denjenigen von RETTIG und von LEVETZOW kann man sich fragen, ob die Tradition der zensurlosen Auswahl beim Linguistischen Kolloquium aufrecht erhalten werden soll. Der ursprünglich wissenschaftspolitisch gerechtfertigte Verzicht auf Selektion ist heute nicht mehr am Platz.

Im Abschnitt Syntax greift BUYSSCHAERT das Problem der Klassifikation des Adverbiale auf und entscheidet sich für die dependenzgrammatikalische Differenzierung in Ergänzungen und Angaben. Ein wenig be-

arbeitetes Phänomen nimmt JANSEN auf. Es handelt sich um die Reduktion der Klammerkonstruktion aus Modalverb + PP + Infinitiv durch Ausklammerung der PP im gesprochenen Holländischen, in deutscher Entsprechung *Ich kann am Sonntag nicht kommen* → *Ich kann nicht kommen am Sonntag*, wobei J. sich auf den auslösenden Faktor beschränkt. Von grossem Interesse wäre die linguistische Darstellung im Rahmen einer TG im Vergleich mit Sprachen, die nur eine Variante kennen. LENERZ zeigt anhand der Einordnung der Regel für das periphrastische englische *do*, dass diachrone Betrachtungen den Ausschlag bei der Auswahl aus verschiedenen, gleichzeitig sich anbietenden Regeln geben können. ROTHKEGEL schlägt ein neues Regelwerk für die Subjekttilgung in Infinitivsätzen vor. Auch die weiteren syntaktischen Beiträge verdienen Beachtung.

Die Phonologie ist nur durch einen Artikel vertreten, die Morphologie durch zwei.

Die Abschnitte über Sozio-, Psycho-, Angewandte (sprich Sprachlehrforschung) und Übersetzungslinguistik weisen in symptomatischer Weise die traditionelle Heterogenität dieser Intersektionsbereiche auf. Sie enthalten nur wenige Beiträge, ausgenommen die Psycholinguistik. Bezeichnend für die gegenwärtige Lage in letzterem Gebiet ist, dass sechs von den sieben Vorträgen sich mit Spracherwerbs- und Lernpsycholinguistik befassen.

Das Kapitel Semantik in Band 2 behandelt vorwiegend Probleme in Zusammenhang mit der Syntax, so dass es mit der Syntax des 1. Bandes überlappt. Im Vordergrund der Thematik stehen die Operatoren, so die Negation (BAGHDIKIAN), Quantoren (HAMANS), Konjunktionen (KOHRT), Gradpartikel (ROMBOUTS, VANDEWEGHE). Bei den belgischen Beiträgen macht sich ein Trend zum Funktionalismus bemerkbar. Gesamthaft gesehen stehen in der Syntax semantisch orientierte Einzelprobleme im Vordergrund.

Im Kapitel Pragmatik herrscht die Auseinandersetzung mit der Sprechakttheorie vor. Neben Analysen einzelner Sprechakttypen wie Insistieren, Permissive, sind von besonderem Interesse die Diskussionen über das Verhältnis zwischen Textsorten und Sprechakttypen (KLEIN), die Methode der Sprechaktanalyse (NIKOLAUS), die direkten und indirekten Sprechakte (VAN DER AUWERA, SÖKELAND). Das Kapitel Textlinguistik enthält u.a. einige Beiträge aus der PETÖFI-Schule.

Die Schwerpunkte des 13. Linguistischen Kolloquiums liegen somit bei der semantisch orientierten Syntax, bei der Spracherwerbs- und Sprachlernpsycholinguistik und der Sprechakttheorie. Der Gesamtrahmen der aufgenommenen Problematik entspricht einem Sprachmodell,

das auf der Satzebene der Standardtheorie mit semantischem Ausbau und auf den höheren Stufen der Pragmatik und Textlinguistik verpflichtet ist.

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Dieser Bericht des Luzerner Kongresses 1978 der FIPLV gibt in den Originalsprachen gekürzt wiedergegebenen Hauptreferaten und den knappen englischen Zusammenfassungen der Diskussionen ein Bild von der Vielfalt der unter dem Leitthema behandelten Probleme des Lehrens und Lernens von Fremdsprachen (s. *Bulletin CILA* 28, 90–92). Es zeigt sich, dass in den letzten Jahren vor allem die Lernvorgänge, die Lernbedürfnisse und die Interaktion Lehrer-Lerner Gegenstände der Forschung und der praktischen Erprobung waren. Dem Kongressprogramm entsprechend gliedern sich die Referate in drei Gruppen:

- I. Bedürfnisse des Lerners,
- II. Zusammenwirken der Forschungsrichtungen und Unterrichtsfächer,
- III. Zwei- und Mehrsprachigkeit.

Auf die meisten Referate folgt eine Kurzbibliographie. Wir geben hier Hinweise über den Inhalt.

1. EUGEN EGGER: *Sprachen lernen: Bedürfnisse des Individuums in verschiedenen Lebens- und Lernsituationen* (S. 9–16).

Das wird illustriert mit dem Beispiel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts in der Schweiz mit dem aktuellen Problem des Frühbeginns des Unterrichts der ersten Fremdsprache und dessen Koordination in den vier Sprachgebieten. Wie kontrovers gerade diese seit Jahrzehnten diskutierte Frage ist, geht zwar nicht aus dem Referat, wohl aber aus Stellungnahmen von Schulleuten der Ostschweiz in der Neuen Zürcher Zeitung vom 2.3.79 und vom 1.4.79 hervor.

2. FRANÇOIS DEBYSER: *Peut-on accorder les besoins de l'étudiant et ceux de son futur employeur?* (S. 17–25).

Eine bejahende Antwort auf diese Frage ist nicht von vornherein gegeben. Zuerst müssen Bedürfnisse und Lehrziele umschrieben sein. Das ist eher möglich für erwachsene Lerner, aber schwierig für die Schulen, wo die Übereinstimmung zwischen Lehrbedürfnissen und Lehrzielen zwar postuliert, aber nicht verwirklicht ist. Schon erfasst hat man Kom-

munikationsnotwendigkeiten verschiedener Gruppen von Lernern und dabei festgestellt, dass sich die breit aufgefächerten Kommunikationsbedürfnisse verschiedener Berufsgruppen nicht nur beim Wortschatz sondern auch bei einer grossen Zahl verschiedener Sprechsituationen differenzieren. So müssen auch innerhalb einzelner Berufe ganz verschiedene Situationen berücksichtigt werden. So z.B. beim Arzt, der verschiedene Ebenen der Fremdsprache braucht, je nachdem er Patienten oder Studenten oder Kollegen oder Angehörige anderer Berufsgruppen als Gesprächspartner hat. Die einschlägigen, im Auftrage des Europarates durchgeführten Untersuchungen von D. COSTE, L. PORCHER und R. RICHTERICH weisen berufliche, erzieherische, persönliche, institutionelle und politisch-gesellschaftliche Bedürfnisse nach. Dabei tauchen im Laufe der sozialen Entwicklung neue Bedürfnisse auf, während andere in den Hintergrund treten. Die Bedürfnisanalyse hat sich daher nicht nur immer wieder neuen Stufen des Lernvorgangs, sondern auch ständig neuen gesellschaftlichen Situationen anzupassen. In diesem Zusammenhang erweist sich das System der 'Unités capitalisables' (s. Referat van Ek, S. 27–39 hienach) als Koordinationslösung. Doch bleibt noch eine lange Reihe von Fragen offen (S. 22, 26).

3. JAN VAN EK: *The Unit Credit System as a Possible Link Between Various Forms of Teaching* (S. 61–74).

Dieses vom Europarat geförderte Projekt ist in verschiedenen seiner Publikationen bekannt gemacht und vielerorts schon diskutiert worden. In der an das Referat anschliessenden Diskussion wurde betont, dass es sich dabei nicht um ein überall verwendbares fertiges Rezept für die Planung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts handle, vielmehr um Richtlinien für die Lösung der sich unter verschiedenen lokalen Bedingungen stellenden Probleme.

4. AUGUST FLAMMER, WERNER GUTMANN: *Individualisiertes Lernen, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen im Klassenzimmer und ausserhalb* (S. 41–58).

Auf eine sorgfältige Begriffsanalyse folgen Berichte über die experimental-psychologische Erfassung der genannten Möglichkeiten. Wird durch individualisierten Unterricht bei überdurchschnittlich begabten Lernern eine Leistungssteigerung, bei weniger begabten eine Reduktion von Frustration und Langeweile erreicht? Tritt Überforderung ein? Selektionskriterien und Individualisierungsmethoden wurden untersucht. Die Ergebnisse weisen Grenzen nach. Reiche Bibliographie.

5. LOTHAR HOFFMANN: *Überbrückung der Kluft zwischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten und Interessebereich* (S. 61–74).

Welche Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten muss der Fremdsprachenunterricht zur Lösung von Kommunikationsaufgaben im Interessebereich des Lerners vermitteln? Die Verringerung der Kluft zwischen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten und Kommunikationsbedürfnissen im Interessebereich des Lerners ist das wichtigste Anliegen dieses Unterrichts. Ihm entsprechen Lehrmaterialien, die auf einer systematischen Erfassung der Lernbedürfnisse, auf der Frequenz und der Disponibilität der Strukturen und auf einem ausgewogenen Verhältnis zwischen Automatisierung und Bewusstheit beim Lernvorgang beruhen. Diese Konzeption wird mit Beispielen aus der Ausbildung der Fremdsprachenlehrer in der DDR illustriert. Man erkennt, dass die fachsprachliche Ausbildung grosses Gewicht hat.

6. JAMES ALATIS: *Language Teaching Possibilities for Inter-Disciplinary Co-operation* (S. 79–92).

Eine idealistisch-humanistische Zielsetzung für den Fremdsprachenunterricht liegt diesem Referat zugrunde. Sie berücksichtigt die Ergebnisse der angewandten Linguistik, Soziolinguistik und der Psycholinguistik und setzt ein Zusammenwirken sowohl bei der Erforschung der wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts als auch eine Kooperation der verschiedenen Unterrichtsfächer in der Praxis voraus.

Die Curricula müssen die Kultur, die Landeskunde, das soziale Verhalten des Volkes, dessen Sprache man lernt, einschliessen. Stoffauswahl und Methoden sollen schülerzentriert sein. Das Lehrziel umfasst neben kommunikativer Kompetenz auch die Fähigkeit des Lerners zu eigener Wertung und zur Entwicklung seiner Persönlichkeit. ALATIS zeigt Möglichkeiten der interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit und illustriert sie mit Beispielen aus der Sozio- und Psycholinguistik und aus der Kulturgeschichte. (Bibliographische Angaben im Text). Die Betrachtungen des Verfassers sollten in die Diskussion der Reform des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und der Fremdsprachenlehrausbildung einbezogen werden. Er sagt (S. 87):

«Das Lernen von Sprachen kann nicht auf eine audio-linguale oder eine ausschliesslich kognitive Erfahrung beschränkt werden. Sprache ist das Medium unserer Existenz, das Werkzeug, das uns das Verständnis unserer Umwelt erschliesst, das uns zu kämpfen, zu lieben und zu loben erlaubt. Sprache ist nicht ein Element, das an irgendeinen präexistenten menschlichen Zustand angefügt oder ihm aufgefropft wird; nein. Sprache macht das Wesen des Menschen überhaupt aus, sie ist sein Verhalten und seine Welt. Sprache bestimmt

jeden Aspekt persönlicher Erfahrung. Das kognitive, psychomotorische und affektive Verhalten des Lerners sind eng mit Sprechakten verflochten, die im Rahmen ihres kulturellen und sozialen Zusammenhangs gesehen werden müssen. Die sozialen und kulturellen Modelle von Sprechakten tragen dazu bei, die Bedeutung von Sprache zu erfassen.»

7. EZIO RAIMONDI: *L'insegnamento della letteratura italiana* (S. 93–105).

Nachdem das vorausgehende Referat von J. ALATIS die Forderung intensiver Zusammenarbeit zwischen verschiedenen Forschungs- und Unterrichtsdisziplinen erhoben hatte, wäre der Kongressbesucher dankbar gewesen, wenn Möglichkeiten des nächstliegenden Zusammenwirkens von Sprach- und Literaturunterricht dargestellt worden wären. RAIMONDI zeigte aber vielmehr das Auseinanderklaffen der beiden Disziplinen. Das ist besonders deutlich im Italienischen, wo Umgangssprache und literarische Sprache zeitweise ganz verschiedene Entwicklungen erfahren haben.

8. REBECCA VALETTE: *Objective Evaluation and Transparency* (S. 108–116).

Die in den USA gebräuchlichen Testverfahren werden mit deutschen und französischen in Bezug auf Objektivität und Transparenz verglichen. Die Verfasserin betont die Wichtigkeit der lehrzielorientierten Interpretation der Tests. In der Diskussion wird auf das Fehlen von Tests hingewiesen, die nicht nur einzelne Fertigkeiten, sondern komplexe sprachliche Fähigkeiten, wie die produktive Performanz zu testen erlauben.

9. JEAN VERRIER: *Comment intégrer l'étude de la littérature à l'apprentissage des langues étrangères?* (S. 120–130).

Im Fremdsprachenunterricht wird heute auf eine systematische Vermittlung der Literaturgeschichte zugunsten derjenigen der kommunikativen Kompetenz, der Landeskunde und aktueller Inhalte mehr und mehr verzichtet. Der Verfasser schlägt vor, der Literaturgeschichte wieder mehr Platz einzuräumen, indem man die kommunikative Kompetenz anhand literarischer Texte so übt, dass der Lerner mit den sprachlichen Mitteln des eben studierten Autors eigene Stellungnahmen zu den Inhalten formuliert. In der Diskussion wurde ein solches Vorgehen nur anhand nicht literarischer Texte für ratsam gehalten, womit die Methode des Verfassers überhaupt in Frage gestellt war. Siehe zum Problem die klare und der heutigen Situation gerecht werdende Darstellung von GIULIAN BERTONI DEL GUERCIO in *Le Français dans le Monde* 144, (34–51), (April 1979).

10. HORST G. WEISE: *Mediendidaktik: Möglichkeiten und Perspektiven im Sprachunterricht* (S. 131–143).

Der Referent erörtert technische, pädagogische und psychosoziale Probleme des Fremdsprachenunterrichts am Hörfunk und Fernsehen und auf den zugehörigen Ton- und Bildträgern. Die Zahl der heute ausgestrahlten Kurse ist beträchtlich: Japan: 135 wöchentlich mit 16 Millionen Begleitbüchern jährlich; Bayrischer Rundfunk: 16 Kurse wöchentlich. Problematisch sind die Behaltensquoten und der Langzeiterfolg bei den Hörern. Beide Medien haben Vor- und Nachteile. Sie erleichtern das Hörverstehen autochthoner Sprecher in aktuellen, umweltreuen Gesprächssituationen. Das Fernsehen hat zudem unbeschränkte Visualisierungsmöglichkeiten: Umwelt, Situation, Artikulation, aussersprachliche Kommunikation, was alles die auditive Erfassung beschleunigt. Seit ca. 1960 entwickelt der Bayrische Rundfunk Fremdsprachenlehrfilme und fremdsprachliche Nachrichtensendungen, die weite Verbreitung finden. Pädagogisches Problem bleibt das weitgehend passiv-rezeptive Verhalten der Hörer. Dezentralisierte Kurse in Arbeitsgruppen und Begleitbücher sollen hier ergänzend wirken. In ihrer Ausbildung sollten die Fremdsprachenlehrer auf die technische, methodische und inhaltliche Integrierung der Hörfunk- und Fernsehsendungen in den Klassenunterricht vorbereitet werden und sich an der Planung der Kurse an den Sendeanstalten beteiligen.

11. IRMHILD WRAGGE-LANGE: *Nutzbarmachung der in der Muttersprache erworbenen Fertigkeiten beim Erlernen einer Fremdsprache* (S. 145–157).

Mit soziolinguistischen und pragmatischen Betrachtungsweisen werden Wechselwirkungen zwischen Mutter- und Fremdsprache und besonders Störungen beim Erwerb der Fremdsprache, die sich durch die Anwendung muttersprachlicher Regeln auf die Fremdsprache einstellen, untersucht. Ferner fragt man, welche Sprechhandlungsregeln über die Muttersprache hinaus gelten. Sprechhandlungskompetenz wird als die Fähigkeit des Individuums definiert, Sprache so zu brauchen, dass sowohl die Gegebenheiten der Kommunikationssituation als auch diejenigen des Interaktionspartners berücksichtigt werden. Es handelt sich also um die komplexe Fähigkeit des Individuums, seine Sprache rezeptiv und produktiv so einzusetzen, dass die intersubjektive Beziehung und der jeweilige Sachbezug in jeder beliebigen Interaktionssituation sowohl vom Sprecher oder Schreiber als auch vom Hörer oder Leser signalisiert, bzw. entnommen werden können (zu deutsch: wenn sich zwei in einer

Fremdsprache fließend unterhalten können). Im Fremdsprachenunterricht soll der Lerner Beziehungen herstellen lernen.

12. AMADOU-MAHTAR M'BOW: *Problèmes linguistiques dans les sociétés plurilingues* (S. 161–168).

Das Referat bietet einen Überblick über mehrere Kontinente umfassende sprachliche Probleme in mehrsprachigen Völkergemeinschaften, mit denen sich die UNESCO befasst. Es geht z.B. darum, moderne technische und wissenschaftliche Terminologie in gewisse Minderheitssprachen zu integrieren und so minoritären Bevölkerungsgruppen mit Hilfe einer weiter verbreiteten Sprache Anschluss an die weitere Umwelt zu verschaffen.

13. EVA KOBERSKI: *Aim Multilingualism: The Dismantling of Resistance and Prejudice* (S. 169–180).

Das Referat von I. WRAGGE-LANGE (S. 145–157) hatte den Einsatz soziolinguistischer und sprachpragmatischer Erkenntnisse theoretisch erörtert; der Beitrag von EVA KOBERSKI zeigt nun praktische Möglichkeiten ihrer Wirkungsweise im Fremdsprachenunterricht. Die Diskussion liess vermuten, dass sich die Zuhörer von der pädagogischen Relevanz dieser Betrachtungen kaum überzeugen liessen.

14. BERNHARD LANG: *problèmes posés en Suisse par l'enseignement des langues vivantes* (S. 184–197).

Ein trotz der fast verwirrenden Vielfalt seiner Aspekte klarer und konzentrierter Überblick über die heutige Situation des Fremdsprachenunterrichts und der entsprechenden Sprachpraxis in der von vier Landessprachen und einer sehr grossen Zahl lebendiger Mundarten geprägten und vom Gesichtspunkt der modernen Linguistik aus betrachteten Sprachlandschaft Schweiz. Auch hier wird dringend die schon von E. EGGER (S. 9–16) als prioritär bezeichnete Forderung nach dem Frühbeginn des Unterrichts in der ersten Fremdsprache (= zweite Landessprache) erhoben, wobei die Vermittlung der kommunikativen Kompetenz in der zweiten Landessprache als ein dringendes rationales Kulturbedürfnis bezeichnet wird.

15. OTTAVIO LURATI: *Lingue in contatto e stratificazione linguistica* (S. 199–212)

Hier handelt es sich um Standard-Italienisch und italienische Regionalsprachen- und mundarten im Kanton Tessin. Die aus den Kontakten

dieser Sprachvarianten sich ergebenden Interferenzen werden erklärt und gruppiert. Sie beweisen, wie wichtig es für den Italienischlehrer und -schüler der deutschen und französischen Schweiz ist, die verschiedenen Sprachschichten des Tessins zu kennen.

16. FRANZ-J. ZAPP: *Planung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts in den Ländern der Europäischen Gemeinschaft* (S. 216–227).

Ein Ausblick auf Europa bildet den Abschluss des Bandes. Auf die Skizzierung des derzeitigen Standes des Fremdsprachenunterrichts folgt die Darstellung einer Planung für die Zukunft in vier Gruppen:

- I. Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch als erste und zweite Fremdsprachen.
- II. Spanisch, Russisch, Italienisch in den Anrainergebieten als erste, sonst als zweite und dritte Fremdsprachen.
- III. Niederländisch und Dänisch in den Anrainergebieten als erste, sonst als zweite und dritte Fremdsprachen.
- IV. Friesisch und Irisch, soweit sie als offizielle Landessprachen gelten.

Zum Schluss empfehlen wir vor allem den Fremdsprachenlehrern, diesen Kongressbericht anzuschaffen. Er wird ihnen schon mit seinen bibliographischen Angaben wertvolle Dienste leisten.

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Robert Galisson:

Lexicologie et enseignement des langues, Coll. F. Recherches/Applications, Paris, Hachette, 1979, 216 p.

Le présent ouvrage est la réunion de 7 articles parus au cours de la dernière décennie dans diverses revues, principalement dans «Mélanges de linguistique appliquée et de méthodologie de l'enseignement des langues».

Les 3 premiers articles sont consacrés à ce que l'auteur appelle *thèmes de prédilection*. Il s'agit de domaines d'expérience que l'individu utilise comme lieux d'échange privilégiés ou sur lesquels il exerce de préférence sa réflexion: politique, éducation, sports, cuisine, loisirs, etc. Ils se distinguent des centres d'intérêt, qui présentent plusieurs défauts, notamment:

- a) une tendance à l'exhaustivité, qui aboutit à faire apprendre des mots rares, peu utiles;
- b) des textes artificiels: «Pour épuiser un vocabulaire thématique en une ou deux séances, l'auteur est amené à «enfiler» sur l'axe syntagmatique des termes qui s'excluent normalement dans le discours puisqu'ils appartiennent au même paradigme» ou dont le seul lien est d'avoir des référés¹ contigus (p. ex.: cuisine, chambre, salon, bureau, etc.). Les phrases sont «grammaticalement correctes mais pragmatiquement et culturellement inacceptables, parce qu'elles adoptent le style désignatif des leçons de technologie, pour parler de choses communes qui relèvent d'une connaissance du monde acquise dès l'enfance par expérience personnelle, et sur lesquelles personne n'éprouve plus le besoin de revenir par la suite.»

En outre, l'auteur reproche à la *situation* des méthodes audio-visuelles de manquer d'attrait pour l'enseigné, de négliger la spécificité des goûts, de présenter un langage trop pauvre.

Le *thème de prédilection* doit pallier ces défauts «en ordonnant et en sélectionnant le vocabulaire à enseigner d'une manière plus cohérente» et «en l'adaptant mieux que le Français fondamental à la maturation mentale et aux besoins affectifs du destinataire».

Les thèmes sont établis à la suite d'enquêtes auprès de populations étrangères présentant les caractéristiques (âge, sexe, nationalité, niveau de scolarisation, milieu social et géographique) des apprenants visés par

¹ Galisson préfère ce terme au terme plus courant de *réfèrent*.

le cours, et le vocabulaire est sélectionné après enquêtes auprès de «populations françaises jugées équivalentes des populations étrangères précédemment interrogées».

L'auteur présente deux questionnaires ayant servi à inventorier des thèmes de prédilection et une enquête lexicale visant à établir une liste des mots les plus fréquemment utilisés dans les conversations sur la musique.

Le quatrième article est un résumé d'une partie de thèse d'Etat consacrée à la «banalisation» lexicale. Partant d'une distinction entre la *langue usuelle*, qui se subdivise en *niveaux de langue* et les *langues de spécialité*, qui se divisent en *langues parallèles*: la *langue spécialisée*, la *langue argotique* et la *langue banalisée*, l'auteur a étudié la langue banalisée du football telle qu'elle apparaît dans les articles de journaux (209 articles provenant de 12 journaux français parus entre janvier 1967 et décembre 1968). Ont été relevées 84'570 unités graphiques (noms, verbes, adjectifs, adverbes) avec leurs contextes. Le total des mots relatifs au football est de 2241.

Signalons, parmi les nombreuses constatations faites par R. GALISSON, les points suivants:

- a) Le langage banalisé du football est largement un langage d'emprunt, «impuissant à se nourrir de néologismes».
- b) Il retient du langage spécialisé les mots les moins spécifiques. «Il occulte certaines zones du domaine couvert par le langage spécialisé (entraînement physique, technique et tactique).»
- c) En ce qui concerne les emprunts au langage courant, les domaines d'élection sont les jugements de valeur et la guerre.
- d) Le vocabulaire banalisé contient une proportion de noms nettement moins élevée que le vocabulaire spécialisé. En revanche, les adjectifs et les adverbes sont beaucoup plus nombreux.
- e) Contrairement au langage spécialisé, le langage banalisé obéit à une règle esthétique qui condamne la répétition rapprochée du même mot et fait par conséquent largement appel aux synonymes.

Le 5^e article, assez bref, est consacré à l'analyse sémique.

Le 6^e relate une recherche élaborée à l'Institut français de Thessalonique. Il s'agissait de répondre à un besoin spécifique des Grecs qui apprennent notre langue: certains mots grecs font difficulté quand on veut les traduire en français car ils correspondent non à un mot unique, mais à plusieurs vocables. Il fallait donc décrire ces équivalents avec autant de précision que possible. Un peu plus d'une cinquantaine de

mots-vedettes grecs très courants ont été retenus. Les dictionnaires étant insuffisants (définitions peu explicites, pas assez exemplifiées), il a été procédé à une enquête sur corpus: recherche d'exemples en contexte dans des journaux à grande diffusion. L'auteur présente en détail les grilles relatives au verbe *RESTER*.

Le dernier article s'intitule *Pour une méthodologie de l'enseignement du sens étranger*. R. GALISSON commence par critiquer la théorie du signe linguistique qui s'appuie sur le «triangle sémiotique» (signifiant - signifié - référent) et les méthodologies d'apprentissage qui s'y appuient. En effet, elles privilégient les rapports entre le signe et la réalité au détriment des relations entre le signe et les autres signes, d'une part sur l'axe syntagmatique (cooccurrents) et d'autre part sur l'axe paradigmatique («corrélés»). Il propose une progression de l'enseignement du sens où le recours aux référents n'intervient que dans une phase d'initiation audiovisuelle et parallèlement déjà à une présentation des cooccurrents. Par la suite, on ne s'intéresse plus qu'aux cooccurrents et aux corrélés: l'enseignement devient plus analytique.

Lexicologie et enseignement des langues est un ouvrage clair et original, qui s'adresse avant tout à ceux qui enseignent le français aux étrangers. Néanmoins, de par l'importance des problèmes généraux abordés et des méthodes d'investigation présentées, il intéressera les professeurs de langue en général et les amateurs de lexicologie.

Nous formulerons toutefois quelques critiques de détail:

- a) Les 3 premiers articles sont très redondants. L'auteur aurait dû les fondre en un seul.
- b) Il est regrettable qu'en 1979, R. GALISSON semble encore ignorer les critiques pertinentes faites par SIMONE DELESALLE, notamment, à sa conception de l'analyse sémique (cf. *Langue française* 26 et *Recherches pédagogiques* 63).
- c) La disposition des différentes acceptions de *RESTER* et *DEMEURER* (tableau, p. 167) nous paraît contestable.
- d) Le concept d'*item argotique* tel qu'il apparaît à la page 101 prête à discussion.

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Henne Helmut (Hrsg.):
Praxis der Lexikographie, Berichte aus der Werkstatt, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1979, 144 S.

L'ouvrage rassemble les différentes contributions faites par des lexicographes lors d'un colloque qui s'est tenu à Hambourg en février 1978. Chaque exposé est suivi d'un compte rendu de discussion.

1. *Horst Umbach, Das Goethe-Wörterbuch*

Le Goethe-Wörterbuch est un ouvrage qui donne la (les) signification(s) de tous les mots utilisés par l'auteur de Faust. La perspective est essentiellement synchronique, mais aussi diachronique. Ainsi on constate que les mots *dumpf* et *Dumpfheit* prennent, entre 1774 et 1779, des connotations positives alors qu'avant et après cette période, ils ont les traits négatifs habituels.

L'auteur évoque différents problèmes posés, par exemple, par les termes techniques étrangers, les termes utilisés par Goethe mais récusés par lui, les citations d'autres auteurs, les créations personnelles, les rapports entre les mots et les types de discours dans lesquels ils apparaissent. En outre, il précise un certain nombre de faits statistiques. Sur les quelque 80'000 mots recensés, nombreux sont ceux qui apparaissent rarement. Ainsi, 60 % des mots commençant par la lettre A ne sont attestés qu'une à trois fois. En revanche, un terme comme *Augenblick* apparaît plus de 3000 fois.

Des précisions sont données sur le contenu des articles, la nature et la forme des définitions.

2. *Günther Dickel, Heino Speer, Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*

Les auteurs font un historique de ce dictionnaire juridique, dont la rédaction a commencé à la fin du XIX^e siècle: les conceptions se sont modifiées au cours des décennies. Les principales questions envisagées ont été les suivantes: Qu'est-ce que la langue juridique? Quels mots faut-il retenir? Quels doivent être l'ampleur et le contenu des articles? Comment traiter les mots composés?

3. *Joachim Bahr, Regeln zur Praxis der historischen Lexikographie*

L'auteur aborde des problèmes théoriques relatifs au modèle lexicologique sous-tendant la rédaction d'un dictionnaire de langue: constituants syntagmatiques (=constructions) des verbes, des adjectifs et des noms, «sens lexical», rapports entre sens et dénotatum, plan et contenu d'un article, rapports entre les différentes acceptions. L'exemple du verbe *drängen* vient illustrer l'exposé.

4. *Hans Heestermans, Das Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*
Cette contribution consiste dans la présentation d'un dictionnaire néerlandais et des problèmes qu'a posés sa rédaction: contenu et plan des articles, types de définitions, rapports entre les différentes acceptions, règles de sélection, co-occurents, constructions syntaxiques.

5. *Günther Drosdowski, Die Metaphern im Wörterbuch*

En général, les dictionnaires n'indiquent pas les critères qui ont permis d'attribuer à telle ou telle acception le qualificatif de «figuré». En outre, on constate des contradictions entre les différents dictionnaires: tel emploi jugé «propre» par l'un est jugé «figuré» par l'autre. Les lexicographes se trouvent confrontés au problème suivant: parmi les nombreux emplois métaphoriques possibles, lesquels faut-il enregistrer? La distinction que fait le *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* entre les notions de «bildlich» et de «übertragen» manque de précision et de cohérence. Un dictionnaire synchronique doit-il ou non distinguer des sens propres et des sens figurés? Peut-on distinguer des degrés dans le processus de métaphorisation? Où tracer la frontière entre le métaphorique et le non-métaphorique?

6. *Angelika Ballweg-Schramm, Helmut Schumacher, Verbalenz-Wörterbuch auf semantischer Basis*

Il s'agit là d'un dictionnaire en cours d'élaboration à l'Institut für deutsche Sprache de Mannheim et destiné essentiellement:

- a) à des apprenants avancés
- b) aux enseignants
- c) aux auteurs de matériel didactique

Il présente 700 verbes groupés par affinités sémantiques (et non selon l'ordre alphabétique).

Les auteurs montrent comment les verbes appartenant au champ lexical de l'*expression* (sich äußern) se hiérarchisent et ils donnent des précisions sur le sous-ensemble des verbes de la *communication* (mitteilen). Les articles contiennent, entre autres, les formes fondamentales, l'auxiliaire de conjugaison, la ou les constructions (Satzbaupläne), les formes passives, le registre de langue, les locutions, les dérivés, les définitions, des exemples.

En guise d'illustration, les auteurs présentent le projet des articles MITTEILEN et INFORMIEREN.

7. *Oskar Reichmann, Probleme des Frühneuhochdeutschen Handwörterbuchs auf dem Hintergrund der auf der Tagung diskutierten Themen*

L'auteur évoque quelques problèmes posés par la rédaction d'un dictionnaire de «Frühneuhochdeutsch», notamment celui des définitions.

8. *Helmut Henne, Wörterbuchprobleme in der Diskussion*

Il s'agit ici du compte rendu de la séance de clôture du colloque, accompagné de commentaires personnels. Il y est surtout question des définitions.

Le présent ouvrage nous paraît concerner essentiellement les lexicographes. Non que le langage en soit ésotérique, mais, en général, les problèmes sont plutôt esquissés qu'approfondis et les contributions les plus détaillées (nos 3 et 6) sont aussi celles qui ont suscité le plus de critiques dans les discussions.

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Madsen, H.S., J.D. Bowen:
Adaptation in Language Teaching, Rowley (Mass.), Newbury House,
1978, 251 p.

Adaptation, in the sense of adapting materials and methods to suit the goals and needs of a group of students, is scarcely a new idea; indeed, it is what all good teachers (not only of languages) have always done. It is, moreover, what all student teachers should be taught and should attempt to apply once they find themselves in front of a class. Adaptation is, of course, part of the hidden workload of teachers, but is nonetheless essential to a proper carrying out of their professional duties.

To my mind, this book has a fairly clear readership in view: a) student teachers and b) practising teachers who wish to reexamine their LT methods, etc. and who need some useful suggestions about where they might make improvements. The book is particularly useful in the context of today's enormous supply of LT courses and materials of every conceivable kind, as a result of which teachers often may not perceive the need to adapt shopbought materials to the particular student groups who will use them nor how they should go about this task.

The basic principle of adaptation is the achieving of congruence between LT materials, methods, students, course objectives, the target language and the teacher's personality and teaching style. It takes place on three levels: a) individualising the LT materials, b) modifying texts for purposes not intended or anticipated by their authors, and c) compensating for textbooks' deficiencies.

Section One looks at the achieving of congruence between the textbook and the real world, with, amongst others, the aim of increasing student motivation and learning through improved credibility and heightened interest.

Section Two looks at congruence in the area of usage, so that effective language instruction may be attained and the students' task may be made simpler by supplying him with accurate information on the language.

Section Three concerns an area of growing interest, namely varieties of language, and sets out to show how textbook instruction may be supplemented in order to help students to use the type of discourse appropriate to a given situation.

Section Four briefly discusses how to achieve congruence pedagogically by adapting the text to match course objectives, methodology and teaching styles and how to teach L2 when no suitable materials are available.

There are, in addition, three appendices, mainly on evaluation of LT materials, which contain some useful ideas.

The book is comprehensive, though at times rather basic, so that, while student teachers may learn much from it, informed, practising teachers will probably find that only certain sections contain things that are useful to them.

The title refers to «language teaching», and the foreword states that the book contains examples «paraphrased from a wide range of actual textbooks in frequently taught languages». In fact, while the subject *may* be LT in general, the examples are *all* in English and therefore quite often of little direct relevance to the work of teachers of other languages, even if the principle discussed in the text is usually applicable to the teaching of other languages. Also, not all the examples are convincing, but that is a minor quibble.

There is quite a large section on «Problems of Contemporary Usage», which non-native teachers of English (and possibly some «natives»!) could find very useful, as it is a competent survey of the subject and tries to distinguish between British and American usage (the book, itself, using American orthography); this section is unfortunately useless to teachers of other languages.

In conclusion, the book is a «must» for all student teachers (especially of EFL) and for their institutions' libraries. It could also induce some useful self re-appraisal among practising teachers, to whom it could also supply some ideas and relevant information for an improvement of their teaching. It is quite quickly read and worth reading.

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T.J.A. Bennett

The British Council (ed.):
Reading and Thinking in English, vol. 3: Discovering Discourse, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979, 108 p.

«Discovering Discourse» (DD) is the third of a series of four books under the title *Reading and Thinking in English*, the series constituting a course in reading comprehension for students of EFL. The series ranges from near-beginner («Concepts in Use»), through pre-intermediate («Exploring Functions») and intermediate (DD) to advanced («Discourse in Action») and aims to prepare students to deal with the specialist English to be found in textbooks, reports, journals, etc. It is therefore well-suited for use with, say, students of technology or science who need English as a professional tool or have to do some as a compulsory part of their programme of studies. It is, actually, usable with groups having interests quite different from those mentioned, as the texts used in the exercises are taken from a wide variety of areas. At the end of the series, the student should be able to master authentic, unsimplified texts, but he need neither start at the beginning of the series, nor work through it till the end, as each of the four units is self-contained.

DD contains six chapters, the first one dealing with the strategies needed for efficient reading and the remaining five treating the following topics: generalising, describing, defining, classifying and hypothesising. Chapters 2–6 show how these functions are expressed and also provide the students with opportunities to apply the strategies introduced in Chapter 1. There is also a teacher's edition of the book, with a key and – very useful – a section on how the book (teacher's edition) can be used for private study without the help of a teacher.

DD is therefore basically communicative in approach. Each chapter includes a) reading comprehension exercises to help the student learn how to obtain information from a passage by following the writer's method of organisation and b) exercises to draw attention to the way that grammar and lexis are used in achieving this organisation. There are also opportunities for controlled writing in each chapter.

The book is pleasingly original in its design and thorough in its covering of the topics selected. The texts are very well annotated and the exercises skillfully graded. Good use is made of diagrams and coloured type. If there is one negative remark to be made, it is merely this: the level seems, to me at least, higher than the claimed «intermediate». That apart, I find DD an excellent book, well adapted to the needs of its intended audience and, in fact, quite usable with other groups. If the other three of the series are as good, then OUP will have made a significant

contribution to the selection of ELT materials available to teacher and taught.

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Wohl M.:

Preparation for Writing: Grammar. Techniques for Writing: Composition, Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, 1979, 191 p., 191 p.

These two companion volumes, either of which could be used independently, are aimed at the relatively advanced student of English as a foreign language who has to tackle frequent writing assignments in English. More specifically, they are designed for the foreigner coming to study at an American university a subject other than English.

«Grammar» deals with such problems as the use of tense and aspect, the use of articles, relatives and other more minor points where even students with a good command of English tend to make mistakes when writing compositions.

«Composition» starts with sentence structure and various forms of sentence combination (coordination, subordination, etc.). Paragraph formation is then studied, leading on to the organization of an essay as a whole.

Considerations of style and certain problems posed by cultural differences between countries are examined and a section is devoted to technical writing and the presentation of a «paper» in one's subject. A useful, comprehensive guide to punctuation is included.

Both volumes offer not only explanations but abundant exercises, with an answer key at the end of the book.

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Kielhöfer, B. und W. Börner:
Lernersprache Französisch. Psycholinguistische Analyse des Fremdsprachenerwerbs, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1979, 146 S.

Der seit seiner Monographie *Fehlerlinguistik des Fremdsprachenerwerbs. Linguistische, lernpsychologische und didaktische Analyse von Französischfehlern* hierzulande bestens bekannte B.K. legt zusammen mit dem Hamburger Sprachlehrforscher W.B. eine bemerkenswerte Studie vor. Die Autoren hätten allerdings gut daran getan, einen weniger ehrgeizigen, den dargestellten Fakten angemesseneren und dem Leser einsichtigeren Titel zu wählen. Selbst den Begriff der Lernergrammatik halte ich zur Bezeichnung der «Gesamtheit der Fremdsprachenkenntnisse und -fähigkeiten des Fremdsprachenlerner» (S. 5) für unangebracht. Meinen die Autoren etwa, die Beherrschung des Schriftbildes einer Zielsprache oder aber landeskundliches Wissen sei Bestandteil einer 'Lernergrammatik'? Sie selbst behandeln vorwiegend syntaktische Erscheinungen, erwähnen Lexikalisches beiläufig und sparen den Bezirk der Aussprache beinahe vollständig aus. Die Betitelung 'Lernersprache Französisch' trifft übrigens auch deshalb nicht zu, weil es den Autoren eher um die plurikausale Darstellung der Entstehungsbedingungen einer Lernergrammatik (im eingeschränkten Sinne) und weniger um die Darstellung dieser Lernergrammatik selbst geht. Diese Entstehungsbedingungen sind einerseits in der französischen Sprache und andererseits in den Lernoperationen des Individuums angelegt. Der Umfang des grammatikalischen Inventars, Komplexität, Geltungsbereich sowie Häufigkeit von Zeichen und Regeln schlagen auf seiten des Sprachsystems und die grundlegenden Lernoperationen Generalisierung und Diskriminierung auf seiten des Lerner zu Buche.

Wir erfahren wichtige Details. So etwa, daß formale Komplexität störfälliger als semantische Komplexität ist – man vergleiche die hohen Fehlerraten des *du* in *faire du vélo* mit den weniger hohen Fehlerraten des *du* in *manger du pain* –; daß eine 'gute Gestalt' wie die semantisch und formal symmetrisch organisierten Possessivpronomen (*mon, ma, mes*) (*ton, ta, tes*) (*son, sa, ses*) Fehlern eher vorbeugt als eine schlechte, weil asymmetrische Gestalt wie (*me, te, le, la, lui, leur, les*), denn einige Zeichen (z.B. *me, te, leur*) sind polyfunktional und einige Funktionen (z.B. masc./fémin. von *lui*) sind neutralisiert; daß mehreren Klassen zugehörige Zeichen (*leur* ist Personal - und Possessivpronomen) die Diskriminierung erschweren. Es scheint aber, als übersähen die Autoren eine wichtige Entstehungsquelle von Fehlern, nämlich die Darstellung zielsprachlicher Regularitäten in Lehrwerken. Wenn, wie sie feststellen, die

Futurformen über die Invariante [r] des Infinitivs gelernt werden, dann ist dies doch sicher auch ein Ausfluß der in herkömmlichen Sprachlehren tradierten Futurbildung (Infinitiv + habeo). Man sollte ebenfalls kritisch vermerken, daß B.K. und W.B. ihrer Fehlerdefinition ein an der Schriftsprache orientiertes 'bon usage' - Verständnis zugrunde legen, wohingegen man sich im heutigen, der Kommunikationsfähigkeit verpflichteten Französischunterricht um gemäßigttere Normgrößen bemüht. Jenem Einwand, welcher sich gegen die im Rahmen der Datensammlung favorisierte Nacherzählung richten könnte, beugen die Autoren selbst vor. Um spezifische «Nacherzählungseinflüsse zu neutralisieren und damit objektiv die repräsentativen Fehler des Lerner, seine *Standardfehler*, von übungsspezifischen, situationsspezifischen etc. mehr oder minder zufälligen Einzelfehlern zu unterscheiden» (S. 27), wurden ein zusätzlicher Lückentest und 'multiple choice-Test' durchgeführt.

B.K. und W.B. demonstrieren die «eindeutige Dominanz der intralingualen Eigenschaften » (S. 98) in der Fehlergenese an einleuchtenden Beispielen. Fehlerhafte Äußerungen wie *Ils avaient de la faim* oder *Je le veux voir* sind auf Grund kontrastiver Vergleiche Deutsch/Französisch ebensowenig voraussagbar wie *Il a croyé* oder *Faisez cela!* Mit wachsendem Lernfortschritt, so die Autoren, entfalte das fremdsprachliche System immer stärker seine Eigendynamik und dränge damit Übertragungen aus der Muttersprache zurück. Lediglich im phonetischen und lexikalischen Bereich sowie den offeneren Teilgebieten der Grammatik (Präpositionen etc.) spielen kontrastive Faktoren offenbar eine entscheidende Rolle.

Die Monographie schließt mit einem Blick auf die Problemlösungsstrategien der Lerner: die Strategie der Imitation, die Strategie der Symmetriebildung, die Wahrscheinlichkeitsstrategie. Trotz aller wissenschaftlicher Erklärungsversuche aber bleibt ein Rest «Einzellerner-Instabilität» (S. 136). «Nur an einigen Stellen läßt sich eine gewisse Systematik in der Strategieranwendung nachweisen» (S. 136). Diese Tatsache mitsamt der Plurikausalität von Fehlern macht der Forschung das Leben schwer genug.

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Schneider, Bruno:

Sprachliche Lernprozesse – Lernpsychologische und linguistische Analyse des Erst- und Zweitspracherwerbs, Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag, Beiträge zur Linguistik 99, 1978, 361 S.

Das vorliegende Werk versteht sich selbst als eine theoretische Arbeit, die «eine Analyse der Spracherwerbsprozesse im Bereich der Muttersprache und des schulischen Fremdsprachenunterrichts [...] hinsichtlich der Aktualisierung von Lernresultaten» (11) vorzunehmen vorgibt. Der grösste Teil der Arbeit besteht aus der Aufarbeitung eines Ausschnitts der erschienenen Studien zu diesem Thema. Nach einem einleitenden Kapitel, in dem offene Probleme angesprochen werden, stellt der Autor die Lernpsychologie von PARRERENS (1970/71) ausführlich dar. Dies wird damit begründet, dass sein Werk «als Voraussetzung» und als fester Bezugspunkt «für die psycholinguistische Interpretation sprachlicher Beobachtungsdaten» (13) verstanden wird. Die sich daran anschliessenden linguistischen und lernpsychologischen Aspekte des Erstspracherwerbs dienen als Basis für den darauffolgenden Teil IV, der der Behandlung der Syntax im Fremdsprachenunterricht nachgeht. Dort nimmt die Beschreibung der Syntax mit Hilfe des von TESNIERE vorgeschlagenen Valenzmodells und seine Anwendung auf die Fremdsprachendidaktik einen verhältnismässig grossen Raum ein. Im Anschluss daran befinden sich die 58 Seiten umfassenden 542 Fussnoten, deren Nachschlagen das Lesen des Textes nicht unbedingt erleichtern, es häufig sogar unterbrechen, vor allem wenn es sich um Anmerkungen wie z.B. Fussnote 57 (255): «Wie z.B. THOMAS 1965, HADÉ 70, DATOW 70, HUNDSNURSCHER u.a. 1970, HERINGER 1970b, STALB 1971, HOMBERGER 1972 u.a.» handelt.

Daraus geht hervor, dass das Buch nicht als einführende Lektüre angesehen werden kann; allzu oft wird auf Kenntnisse angespielt, die ich gerade bei einer zusammenfassenden Arbeit nicht unbedingt voraussetzen würde. Die abschliessende, ebenfalls sehr umfangreiche Literaturliste lässt auf den ersten Blick eine eindeutige Gewichtung bei der getroffenen Auswahl erkennen; sie umfasst bei weitem mehr didaktisch ausgerichtete Autoren, als aus dem Titel des Buches hervorgeht. Es gibt viel zu kritisieren an der vorliegenden Arbeit; nicht zuletzt den Titel, der eigentlich nicht hält, war er verspricht: der linguistischen Analyse des Spracherwerbs wird nur knapp ein Drittel des Textes gewidmet. Dabei ist nach eingängiger Lektüre des Buches nicht klar geworden, warum der Autor sich für die Analyse des L 1-Erwerbs als Basis für den Fremdsprachenunterricht entschieden hat. In meinen Augen hätte eine Studie des

ungesteuerten L 2-Erwerbs eine sinnvollere Grundlage für derartige Schlussfolgerungen dargestellt (vgl. PIENEMANN 1977¹); auf diese Weise hätte sich auch eher die Nützlichkeit der Linguistik, bzw. der bis heute vorliegenden Ergebnisse der Psycholinguistik für den Fremdsprachenunterricht ergeben – SCHNEIDER, bei einer Diskussion der bisher erzielten psycholinguistischen Ergebnisse, zitiert GAUGER (1973 b), der diese mit den Attributen «gewisse Trivialität der Ergebnisse» und «Armut an Reflexion» versieht.

Anstatt einer vielseitigen detaillierten Diskussion der Thesen SCHNEIDERS, möchte ich mich auf einige beispielhafte Kritikpunkte beschränken, die im Rahmen seiner (psycho-) linguistischen Analyse des Erstspracherwerbs liegen: SCHNEIDER räumt der Rolle der Imitation beim Sprachenlernen unter Berufung auf die sowjetisch materialistische Literatur eine zentrale Bedeutung ein: «Das Kind [. . .] kann andererseits aber Sprache nur über die Imitation erwachsenen sprachlichen Äusserungen aneignen» (164). Diese Behauptung wird mit zahlreichen Beispielen aus z.B. RAMGE 1973 belegt und u.a. damit bewiesen, dass sich kindliche Äusserungen im allgemeinen, da es sich ja um Imitationen handelt, durch eine korrekte Syntax auszeichnen. Mit anderen Worten, bei einer interpretierenden Ausformung der muttersprachlichen Ellipsen stellt sich heraus, dass die kindliche Äusserung zwar Lücken aufweist, die vorhandenen Elemente jedoch der erwachsenensprachlichen Syntax entsprechen: z.B. «Viele a (= zu) Weba (= Weber) bringt. (Zu ergänzen: ich habe. . .) (RAMGE 1973. s. S. 1)» (173). In einer Arbeit zum L 1-Erwerb des Französischen, vorwiegend der Negation und Interrogation bei 3 – 4jährigen Kindern, an der Université de Neuchâtel durch FRANÇOISE REDARD, lassen sich zahlreiche Gegenbeispiele für die oben angeführten Behauptungen finden: Caroline, 3 Jahre, sagt in einer Situation, in der der Interviewer mit ihr ein Bild eines Männchens malen will, das lacht:

Caroline: () *Celui-là pas pleurer.*

Weitere Beispiele aus demselben Korpus:

– *pas mettre tout au fond, hein?*

– *alors, pas guigner, hein?*

Anstatt den Spracherwerb als einen Prozess der Imitation anzusehen, deren Anteil mit steigendem Alter immer umfangreicher wird, muss

1 «Erwerbssequenzen und Lernprogression, Überlegungen zur Steuerung des Zweitspracherwerbs ausländischer Arbeiterkinder», Vortrag gehalten am Deutschen Romantag, Giessen, 1977.

man davon ausgehen, dass es sich um einen kreativen Prozess handelt, der u.a. von der Zielsprache abweichende Strukturen erklärt. «die Kinder [erwerben] die Strukturen der Zielsprache nicht auf einen Schlag. Vielmehr filtern sie aus dem angebotenen Sprachmaterial Strukturmerkmale² heraus, die sie dann z.T. – [. . .] – nach von der Zielsprache abweichenden Regeln zu Konstruktionen verbinden. [. . .] Spracherwerb [ist] kein imitativer, sondern ein kreativer Prozess.»³

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist für die geeignet, die über mehr als die Grundkenntnisse in Psychologie und Psycholinguistik verfügen und sich mit dem oben skizzierten Verständnis von Spracherwerb einverstanden erklären.

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2 Hervorhebung durch den Autor

3 FELIX, SASCHA W.: «Natürlicher Zweitspracherwerb: Ein Überblick», *Studium Linguistik 4*, Kronberg/Ts., Scriptor Verlag, 1977, 34.