The British Association for Applied Linguistics

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EDITORIAL: This is an interim issue of the Newsletter, produced by the Meetings Secretary while the Association seeks a successor to John Mountford as Newsletter Editor. The contents are therefore somewhat restricted, in comparison with the wide range to which we grew accustomed during John's editorship. The main items derive from the 1984 Annual Meeting at Bangor; we are delighted to reproduce the full text of Gabriele Kasper's Keynote Paper, as well as abstracts of other papers delivered. The authors of the remaining contributions deserve special thanks, for having produced their articles without the stimulus of a "proper" editor's encouragement. As the next issue of the Newsletter is likely also to be an interim one, we hope other members will follow their good example in submitting material.

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NEWSLETTER PROSPECT

This is the first BAAL Newsletter since number 12, in July 1981, not to have been edited by John Mountford. John took over a small, rather scrappy publication which was undoubtedly no more than a newsletter, and rapidly converted it into an informal but very substantial journal, full of interesting papers and reviews, often amusing and controversial, and always professionally committed. This was an extraordinary feat, and bore witness to his imagination and dedication. The Association must be very grateful to him for his efforts, and we wish him every success in his work as one of Britain's few Applied Linguist Classicists.

Meanwhile we have to face the difficult task of finding a successor. The Executive Committee is considering one offer, and hopes to be able to make a decision at the next meeting in December. However, expressions of interest sometimes cannot be followed up when the implications are understood, so if there are members interested in editing the Newsletter the Secretary or Chairperson would still be very pleased to hear from them as soon as possible. Also, any comments on possible changes in format, and offers of help with writing, reviewing, etc. will be received most gratefully.

Meanwhile the Meetings Secretary, Ros Mitchell, is taking responsibility for this issue, as much of it derives from the Bangor Annual Meeting. The next issue will be the responsibility of Bill Littlewood, and will consist of a collection of most interesting working papers from the BAAL/LAGB Committee for Linguistics in Education. We are very grateful to the two interim editors for taking on such work in addition to their heavy responsibilities within other areas of BAAL's activity. After these two issues we hope to start a longer relationship with a new editor.

Christopher Brumfit

ANNUAL MEETING 1984

The 1984 BAAL Annual Meeting was held at University College of North Wales (Bangor), from 14-16 September. The theme of the Meeting was "Language Description, Language Contact and Language Acquisition:Directions and Influences"; the Local Organiser was Carl James, and c100 members and friends attended. In this Interim Newsletter are included the full text of the Keynote Address by Gabriele Kasper, plus abstracts of all papers delivered at the Meeting.

BAAL Annual Meeting 1984 (Bangor)
Keynote Paper:
PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE TRANSFER

Gabriele Kasper
University of Aarhus

1.   Historic background

The history of language transfer as an object of investigation is not only interesting from the point of view of second language (L2) acquisition research. It also provides an instructive example of scientific development in general. When, in North America at the end of the 1960s, the Contrastive Analysis paradigm was replaced by the Identity paradigm, claiming that L1 and L2 acquisition proceeds in an identical manner, it was not only the inadequate psychological theory and empirical basis of CA that was abandoned, but also the idea that learners may use their L1 knowledge in building up L2 competence. Indeed a lot of research effort was invested into substantiating the claim that L1 transfer had no significance in L2 acquisition (cf. in particular the Dulay and Burt studies, e.g. Burt and Dulay 1980 for an overview). As pointed out by Juliane James (1977), 'Kellerman (1977), Faerch (1978), Sharwood Smith (1979) and others, associating transfer, in the sense of cross-linguistic influence on L2 learning and use, with a behaviouristic notion of language learning is by no means compelling, even though the concept originated from behaviourism. On the contrary, from a cognitivist point of view it makes all the sense in the world to assume that learners in principle make use of any prior linguistic knowledge as 'input' to the creative construction process, one important knowledge source being their L1 (cf. Ervin-Tripp 1974). It is the 'in principle' though that needs qualification, and making such informed qualifications is precisely what transfer studies and, for that matter, L2 acquisition research in general, are all about.

Whereas the Identity hypothesis became the predominant research paradigm in North America in the seventies, an alternative approach was formulated by Selinker (1972), the Interlanguage hypothesis. Building on his earlier work on transfer (1969), Selinker postulated five central processes leading to interlanguage-specific features (fossilizations), one of them being language transfer. His work, while sharing the psychological presuppositions of the "Identitists", thus established a continuity from the previous contrastive paradigm to a possible successor in that he liberated the notion of transfer from its behaviouristic bonds and preserved it as an important theoretical concept in L2 acquisition research.

While the Identity paradigm prevailed in North America and - with certain modifications - in studies of untutored L2 acquisition in Europe (e.g. Felix 1976, Wode 1976), the majority of European researchers investigating foreign language learning in classrooms do not seem to have been particularly affected by the Identity hypothesis. Most of this research was -

and is - 'applied' in the sense that its outcome hopefully
has some significant implications for foreign language teaching,
and in many countries, it is carried out in close cooperation
between teachers and researchers. I wonder what this cooperation
would look like today if researchers had seriously attempted
to convince teachers instructing, say, Danish, French, Polish
or German learners in English that their students did not rely
on their mother tongues, when this was precisely what teachers
experienced in their daily work.

It is not surprising, then, that in Europe, the predominant
paradigm to succeed the contrastive hypothesis was the Inter-
language hypothesis and its well-known varieties as formulated
by Pit Corder (1967, 1971), and William Nemser (1971). Work
on transfer from a descriptive-linguistic perspective continued,
of which Carl James' book (1980) is an excellent example. At
the same time, empirical and psycholinguistic transfer studies
were initiated by Kellerman (1977) and Jordens (1977),
exploring what makes L1 material transferable or non-transferable
from the learner's point of view.

As the limitations of the Identity hypothesis became
increasingly apparent (cf. e.g. Tarone 1974, Kennedy and Holmes
1976, Rosansky 1976), the need for a theory that can account for
both acquisition universals (eg. the acquisition hierarchy
established for relative clause formation by Keenan and Comrie
(1977) and Comrie and Keenan 1979)) and transfer from L1 or L3
was more and more recognized as well. Today, much work in
North America is devoted to investigating the relationship
between universals and transfer in L2 acquisition (e.g. Gass
1979,1984., Zobl 1980, 1984, Andersen 1983, and
Gundel/Tarone 1983).

Very timely, the Michigan conference on language transfer
in 1981 marked a new and maore enlightened era for transfer
studies. The research question as it puts itself today on
both sides of the Atlantic is thus no more "is transfer a
relevant phenomenon in L2 acquisition and use, or is it not?".
The generally shared assumption is that it is, and consequently,
the questions to be asked about transfer have multiplied: we
would like to know what the conditions are for transfer to
take place, and how it interacts with other factors and
procedures in L2 learning and use. We would like to know no
less, and probably more, than where learners transfer what,
how much, when, and how. You will be relieved to learn that
I shall not attempt to answer all of these questions. In fact,
I shall not attempt to answer any of them. What I propose to
do is rather to outline some theoretical constructs which may
be useful in pursuing them.

Let me now give you an overview of what I shall be
talking about in the next 55 minutes.

(1.   Historic background)

2.   Transfer in learning and communication

3.   Declarative and procedural knowledge

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4.   Transfer relating to declarative knowledge

    4.1.   Transfer at different linguistic levels

    4.2.   Transfer relating to the cognitive organiz-
ation of declarative knowledge

    4.3.   Transfer load

    4.4.   Transferability

5.   Transfer relating to modes of activation

    5.1.   Attention and automatisation

    5.2.   Transfer as a production procedure

6.   Sherry

Most, though not all of what I have to say about these
topics is based on research I have carried out together with
Claus Faerch over the past few years. As can be seen from
the overview, I shall approach the notion of transfer from a
cognitivist and psycholinguistic perspective. In a preliminary
definition, the term "transfer" will be used to denote a
psycholinguistic procedure by means of which an L2 learner
activates her L1/Ln knowledge in developing or using her
interlanguage (IL). Subsequently, "L1/Ln" will be replaced by
"L1", which should be understood as "the learner's knowledge
of L1 or any other language she might possess, apart from the
currently used IL". The suggested definition reflects the
view commonly held today, that transfer should be characterized
as a process, independent of the effect it brings about.
Consequently the former distinction between "positive",
"negative" and "neutral" transfer (e.g. Selinker 1969 and many
others) has to be abandoned, as it is clearly product-related.

2.   Transfer in learning and communication
A first distinction of transfer procedures is functional,
relating the notion to L2 learning or communication. Any
characterization of transfer as a learning or communication
procedure depends, of course, on the explicit or implicit model
of L2 learning or communication the researcher subscribes to.
Transfer in an Inter-language model thus has a different status
from transfer in the Monitor model (Krashen e.g. 1982), and
I am looking forward to hearing Carl James' - presumably rather
critical - appreciation of the role of transfer according to
the Monitor model tomorrow.

2.1.   Transfer in learning
As a learning procedure, transfer has been located in an
information processing model of L2 learning (cf. Faerch and
Kasper 1980, Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1982, Faerch, Haastrup
and Phillipson 1984).

According to this model, transfer is used in the learner's
attempt to establish hypotheses about L2 rules and items.
These may be formed on the basis of the learner's L1 knowledge
alone, or as the result of an interaction between such

knowledge and the L2 input the learner receives. The first case can be illustrated by a German learner of French hypothes- izing that the gender marking of the French possessive pronouns is reflexive, as it is in German (Franz trifft <u>seine</u> Mutter - Ilse trifft <u>ihren</u> Vater—> Franz rencontre ⁺<u>son</u> mère - Ilse rencontre ⁺<u>sa</u> père). As an example of the second case can be mentioned a German learner of Danish hearing native speakers say strings like "I morgen <u>bliver det</u> regnvejr igen" and "Desvaerre <u>kan jeg</u> ikke komme til mødet". She notices the word order and concludes that Danish, like German, has subject-verb inversion following an initial adverbial ("Morgen <u>regnet es</u> wieder", "Leider <u>kann ich</u> nicht zu der Sitzung kommen"). These examples illustrate what Corder has recently described as the "heuristic and facilitative role" (1983:88) of transfer "in the process of discovery and creation" (92).

An alternative conceptualization of transfer in an information-processing model of L2 learning has been suggested by Schachter (1983). She proposes not to view transfer as a process but rather as a constraint on the hypotheses learners establish about L2, operating together with other previous knowledge and the learner's expectations about L2.

2.2 Transfer in communication

Transfer as a learning procedure should be distinguished from transfer as a communication procedure. Indeed, Corder, emphasizing the functional difference between the two phenomena, suggests referring to the latter as "borrowing", rather than transfer (1983:92). While I shall not follow his terminological suggestion, I find his argument for making the functional distinction compelling: learners may well activate their Ll knowledge in order to procedure an IL utterance, or in order to understand incoming messages, <u>without</u> retaining these rules or items in their IL systems. This <u>may</u> happen, of course: in which case transfer used as a communication procedure has a learning effect.

My last remarks indicate that when talking about transfer in communication, one has to distinguish between transfer as a <u>reception</u> and a <u>production</u> procedure. This important distinction, however, has been conspicuously neglected - not only in transfer studies but in IL research in general. We will be hearing more about it from Håkan Ringbom tomorrow, so I can be brief.

2.2.1. Transfer in reception

As a reception procedure, transfer implies that the learner interprets incoming L2 utterances on the basis of her Ll knowledge. It is thus a case of inferencing - "interlingual inferencing", as Carton (1971) has put it (cf. also Bialystok 1983). In the case of closely related languages such as the Scandinavian and the Romance languages, receptive transfer allows for high interlingual comprehensibility, outweighing by far the productive abilities of non-native speakers of these languages. Experimental evidence for receptive transfer between related languages has been provided

by Bieritz (1974) in his study of lexical comprehension, and is currently being investigated in the comprehensive project on "Scandinavian - Dutch Mutual Language Understanding" (Hedquist 1984).

2.2.2. Transfer in production

As a production procedure transfer refers to the activation of Ll knowledge in the establishment of an IL speech plan by means of which the learner seeks to realise a commun- icative goal. The Ll knowledge activated can be of different types of cognitive representations (phonological, syntactic, pragmatic,...; declarative/procedural), and the activation itself can involve different degrees of cognitive control (Faerch and Kasper, in press a). A more precise characteris- ation on these dimensions of transfer as a production procedure will be suggested in the following.

I shall confine my remarks in the remainder of this talk to transfer as a <u>production</u> procedure, although some of what I shall be saying <u>may</u> apply to reception and learning as well. Looking at IL users' speech production, there are two ways in which Ll transfer can be relevant for IL speech. Firstly, certain aspects of IL speech may be brought about by the direct, synchronic utilization of Ll specific knowledge(transfer as a production procedure). Secondly, certain aspects of IL speech may be the result of rules stored in the learner's cognitive representation of L2, established by means of transfer learning procedures. In the latter case I refer to transfer as <u>diachronic</u>, seen relative to the moment of speech production. Clearly, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to tell from performance data whether syncronic or diachronic transfer was at play, whereas introspective methods may prove more successful.

The functional distinction between types of transfer as suggested here is reflected nicely in 3 collections of papers, all of which are impressive indications for the transfer revival we are witnessing: the book "Language Transfer in Language Learning", which came out last year under the editor- ship of Susan Gass and Larry Selinker, a volume edited by Hans W. Dechert and Manfred Raupach under the title "Transfer in Production", and a collection which Eric Kellerman and Mike Sharwood Smith are editing entitled "Cross-Linguistic Influence in Second-Language Acquisition and Performance", (both the last two collections are in press).

In the following section (3.) I shall briefly outline two aspects of knowledge which should be distinguished in examining language learning and use in general, and transfer in production in particular.

3. Declarative and procedural Knowledge

Following a distinction of long standing in philosophy (cf. Ryle 1949), and recently revived in artificial intelligence, cognitive psychology and cognitive science (e.g. Anderson 1976, 1980), Faerch and Kasper (in press a,b,c,d, Kasper 1984) have described two types of communicative knowledge. <u>Declarative knowledge</u> comprises the language user's

knowledge of linguistic rules and elements, including pragmatic and discourse knowledge, in one or more languages; is Declarative knowledge ("knowledge that") is "static" in that independent of its use for communicative purposes in real time. It cannot be employed immediately but only through procedures activating relevant parts of it in speech reception, production and language learning. The sum of such procedures is referred to as procedural knowledge. Procedural knowledge ("knowledge how") is free of (linguistic) content (cf. Bialystok and Ryan, in press), although it does not necessarily operate independently of the type of declarative knowledge it activates, as will be demonstrated later in this talk.

In speech production, the function of this "dynamic",

* process oriented* knowledge is to select and combine rules and elements from the declarative knowledge in order for speakers to implement their verbal plans. As production procedures operate in real time, they are sensitive to processing factors such as sequencing constraints and the language user's processing capacity.

In L1 communication, production procedures typically select and combine elements and rules from the different levels of L1 declarative knowledge. Let's refer to the declarative knowledge which is primarily utilized in a given communicative situation as "primary declarative knowledge". In IL communication, a speaker's primary declarative knowledge is, of course, her IL. However, she may also make use of declarative knowledge which has secondary status in a context where a target language is the primary code, viz. her L1 or any other language knowledge she may possess. We can now characterize transfer as the part of a learner's procedural knowledge that selects secondary declarative knowledge for the implementation of a secondary subplan in the production process, and combines this "secondary" subplan with "primary" subplans so that the outcome is a primary plan, i.e. an IL plan containing an L1/Ln subplan (e.g. phono- logical features, word order, semantic or pragmatic meaning, etc). The only difference between transfer and other planning procedures is thus that transfer combines secondary with primary declarative knowledge.

Having thus described transfer as a part of learners' procedural knowledge, it can further be specified in terms of the declarative knowledge it operates upon (secton 4.), and the modes by which it is activated (section 5.).

4. Transfer relating to declarative knowledge

4.2. Transfer at different linguistic levels

One way of characterizing the organisation of declarative knowledge is in terms of the different linguistic levels it comprises. Traditionally, this has also been the predominant way of analysing transfer, reflecting the linguistic orient- ation of transfer research in general. The literature offers rich evidence for transfer at the phonological, syntactic and lexical level. Recently, transfer at the levels of pragmatics and discourse has also begun to be investigated. For current

developments in transfer research at all linguistic levels, the papers in Gass and Selinker (1983) provide an instructive overview. Pragmatic transfer is currently being investigated by an international group of researchers in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project. A general outline of the project by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain will be included in the next issue of Applied Linguistics, which in fact is a special issue on Pragmatics and L2 Acquisition, edited by the same authors.

Analysing transfer at different linguistic levels is a complex matter, and the more aspects of language as a means of communication and cognition we discover, the more challenging the task of exploring transfer in these areas becomes. It seems to me, however, that if we wish to reconstruct transfer procedures as they operate in learners' minds, we have to complicate our task even further by taking into account the psychological and social-psychological dimensions pertaining to the phenomenon.

4.2. Transfer relating to the cognitive organization of declarative knowledge

Psychologists have distinguished "analytic" and "holistic" types of (declarative) knowledge (cf. the discussion in Pollio 1979 of these, and related, concepts) or, in Piaget's terminology, "representational" and "behavioural" schemata. I shall follow Bialystok (1981, forthcoming) in posing three types of linguistic knowledge of different cognitive status. Unanalyzed knowledge is holistic, comprising chunks, verbal subroutines or prefabricated patterns whose internal structure is not apparent to the language user, and which thus cannot be internally modified. It plays a major part in early L1 and L2 acquisition (cf. Fillmore 1976) as well as in smooth adult production. However, its applicability is limited, as it cannot creatively be modified and transferred to new contexts.

Analysed knowledge is structurally transparent to the language user. It comprises subsystems of rules and elements which are transferable to new contexts, and is thus a pre- requisite for creative language use. Diachronically it may have been derived by the learner decomposing unanalysed chunks into their underlying regularities. Based on this knowledge type, the language user can make metalinguistic judgements as to the correctness of utterances with a great degree of certainty.

Articulated knowledge is stored in metalinguistic form, though not normally in the categories established by linguists. It may be the result of the language user's own attempt to generalize regularities on the basis of reflections over her own or others' linguistic behaviour. Or it may have the form of pedagogical rules, taken over from grammar books or language teachers. Articulated knowledge allows not only for judgements but also for formulating the rules which have been observed or violated in a given utterance.

It is not immediately obvious from language users' performance which of these three types of knowledge they have

activated in a given stretch of discourse. One might reasonably
assume though, that speech production , both in L1 and 1L, is
typically based on unanalysed and analysed knowledge. However,
informal self reports by advanced andacademically trained

FL learners suggest that they can establish sub-plans of an 1L
utterance on the basis of their articulated knowledge, for instance,
basing tense and aspect marking in English, or the choice of the
subjunctive in German or French, on their articulated grammatical
rules. Basing transfer on articulated knowledge presupposes,
of course, that the learner possesses such articulated knowledge
of her L1 - which most FL learners do not, or only in a very
rudimentary fashion. However, contrastively based pedagogic
grammars sometimes point out similarities between L1 and L2 which
the learners can exploit for correct production. As for a recent
example, Davidsen-Nielsen, Faerch and Harder, in their manual for
teachers instructing Danes in English (1982), suggest a variety
of useful conversation rules from Danish to English, e.g. "if
there is a choice in English between a gerund and an infinitive
complement, use the gerund if Danish has an infinitive, the in-
finitive if Danish has an at-clause" (43f), cf

> jeg så at hun kom -> I saw her come
> jeg så hende komme -> I saw her coming

the semantic difference between the first and the second pair
of sentences being the same in the two languages. As an example
by way of self-report I may perhaps mention my desperate attempts
to assign gender to Danish nouns on principled basis. I have
adopted as a conversion rule to mark as neuter those nouns which
are "short" and neuter in German, such as

> das Glas -> glasset   das Ziel -> målet
> das Problem -> problemet   das Thema -> emnet

Unfortunately, it is not a very efficient rule, as there seem
to be just as many instances where it does not apply as where
it does, such as when I recently proposed in a teachers' meeting
that a course we were planing should include something about
"sprog og jernet", which is "language and iron", whereas I had
intended to say "language and brain". "Brain" is "hjernen",
i.e. it has common gender in Danish rather than neuter as the
German "das Gehirn". Strictly speaking, applying articulated
conversion rules to IL performance is not a case of transfer in
production but rather one of using an IL-specific type of art-
iculated knowledge, viz. knowledge about equivalence relation-
ships between L1 and L2.

Just as articulated knowledge, unanalysed knowledge does
not lend itself easily to transfer. What happens in most cases
of transfer is that L1 knowledge is not applied holistically
to IL production but rather that it interacts in various ways
with IL-based plans, this interaction presupposing some struct-
ural transparency of the L1 knowledge in terms of its underlying

rules and subcomponents. This implies that when learners tran-
sfer, say, a routine formula from their unanalyzed knowledge into
their IL production, they first decompose it into its underlying
rules and elements, i.e. they transform a piece of unanalysed
into analysed knowledge.

The most suitable candidate for transfer is thus analysed
L1 knowledge, as it fulfills the requirements for most transfer
types, viz, that individual rules and elements are discernible
for the learner. Transferring compounds, for instance, presupp-
oses that the learner in her L1 distinguishes the elements the
compound is made of. In a recent investigation (Mogensen 1984),
Danish learners of German produced the following utterances:

(1)   L: - wir haben Schulpflicht bis die die neunte Klasse
             (we have compulsory education up to grade nine)

       (L explaining the different lines in the Danish "gymnasium")

(2)   L: und äh die - äh - die sprech/Sprachen lernen konnen
          zwischen - äh - neu - neusprachlich nennen wir es das heisst
          dass man die neue Sprachen wie Deutsch und Französisch und
          Englisch - lernt aber auch Latein (looks inquiringly)
          (and er those er who learn languages can (choose) between er
          modern languages we call it it means that one learns the
          modern languages such as German and French and English -
          but also Latin)

In the retrospective interviews conducted immediately after the
conversational data had been collected, the learners reported
that they had not known the words "Schulpflicht" and "neusprach-
lich" but had made them up by transferring the two elements of
the Danish compounds "skolepligt" and "nysproglig", respectively,
into German. In both cases, the learners made thus use of their
analysed L1 knowledge, although, as I shall argue later, they
activated it in quite different ways.

As analysed knowledge is involved in most of the transfer
types to be discussed in the next section, more examples will
be provided there.

4.3 Transfer load

As Adjemian (1983) has pointed out, it would be an undue
simplification to regard transferred L1 elements as homogenous
and invariable. Learners may transfer more or less of a given
L1 rule or item, or they might even decide not to select specific
L1 material for transfer at all. One can thus distinguish types
of transfer according to the criterion "how much is transferred",
referred to as transfer load. Let's look at some data exemplify-
ing different degrees of transfer load.

(3)   L: do you want some - Zinsen or do you want some more
           (Zinsen German for 'interests')

(4)   L: I think I better like to maybe (laughs) I really
          don't know men maybe I better like to live there
      (men Danish for 'but')

The lexical items selected from the learners' L1s are
integrated into an IL plan without any adaptation to the IL
system. This type of transfer has been referred to as borrowing
or code shift, the latter term being used in particular when
longer stretches of discourse are involved.

(5)   N: what is it you're cleaning

      L: I'm cleaning (sighs) -- a big house and (N: mm)
          they doing er lamps - (N: yeah) - and -- ['peipsk ə :v]
      (papirkurve Danish for 'waste-paper basket')

(6)   N: d'you know what you want - to do when you finish
          school

      L: no (N: mm) my big brother is [skael] - [haendlsku:l]
          - in a - he will [waeə] in a bank
      (skal Danish for 'is going to', handelsskole Danish
      for 'commercial school', vaere Danish for 'be')

In (5) and (6), the L1 lexical items chosen by the
learners are adapted phonologically and morphologically to the
IL system. This transfer procedure has been referred to as
foreignizing or, in the case of English as L2, anglicizing
(Haastrup and Phillipson 1983).

(7)   L: they (= my pet) eats - erm - greens - things
      (grøntsager Danish for 'vegetables')

(8)   N: Kojak speaks funny English doesn't he - very American
          it's difficult - difficult to understand --

      L: (tut) yes - 4 - can I understand English can I
          understand [lit aeməri'kaensk] well
      (kan jeg forstår engelsk kan jeg også forstår lidt
      amerikansk Danish for 'if I understand English then
      I also understand a little American').

The transfer procedure in (7) has been termed literal
translation: complex items and rules are transferred element
by element from the L1 repertoire at or above the lexical
level, and adjusted to IL at the lower levels. When literal
translation occurs at the syntactic level, as in (8), this is
also known as re-lexification.

(9)   L: he stand up and set some warm water over to coffee
      (han rejste sig og satte varmt vand over til kaffe
      Danish for 'he got up and made some hot water for his
      coffee').

(10) L: once I swimmed swam in the river
      (svømme - svømmede Danish for 'swim - swam')

In (9) and (10), the learners choose items and rules from
their repertoire on the basis of corresponding formal

regularities in L1. Somewhat clumsily, this has been called
intra-/interlingual transfer. (9) involves the choice of
formally corresponding lexical items; (10) illustrates how the
distribution of an IL verb into the regular or irregular
declensional classes is carried out on the basis of its distri-
bution in L1.

The transfer categories just mentioned have been
presented according to decreasing transfer load. This can be
schematized as follows:

L1 system

| borrowing (code shift)

| foreignizing

| literal translation (re-lexification)   combinatory transfer
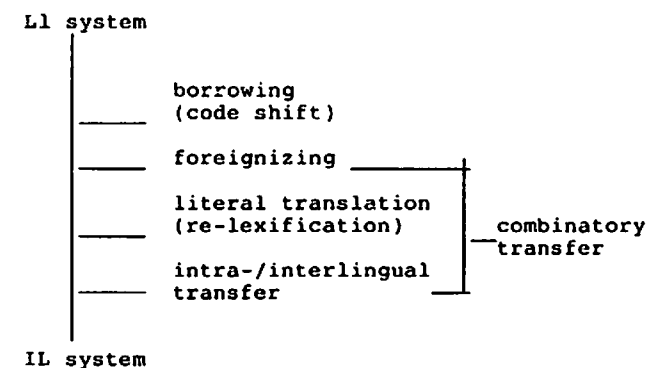
| intra-/interlingual transfer

IL system

Fig. 1: Types of transfer according to transfer load

Apart from borrowing, all the discussed transfer types
involve a combination of features from the L1 and the IL
knowledge. They can therefore be characterized as combinatory
transfer. In terms of the types of declarative knowledge they
operate upon, it is evident that borrowing can operate on
unanalysed knowledge, whereas combinatory transfer requires
analyzed knowledge, as individual rules and elements are
combined in various ways with IL knowledge.

The classification of transfer types according to
transfer load is no more than a first approximation. As could
be seen, some of the categories are closely related to
particular linguistic levels, for instance borrowing and
foreignizing, which operate on the lexical level. How, if at
all, can these categories account for transfer at the, say,
phonological level? More work is needed to clarify the
notion of transfer load, if we want to account for the
integrity and interaction of primary and secondary declarative
knowledge in learners' speech production.

However, learners have not only the option of
transferring L1 knowledge to different degrees, they can
also decide not to transfer at all. As one example of
transfer avoidance, the conspicuous non occurrence of the
English gambit 'I mean' in German learners' conversational
performance can be mentioned (Kasper 1981). Although this

gambit has a perfect formal, functional and distributional equivalent in the learners' L1 ('ich meine'), and was found to be the most frequently used "cajoler" or repair initiator in the performance of both English and German native speakers conversing under the same conditions as the learners, the 30 learners participating in the study did not use it once. Asked for an explanation, quite a few of them stated that they had been warned by their teachers not to use this phrase as it was a "Germanism".

The phenomenon of transfer avoidance raises the more general question: when do learners transfer and when don't they? This problem has been discussed in recent years under the notion of "transferability".

4.4. Transferability

As issues of transferability will be discussed more extensively in several papers tomorrow, I shall just briefly mention some sets of criteria which have been invoked to account for this aspect of transfer.

Linguistic criteria date back to the heydays of contrastive analysis, where predictions about transfer (and "interference") were proposed on the basis of the structural relationships between the languages involved. To mention but one example, it was a matter of considerable debate (as documented, for instance, in James 1969) whether _typological differences_ between L1 and L2 were impeding or conducive to "interference". Today, one can observe a development from criteria derived from purely _descriptive_ statements about the languages concerned to criteria aiming at _explanatory_ adequacy in the Chomskyan sense, i.e. relating to universals in natural languages and language acquisition. Thus, transferability predictions have been formulated by Eckman (1977) in his "markedness differential hypothesis" and by Anders (198) in the "transfer to some- where principle". Furthermore, the work of Gass (e.g. 1979) and Zobl (1980) suggests that acquisition regularities, and linguistic universals as well as perceptual and logical characteristics of the structures in question determine their transferability.

A second approach to transferability is the _psycholinguistic_ approach developed in numerous studies by Kellerman (e.g. 1977, 1983) and Jordens (1977). Basic to their set of criteria is the learner's perception of (a) the relationship between L1 and L2, and (b) of certain characteristics of L1 rules and items, such as their perceived language-neutrality or specificity. Fortunately there is no need for me to say more about the psycholinguistic approach to transferability tonight, as Håkan Ringbom will go into this in his paper tomorrow .

A third perspective on transferability is _social-psychological_ in that it views the speaker's definition of her or his group-membership and relationship to the interlocutor as a crucial factor in the choices from the declarative linguistic knowledge. In order to account both for code-shifting

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and combinatory transfer in intercultural communication, Beebe (e.g. 1980) and Beebe and Zuengler (1983) have invoked Giles' accommodation theory (e.g. Giles and Smith 1979), describing a speaker's style shifting in terms of its convergence with or divergence from the speech style perceived in the interlocutor. Various social-psychological factors have been identified as motivating a speaker's converging or diverging linguistic behaviour. Again I can leave a more detailed discussion to several contributors tomorrow.

5. _Transfer relating to modes of activation_

In the preceding section, I have discussed some relevant features of declarative L1 knowledge which transfer operates upon. In this section, we shall be looking at ways in which transfer operates as a production procedure . As proposed by several cognitive psychologists, one can distinguish between (1) procedures which are fast, automatic, unattended and capable of operating simultaneously, and (2) procedures which are slow, cognitively controlled, attended and executed consecutively (e.g. Shiffrin/Schneider 1977, Ericsson/Simon 1980, Kellogg 1982). For an analysis of transfer, two of these processing characteristics appear to be particularly relevant: attention and automatization.

5.1. _Attention and automatization_

By definition, _attention_ refers to information currently stored in short-term _memory_. However, not all accessed information is attended to in the same degree. Polanyi (e.g. 1969) distinguishes between 'focal' and 'subsidiary' _attention_. 'Focal attention' involves a high degree of cognitive control and is typically orientated towards one focus at a time. 'Subsidiary attention' provides the setting to the focus, but which, at a specific moment, happen not to be so. While focal and subsidiary attention applies to information accessible through short-term memory, some processes under- lying mental and behavioural acts do not enter short-term memory, and therefore cannot be attended to. These are typically highly automatised processes. Attention thus interrelates with automatization.

Automatization refers to the ease and speed with which a procedure can be activated. The one end of the automati- zation continuum comprises mental or behavioural procedures that require attention, as they involve deliberate choices and combinations from declarative knowledge and thus operate slowly ("unautomatized" or "controlled" procedures). The other end is represented by procedures which are triggered off in response to a stimulus and neither require nor allow for attention, thus operating fast ("automatized", or "uncontrolled" procedures). The latter type of procedure includes motor processes, recognition and retrieval of certain familiar types of information from long-term memory, or neutral events (Ericson/Simon 1980).

Automatic procedures can be characterized in terms of two factors. One factor is the frequency with which a certain procedure is activated, resulting in a fast, predetermined "response" to a given "stimulus". The other factor is the compilation of knowledge (cf. Anderson 1982), which implies that instead of the language user selecting and combining individual elements from various parts of declarative knowledge in order to construct a plan, each completed sub-plan requiring control before the next one is initiated, the language user employs integrated, complex plans, established as ready-made subroutines (Carr 1979), which become activated en bloc without the language user being aware of or controlling their individual components. Such prefabricated subplans are stored in the language user's analyzed declarative knowledge.

5.2. Transfer as a production procedure

By characterizing transfer procedures in terms of attention and automatization, three types of transfer as a production procedure can be distinguished.

5.2.1. Automatic transfer

Automatic transfer involves the activation of highly automatized subroutines from a secondary area of declarative knowledge, in situations in which attention is focussed on something else. It occurs typically when there is competition between an L1 and an IL subplan, and where the L1 plan so to speak "wins" as it is more highly automated. Most of the instances of automatic transfer found in the Copenhagen corpus of learner language involve discourse-regulatory gambits, such as in examples (4), (11) and (12):

(4) L: I think I better like to maybe (laughs) I really don't know men maybe I better like to live there (men Danish for 'but')

(11) L: they do they just help with money ikk'

     N: yeah
     (ikke Danish equivalent to question tag)

(12) NS: (talking about London) can you compare it to Copenhagen (...) it's it's very much bigger isn't it

     L: jo it's much bigger
     (jo Danish for 'yes' in response to negated questions)

where the learners use Danish men for 'but', the appealer ikke instead of a question tag, and the uptaker jo in response to a negated question instead of 'yes'. Such examples also occur in the speech of fairly advanced learners, who certainly know the equivalent English gambits.

In terms of the declarative knowledge they involve, the cited examples of automatic transfer belong to the learners' unanalysed lexical knolwedge, and in terms of their transfer load, they are instances of borrowing, as no adaptation to IL features takes place. They are thus illustrative of compilation in that the transferred gambit is stored and activated as

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a holistic chunk, i.e. without decomposition taking place. Whether automatic transfer in the proposed sense also operates on other levels, 'e.g. the syntactic, and how the criterion of compilation is then to be accounted for, is not quite clear to me at this stage. Let's therefore quickly move on to the second type of transfer procedures.

5.2.2. Strategic transfer

When a language user experiences a problem in establishing or executing a speech plan, because relevant linguistic means are either unavailable or currently unaccessible, she will attempt to solve the problem by means of a communication strategy (Faerch and Kasper 1983b). In IL use, one possible solution is to activate declarative knowledge from a secondary area, i.e. L1 knowledge. This type of transfer will be referred to as strategic transfer. Strategic transfer presupposes that (a) the learner's focal attention is directed towards the planning problem and its solution; (b) that the solution, the "strategic plan", is based on secondary declarative knowledge. In performance data, strategic transfer can often be distinguished from non-strategic use of secondary knowledge in that it is accompanied by strategy markers (Faerch and Kasper 1983a) such as hesitation phenomena and appeals, or followed by another, IL-based strategy, e.g. a paraphrase. The literature on communication strategies provides rich evidence for strategic transfer. Of our previously quoted examples, (2) included all the features just mentioned:

(2) L: und äh die - äh - die speech/sprachen lernen können zwischen - äh -- neu - neusprachlich nennen wir es das heisst dass man die neue Sprachen wie Deutsch und Französisch und English - lernt aber auch Latein

         (looks inquiringly)

Strategic transfer can have all the kinds of transfer loads discussed earlier, for instance foreignizing, as in [peipskə:v] , and literal translation, as in "greensthings". Moreover, it seems that it basically can operate on all types of declarative knowledge, both in terms of its cognitive organization and linguistic levels. However, taking the processing constraints of speech production into account, it seems most likely for strategic transfer to operate on analysed, and, for some learners, on articulated knowledge, as these have the manipulative qualities necessary for problem-solving. As for linguistic levels, strategic transfer should most probably occur where high-level decisions are involved, as with lexical choices. This assumption is supported by the literature where most data on strategic transfer relate to the lexical level. Further support comes from retrospective evidence (Mogensen 1984, Faerch and Kasper forthcoming) showing that learners invariably report on the lexical problems they experienced and the solutions they attempted, rather than on problems at any other level. One interesting research task could be to explore whether problems occurring in other high-level planning decisions, such as the selection of speech acts,

discourse functions and the modes of their realization, will also be solved by strategic transfer.

5.2.3. <u>Subsidiary transfer</u>

The third type of transfer I shall introduce will be referred to as <u>subsidiary transfer</u>, reflecting the fact that it relates to sub-plans in IL production which are in subsidiary attention at the moment of their production. Bearing in mind that the two dimensions we are operating with, attention and automatization, are continua, not dichotic, subsidiary transfer comprises a variety of cases along both continua.

Subsidiary transfer differs from strategic transfer with respect to attention. In the case of <u>strategic transfer</u>, there is focal attention on the (IL) production problem as well as on the (L1) solution. Subsidiary transfer occurs in a situation in which there is focal awareness neither on the relevant IL planning procedure nor on the transferred L1 knowledge. The main distinction between subsidiary and <u>automatic transfer</u> is that the latter involves the activation of a <u>compiled</u> sub-plan in the L1 (e.g. a routine formula), whereas subsidiary transfer is <u>combinatory</u>. This implies (a) that subsidiary transfer and borrowing are mutually exclusive, (b) that subsidiary transfer is likely to activate learners' analytic knowledge, and (c) that it can operate on any linguistic level. Some of the data cited before are also illustrative of subsidiary transfer. For instance, our examples [pelpska:v] and <u>greens-things</u> contain the linking morph -s-, used in Danish in certain nominal compounds (cf. <u>vindue/s/karm</u> = 'window sill'). One can hypothesize that the learner has established a strong link between nominal compounding and use of the linking consonant -s-, and that the (strategic) compounding occurring in the two examples function as 'stimuli' for the activation of the -s- at the <u>morphological</u> level.

Subsidiary transfer at the <u>syntactic</u> level can be illustrated by example (8), "can I understand English can I understand [lit aemerikansk] well", involving a Danish word order rule in conditional clauses. For subsidiary transfer at the <u>lexical</u> level, our very first example, "Schulpflicht", can be quoted again, where the learner translated an L1 compound literally without experiencing a planning problem. As a final illustration of lexical subsidiary transfer, I'd like to cite a sequence where a change in the learner's attention from subsidiary to focal takes place as a result of the interlocutor initiating a repair:

(13) L: We share the apartment (...) it's er has
          four and a half no rubbish three and a halv
          room

      N: what's half a room

      L: (giggles) it's a small room
          [When indicating the size of flats, rooms below
          a certain measure are referred to in Danish as
          et halvt vaerelse ('half a room)]

As will become apparent from the examples, the 3 proposed transfer types constitute relative points on the continua of attention and automatization, rather than discrete categories. You may find the concept of subsidiary transfer particularly fuzzy, and I agree, it is fuzzy, as it borders on automatic transfer on the one end and strategic transfer on the other. However, I feel we need some concept accounting for transfer that is neither attended nor involves compiled knowledge.

6. <u>Conclusion</u>

In this talk, I have suggested a functional different- iation of transfer according to its activation in learning, reception and production. Furthermore, I have proposed several parameters according to which transfer as a production procedure can be described; parameters relating to the transferred declarative L1 knowledge and its interaction with the learner's I1 knowledge, as well as to the cognitive modes in which transfer procedures can operate in speech production. If one accepts the basic parameters, despite some of the individual categories warranting more precise definition, then this has some immediate consequences for the research method- ology employed. Let me conclude by pointing out some of these.

Firstly, and most obviously, for analyzing transfer in production, one needs production data - which implies not only data collected in an oral discourse context, but data recorded and transcribed in such a way that all performance features, ideally verbal as well as non-verbal, are retained. So-called "regularized" texts, from which processing indicators have been eliminated, reduce drastically our possibilities of identifying e.g. strategic as opposed to subsidiary or automatic transfer. All they allow for is analyzing transfer at the product level in terms of the linguistic level and, to some extent, the transfer load involved.

Secondly, as all speech production, transfer in production is sensitive to the usual sociolinguistic and psychological constraints: the interlocutor, topic, discourse type, medium; as well as cognitive and affective factors pertaining to the speaker.

All of these constrain transfer in complex ways, as has been shown by Faerch (1983) for the variable "discourse type". In studies of transfer in production, it is therefore important to account for these variables by describing them as faithfully as possible, and by relating our interpretation of the performance data to them.

From this follows, thirdly, that <u>transferability</u> has to be related to the discourse context, as is explicitly attempted in the social-psychological approach. The limitation of the <u>psycholinguistic</u> approach, at least in the transferability studies carried out by Kellerman, is that it explores learners' transferability "competence", as it were, i.e. what they believe or don't believe to be transferable <u>in abstracto</u>, rather than their decision-making in specific communicative

situations. As Mogensen (1984) has demonstrated in her inves-
.tigation into the transfer of culture-specific concepts,
learners sometimes transfer in want of a better solution,
even though they consider a given concept as non-transferable.
    This raises, fourthly and lastly, the question how far
we can get, in transfer research as well as in other studies
of process-level phenomena, with performance data. If we
wish to explore transferability as related to context
variables, the cognitive organisation of transferred L1
knowledge, or transfer types in terms of attention and autom-
atization, then we have to employ data types which provide a
more direct access to learners' underlying knowledge and its
activation. Recent evidence from a project on "Procedural
Knowledge", carried out at the Universities of Aarhus and
Copenhagen, indicates that different intro- and retrospective
methods may be a step into the right direction.

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BAAL Annual Meeting 1984 (Bangor)
Abstracts of papers delivered (N.b. abstracts are reproduced as originally submitted):

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LANGUAGE SHIFT IN AN ICELANDIC CHILD: A LONGITUDINAL CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGE ATTRITION

An individual language attrition is not necessarily a community wide phenomenon. People do not know how individual language system's reduction compares with that of whole communities or groups of speakers. Recently studies of semi-speakers have suggested that their acquisition histories play a great role in some of the changes that take place in their language. That is reduction in use, and influence from the contact language, is not enough to explain the nature of some changes that do occur. Studying individual language attrition history might show how these factors all contribute to the attrition process.

This is a report of a longitudinal language attrition study of a child, where these factors will be considered, in the light of the child's language use, his contact with another language and his acquisition history. As well as giving a developmental perspective it brings in a language, Icelandic, which has not before been studied from this point of view, but differs enough from other languages, that have been studied, to widen the perspective.

The subject is an Icelandic boy who came to England 3 years old. After starting school in England his use of Icelandic was reduced. During the time of study he changes from being a dominant Icelandic speaker to being a dominant English speaker. During this process his Icelandic language competence begins to diminish and the linguistic content of his speech to erode.

Icelandic has four cases and three grammatical genders. The gender determines the inflectional endings of the noun. The present study concentrates on changes in the use of gender and case as well as code-mixing or code-switching. The main considerations of this report are how the reduction in use, the child's acquisition history and influence from English affect the use of the gender and case systems, and in relation to this and in general, the child's use of loan words.

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STYLISTIC INCONGRUITY IN DISCOURSE ORGANIZATION

The proposed paper is the outcome of an investigation into the difficulties of Dutch-speaking undergraduate students majoring in English. These students, who are very advanced learners of English, still have problems with 'style', in the general sense of 'linguistic variation conditioned by context'.

In order to be able to diagnose and describe the problem in a concrete way the authors collected stylistic errors from samples of spoken and written discourse produced by students. The spoken material consisted of an

Informal oral summary (1.5 minutes) of a radio broadcast which the students were required to produce. The written material consisted of two parts: a formal written summary (200 words) of a radio broadcast and a style test. Under 'stylistic errors' the authors understand the following general types were classified: inappropriate selections from grammatical/lexical/phonological (graphological) choices with respect to the following dimensions of variation (based on Crystal & Davy 1969): time (e.g. obsolete; archaic); place (e.g. US; Britain); subject (e.g. technical/non-technical); status (standard/non-standard; formal/informal); medium (written/spoken; monologue/dialogue); modality (e.g. essay, personal letter, summary).

the material was chosen so as to enable the authors first to discover what the errors were at sentence level in both written and spoken discourse; second, in what way students distinguish between written and spoken discourse with regard to selections of the types listed above; third, how they distinguish between formal and informal style; fourth, in what way students make the appropriate selections at inter-sentence level and in discourse organization. The style test, in which students were required to recognize and produce stylistic variants (based on the data in Leech & Svartvik 1975) and to recognize style mixing, provided additional explicit information on their 'receptive' and 'productive' stylistic competence.

It was found that errors are mainly due to two types of transfer:
(1) interlinguistic (especially with regard to spoken discourse: intonation patterns and cohesive devices in general); (ii) intralinguistic: inability to distinguish between varieties.

In the second part of the paper the authors suggest a solution in the form of a communicative syllabus of the formal type (Krashen 1976; Ellis 1982) geared towards developing the learners' awareness of stylistic variation in types of discourse. Most existing communicative materials are too unchallenging and too informal for their needs.

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M S Byram
University of Durham

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN A MINORITY SCHOOL

This paper will be based on field-work in a German minority school in Denmark. The minority has its own schools in which German is the official language. A majority of the pupils first learn German when they begin Kindergarten and speak a Danish dialect at home. Some of the pupils

speak German at home and acquire the Danish dialect through contact with friends at school. Most of the teachers are German nationals and all of them are trained in West Germany.

The purpose of the paper will be to describe pupils' and teachers' choice of linguistic code: from the two mentioned above and a third option, standard Danish. This will be sent in the context of the school's language policy and general curricular policy and then compared with pupils' own perceptions of their language use and that of their friends.

The dissonance between their use and their perceptions of their languages will lead to a methodological point. The use of language diaries might be considered an improvement on questionnaires about language choice. Language diaries require a high level of linguistic self-awareness which my results show is not always present. Language diaries may help to provoke such awareness but, as a record of actual language use, need to be treated with care.

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Urmi Chana and Suzanne Romaine
University of Birmingham

EVALUATIVE REACTIONS TO PANJABI/ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING

In this paper we report some of the findings of a pilot study which was designed to elicit experimentally evaluative reactions to Panjabi/English code-switching. We are using the term code-switching in the sense in which Gumperz (1982) and others have defined it as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." In this case the code-switching involves alternation and/or mixing between the grammatical systems of English and Panjabi. The experimental procedure was adapted from the 'matched guise' technique developed by Lambert et al. (1960). The difference here is that the speech samples which we asked subjects to rate represented not different languages or varieties/accents of the same language, but varieties which draw on two languages, Panjabi and English, to differing degrees. As far as we know our experiment is the first of this kind to be applied to the study of code-switching. We made a recording of one speaker reading eight samples of speech, which illustrated different types of code switching and code mixing, and which were constructed on the basis of tape recordings already made with Panjabi families in their homes. These speech samples were presented to 10 subjects who were asked to evaluate characteristics of the speech and the person speaking by answering eight questions about each of the samples. The questions were designed to elicit different dimensions of people's attitudes towards code-switched discourse. Our results are in line with those of similar experiments done on evaluative reactions in speech. That is, the same speaker is evaluated in different ways depending on how he speaks. The different types of code-switched discourse were found to be related to external dimensions such as perceived fluency in English and Panjabi, intelligibility, expressivity, etc.

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Nikolas Coupland
UWIST

HARK, HARK THE LARK: SOCIAL MOTIVATIONS FOR PHONOLOGICAL STYLE SHIFTING

The phenomena that are subsumed by the term 'transfer' are readily describable, but can only be adequately explained by reference to social psychological factors. To explain sociolinguistic transfer, and phonological style-shifting therefore, we need to consider the attitudes, allegiances, motives and anticipations of individuals and groups, whether long-term or ephemeral. As Giles and others have said, to fail to adopt this orientation is to risk treating communicators as automata or even 'blobs of clay'.

The best articulated discussions of the social psychological factors relevant to style-shifting are in the areas of language-attitudes (in particular the stereotyping of standard and non-standard regional accents) and linguistic response-matching (especially interpersonal speech-accommodation theory). Findings from these research-areas can add a valuable explanatory dimension to the taxonomic work of Hymes and others on 'determinants' of stylistic choice and Labov's rather restricted sense of the term 'stylistic variation'. The time is ripe for exploring phonological style-shifting through methods as detailed and revealing as Labov's but with a more social psychological perspective.

Cardiff English is known to contain numerous socially diagnostic speech-markers at the level of pronunciation. These are some of the factors which speakers can (and are known to) control for stylistic purposes during interaction. The choice of particular variants of these sociolinguistic variables allows speakers in Cardiff to symbolise degrees of solidarity with the local community (in some cases, not all, with the broader Welsh community), to convey degrees of competence and social attractiveness and, arguably, to communicate more or less efficiently with a target-audience.

In the light of the above, a case-study is presented of a single speaker - a radio broadcaster - who shifts his phonological style along a standard/non-standard dimension according to some relatively permanent, some very fleeting communicative needs. The style-shifts are analysed through detailed attention to selected variable features over 3 hours of tape-recorded data; shifts are traced back to particular social psychological factors of the sort outlined above. (Taped extracts will be played where possible, to illuminate the findings and, I hope, support the conclusions drawn.)

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Alan Davies
University of Edinburgh

WHEN POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS AND PROFESSIONAL ADVICE IN ELT CONFLICT

The choice of second/foreign languages in educational systems is of sociolinguistic interest since the roles they are called on to play, the sentimental and the instrumental may be in conflict. The paper describes a situation in which English is called on to play these two conflicting roles which the language planner/ELT consultant attempts to reconcile. For historical reasons English occupies the position of part first foreign language and part medium in the educational system of Nepal. This paper describes a recent English Language Teaching (ELT) Survey of Nepal and comments on the problems of advising on educational aid for ELT within the political constraints of a Third World country. The Government of Nepal have recently terminated an Educational Plan which emphasised the teaching of the official language, Nepali, and gave a smaller role to English than heretofore. Demands by middle class parents and others have persuaded the Government to accept the growth of private English medium schools and it therefore wishes at the same time to improve the teaching of English in the state system. A policy decision has recently been taken to begin English in Grade 4. Resources are severely limited, the moment English starts in Grade 4. and the school age population is growing rapidly. literacy rate is 24%, and the school age population is growing rapidly. In our Survey we have administered a graded cloze test of English proficiency to teachers and students across the country : our results indicate that most pupils are operating at a word count level of under 750 words, a level they reach by Grade 5 or 6 after which they do not improve. Most teachers in the secondary system have a word count level of under 1500 words, ie their control of reading is still at the level of simplified readers. Our recommendation is that English should start at Grade 8 and that all resources of training, syllabus planning, examination reform and textbook improvement be concentrated in the upper secondary school. The Government will have difficulty in accepting this recommendation since English has both a symbolic and an instrumental function. The instrumental role may properly argue for a later start but the symbolic role requires that all children be given the apparent opportunity of learning English for as long as possible. The paper discusses the necessary compromise recommendation and the implications for ELT aid at the secondary school level which inevitably will be substantially remedial. Comments are made on the general problem of teaching a second language to false beginners.

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Tony Deyes
British Council, Sao Paulo

CLOSE-UP ON CLOZE

The paper described protocol analyses performed by subjects while completing a Cloze test. The Cloze test was not of the conventional type but as described in Deyes (1984), where students are required to complete idea units representing new, given or "transitional" information.

Native speakers of English and Portuguese were required to complete a fictional narrative and newspaper report in this way in order to discover
i) what strategies they used to solve the gap-filling problems, and
ii)whether differences in text type influenced these strategies.
The findings of the experiment will be presented with some recommendations for the teaching of reading (and the design of Cloze tests!).

Reference

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W Grauberg
University of Nottingham

WHERE SHALL ENLIGHTENMENT COME FROM?

There are many books and articles on language and language teaching, written by applied linguists, and aimed at teachers and students intending to become teachers. There are also books and articles, written for the same audience by teacher trainers and experienced teachers. The gap between these two types of publication is wide: the former often appear too general, with insufficient or naive application; the latter seem too detailed, concentrating on techniques unrelated to general principles. This situation is unsatisfactory: if the role of applied or educational linguistics is to mediate between theory and practice, we seem to be some way still from achieving this aim.
Suggestions will be made on how the gap may be bridged, based partly on informal surveys of teachers' views.

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Allan Emmett
Associated Examining Board

HOW MUCH HAVE THEY ACQUIRED? HOW FIT ARE THEY FOR CONTACT?

This paper describes how the new examination produced by the Associated Examining Board, the Test in English for Educational Purposes (TEEP), has been developed and what it contains.
The research which led to the test, and which was conducted by Dr Cyril Weir over a period of four years, is outlined. The purpose of the test (to provide a profile of candidates' proficiency in reading, listening, writing and speaking), the aim and the objectives of the test, and the subskills underlying the objectives are all discussed, and there is a description of what the test contains. There is also a description of the way in which candidates' performance will be reported for each of the four skills.
Students applying to, and teachers and admissions tutors in, receiving institutions should be able to tell, from the report on each of the skills, how much language the students have acquired and how fit they are linguistically to take part in academic courses, or how much more language tuition might be required before they embark on an academic course conducted in English.

Carl James
University College of North Wales

THE MONITOR MODEL AND THE ROLE OF THE L1

This paper attempts to assess the role assigned to the first language during second and foreign language learning by the Monitor Model. "Monitor Model" refers to the five hypotheses which Krashen claims constitute a viable and methodologically exploitable theory of second language learning, one of which five hypotheses is the Monitor Hypothesis. In particular I shall claim: that the first language plays a more potent role in second language learning than Krashen would have us believe; that the first language impinges on other hypotheses than just the Monitor; and that the claim that 'ignorance' explains first language influence better than 'interference' does is not irrefutable.

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Adam Jaworski
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan

A CROSS-CULTURAL LOOK AT SEXISM IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

The paper examines the contents of foreign language textbooks focusing on various types of sexism present in them. The material for the discussion comes from a number of textbooks on Polish and English published in Poland. Apart from contrasting these two types of textbooks with regard to sexism, I compare the findings of others writing on this aspect of foreign language textbooks outside Poland.

A distinction is drawn between teaching a foreign language using sexist language and imagery, and teaching a foreign language including material on sexism in the target culture. Thus, the often mentioned argument for preserving the sexist bias of foreign language materials as a reflection of the reality of the target culture, is refuted. I also consider how some feminist issues are presented in the textbooks, and how teaching about feminism is realised.

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Wolfgang Kuhlwein
University of Trier, W. Germany

A SOCIOSEMIOTIC VIEW OF THE GRASP OF LANGUAGE AT REALITY ACROSS CULTURES

Setting out from the assumption that different cultures, sub-cultures, societies and groups of differeing ethnic affiliation within one society cope with reality in various ways, differing accordingly, it is astonishing that despite the large number of word-field studies on the basis of language as a system, contrastive cross-language lexicological studies have remained scarce - though there is a growing demand for them from language typology and

foreign language teaching.

In addition to problems inherent in any lexicological study (e.g. the definition of semantic primes), contrastive lexicological studies are facing two further problems: the question of tertium comparationis respecting the equivalence problem, and the question of which linguistic models and procedures are best suited for language comparison.

A deeper reaching psycholinguistic approach to contrastive lexicology has to specify the language specific interrelationship between concept formation strategies and lexical structures, which in turn can be traced to corresponding differences concerning the socio-semiotic impact of linguistic utterances. This sequence is illustrated by an empirical lexicological study contrasting meaning and use of the terms for BEAUTY (as applied to human beings) in French, English and German. Apart from semantic criteria like reference to clothing versus body, a number of aesthetic, physiological, psychological and psychosomatic constraints account for differences in the 'socio-semiotic load' of the respective French, English and German terms along the parameters 'male/female' and 'language specificity'.

As an applied linguistic consequence, foreign language vocabulary teaching and learning will have to reach beyond what one can say via what one can mean to what one can do in specific cultures, minority groups and sub-cultures.

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Peter Newmark
Polytechnic of Central London

THE TRANSLATION OF NEW WORDS

1.   Neologisms, here defined as (a) existing lexical items which have acquired a new sense, and (b) newly coined lexical items, are one of the most difficult and an increasing problem in many areas of translation particularly in technology and journalism.

For unrelated reasons, the media and industry are continuously expanding their vocabularies. Neologisms are usually popular, sometimes for prestige rather than linguistic reasons.

2.   For the purpose of discussing this multifarious problem, I set up a frame of reference, listing ten types of neologisms (words and collocations with new senses; new coinages; derived words including blends; collocations; eponyms; phrasal forms; transferred words; acronyms; pseudo-neologisms) and setting these against (presently) thirteen contextual factors and nine translation procedures.

3.   I shall then discuss the translation of a wide range of neologisms, mainly English and French, within the context of my frame of reference. I shall lay stress on political, institutional and vogue neologisms, indicating that their translations will vary in different texts and situations. The participants will be invited to discuss their pet or hate neologisms.

4.   The object of the exercise is to assist translators to clarify their ideas about the solution of the problem, and to make maximal generalizations about the translation of each type of neologism.

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Nkulu Kabuya
University of York

FRENCH LOANS IN THE SEMANTIC FIELD OF KINSHIP IN ZAIREAN COPPERBELT SWAHILI

This paper discusses the presence of loan words of French origin in the semantic field of kinship in Zairean Copperbelt Swahili (ZCS). The phenomenon is shown to be mainly prompted by a search for precision in the speech of 'school-educated' ZCS speakers, whose kinship lexicon is made up of words of Bantu and French origins. As a way of characterizing the difference in behaviour between grossly synonymous terms in the mixed lexicon, an analysis is proposed which incorporates the contextual features '± EDUCATED', '± VOC-ATIVE', '± AFFINITY' and '±YOUNGER' in the semantic specifications of words.

It is demonstrated that when appropriately combined in respect of what are referred to as the EVA and EVAY subsystems, the above features will ad-equately predict the selection of appropriate items from particular lexical subsets in the field concerned, and accurately determine when items of French origin should be vested with the connotations of their Swahili equivalents and when not.

Illustrative of the first aspect of the demonstration is the insightfully explained observation that far from being mere synonyms that can freely be used for one another, the following three terms for 'father' can be differ-entiated at the level of connotation - with their nuances being determined by the particular combinations of features with which they are associated:

BABA [- EDUCATED; + VOCATIVE;   ]
PAPA [+ EDUCATED; ± VOCATIVE;   ]
DEP   [- VOCATIVE; +AFFINITY]

As regards the second aspect, the analysis clearly shows that the term 'PAPA', for instance, can indiscriminately refer to one's father, father-in-law or paternal uncle when associated with the features [+EDUCATED; +VOCATIVE] and to only one's father as in French when the associated features are [+EDUCATED; -VOCATIVE].

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N S Prabhu
British Council, Madras

ACQUISITION THROUGH DEPLOYMENT

A 5-year (1979-84) classroom experiment ('The Bangalore-Madras Communicational Teacher Project') in teaching English in some South Indian schools is des-cribed in terms of:-

1) its hypothesis: acquisition of language-structure is best brought about through meaning-focused deployment;

ii) the teaching procedures evolved; task-based (problem-solving) activity, using only 'natural' simplification (e.g. caretaker talk) and es-chewing any planned progression, preselection and practice in terms of language structure;

iii) the learners and learning conditions involved: beginners/near-beginners in English in ordinary, mother tongue medium schools, with little out of class contact with English; low technology situation;

iv) implications for syllabus statement and materials: a 'procedural' syllabus of partially-ordered tasks; source book rather than course book;

v) implications for teachers at large and teacher training: depend-ence on one's own linguistic resources and sense of plausibility, not carrying out a given method; training as preparation for continuous change, and

vi) evidence from a recent attempt at evaluation.

Ben Rampton
University of London
Institute of Education

A METHODOLOGY FOR DESCRIBING THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABILITY IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTACT SETTING

This paper describes a methodology being used in part of my research into the English spoken by 2nd generation South Asian children in Bedford. By focusing on independent variables more delicate than sex, ethnicity, SES etc, it aspires to be both sensitive to the high degree of socio-linguistic variability often found in multilingual societies, and at the same time theoretically coherent and quite economical.

It initially involves (1) an analysis of sociolinguistic variables. These are provisionally selected as being varyingly responsive to West Indian, Punjabi and English language backgrounds, and are also likely to be differentially distributed across the E L use of my 20 or so, mainly Punjabi bilingual informants.

The aim is then to relate these to the kinds of factor outlined in Le Page's guiding hypothesis and riders: "Each individual creates the system for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that

(a) he can identify the group;
(b) he has both opportunity and ability to analyse their behavioural systems;
(c) his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behaviour accordingly;
(d) he is still able to adapt his behaviour." (1975)

I try to operationalise components of this in 3 further types of analysis: (2) an analysis of how people perceive their social environment, and the extent to which they identify or counter-identify with the groups seen in it (of the main hypothesis, riders (a) and (c); also eg Giles and Johnson 1981). P Weinreich's I S A approach provides a means for invest-igating and computing this sensitive to idiosyncratic social perceptions. (3) An analysis of social network, both in terms of the social composition of a speaker's network and their own degree of involvement in it (of the 1st bit of (b); also Gal 1979, Milroy 1980). (4) An analysis of patterns of bilingual use, through a language diary and questionnaire. This partly provides a dependent variable similar to (1) - patterns of bilism will be affected by (2) and (3). Yet if the extensive use of an ethnically distinct L variant cooccurs with a high degree of Punjabi use, there is at least a prima facie case for considering whether the use of this feature is influenced by psycholinguistic processes of L transfer and L2 acquisition (cf (d) and the 2nd part of (b)).

These 3 types of analysis should together provide a basis for coping with sociolinguistic variation in Bedford. It should be possible to see for example whether patterns of intra-ethnic network association, or strong ingroup identification, or both, largely account for the currency of a particular ethnically distinct L item. If predominantly intra-ethnic association were to account for such a variant, it might be further possible as a result of (4) to decide whether to attribute it to the stabilisation of new non-standard norms, or to L transfer processes.

If however this methodology doesn't prove adequate, then - provided its components have been satisfactorily operationalised - maybe a question-mark arises over the reliability of Le Page's hypothesis as a guide to the most fundamental descriptive parameters to bear in mind in attempting a (relatively micro-) sociolinguistic survey.

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LE PAGE,R B (1975)   'Sociolinguistics and the problem of 'competence''
                      LTLA Vol 8

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                      Constructs Birmingham, SSRC / RUER

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Håkan Ringbom
Åbo Akademi/Finland

TRANSFER IN RELATION TO SOME OTHER VARIABLES IN L2-LEARNING

Starting out from the general principle that the language learner tries to facilitate his learning task wherever possible by making use of any relevant prior knowledge he has, the paper sets out to elucidate the role of transfer in L2-learning. The underlying data have been collected from an ongoing project investigating the differences between Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns learning English.

The variations in the amount of L1-transfer which have been reported by a number of different studies are more clearly understood if transfer is seen in relation to at least some of the many other relevant variables in L2-learning. Of special importance in relation to transfer and the L2-learning process are the following:

-   The perceived distance between L1 and L2.
-   The difference between item learning and system learning, a distinction introduced for L1-learning by Cruttenden 1981.
-   The relationship between receptive and productive skills.
-   The stage of learning.

The general role of the L1 in L2-learning largely depends on how naturally the learner can establish cross-linguistic (simplified) equivalences between items and between linguistic categories at the early stage of learning. The basic point about L1-transfer - and the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis - is, however, not that linguistic difference equals learning difficulty, but that absence of perceived similarities, for instance between totally unrelated languages, produces learning conditions where (positive)

transfer does not easily develop and learning is therefore delayed. For the beginning learner this is of particular importance in the development of a receptive competence and for the mastery of phonological, morphological, lexical and phrasal items.

It is a different matter altogether that the cross-linguistic item equivalences perceived by the beginning learner must be constantly modified and refined as learning progresses. When the learner starts learning systems rather than mere item equivalences and when greater demands are made on his productive skills, the basic facilitating effect of L1-transfer is no longer obvious.

Reference:

CRUTTENDEN, A   (1981)   Item-Learning and System-Learning'. Journal
                          of Psycholinguistic Research 10:1, 79-88.

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Margaret Siudek
University College of North Wales

A SEQUENCE OF ACQUISITION STUDY

This study was undertaken among a special category of adult learners of English as a second language in the US. All of the learners were refugees from S.E. Asia, and spoke a non-IndoEuropean first language; most were from a non-westernised, non-technologically advanced society. Most of those who were literate, were literate in a language using a non-Roman alphabet, but the majority were illiterate, or preliterate.

A sequence of acquisition study was undertaken to test the hypothesis that factors would influence both sequence of acquisition of grammatical morphemes, and levels of acquisition, when compared to the sequence of other learners of English, not affected by these factors. Since many of the learners were illiterate, a BSM-type oral test was used to elicit utterances. Carefully chosen pictures, showing various objects and activities were shown, and the learners were asked questions requiring answers containing obligatory occasions for the 10 morphemes.

The students were grouped, and their scores pooled, to give sequences for several groups which had certain factors in common. These sequences were then compared.

The factor which caused the most variation in the sequences, though there was still significant correlation, was non-IndoEuropean first language. The factor of age had almost no effect on the sequence. The factors of illiteracy, non-technologically advanced culture and non-Roman alphabet had more effect on the sequence than age, but less than a non-IndoEuropean first language. The rates of acquisition varied considerably, for all factors except age, with the effects of illiteracy being particularly marked.

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A R Thomas
University College of North Wales

COMMUNITY VARIATION IN WELSH LANGUAGE USAGE

This paper will illustrate and discuss some preliminary results from an ongoing research project. Because the fieldwork is not yet completed, the content of the paper cannot be specified in detail. The intention is to identify diagnostics (like incidence of consonant mutation, gender and number marking in adjectives, spelling pronunciation) which vary systematically across the population. The project, which is a feasibility study in preparation for an intended comprehensive study, uses a sample of 64 speakers, stratified according to age, social class and sex.

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Marie-Paule Woodley, Joan Allwright and Dick Allwright
University of Manchester and University of Lancaster

INTERVENTION AND SECOND LANGUAGE WRITING: DEVELOPING THE RELEVANT ANALYTICAL TOOLS

Most assessment of intellectual ability or merit is done through the evaluation, formal or informal, of written texts. But what are the relevant criteria for this evaluation? A commonsense requirement for a text to be successful is that it should 'hang together'. But what does 'hanging together' mean? Can useful measures be found? Impressinistic holistic measures are notoriously unreliable, and too broad to provide helpful guidelines to learners. Objective measures tend to focus on sentence level phenomena which are not really central to textual 'quality'. There is a need for an intermediate level of analysis, one which will relate syntactic choices and overall coherence.

This paper will illustrate the measures being developed by the first author, at this intermediate level. The data for the illustration consists of university-level ESL and native English writers' texts, produced in the context of a writing course based on the 'reformulation' technique (developed by the second and third authors from work by Cohen). This technique offers ESL writers native 'reformulations' of their written work instead of corrections of it. The problem for text analytic technique is to characterise in a <u>relevant</u> way the differences between ESL writers' drafts, native writers' reformulations, and ESL writers' rewrites. Learners generally report that they find the reformulation technique helpful, but what do they actually learn from it? Does their writing change, and, if it does, can anything at all be said about whether or not it changes for the 'better'?

Work so far towards an intermediate level of analysis suggests that the distribution of 'given' and 'new' in the sentence is a central concern, with the pragmatic analysis of the role of grammatical subjects, for example, promising to be particularly revealing. Also of significance is the extent to which a writer 'sign-posts' the discourse, and embeds it in reader-guiding meta-discourse.

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NEW MEMBERS

The following new members have joined BAAL, during the year October 1983 - September 1984:

Margaret Simonot	EEva Leinonen-Davies
Michael Johnson	Lars Sigfred Evensen
Peter Skehan	Alan Thomas
Jeremy Harmer	Sinan Bayraktaroglu
Albert Weideman	Gabriele Kasper
Rick Bhanot	Patricia Daniel
Liet Hellwig	David Hill
Clive Holes	Janet Higgins
Claire Wickham	Peter Gannon
Andrew Thomas	Nikolas Coupland
Brian Bamber	Claus Faerch
Peter Trudgill	Phillippa Line
Gillian Donmall	Pindi Makaya
Michael Green	Robert Ilson
Netta Biggs	Jennifer Coates
Mary Kilborn	Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen
Douglas Pickett	LSU Aston (Associate)
Barbara Seidlhofer	Sawston Hall (Associate).

(In autumn 1983, BAAL made a 'pump-priming' research grant of £200 to Peter Skehan of the London Institute of Education, to enable him to do the preliminary groundwork for a followup to the Bristol Language Study, concerned with later success in FL learning. Peter Skehan later obtained full funding for the research project from other sources, and the work is currently under way. In the following paper he gives an account of progress so far.

We are delighted that BAAL funding was of help in launching this substantial research project, and hope that other members will follow Peter Skehan's example and make active use of the association's (new) research grant scheme. Full details of how to apply etc. are given elsewhere in this Newsletter.)

SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING:
A FOLLOW-UP TO THE BRISTOL LANGUAGE STUDY

Peter Skehan
Institute of Education, University of London

The summer 1984 issue of the BAAL Newsletter contained a Keynote Paper by Professor Gordon Wells on success and failure in first language learning, as revealed by data from the Bristol Language Project (Wells, in press, a). The 128 children on whom the research was based were born in the period 1969-72, and the data for Wells' paper collected largely during the early to mid 70s. The existence of such a large group of children for whom such extensive first language developmental data had been collected suggested the possibility of a follow-up study with the original children which would look at their performance as foreign language learners in secondary schools. Such a study could attempt to relate the wealth of individual difference data from their first language development (Wells, in press, b) to their capacity and achievement in FL study. Two classes of variable suggested themselves as most worth investigation - differences in FL aptitude (Skehan, 1980, Carroll,1982), and differences in FL achievement. The possibility of measuring both these classes of variable suggested a research project which would examine three basic relationships:

  a) between first language development and current foreign
    language aptitude
  b) between first language development and current foreign
    language achievement
  c) between current foreign language aptitude and current
    foreign language achievement.

The first relationship might shed light on whether FL aptitude is a stable construct, and on its origin, i.e. as to whether there is evidence to suggest that it emerges early in life, influenced by innate or early experience factors, or

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1. It is a pleasure to thank several people who have made important contributions to this article. First of these must be Professor Gordon Wells, whose conception the Bristol Language Project was. He has generously provided access to the Bristol data, and encouragement for the present project. Without him the current research would have been completely impossible. I would also like to thank several individuals for more specific contributions. Margaret Binnie, under Professor Wells' direction, put considerable effort into tracing the children who had been part of the Bristol Language Study; Lucile Ducroquet, Zuzanna Crouch, and Valerie Shirt for the efficient way in which they conducted the test administration; and Sally Barnes, who provided the data from the Bristol Language Project which is used in the present research for the comparison with the aptitude measures.

whether it is affected by more recent environmental and learning factors. The second relationship, probably in conjunction with the first, might help reveal whether there is indeed a "talent for languages", and whether those children who make rapid progress in the acquisition of their first language make quicker progress in foreign language learning. The third relationship, between foreign language aptitude and achievement, is the least innovative. There are many published articles in this area. The current project would simply attempt to confirm the pattern of relationships which has been found elsewhere. (Although even here the Bristol team took to ensure a carefully balanced sample of the Bristol population might add to the importance of this section of the research.)

In March 1983 when I made contact with Professor Wells, the potential of the proposed research was quickly evident. So were the problems. At the initial stages these were largely organisational and financial. The Bristol team were able, fairly soon, to trace more than 110 of the original 128 children. These children were distributed in nearly forty different schools, requiring multiple visits and testing sessions if the research was to attempt to preserve the integrity of the sample. Quite clearly, this situation had serious financial implications since it required the capacity to make a very large number of visits to a large number of schools, to arrange testing sessions, and to carry them out, as well as to train test administrators. In addition, all the while, the children concerned were getting older, introducing a time element which meant that the opportunity of doing effective research was diminishing.

This need to mount a research project as soon as possible led to a strategy of trying to obtain both small and large quantities of funding, since it was felt that if a major research project could not be mounted, at least some marker data could be obtained. The research grant of £200 from BAAL was of particular significance in this respect since it enabled the first steps to be taken in terms of contact with schools, training of test administrators etc. It was undoubtedly important that such work should be done at an early stage since it demonstrated the feasibility of mounting such an ambitious project successfully. Such preparatory work was eventually extremely helpful in obtaining a higher level of funding to enable an extensive testing programme to be organised.

The Assessment of Foreign Language Aptitude

It was decided to assess language aptitude by means of five subtests. These were:

EMLAT Part 1 Hidden Words: In this test, composed of 30 items, the candidate is presented with misspelled versions of words, together with four descriptions of what the misspelled word might mean, eg 'apl' : a month of the year/ a kind of fruit/lazy/a boy's name, this test purports to measure native language vocabulary and sound-symbol association ability.

EMLAT Part 2 Matching Words: In this thirty-item test, pairs of sentences are presented. The first sentence contains one word in upper case. The candidate has to select the word in the second sentence of each item which 'does the same job' as the upper case word in the first. The test attempts to measure Carroll's 'grammatical sensitivity' factor, i.e. the ability to recognise the functions that words fulfil in sentences.

York Language Aptitude Test: In this test of forty-two items, candidates are provided with examples of how certain English/Swedish expressions are conveyed in the other language. They are then asked to indicate how other English (and Swedish) expressions can be represented. The test becomes progressively more difficult. It measures inductive language learning ability.

Pimsleur LAB, Part 5: This is a taped test. Three 'Ewe' words are learned, in isolation, and then the candidate has to pick out from sentences presented on tape which of the learned words was included in each sentence. The test attempts to measure sound discrimination ability.

Pimsleur LAB, Part 6: This is also a taped test. Nonsense words are presented, and for each word four possible spellings are provided. The candidate has to select the correct one. The test purports to measure sound-symbol association.

In addition, the verbal section of an intelligence test, the AH2, was administered.

The Assessment of First Language Development

The Bristol team have developed several indices of first language development. Eight of these will be considered here.

MLUS42 : the mean morpheme length of utterance at 42 months

EPVT39 : the score on the Peabody Vocabulary Test at 39 months

FUNCTION : a score representing the range of language functions used by the child at the age of 42 months

LEVEL : the child's score on the Bristol Scale of Language Development (Wells, in press, a), taken at 42 months.

MLUS60 : the mean morpheme length of utterance at 60 months

EPVT66 : the score on the Peabody Vocabulary Test at 66 months

TALKTO : an index of the amount of talk addressed to the child, based on samples of data taken on ten different occasions.

NOMINAL : a score indicating the complexity of the nominal phrases used by the child

In addition, a four-step social class index is available on each of the children.

The Relationship Between First Language Development and Foreign Language Aptitude

We are currently nearing the end of a programme of aptitude testing with the children, and will follow this up in the New Year with a programme of foreign language achievement testing. On a very provisional basis it is possible to report correlations between first language indices and foreign language aptitude scores for 57 of the children in the sample. It is likely that final figures will differ from those shown (though probably not by too much), and that when testing is complete, finer-grained analyses of sub-samples of the children will enable us to go further than the relatively gross correlations that are presented here. However, the figures that are available are presented in Table 1.

Table One

Correlations of First Language Indices with Language Aptitude

	Soc Class	AH2	EMLAT 1	EMLAT 2	York	PLAB5	PLAB6
Social Class	-	.58**	.33*	.51**	.58**	.11	.15
MLUS42	.13	.26*	.30*	.38**	.23	.36**	.41**
EPVT39	.13	.07	.09	.03	.07	.22	-.06
FUNCTION	-.23	-.09	.16	-.10	-.20	.33*	.07
LEVEL	.04	.32*	.52**	.16	.18	.47**	.39**
MLUS60	.08	-.02	-.10	.01	-.15	-.22	-.30
EPVT66	.47**	.41*	.32	.19	.53**	.13	.25
TALKTO	.58**	.48*	.57**	.43*	.44*	.45*	.54**
NOMINAL	.21	.39**	.49**	.16	.24	.44**	.25*

1. The .05 level of significance is represented by '*', the .01 level by '**'. There are differences in the numbers of subjects involved in the different correlations. Most correlations are based on an N of 57, but MLUS57, EPVT66, and TALKTO are based on lower Ns, requiring higher levels of correlation to reach significance.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis of this table of correlations. However, certain broad trends do stand out, and require some comment. First, the general impression from the numbers of significant correlations, is that there are important

associations involved.   Although none of the correlations is
greater than .60, the prevailing impression is that a clear, if
moderate, level of relationship is involved.   When one considers
that a time interval of between six and ten years is involved,
such a level of relationship is little short of remarkable.   It
certainly indicates that, in many cases, there is a clear assoc-
iation between a first language index and a measure of current
foreign language aptitude.   In other words, children who are
more rapid developers in their first language are more likely to
have more foreign language aptitude.

Second, when one examines more specific relationships, there
are suggestions of more definite and specific patterns.   At the
simplest level, this means that certain of the first language
indices and certain of the language aptitude measures enter into
a larger number of significant correlations.   In terms of first
language indices, MLUS42, LEVEL, EPVT66, and NOMINAL are the most
frequently occuring measures.   (TALKTO will be considered later.)
On the other hand, early vocabulary level; the child's control of
range of language function; and later morpheme length of utter-
ance do not enter into numerous significant relationships, perhaps
reflecting the changing appropriateness for different ages of
the different indices of first language development (Gottfreund,
personal communication).   Looking at the table in terms of the
columns of relationship, we see that of the foreign language
aptitude tests, EMLAT1, PLAB5, and PLAB6 enter into the highest
number of significant correlations, with the verbal intelligence
score also appearing regularly.

At a more complex level, when one tried to detect system-
atic patterns of relationship, there is a possibility that the
aptitude tests involving an auditory component, (EMLAT1, PLAB5
and 6) are associated with the more structure-based indices of
first language development (LEVEL, MLUS42, and NOMINAL)   - a
rather paradoxical set of relationships.   There is also a
suggestion that the York Language Aptitude Test, Vocabulary at
66 months, and the Social Class relate to one another, suggest-
ing a dimension of language development independent of syntactic
complexity and more connected with lexical knowledge.

The third general issue relates to the TALKTO variable.
This is an index of the amount of talk addressed to the child
at over ten separate sampling occasions.   It enters into the
highest level and most consistent correlations of all, ranging
from a low of .43 to a high of .57.   In other words, there is
a moderate to strong relationship between the amount of talk
addressed to the child during language development, and the
level of across-the-board foreign language aptitude many years
later.   Quite clearly the question of causation is a difficult
one to deal with on such a small sample (N=24 only with this
variable).   Even so, it is tempting to speculate that it is
the nature of the early language environment which influences
the later development of foreign language aptitude.   However,
additional and more complete research will be necessary to
establish the exact strength of the relationship more clearly,

the relationship between both sets of variables and other first
language and language aptitude measures, and the extent to which
talk addressed to the child is an independent influence rather
than something influenced in turn by the child's own level of
development.

Discussion

The results which have been presented here are from the
early stages of the research project.   It is expected that
subsequent work will examine the relationship between first lang-
uage development and foreign language aptitude in much more det-
ail.   In addition, the results for foreign language achievement
will also become available to add another dimension to the find-
ings.   It may also be possible, if additional funding is obtained,
to go beyond the collection of test results and extend the research
to investigate the aspects of the classroom interaction and teach-
ing methodology that influence the foreign language achievement
of the children.   Most ambitiously of all, of course, one would
like to obtain information on the performance of the children in
informal language learning environments.   If this were possible
it would link more effectively with the original approach to re-
search, taken by the Bristol Language Project, emphasising the
interactive basis for the development of conversation.

For the moment the most important tentative conclusion is
that several indices of first language development are signif-
icantly associated with measures of foreign language aptitude.
Further, given the length of time between obtaining the two sets
ofmeasures, the strength of the relationship involved is impress-
ive.   It indicates that the construct of aptitude has some
stability, and that there are common elements to a facility for
first language learning as well as for foreign language learning.

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REVIEW:

MULTILINGUA - JOURNAL OF INTERLANGUAGE COMMUNICATION UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.
Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, ISSN 0167-8507. Volumes 1 and 2
(1982 and 1983).

Launched in 1982 under the editorship of J.C. Sager of
UMIST, Multilingua is a multilingual and multidisciplinary
quarterly. "Interlanguage" in the sub-title refers, not to the
intermediate systems of the second language learner, but to
communication across languages. The contributions are in any
one of the EC's four official working languages: English, French,
German and Italian, but only Articles, as distinct from Notes,
Reports, Reviews and Advertisements, which make up one half of
each issue, are preceded by Abstracts in these working languages,
while the sections on Current Research and Literature in Abstract
- all indispensable tools for the researcher - appear in
English only. Nowhere is the multilingual character of this
journal more in evidence than in the "prefaces" (the plural was
introduced after the second issue) written by the editorialist
J.M. Zemb of Paris, which are stylistic "tours de force"in four
languages or, rather, quadrilingual variations on a common
theme; they must be read in all four versions if their total
meaning is to emerge. They would seem to be designed as a
challange to translation, whether human or machine.
The disciplines within the purview of Multilingua are
listed on the inside cover and defined again by the classif-
ication chosen for the section on Current Literature in Abstract.
They include: Language communication (and barriers); Language
Planning; Bilingualism; Language teaching and linguistics;
Interpreting and Translation (theory and practice); Human and
machine translation; Lexicography; Documentation; Terminology;
Multilingual data banks and thesauri. Had I confined my review
to the first four issues (1:1-4, 1982), I would have been led to
the conclusion that the journal was primarily interested in
the applications of information technology and machine
translation, areas already covered in many specialist reviews,
with a particular bias towards the problems of interlingual
communication within the institutions of Western Europe; I
would have criticised it for not being really concerned with
"the substance of communication, natural language, and especially
the problem of communication between natural languages, and the
implications of a multilingual society", which its editor in
his general introduction saw as needing greater attention (1-1,
p.4). By the sixth issue, however, the field had broadened
considerably to include studies of, among others, language and
ethnicity in the U.S., cross-cultural problems of business
transactions with Japan, language planning in Friesland, loan-
words in Kiswahili, and a survey of the (mis) uses of bilingual
dictionaries by English students of German. This extension in
the range of disciplines, languages and countries gives the
journal a truly multidisciplinary, multicultural and multilingual

dimension and is to be welcomed.
Foremost still in the contents of the first eight issues
are articles devoted to "telematics" and "informatics", to
systems with names formed on the Euro-prefix, like Euronet-Diane,
Eurodicautom, Eurotra, or acronyms like Salem, Satan or Susy.
In the very first article Ben Patterson, MEP, draws our attention
to the colossal cost of plurilingual communication in the
institutions of Western Europe, where the number of language
pairs for interpreting and translation is arrived at by
application of the formula $n(n-1)$ languages; with the admission
of Spain and Portugal this will mean a total of 72 combinations.
To meet this interlanguage communication explosion the Commission
decided in 1976 to make use of existing tools, ranging from
the automated dictionary to the multilingual thesaurus and
from the terminology bank to computer-assisted translation.
These were further developed under successive "Action Plans".
Meeting some of the need to store, retrieve and translate
technical information apart, perhaps the most exciting aspect
of the European Research and Development programme is its
heuristic value. EUROTRA is a case in point. It is presented
(1-1, passim) as the machine translation of the future.
Original and unique in concept, born of recent advances in
linguistics and artifical intelligence research, it is multi-
lingual in design: before EUROTRA, all the MT translation
systems were bilingual, the analysis of the source language
being done with a specific target language in mind. With
72 pairs, a multilingual approach is necessary, and this is

done by separating out the different stages of MT: thus,
analysis of the source language and generation of the target
are monolingual, depending only on the grammar of each language
without any reference to any other. However, there has to be
a bilingual link or "transfer", but this transfer must be kept
as small as possible. This has repercussions on the level of
semantic representation which must go beyond the analysis of
surface structure - how far beyond will depend on a compromise
between the ideal of producing a complete and explicit semantic/
pragmatic representation of the text and the need to achieve
early practical results. For it must be remembered that even
EUROTRA will only produce final tests for limited purposes.
A by-product of MT of interest to applied linguistics is
text typology. G. van Slype has developed a methodology which
is a prerequisite for evaluating the quality of MT (1-4, 221-
237), while A.M. Loffler-Laurian puts forward a typology of
errors in MT - an error here is any feature of a machine-
translated text which requires human post-editing (2-2, 65-78).
The study of MT errors is designed on the one hand to improve
the system and on the other hand to distinguish between those
texts which are suitable for machine translation and those that
are not; an analysis of types of error and correction will
enable translators to set up criteria for a classification of
texts.

Next to computerised systems and machine translations, the most common single topic in the journal is that of human translation and intepretation. The most interesting contribution on the subject is Marianne Lederer's "Le processus de la traduction simultanée (i.e. simultaneous interpretation)" in 1-3, 149-158, which is a very good summary of the author's thesis (Lederer, 1981). She defines three dynamically related and overlapping "phases" in the decoding-encoding process of simulataneous interpreting: perception, conceptualisation (which involves restructuring), and expression and distinguishes between two levels of expression: transcoding, which looks for surface translation equivalents and follows the input speech chain closely (e.g. at the beginning of an argument or when there are discourse constraints) and translation proper which conveys the deep semantic meaning of the text. She is most enlightening on the complex relationships between discourse organisation, the speech chain and the decoding and encoding mechanisms, and on the role in all this of short and long-term memory. But her data is scanty and even in the thesis one wonders how representative her examples are. Her hypotheses, however stimulating, need to be tested against a great quantity of varied data, including different types of text, topic, situation and language pairs; moreover, some theoretical framework is called for: it is all very well for the author to take anonymous psychologists to task for examining simultaneous interpretation in artificial laboratory conditions; but she appears to be unaware of the existence of psycholinguistic models of text perception and memory, like those of Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978) and Van Dijk (1980) for instance.

The technique of "relay interpreting" is mentioned several times in these issues but it is nowhere properly defined nor its effectiveness investigated. To my knowledge the only empirical work on "relay" is Jennifer Mackintosh (1983). We look forward to in-depth articles on this very important technique.

Neither information technology nor machine or human translation can solve the innumerable problems of language communication and barriers in the multilingual institutions of Western Europe. Ben Patterson (art. cit.) is right to warn us against the dangers of "Eurospeak" which result not only from machine and human translation, but also from speeches and texts produced by people not using their first language(s). He shows this in respect of legal texts; I have developed similar arguments with reference to European political discourse over the past twenty years (Blanc, 1980). In the last analysis I agree with Ben Patterson's plea for an "asymmetric" solution to the problem of multilingual communication in European institutions: everyone speaks their own language but understands a small number of other languages into which everything is translated. This means increasing and making more effective the learning and teaching of modern languages in Europe. Text typologies should help us to decide which texts can sustain machine translation and which need careful human translation.

I have already mentioned the welcome addition of a wider range of topics in the later issues of the journal. In conclusion, Multilingua is an important new journal, packed with useful information that cannot be found anywhere else; above all, it puts the reader quickly in touch with current research and development. But it needs to cut down on the number of small articles which are sometimes nothing more than notes and to attract longer papers, both theoretical and applied, of high quality. I urge applied linguists not only to read Multilingua but to contribute seminal articles to it.

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NEWS FROM CILT

New address

We are now at Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS (tel: 01-486 8221). This is the former Bedford College building (still partly used by the College), 5-10 minutes walk from Baker Street station.

Our new location provides spacious accommodation for both the Language Teaching Library and the CILT staff. A meetings room is available for use by associations, and CILT will have access to conference accommodation on the College site. We hope also to be able to provide additional services to associations in due course, and a further announcement about this will be made later.

CILT's enforced move means that the former joint Language Teaching Library has been divided: we have brought CILT's holdings (applied linguistics, foreign languages and language teaching in Britain, including English as a second language) to our new address, where the library will open as soon as it is satisfactorily installed (please write or telephone for new opening hours). The British Council's holdings remain in the Resource Centre at Spring Gardens/Carlton House Terrace, and enquiries about access to that Centre should be made direct to the Council (01-930 8466 ext 2786). We hope to maintain close links with the British Council, and we continue to collaborate in the production of our abstracting journal, Language Teaching (Cambridge University Press), which will in future be based on the periodicals holdings of the two libraries.

Publications

Recent CILT Publications include new titles in Language & Culture Guides; this year the following have appeared: Finnish, Japanese, Swedish, Modern Hebrew; the next to be published will be Arabic, a guide to the wide range of resources available for learning that language. The Guides are £1.95 each + postage/handling charge (see below). They are not included in our Subscription Scheme, but are covered by a separate Standing Order/discount scheme.

Finding research funds for language and language teaching: a guide for researchers with advice on the preparation and presentation of applications (CILT Information Guide 21, new edition), is now available. The Guide has been revised extensively; a good many changes have been made in funding provision and priorities since it was first published in 1981 (with the title Sources of funds for research. ..). Addresses, titles of publications etc have changed too. The Guide has also been extended in several ways and is almost 50% longer: more funding bodies are listed, with information about the areas of work that each can support, eligibility for research grants,

addresses for enquiries and so on; the section 'Applying for a research grant' has been rewritten to provide more detailed advice, and with researchers who have little experience of submitting grant applications particularly in mind. (A session at CILT's Birmingham Conference in February made a valuable contribution to the writing of this section.) The Guide costs £1.50 + postage/handling charge (see below).

Foreign language examinations: the 16+ debate 1981-83, ed Alan Moys (NCLE Papers and Reports 5, £5.00 + postage/handling charge) follows Minority community languages in school, (NPR 4, same price) ed Euan Reid, in that series.

Postage/handling charge is £0.75 or 10% of order value, whichever is greater (so order everything you need, together!) and books are available from CILT Mail Order, Regent's College, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London NW1 4NS (cheques payable to CILT).

Helen Lunt
Senior Research Information Officer
CILT

RESEARCH SUPPORT SCHEME 1985

At its September meeting, the Executive Committee agreed on the
details of the proposed Research Support Scheme, which will be
implemented for the first time this year. Applications for
grants under the scheme are therefore now invited from BAAL
members.

The Scheme has been established to enable members to initiate,
continue or complete a specific research project in applied
linguistics for which support is not available from other sources.
The grant may be sought, for example, for a piece of equipment,
secretarial assistance, or travelling expenses. In this first,
experimental year of the scheme, the total sum being made
available is £200.

Details and Conditions

1. Applications for grants under the Scheme should be in
the form of a letter to the Secretary of the Association,
giving precise details of the planned use of the grant.
Applicants should indicate any other sources they have
approached.

2. Applicants should have been fully paid up members of
BAAL for at least two years before they make application
for a grant. They should not currently be members of the
Executive Committee..

3. All applications will be considered by the full
Executive Committee, at its Spring meeting. Any grant
awarded must be used within the following 12 months.

4. The total sum made available in any year may be
awarded to a single applicant, or may be divided among
several applicants.

5. Successful applicants should submit to the Editor of
the BAAL Newsletter a brief account of the research project
which has been supported, no later than a year after the
award has been made.

1985 DEADLINE: Applications for grants under the scheme, up to
the first year's maximum of £200, should be submitted to the
Secretary of the Association by MARCH 15, 1985.

Euan Reid
Secretary