The British Association for Applied Linguistics

Number 38 **Newsletter** Spring 1991

EDITORIAL

This edition of the Newsletter carries the third article in a series in which we have been trying to take stock of the impact of policy developments on different aspects of applied linguistics. Chris Brumfit, who served in the 1989 UGC research selectivity exercise, writes about applied linguistics in UK higher education. He describes the organisational context in which many of us work, and in doing so, draws attention to a setting that perhaps deserves closer analysis than it usually gets. We all have some sense of context-induced changes within applied linguistics, but it is easy to limit this within everyday complaint, tactical adaptation or generalised critique. Chris's article starts to lay out the kinds of detail that we need to address if we want to understand whether and how, in the 80s and 90s, 'backstage' pressures have shaped the applied linguistics that we are able to produce.

The Newsletter is also very fortunate in carrying the first of three endpieces by Michael Swan.

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1. NOTICEBOARD

1.1 FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES AND COURSES

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
on the
DESCRIPTION AND/OR COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND GREEK

27-29 March 1991

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
School of English, Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

Organising Committee: Angeliki Athanasiadou, Chair; Michalis Milapides, Vice-chair; Nikos Kontos, Secretary; Maria Valiouli, Treasurer; Niki Gakoudi, Member; Jane Mela, Member; Maria Mattheou, Member

Mailing Address: Aristotle University, School of English, PO Box 52, GR-540 06 Thessaloniki, Greece. Telephones: (031) 99.2974, (031) 99.2501

The official languages of the Symposium will be English and Greek. For more information, write to the organising committee.

SOL IN THE HORIZON:
Sociology of Language and Speakers of Other Languages in the 1990s

A SYMPOSIUM in honour of **Joshua A. Fishman's** 65th birthday and to advance the interdisciplinary development of **Sociology of Language**

To be held at the University of California, Santa Cruz
during the 1991 LSA Linguistic Institute
Jorge Hankamer, Director
8-12 July 1991

Intensive study groups and formal presentations by international scholars on the following Sociology of Language topics:
Language, Society and Thought, Bilingual Education, Language Planning, Language and Ethnicity
Conference Co-chairs: Robert L. Cooper, Hebrew University; Jim Dow, Iowa State University; Ofelia Garcia, City College of New York; David Marshall, University of North Dakota; Bernard Spolsky, Bar-Ilan University.
For further information, please contact: Prof. Ofelia Garcia, The City College of New York, School of Education, New York NY 10031. Tel: (212) 650-6273. email: OGACC@CUNYVM

University of Cambridge
Summer Institute in English and Applied Linguistics
Language and Understanding
14-27 July 1991

Academic Director: Professor Gillian Brown

The Summer Institute in English and Applied Linguistics will be an intensive two week course, taught by international experts (Lesley Milroy, Christopher Brumfit, Deirdre Wilson, Michael Short, Keith Brown, Jean Aitchison, Alan Garnham, Ellen Bialystok, Bernard Spolsky, Gillian Brown).

The principal theme in 1991 will be language and understanding. The course is intended primarily for university and college lecturers, teacher trainers and senior teachers of English. The aim will be to enable participants both to update their knowledge and to discuss the recent developments in research with some of the leading authorities in the field.

The minimum qualification for attendance will be a Master's degree in applied linguistics or an equivalent qualification in EFL.

A wide international audience is expected. Attendance will be limited to 60. The course fee is £1,350, to include all teaching, accommodation, and all meals. The **closing date** for applications is **12 April 1991**. Application forms can be obtained from: University of Cambridge Board of Extra-mural Studies, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge CB3 8AQ, tel: 954 210636, fax 954 210677.

XVIIth World Congress of
the World Federation of Modern Language Associations (FIPLV)
12-17 August 1991: Pécs, Hungary

Lifelong Language Learning

You are cordially invited to the XVIIth World Congress of the World Federation of Modern Language Associations (FIVPLV) 12-17 August 1991. The congress has a central issue, "Lifelong Language Learning", where the extra-scholar language learning — of adults and young children — plays a very important role.

At the same time, we also want to spotlight the issue of peace and international understanding, the corner stones of the Unesco action Linguapax.

Some of the most important sub-themes are:

The continuity and interrelations among different sectors and institutions of language learning;
Teacher education and curriculum design including the education and training of teacher trainers;
The contribution of applied disciplines to foreign language teaching;
Teaching and learning contents, materials, and techniques; the application of teaching aids and the media;
Language policy, the teaching of less widely taught languages (in and outside Europe).

Our address: 17 Posta Pf. 67, H-7617 Pécs, FIPLV Mrs Rács, Hungary, tel 36-72-24048 (Prof. G. Szépe)

GAL Annual Congress

The **22nd Annual** Congress of the Gesellschaft für Angewandte Linguistik (GAL) eV will take place at the University of Mainz from 26-28 September 1991. The main topic of the conference will be **Business and Language**, which will be covered in five main areas:

I	Structures of Language and Communication in Companies
II	Communication Training
III	Foreign Languages in Business
IV	Sales and Communication
V	Technical Communication

In addition, *sections* will be held in the following subjects:

1. Phonetics; 2. Lexicon and Grammar; 3. Text Linguistics and Stylistics; 4. Speech Training/Rhetorical Communication; 5. Media Communication; 6. Language for Specific Purposes; 7. Sociolinguistics; 8. Contact Linguistics; 9. Contrastive Linguistics and Intercultural Communication; 10. Translation; 11. Psycholinguistics; 12. Speech Pathology and Therapy; 13. Language Teaching; 14. Language Learning Technology; 15. Computational Linguistics.

Furthermore, there will be workshops, plenary lectures and exhibitions on various subjects.

Submission of papers: Prof. Dr Bernd Spillner, GAL-Geschäftsstelle, Universität Duisburg, Postfach 10 15 03, D-4100 Duisburg 1, West Germany. Tel (0203) 379-2064.

Information: Prof. Dr Klaus Mattheier, 2 Vorsitzender der GAL, Universität Heidelberg, Germanistisches Seminar, Karlsstr. 2, D-6900 Heidelberg, West Germany. Tel. 06221/543243

UNIVERSITE DE GENEVE
Symposium
European Universities, Linguistics and Language Teaching
New Developments between 1880 and 1914

26-28 September 1991: University of Geneva

In collaboration with: CILA (Commission Interuniversitaire de Linguistique Appliquée); SIHFLES (Société Internationale pour l'Histoire du Français Langue Etrangère ou Seconde); SHESH (Société d'Histoire et d'Epistémologie des Sciences du Langage)

The main theme of the symposium will be the links between the universities — in particular, linguists or language experts within the universities or connected to them — and the new developments in modern language teaching and teacher training during the last decades of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th.
Organisation: Geneva University: D. Coste, A. Giroud, G. de Preux, E. Roulet, R. Anacker; CILA: A. Jenneret (Neuchâtel); SIHFLES: H. Christ (Giessen), C. Pellandra (Bologne), C. Puren (Bordeaux), M.H. Clavères (Montpellier)
SHESL: J.C. Chevalier, S. Delesalle, J.L. Chiss
Contact: Ecole de Langue et de Civilisation Française, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Genève, Place de l'Université, 1211 Genève 4, Suisse. Tel: (22) 7057438. Fax: 22/297795. Electronic mail: coste@cgeuge51.

1.2 PUBLICATIONS

BRADFORD OCCASIONAL PAPERS No 10
Translation in Performance

Contents: *Introduction* by Peter Fawcett and Owen Heathcote; *Genre, Discourse and Text in the Critique of Translation* by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason; *Towards a Viable Applied Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Ethnolinguistic Point of View* by Mohammed Akram A.A.M. S'Adeddin; *Translation on Business Studies Courses: Some Practical Experiences* by Irene Wells; *Machine and Human Translation* by Monique L'Huillier; *The Translation of a Czech Experimental Novel: a Case Study in Problems in Translation* by David Short; *Translating Shakespeare's Word Play* by Malcolm Offord; *Theatrical Poison; Translating for the Stage* by John London; *The Undefinitive Translation of Poetry* by Anne Born; *Translating Contemporary Poetry* by Claude Held; *Translating the Untranslatable* by Yann Lovelock.

Copies available (at £7.50 inc. p&p) from Department of Modern Languages, University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD7 1DP

1.3 BAAL STUDENT MEMBERS

Dear Student members

For the second year now I am acting as your representative on the BAAL Executive Committee, and I would like to remind you that you can get in touch with me with any concern regarding BAAL which you would like to discuss. We are particularly keen to increase membership and participation of student members at conferences and seminars, and to assist you in any activities you may be planning yourselves.

At the BAAL meeting 1990 in Swansea, student participation was very lively. There was a panel discussion of postgraduate students from the Institute of Education, chaired by Professor Widdowson, and this allowed a great deal of discussion amongst home and overseas students, and was well attended.
We also had the opportunity to schedule a special student meeting in advance of the Annual General Meeting. One of the points which student members expressed a particular concern with was to know the names and research interests of other student members. This information is not evident from the current register, but the Executive Committee is discussing ways of including this information in the forthcoming computerised BAAL register. I will keep you informed of any developments in this area.

The next Annual Meeting at Durham in September will again provide us with an opportunity to meet before the AGM, and I am looking forward to meeting as many of you as possible there.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Ulrike Meinhof
Department of German
University of Manchester
Manchester M13 9PL

2. REPORTS

2.1 AILA SCIENTIFIC COMMISSIONS

AILA Scientific Commission for FLT Methodology and Teacher Education

There are two pieces of information:

a. The first relates to the publication of the complete papers presented at the 9th World Congress Special Symposium on 'Initial and In-service FL Teacher Education'. The volume will circulate in early 1991 and will cost 1500 drs or US$12 (cost + postage). If interested please remit the above amount at your earliest possible convenience to Prof. S. Efstathiadis, Aristotle University, Department of English, Box 52, Thessaloniki 540 06, Greece.

b. The second point concerns the organisation by the Commission of a Symposium on the various stages in F.L. Teacher Education. The symposium will materialise within the framework of the FIPLV Congress in Pécs, Hungary in summer 1991. For information concerning the Congress, please contact: 17. Posts Pf. 67, H-7617 Pécs, FIPLV Mrs Racz, Hungary, (Prof. G. Szépe). Tel: 36-72-24-048.

Will those interested please register directly with the above address. And will those intending to submit a paper please send an abstract of up to two pages (for consideration by the Screening Committee) to Professor Efstathiadis at the above address.

***Bill Littlewood**, Christchurch College Canterbury*

2.2 CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

The Construction of Social Inequality in Discourse

I hoped and expected that this two-day seminar would be intellectually challenging — which it undoubtedly was. Most academic meetings do not allow such concentration. At conferences, conventional timetabling makes the experience very fractured. But more continuous events like this one have problems too — I found it hard to maintain concentration throughout each two and a half hour session, but it wasn't easy to take the chair's advice and go out independently for coffee, running the risk of missing something interesting.

Ruqaiya Hasan's presentation allowed us to consider once again how 'social class' can best be defined and/or operationalised. She herself said that 'power' in social analysis was becoming an increasingly vacuous concept. This is probably so — it is nevertheless an indispensable one. Her analysis worked with the concept of 'autonomy'. I think autonomy, as she characterised it, must be a dimension of power. In an earlier period, people talked about class in terms of 'ownership *and control* of the means of production', but that is a gloss that certainly needs to be broadened and sharpened for our advanced capitalist, patriarchal societies. And in

that context, the concept of autonomy may guide us to see more clearly where control resides. The associations of 'control' here are with *things*; those of 'autonomy' in Hasan's sense, with *people* — self and others. I think we need both emphases — though I am not convinced that such a mode of analysis leads into a simple division into working class and ruling class.

I found Michael Halliday's presentations, both written and oral, extremely persuasive. I came to the event having some familiarity with his work, though I wouldn't want to claim any expertise. The event left me with a problem. It seems to me that at the core of this system of thought is a powerful guiding idea, an idea that it is from within the lexicogrammatical system, as a set of probabilities, that meaning arises. On the other hand, there is also the persuasive idea that meaning is much more context dependent than traditional views on the nature of 'language' have recognised. These two ideas don't seem to sit comfortably together, which is why the work of JL Lemke, who has worked with Halliday, is worth mentioning here. A recent article of Lemke's is most unequivocally contextualist, thus:

> The object-text belongs to the order of 'things' rather than that of meanings *per se*. It is the physical text, the printed marks on paper, the illuminated pixels on the screen, the magnetised domains on tape or disk. The social conventions of reading practices, enacted in the activity structure of reading, *writes* a 'meaning-text' *with* the object text. There are as many reading-texts as there are readings, and it is only the commonality of the social conventions concerning reading that lets us speak even approximately of a 'meaning of the text'. It is a dangerous approximation, mainly used by those in authority to demand limits on the meaning-texts made in a community (JL Lemke, 'Text structure and text semantics' in Erich Steiner and Robert Veltman, eds., *Pragmatics, discourse and text; some systemically-inspired approaches*. Pinter Publishers 1988 p158)

Of course, it does *not* follow that, because the production of meaning from a text-object requires interpretative *work* on the reader's part, the results of that work (i.e. 'the meaning-texts made in a community') have to be multiple. The 'social conventions of reading practices' presumably include lexicogrammar. If these conventions are shared and consensual, you'd expect the result of using them to be always the same, no matter who the reader is. When linguists analyse texts, they analyse their own readings. So the provocativeness of Lemke's contextualist theoretical position is hollow. He implies that there *might* be a plurality of readings, but for analytic purposes develops only one, thus assuming, by default, shared, consensual interpretative resources, including determinate system-meaning. The default assumption is compatible with the leading idea of systemic-functional linguistics. If you abandon the default assumption, because you want to pursue the idea that multiple text meaning is more than just a theoretical possibility, that it might also be empirically the case, do you also have to abandon the basic principle of systemic-functional linguistics?

***Kay Richardson**, University of Liverpool*

The workshop was generously assisted by a grant of £300 from the Centre for Research into Language and Communication, NFER.

Reflections on the BAAL 1990 Annual Meeting

The theme of this year's Annual Meeting, *Language and Nation*, had a slightly old fashioned, nineteenth century ring to it. Had we not all learned from Chapter 1 of our contemporary sociolinguistics textbooks that 'national languages' are political, not linguistic constructs? And that significant linguistic divisions rarely coincide with 'national' frontiers? And doesn't the internationalism of the late 20th century lead linguists to an appropriate concern with world languages on the one hand (and with English, of course, in particular), and with local, small-group linguistic identities on the other? Linguists, like other Western intellectuals, share something of a post World War II unease with the concepts of nation and nationalism.

Yet the timeliness of the theme showed itself in a number of ways. Firstly, a clutch of papers — well spoken of, though I did not get to any — considered the impact of changing political realities on the status and use of German in central Europe. Another group of papers (my own included, to declare a special interest) addressed itself to education policy in England and Wales, and more especially to language provision for bilingual pupils within the National Curriculum. For those from the newer ethnic minorities, the picture is bleak: official policy places a one-sided emphasis on ESL, while community/heritage languages are ignored as media of learning. Even ESL is served mainly by exhortations to 'mainstreaming', without serious, stable funding of research, development or evaluation (Jill Bourne's video project gave us just a glimpse of what could be...). Meanwhile, as Colin Williams fluently outlined, the 'indigenous' Welsh language minority has recently won substantial funds for language maintenance work, including effective implementation of Welsh-for-all, for the first time, in the Welsh National Curriculum. Euan Reid commented that we were getting an 'English Nationalist' curriculum. Things are a little more complicated than that, but it is hard to explain the language policies being implemented on child-focused, educational grounds. It was clear from Peter Nelde's talk that the political institutions of Europe overall have not yet faced the question of a coherent language policy consistent in its treatment of 'indigenous' heritage languages and those more recently arrived; this is surely a democratic issue of some importance for the coming decade, which must impel us to sort out our thinking on 'language and nation' once more.

A strong feature of this year's Annual Meeting were the plenary discussions in various formats. All were lively and interesting — though, oddly, linguistic theory and its application were appealed to very little, by panellists or by audience. BAAL has moved noticeably towards more 'socio' concerns, over recent Annual Meetings: is our more strictly linguistic expertise merely dormant, or are interests in ideology, social identity etc. not compatible with interests in grammar? How systematic is our revived interest in the work of Halliday?

A few more specific gaps. The theme may have been partly responsible, but this Annual Meeting was short on empirically based papers, especially in the area of language learning/development. Isn't anyone in Britain working on SLA, just now? There were some classroom-based studies, but at least one treated the classroom itself as an unproblematic 'black box'; in these difficult times, when research

funding and research training are scarce, BAAL is one context where we could surely aim to discuss research methodology more fully and systematically than in the past. We now fund ten research students to attend the Meeting, for one thing; how about an extra day (minimum) for them, to present their work and discuss methodological issues with each other and with a few more experienced colleagues?

Yet, grumbles apart, BAAL Meetings are addictive... See you in Durham.

***Ros Mitchell**, Centre for Language in Education, Southampton University*

2.3 RESEARCH

Language Use in a Multiracial Adolescent Peer Group*

Recently, a number of sociologists have commented on the emergence of multiracial working class youth cultures in Britain, and moved away from investigation of the particularities of notionally discrete ethnic groups to analysis of their interaction within the broader context of political and economic relations. Language has often occupied an important place in these accounts of cultural syncretism, and the use of Creole by white adolescents has now been extensively analysed (Hewitt 1986). But so far, discussion has concentrated on the interaction of white Anglo and Afro-Caribbean adolescents: there have been only parenthetic references to the participation of Asians.

The sociolinguistic focus of this project offers a wider view. It sets out to explore the confluence, revaluation and interchange of three language varieties, and it addresses the manner and extent to which they have become specialised in their interethnically accessible meaning potential. Why, how and how far do Panjabi, Indian English and Creole complement one another within speech repertoire of the multiracial peer group, forming a symbolic economy in which all members can participate, though to different degrees depending on their social affiliations and orientations?

For several reasons, the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics provide the best approach to this issue. The valuation of these varieties is extensively shaped by their historical and contemporary positions within state, commercial and community institutions (locally, nationally and internationally). But at the same time, their significance is interpreted in different ways in different networks and situations, so that general characterisations of the cross-ethnic meaning potential of Creole, Panjabi and Indian English have to be based on an overview of interactional specifics. The intricacy of adolescent (re)negotiations of social and ethnic identity also make fairly fine-grained analysis essential.

The project has given empirical examination to the recreational activity of an extended adolescent network in one neighbourhood in the South Midlands of England. There were two periods of fieldwork of about one year each (in 1984 and

1987) and in all, approximately 62 males and females of Afro-Caribbean, Anglo, Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani extraction participated. Data collection entailed interviews, participant observation, radio-microphone recording and retrospective participant commentary. Questionnaires, language diaries, and discussion of the findings with informants also played a role. The outcome has been a large, longitudinal and triangulated database.

So far, completed analyses consider attitudes to the use of Creole by Anglo and Panjabi youngsters in 1984 and 1987 (Rampton 1989a); attitudes and use in relation to stylised Indian English in 1984 (Rampton 1987); and both attitudes and use in relation to Panjabi crossing in 1984 and 1987 (Rampton 1989b, 1990b).

It is impossible here to give a full account of these findings, though a sketch of Panjabi crossing may indicate something of their tenor. Afro-Caribbean and Anglo youngsters used Panjabi in two broad contexts: on the one hand, it played an auxiliary role in the competitive playground activities traditional amongst schoolchildren (Opies 1959), and on the other, it was a central element in the prestigious Asian youth culture developing around bhangra music. In both arenas, a number of monolinguals managed to circumvent ethnic difference and linguistic incompetence with the aid of bilingual sponsors and non-conversational activity structures, but there were important differences in the kind of social relationship generated within these two settings. Because it simultaneously encoded conjunction and separation (particularly in jocular abuse), playground Panjabi involved potentially ambiguous expressions of social affiliation, and it created quite a lot of scope for manoeuvre within sensitive ethnic border zones. Some users showed themselves susceptible to racist discourses elsewhere, while for others Panjabi was a valued part of the local multiracial inheritance, occasionally used in cross-ethnically 'we-coded' addressee specification. In contrast, bhangra entailed a much more plainly subordinate position for non-Panjabis , and a male-female romantic interest provided one important context in which this was acceptable. At the same time, it opened up far broader cultural horizons than playground Panjabi, and it was the adolescents who were interested in bhangra that were keenest to attend Panjabi classes at school. While boys were more engaged in competitive uses, it was white girls that became most involved in bhangra.

The interracial use of Indian English and Creole was differentiated in equally complex ways, although comparison between these varieties suggests several kinds of symbolic specialisation. Though it obviously registered sociolinguistic differences that transected the peer group internally, Panjabi crossing was closely tied to interactive network relationships and as such was very much a language of local sociability. Indian English was particularly sensitive to race politics as these developed in the interaction between Asians and white authority, and in interracial domains, the association between Indian English and imperial stereotypes of 'babu' was exploited in a number of ways (Rampton 1987, 1988). Creole was the most prestigious and widely used variety, and Hewitt's research (1986) serves as a base on which cumulative and comparative ethnography can be developed. The use of three varieties within one peer group means that there is a good deal of scope for the study of 'polyphony' and of the ways in which the macrosocial order is symbolically negotiated at local level (Bakhtin 1981).

Since the project is oriented neither to classroom pedagogy nor to very general models of interaction and cognitive processing, it cannot be situated within the applied linguistic traditions that have been most influential in Britain over the last two decades. Instead, its approach has perhaps been more consistent with Hymes' conception of an applied linguistics built around ethnography, in which theory is closely linked to local description (1972, 1973; Rampton (forthcoming)). The research tries to generalise beyond its particular setting, but inclines to the view that it is the overarching influence of particular social and historical factors that makes this possible, not mental or behavioural universals.

Educational relevance has been a major objective throughout the research, and there are two general ways in which it has tried to achieve it. At the outset, it was recognised that debates about language education have been rather heavily confined within the home/school dichotomy, neglecting the distinctive influence of the adolescent peer group. In the event, a set of adolescent perspectives have emerged that seem rather more far-reaching than artificial educational discourses, both in their cultural frames of reference and in their sense of sociolinguistic possibility. This has invited critical analysis of English educational policy on bilingual education, on teaching English as an additional language and on language awareness (Rampton 1988, 1989/90, 1991a). Beyond this engagement with particular aspects of policy, there have also been efforts to contribute to more general discussion of organising ideas in language education. Alternative conceptualisations of the 'native speaker' and the 'second language learner' have been suggested (1990a, 1991b), and the research has attempted to advance the debate about language, race and education by (a) drawing attention to the complex permeability of ethnic categories, (b) by insisting on the intricate interconnections of race, class, gender and age, and (c) by focusing on ethnic majority adolescents in order to show that minority language maintenance and shift are not the only possibilities for language contact in contemporary England.

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Ben Rampton
University College of Ripon and York St John

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3. ABSTRACTS FROM 1990 ANNUAL MEETING

"LANGUAGE & NATION" University College of Swansea

The abstracts from the 1990 Annual Meeting are presented below, in the rough thematic sequences: language and nation, education, language and language skills.

Azaveli Feza Lwaitama
(University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania)

Exogenous Conceptions of Foreign Language Teaching and Parasitic Elitism in Africa

Using the case of Tanzania as an example, the paper discusses a number of explanations which may account for the paradoxes in the policies of most African governments regarding the purpose of foreign language teaching (henceforth FLT) within the context of the role of language in nation building. The paper argues that the influence of a parasitic rather than a dynamizing elite on the nation building process may account for the predominance of exogenous rather than endogenous conceptions of FLT.

The political discourse of Africa's parasitic elites is shown to have a tendency to interpret 'foreign' to mean 'European' and 'European' to mean 'modern' and 'modern' to mean 'invariably desirable'. As a consequence, FLT is conceptualized as a modernizing process *by itself* rather than as *a means* to modernization. Hence educational practices which seem to be based on the view that it is sensible to spend all the time learning how to spell well in a foreign language even at the expense of learning which herbs would cure which diseases from so-called uneducated grandparents and similar village folk. In conclusion, some sociolinguistic statistics are given which cast doubt on the validity of such popular labels as Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa which even the current Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, Dr Salim Ahmed Salim, had occasion in an interview with the author in Addis Ababa on 8th December 1990, to characterise as absurd and divisive.

Clinton Robinson
(University of Reading)

Language Attitudes and Language Use: Communicating Rural Development in Africa

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between language use and models of rural development intervention, on the basis of data on language attitudes and use in a rural environment in Cameroon. Whereas approaches in language planning tend to seek to "manage the problem" of a highly multilingual situation, it is possible to adopt a micro perspective, from the point of view of the communication needs of particular language communities in Africa.

However, at this level there exists a dichotomy of attitudes and usage, where institutional expectations demand the use of the official (non-local) language,

in contrast to local attitudes which favour development of the local language. Survey data from Cameroon suggest that, beyond matters of comprehension, questions of identity, culture, schooling and economic advantage fuel the dichotomy. We also ask what role language policy plays in all this.

As far as rural development communication is concerned, whose goals are furthered in which language? The use of the official language is at variance with stated 'grassroots' policy goals for development, but accords with the institutional nature of the development delivery system. Attitudes to development also reflect this dichotomy. What difference would a change of language make? Two distinct types of observed development meeting demonstrate the effect of language choice.

What language reflects in rural development are wider issues that underlie social relationships. So language usage in rural development may be explained by reference to many different social dimensions, where no one dimension presents the whole picture. Consideration of language raises issues such as: power distribution, educational system, institutional development, government organisation, cultural identity, literacy/orality and communication networks. Language reflects aspects of all these dimensions, even when we are only looking at one domain of usage - rural development. However, in the end language *remains* an important issue in the Cameroon situation, precisely *because* it reflects so many dimensions; when a certain language is used, the social relationship is defined in certain ways which circumscribe and orient the activity for which communication (in that language) is being promoted/established.

Charles C Mann
(University of Ilorin, Nigeria)

Choosing an Indigenous Official Language for Nigeria: Perspectives and Procedures

Since acceding to flag Independence in 1960, Nigeria, like other new nations, has been confronted with fundamental ideological questions on 'the way forward' in its drive to cement national unity and maximise developmental potential; language planning has been one of the thorny and oft avoided issues because of the emotional charge it carries.
This paper resurrects this inevitable aspect of national life, examines the various options proposed and possible in the choice of an indigenous official language to replace English, advances language regulation models for adoption, and analyzes foreseeable problems of implementation. A table showing, theoretically, the relative linguistic and sociolinguistic statuses of all the languages in contention, is also furnished.

Joseph Gafaranga
(National University of Rwanda)

The National-Identity and International-Integration Dilemma in Rwandan Language Policies

In an Africa where bi-/multi-lingualism is the norm, Rwanda is privileged for most, if not all, of its citizens speak the same language, namely KINYARWANDA. The Rwandan authorities have not failed to see this advantage. Indeed, they have done everything in their limited power to promote it and to make of it the vehicle of the Rwandan cultural identity. Thus, soon after independence, in 1964, the first constitution stated that Kinyarwanda was to be the national language of the country. The various efforts which will be surveyed in this paper have all been undertaken so as to implement this decision.

However, in a century when no country is an island, Rwanda needs international languages for its international integration. Thus, languages such as French, English and Swahili are taught and spoken in Rwanda. Thrown into the highly technological 20th century, Rwanda needs these foreign languages, not only for its international exchange, but also for some aspects of its internal life. It is for this reason that the same first Rwandan constitution recognizes French, in addition to Kinyarwanda, as an official language.

As soon as a language starts fulfilling internal functions within a society, members of that society start developing attitudes of a kind or another towards that language. In Rwanda, attitudes towards French are highly positive for French is considered to be the language of social promotion.

A further element which needs to be taken into consideration is that, while Rwanda, a developing country, needs foreign aid to implement most of its policies, France and other French speaking countries cannot help supporting any policies which are likely to spread their language and, along with it, their culture. French influence in Rwandan language policies cannot therefore be underestimated.

Given all these factors, a question raises as to what chance there is for Kinyarwanda to develop into a full-fledged national and official language. This paper will examine the relative weight of each of these factors with the ultimate end of showing that, in developing countries, language development policies come across various problems from within and from without the country itself.

N'ti Nseendi Lubasa
(University of Maiduguri)

The Social Psychology of Multilingualism in Developing African Countries: An Enquiry

The paper is, in effect, a survey of opinions expressed in printed materials or through questionnaires and interviews on the function of the official language and the use of African (indigenous) languages in education in some selected African countries south of the Sahara: Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Kenya and Tanzania. Its purpose is to extract, from the arguments for or against the use of indigenous languages in education or as official languages, the underlying social and psychological characteristics of the arguments and, ipso facto, of the people who made them. It is argued, in this paper, that language can indeed be a factor of national unity/unification (as it is often claimed to be), where there is already unity *psychologically* among the people, that is: where national unity is not just a political issue. The language issue in Africa is subsequently seen as evidence that African countries are political rather than psychological nations. The paper also shows that attitudes towards languages and ethnic groups in many developing (and particularly) African countries south of the Sahara have a stunting effect on society in many respects and concludes with the observation that the social psychology of developing countries is a psychology of underdevelopment.

Meriel Bloor (University of Warwick) and
Thomas Bloor (University of Aston)

Language, Metaphor and Nation: A Rejection of the Concept of Language Ownership

In this paper we investigate the concept of language ownership, the concept that enables a speaker of English to write a book entitled "Our Language" or a philosopher (Herder) to write of the German nation "The language is its collective treasure". The paper stems from a concern that a renowned novelist in English, Ngugi, has chosen to *disown* the language (English) in which he wrote his major novels and which he now views as "the language of the colonizer". We propose that the true nature of language and language use is distorted by the ownership metaphor. We trace the use of this metaphor in English and consider its use in other languages. Using the methods of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987) we attempt to 'unpack' this and related metaphors with the object of freeing any language, but more specifically English, from the apparent control of any nation or social group. The implications of this for multilingual communities in Europe and Africa are considered. The work is related to the paper we gave at the BAAL Annual Meeting 1989 (Lancaster) on "The Role of English in

Resurgent Africa". It is not, however, the same paper, but is based on research developed from the final section, which proposed the questions: "Who owns a language? Who controls a language?"

Henry Widdowson (Chair)
(Institute of Education, University of London)
Joseph Akoha, (INFRE, Port Novo, Benin)
Zsuzsanna Ardo, (College of Foreign Trade, Budapest)
Barbara Seidlhofer, (University of Vienna)
John Simpson (University of London)
Nationalism is an Infantile Disease (Einstein), What About Native-Speakerism?

Is 'native-speakerhood' a privileged genetic endowment, a desirable and achievable learning goal, or an irrelevant and outdated status symbol? It certainly (still) is an economic asset!

The ('native' and 'non-native') members of the panel invite you to explore with them the question of what constitutes a relevant norm of English language competence both as a target for learning and a qualification for teaching in different EFL/ESL situations. These issues raise questions of wider implications about the interrelationship of language, power and social identity which are crucial when considering the role of English as an international language, and which it would be irresponsible for applied linguists to ignore.

NB: This session is intended to be interactive and to stimulate participation in open debate by the exchange of ideas, anecdotes, experiences and prejudices!

Arthur Brookes
(University of Durham)
How Far the Language of a Sample of Overseas Newspapers in English Reflects 'Nation'

It is well-established in the literature on English as an International Language that varieties of English have developed in many parts of the world (particularly in ex-colonial countries) which are distinct from British English. The investigation which is the subject of this talk concentrates mainly on those countries where English is not the language of the majority of the population. It is well-known that informal language (as in general conversation or personal letters) reflects national varieties. This investigation

sets out to ascertain whether newspapers in English differ from Standard English norms in any way or whether their audience (including ex-patriates, the business community, and the educational elite) ensure that 'NATION' is not reflected except in content. There will be an opportunity at the end of the talk to support or challenge the speaker's provisional conclusions particularly from those who have first-hand knowledge of such publications through having worked overseas.

Fatima Ali Zumrawi
(University of Salford)
Arabic in the Arab World: An Element of Separatism and Unity

The paper looks at the overall language situation in the Arab World and how Arabic is treated there.

It is specifically concerned with sociolinguistic issues like diglossia and arabicization as problematic areas of research and delineates elements that contribute to the situation.

The paper discusses the inefficiency of the management of the language situation as it is monopolized in each country and then collectively by individuals/groups who share similar interest profiles.

It suggest as a way out of the language planning dilemma the adoption of new strategies arguing against the current policies of managing Arabic within the framework of Arab Unity.

Euan Reid
(Institute of Education, University of London)
European Languages, or Languages in Europe?

This paper takes as its starting point 'ECCE Intercultural', an evaluation exercise which ran from 1986-89, and which was concerned with 15 pilot projects supported by the EC, all having to do with aspects of the linguistic education of "the children of migrant workers" in various member states.

It traces the development of thinking in these projects from an early and almost exclusive concern with "mother tongue teaching", to the point where the presence on a permanent basis of significant proportions of bilingual learners in the schools of most large European cities is seen to have implications for the development of language curricula for all learners.

This in turn raises questions about the territorial and inward-looking basis of some current proposals for language education in Europe, and leads to a consideration of the appropriateness of a privileged status in European schools for "European Languages". Are we in danger, as the new Europe is constructed, of simply extending the existing English nationalism, with language education policies to match?

Stephen Barbour
(University of Surrey)

Language and Nationalism in the German-Speaking Countries

The high level of variation within German, and its close relationship to several neighbouring languages, makes the delimitation of the language a complex matter; debate is often possible as to whether a particular dialect is German or not, and mutual intelligibility between German dialects may be very low.

At the same time the language plays a major part in the identity of the German nation; there is a real sense in which the language is the only clear unifying cultural characteristic of the Germans. Yet there are many speakers of the language, particularly Swiss and Austrians, who do not consider themselves to be Germans, while many 'ethnic Germans' born in the Soviet Union do not speak German.

This paper will consider some of the historical reasons for this highly complex state of affairs, and some of the current social and political tensions arising from language issues in the German-speaking countries.

Charlotte Hoffman
(University of Salford)

Language and Identity: The Case of the German Aussiedler

From the Middle Ages until the 19th Century, Eastern Europe saw waves of German immigrants settling in areas which today are parts of countries such as the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. Although a certain degree of assimilation took place, for the most part these people remained distinct ethnic and linguistic minorities. Their fortunes altered drastically in the present century as a result of two world wars, totalitarian politics, persecution, oppression, mass resettlement and other factors which resulted in a considerable reduction in their numbers. Today there are some 4 million ethnic Germans in East Europe - of whom we might have heard little had there not been a noticeable change in the political climate in recent years. The number of ethnic Germans from East

European countries (*Aussiedler*) settling each year in the German Federal Republic increased dramatically from 40,000 in 1970 to 195,000 in 1988, and the influx shows no sign of abating.

The arrival of these "other Germans" has intensified public awareness of German minorities and stimulated both political and academic interest in the spread of the German language outside the main German-speaking countries. Of particular interest to the sociolinguist is the issue of how a minority with a clear national identity can be defined in the absence of widespread knowledge of the minority language.

The aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between language and ethnic identity in the light of the linguistic situation of those members of German minority groups who have chosen to move to West Germany. Studies of language shift among linguistic minorities usually end at the point where the group has completed the changeover from minority to majority language. But the case of the *Aussiedler* is different: many considered themselves German although they no longer used this language in their daily lives. In effect, they had shifted from minority to majority language speakers before they left their native lands. Now that they have settled in the Federal Republic they are not only unfamiliar with present-day German culture, but they have to regain the language of the forefathers, which has now, for them, become the majority language. The acquisition of this language is necessary both for practical reasons and in order to be accepted as Germans by their new fellow countrymen, for whom knowledge of the language is a *sine qua non* of in-group identification.

Patrick Stevenson
(University of Southampton)

Deutschland einig Vaterland? Cultural and Linguistic Perspectives on German Unity

In the months following the events of November 1989 in the GDR, commentators in the West especially but also in the GDR itself have espoused with great alacrity the cause of 're-unifying Germany'. The supposed self-evidence of the existence of a single German nation was a common element in the election programmes of most political parties in the general elections in the GDR in March. However, these dramatic events came at the end of the year in which the FRG and the GDR each celebrated their 40th anniversary and much of the public discussion earlier in the year had focussed on the 'maturity' of these two states.

This paper will take the current debate on German re-unification as the basis

for a discussion of the long-standing problem of defining 'Germanness'. As Steinberg (1987) argues, the *questione della lingua* typically arises at times of political and cultural realignment: the paper will argue that the German Question has always been to a large degree a language question and consider the significance in the present context of the German notion of *Sprachkultur*. Humboldt declared that language was the 'soul of the nation' and this identification or equivalence of language and nation was one of the principal notions underlying the movement for German unification in the 19th century. More recently, however, a distinction has been drawn between the notions *Kulturnation* and *Staatsnation* (Polenz 1988), and this in turn has led to a debate on the relationship between national language varieties and national identities (Clyne 1984, Rusch 1989). The paper will therefore also attempt to assess the status of German as a 'pluricentric' language in the light of current social and political change.

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Gillian Donmall
(Kings College, University of London)

On the Move: The German Nation and its Language in a State of Flux

It is some twenty years since the author of this paper had the opportunity to spend an extended period of time in West Germany. On this occasion she has encountered a number of developments within daily use of the German language, e.g. the 'feminization' of it, some new and specific terms for different groups of people who have come to settle in West Germany, the trend towards incorporation of English words and expressions into the German structural frame-work, some difference in use of titles when addressing people and has concerned herself again with the formal/informal; intimate equivalents of the English 'you'. She asks what the future role of the German language as it has been preserved in East Germany might be. Can a common language unite two groups of one nation whose post-war experiences have left them so far apart?

Clare Mar-Molinero
(University of Southampton)

The Conflict of Cultural and Political Identity: Is Spain a Nation or a State?

Article 2 of the present Spanish Constitution (1978) describes Spain as "un *Estado* social y democrático de Derecho" and goes on to talk about "la indisoluble *unidad* de la *Nación* española" but adds that the Constitution also recognises and guarantees "el derecho a la *autonomía* de las *nacionalidades y regiones* que la integran". (my emphases). Coming close to linguistic tautology post-Franco Spain is often referred to as "un estado-nación plurinacional" (see e.g. Aracil 1982). The need for these linguistic gymnastics when talking about the political entity of Spain reflects the tensions and conflicts which have existed for centuries between the Spanish state and the various ethnic minorities which it contains. The most tangible and significant symbol of these tensions has always been the conflict between the various Spanish languages, in particular, Castilian, Catalan, Basque and Galician.

This paper will examine the issues this conflict presents: the problem of minority versus majority nationalities within one political state; the question of the role of minority nationalities in suprastate structures; the significance of the territorial principle for linguistic and national identity.

It will be argued that linguistic survival for such minority groups may in fact be in danger precisely as a result of such consensus policies as those of the present Spanish Constitution, ultimately to no lesser extent than under the outright oppressive ideology of the Franco dictatorship.

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Julia Khan
(University of Warwick)

Intergenerational Language Change: Language Use and Attitudes in some Families of Pakistani Origin in Britain

This paper will report on findings from a fairly extensive and currently on-going study into intergenerational developments and differences in language use and attitudes amongst members of a substantial number of well established professional families of Pakistani origin living in Britain. Most

of the second generation members of the families have a bilingual competence in English and Urdu and/or Punjabi and are successful within the British educational system. Most of the parents would like Urdu/Punjabi to be maintained by their children. The families constitute a dispersed but extensive network, linked by a shared professional background and education and may be seen as one constituent element of the multilingual Britain for which a satisfactory policy of language education is frequently discussed.

When the Linguistic Minorities Project was completing its survey of some areas of multilingual Britain, it regretted not having been able to complement its work with a number of case studies of particular groups. In the UK, unlike the US, Canada and Australia, there have been relatively few extensive case studies of non-indigenous linguistic minority groups. Yet case studies are an important part of building up an overall picture of language contact situations in a multilingual society. General theories and principles must be tested in relation to particular cases if they are to be convincingly developed. In this project, principles relating to patterns of language shift and language maintenance, to code choice and code mixing and to the relationship between language and identity are being explored. Every in-depth case study will also identify perspectives particular to the group being studied and taking these into account makes it possible to refine general principles. In this case, features particular to the group in question include the great variety of language background and inheritance amongst an apparently homogeneous group, the relationship between the different languages of Pakistan and their communicative and/or symbolic value, the importance of minority languages in medical practice in Britain, and the cultural priorities of some Muslim families living in Britain.

The study is making some use of both ethnographic and survey methods. Since it will not have been completed by September 1990, the paper will report on findings as available at that point.

Martin J Ball (Polytechnic of Wales) and
Nikolas Coupland (University of Wales College of Cardiff)

Welsh and English in Contemporary Wales

This paper will examine sociolinguistic aspects of Wales' two languages. It will begin with a brief outline of demographic trends in Wales and their effect on the Welsh language, and continue with an examination of the diglossic nature of Welsh, and the search for a standard to promote language retention. Aspects of the usage of Welsh in the media, and linguistic erosion within Welsh will also be addressed.

We will then examine the role of English in Wales, and whether Welsh

ethnicity can be expressed through English. We continue by looking at the different varieties of Welsh English, and the interaction of such features as class, personality, ethnicity and perceived audience in the use of such varieties.

Carole Arijoki and Joanna Channell
(University of Nottingham)

Language Awareness in the Business Community

As long ago as 1879 the RSA recognised a need for foreign language expertise in the fields of commerce and industry.

> "Beyond all doubt we suffer in competition abroad from ignorance of foreign languages by our merchants, agents, clerks and mechanics."

Despite the advent of 1992, however, progress in this area appears slow. British business people would still seem to lag behind their European colleagues as regards their knowledge of foreign languages.

In the last few years much of the research in this area of interest has taken the form of needs analyses of regional industries on the company level.

Our research, by contrast, has focussed on individuals (working at management level) in the business sector. The goal of the research is to investigate language awareness. In the context of the needs of business and industry, it is possible that both failure to initiate language training and dissatisfaction with training which is undertaken can be explained by lack of understanding of both what is involved in the process of second language acquisition, and the level of competence required to accomplish particular communicative goals in language. In other words, by lack of language awareness. The project is funded for 12 months by the National Westminster Bank Trust Fund.

This paper will present some of the findings of the research, based on data taken from both questionnaires and interviews. In particular we will deal with the attitude of respondents to foreign language learning, their knowledge and experience of languages and their expectations at to what is involved both in the acquisition and use of a foreign language for business purposes.

Angel Pachev
(School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London)
National Language Situation: Some Theoretical Issues

The paper is dedicated to some methodological issues which are considered to be of crucial importance for the sociolinguistic modelling of national language situations. The author's arguments are based on a brief critical review of the current 'state of the art' in sociolinguistics; his aim is not to criticize the pioneering efforts of other scholars but to argue for the need of improving the descriptive and explanatory adequacy of the sociolinguistic models of language situations.
Some new notions and terms are introduced in the paper; a general sociolinguistic model is proposed which is considered to be an auspicious base for the sociolinguistic theoretical and applied research on language situations.

Eddie Williams
(University of Reading)
Bilingual Education: Building, Renovating or Demolishing the Nation?

The overall objective of this paper is to examine the efficacy and purpose of minority bilingual education programmes within an overwhelmingly monolingual state.

The paper first considers two theories of society: consensus theory and conflict theory. In sociolinguistics the influential notion of diglossia is clearly within a consensus theory. However, obedience to language norms by members of minority groups should not necessarily be taken for consensus, and a strong case may be made for diglossia being a key indicator of conflict, rather than evidence for consensus (cf Ninyoles, 1980; Blanc & Hamers 1983). Accepting the conflict analysis raises serious questions for bilingual education programmes of whatever type, since most such programmes are implicitly based upon a consensus view of society. Some programmes subordinate the minority language thus reinforcing in pupils the power relations of wider society, while others give value to the minority group language (as advocated by Cummins, 1986).

However, it may be argued that these latter programmes may mislead pupils about the realities of power and the social value of their language. This dilemma provides a further example of the problems of attempting to compensate for society through education alone. To assess the effect of bilingual schools on national, and not only educational, life, then the attitudes

and usage of minority group speakers after, as well as during; their schooling needs to be considered.

The paper concludes by suggesting future directions based on conflict theory.

Michael Byram
(University of Durham)
The School as a Mediator of Ethnic Identity

The purpose of this paper will be to explore the relationships between language, identity and school in linguistic minorities and to discuss the conflict of interests which may arise.

I shall argue, first, that parental choice of school in a linguistic minority is an extension and modification of 'self-ascribed' identity. For young children, parents take the responsibility of deciding on their ethnic identity and realise the decision by choosing a particular school. This will be illustrated by reference to an 'established' and a 'new' minority.

I shall then suggest that, with respect to linguistic competence, a choice of minority school may help maintain group identity and the minority group's existence but may disadvantage the individual child. For it may be in the interest of the individual to become bilingual, and the consequent 'risk' of change of identity would be to the detriment of the group's existence. It will be suggested that this situation creates problems for teachers in deciding where their responsibility lies.

Finally, I will discuss a third case where the interests of the individual in becoming bilingual in both minority and majority language are not seen to be at odds with the continuing existence of the group and its identity. This evidence of different interpretations of the 'same' phenomenon of bilingualism in different situations will, once again, demonstrate the importance of case-study and the difficulties of generalisation, which in turn raises questions about the role of research and the researcher.

Michael B Wilmott
(University of Wales College of Cardiff)
World Englishes in the Classroom

The present international status of English is rightly justified on the basis of the numerical strength of its speakers; the cross-cultural and localized

functional range the language has developed in various domains; the excellence of its literary traditions; and the dominance of the language in trade, commerce, banking, tourism, technology, and scientific research. But this is not the whole story about the diffusion of English.

The Internationalization of the English language also refers to an acculturation in a variety of contexts that has resulted in new contours of the language and the literature-in linguistic innovations, in literary creativity, and in the expansion of the cultural identities of the language. However, the implications of the internationalization of English have yet to reflect in the curricula of teacher training programs, in the methodology of teaching, in understanding the sociolinguistic profile of the language and in cross-cultural awareness.

Those of us engaged in English language teaching around the world, or in the education of teachers of English, are continually confronted with the issue of which English to teach. If we are native speakers of British, American, Indian, Kenyan or other national varieties - members of what Kachru refers to as the 'Inner Circle' or 'Outer Circle' - we are likely to teach our own English, including the sociolinguistic rules which govern its use. That decision may be appropriate in second language situations in our own countries, but what should be our decision in the increasingly numerous situations in which speakers of other languages are interested in learning English for instrumental purposes - for access to scientific, technical, or professional texts written in English or for international communication for business or travel? Does English for Special Purposes (ESP) or 'international English' provide answers? Is there a way to reduce the regionalisms in any one variety of English to make it less restricted? Does the attempt to teach a relatively 'culture-free' variety require us to avoid interactive or communicative approaches where cultural rules are so clearly in evidence?

Teachers need to ask themselves questions that contribute to an understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects in a global context: What are the underlying dynamic forces that characterize the spread of English? What are the functional domains assigned to English in various multilingual and multicultural societies? How do those domains shape the language? What are the processes and implications of the nativization of English? What are the ways in which non-native literatures in English can be used as a resource for cross-cultural awareness and for understanding linguistic creativity and innovation.

Rosamond Mitchell
(University of Southampton)

Rationales for Bilingual Education in British Schools

The rationales advanced for the use of minority community languages in education sometimes centre on the presumed cognitive and academic benefits for the individual children concerned (see e.g. Hornberger 1989, on Quechua/ Spanish bilingual education in Peru). In other cases they derive from community concerns for the maintenance and transmission of 'heritage' languages (see e.g. Spolsky 1989, on Maori education in New Zealand). This paper will examine tensions and apparent contradictions among these diverse rationales. Specific reference will be made to movements to promote minority language use in British schools, encompassing both 'indigenous', rural and territorial languages (mainly, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic) as well as 'new', urban languages (mainly, those of S Asian origin). This survey will review rationales advanced on behalf of such languages in the British context, and consider the potential for a viable language education policy encompassing them all.

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Charlotte Franson & Constant Leung
(School of Languages, London)

ESL in the National Curriculum: Towards Equal Opportunities of Learning for all Pupils

This paper proposes to examine the possible new directions in ESL practice in the National Curriculum with reference to second language acquisition. The first part will describe the current second language teaching practice in the mainstream classroom. We will attempt to clarify terminological confusion and ambiguity. The pedagogical difficulties of the current practice will be highlighted. The second part will look at the relevant aspects of second language acquisition research with a view to extracting a set of working assumptions which might be helpful in any attempt to construct a

more effective second language pedagogy. The final section will consist of a discussion of the resultant implications for second language teaching and learning. The domain assumption of this paper is that of a commitment to providing second language speakers with greater access to the National Curriculum through more effective language pedagogy.

Jill Bourne
(University College of Swansea)
Partnership Teaching: Preparing Schools for Language Support within the Multilingual Classroom

Provision for the support of the language development of bilingual pupils has undergone far-reaching changes over the past five years. Most authorities have been found to be moving towards a policy of mainstream provision for both English and bilingual support (Bourne, 1989). This form of provision has received encouragement within recent National Curriculum non-statutory guidance.

However, advice on ways of providing this support in the classroom, and on the structures needed to make it effective across the school has often remained vague at national and local levels. There is a concern that mainstream teachers, and sometimes language support teachers as well, have often not been prepared for the changing roles and organisational strategies necessary to make co-operative teaching effective. There are obvious implications for both initial and inservice teacher education.

The NFER Partnership Teaching Project, sponsored by the Department of Education and Science, has recently completed a study over just under two years of the ways in which schools are developing strategies for co-operative teaching both within and outside the classroom, and of the constraints within traditional school structures which operate against such ways of working.

The Project will be producing an inservice package including three video programmes for school based inservice work for the whole school staff to reassess their ways of working in order to ensure access to the curriculum for all pupils. This means linking language support work firmly to mainstream curriculum development and assessment procedures for all pupils. In this way, co-operative teaching can become a central form of school-based staff development. In this way, LEA funding can be drawn on to provide the time for teachers to plan and evaluate together which is essential to effective work.

In this session, it is intended to briefly discuss the background to and the main findings of the Project, and to offer selected samples from the videos and their supporting materials.

Bernard Mohan & Margaret Early
(University of British Columbia, Canada)
Content-Based Language Learning: The Vancouver School Board Project

This paper will report on the Vancouver School Board project, discussing a number of the issues it raises, from the nature of academic language development, and its assessment, to questions of implementation and teacher reflection. The VSB project is a large-scale 3 year project concerned with the language barrier to academic achievement for ESL students from kindergarten to grade 12 and with approaches which co-ordinate language learning and content learning to reduce this barrier. With major funding from the BC Ministry of Education, it involves more than 70 language teachers and content teachers in 12 schools in Vancouver (where 47% of the students have English as a second language).

Recent research in Canada (Cummins 1981), the UK (Ellis 1986) and the US (Collier 1987; Saville-Troike 1984; Wong-Fillmore 1983) indicates that it can take 4 to 8 years for ESL students to reach the English proficiency level of their native speaking peers, as indicated by tests of reading and subject achievement. But while the major objective of ESL programs in elementary and secondary schools is to prepare students to function successfully in subject areas (Chamot & O'Malley 1986), a national survey in the US found that the most widely used approaches did not address this issue (Chamot & Stewner-Manzanares 1985). Recent developments in content-based language teaching, based on Krashen's (1983) Input hypothesis are a progressive step, but fail to deal with questions of academic language development, the discourse structure of expository prose, the nature of nonverbal knowledge representation, and co-operation between language teachers and content teachers.

This paper will indicate how the approach taken in the VSB project, which is based on concepts of knowledge structure (Mohan 1989) and task (Long 1990), deals more adequately with these questions.

Ian Tudor
(Universite Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
Learner-Centredness and the L2 Teacher: Changing Role, Changing Demands

Crucial to the current learner-centred approach to language teaching, with the more active and participatory role it accords to the language learner, is a significant rethinking of the relative roles of teachers and learners in the

setting of learning goals and the organisation of learning activities. From the standpoint of the learner, this shift in orientation has given rise to research into, on the one hand, learning strategy development and learner training and, on the other hand, the influence of learner-specific factors such as cognitive style, language learning aptitude, maturity, and cultural expectations of language learning and preferred learning mode.

Of equivalent significance in terms of the successful implementation of a learner-centred approach to language learning, however, is consideration of the demands which such an approach places on teachers, and the qualities and preparation it calls for.

The paper will discuss these points, focussing on:

a) an evaluation of teacher roles in different language teaching orientations, with particular reference to the role of the teacher as learning counsellor within a learner-centred approach;
b) an analysis of the qualities and skills, both human and professional, required of teachers in the role of learning counsellor;
c) an assessment of what this implies in terms of teacher training and development, including the specific case of non-native teachers.

John Skelton & Christina Howell-Richardson
(University of Surrey)

Exploring the Middle Distance

The increasing sophistication and perceived value of Distance Education as a national and international tool for Human Resource Development is making this an increasingly attractive alternative particularly in Adult and Continuing Education.

The case for subject-based instruction at a distance is now well-accepted (even if not always well-established), largely as a result of the success of national Distance Education universities, like the OU in Britain, but the case for Distance Learning in skills-based areas, such as language studies is less clear.

This paper therefore attempts to discuss three issues:

1) To offer a review of principles and practice in Distance Education for language studies with particular reference to Interactive Video and Post Graduate courses in Teacher Education.
2) To report on two recent pieces of research on language learning and Teacher Education at a distance as a means of a) focussing on the opportunities for and difficulties of undertaking such research, and b) raising the issue of the quality of Language Education at a distance.
3) To set out parameters for research into the evaluation of such Distance Education courses.

Taha Abdel Mageed Taha
(Khartoum University, Sudan)

Codeswitching and Assymetrical Power Relations in University Classrooms in Sudan

A changeover from English to Arabic is currently being implemented in some higher education institutions in Sudan. This paper is based on classroom research carried out as part of a wider study of the implementation of this language policy at Khartoum University. The paper provides an account of the linguistic practices of both teachers and students in classrooms where arabicisation has been partially implemented. Samples of classroom discourse were recorded in both Arts and Science classes. The focus of the analysis was on the pragmatic and discoursal functions of language alternation. Two main types of language switches were examined: 1) Switches into Arabic in English medium classes; 2) Switches into English in Arabic medium classes.

It was found that the switches into Arabic in those classes that were still English medium classes served a very different range of communicative functions from the switches into English documented in Arabic medium classes. The former had a primarily facilitative function when used by the teachers: Clarifying a point for the students; reiterating a key point; checking if the point had been understood. Switches into Arabic were also used by teachers to convey solidarity with the learners. Switches into English in Arabic medium classes were, however, of a completely different order. They were, for the most part, switches on single noun phrases containing specialist terminology.

It is argued that these patterns of language alternation have to be understood with reference to two dimensions of power relations: 1) The assymetrical relations of power within university classrooms; 2) The wider social and historical conditions in Sudan and the politically dominant role of English in the dissemination of scientific knowledge.

John Daniels
(University of Durham)

Vocabulary Acquisition During an Intensive Language Learning Period

This paper will be a presentation of the preliminary results from a study of vocabulary acquisition among young middle school language learners.

French is taught in Northumberland middle schools from the age of 9, using 'traditional' methods. A concern to develop the pupil's practical language experience leads to an experiment in intensive learning during a week's residential course at an outdoor centre in the Lake District. The intensive language weeks have continued over a number of years. The research to be presented here, concentrates on the effect of this immersion experience on vocabulary acquisition.

In this paper I shall present a preliminary analysis of pupils' performance on vocabulary tests by those pupils on the course, compared with those who did not participate. Initial findings suggest that new vocabulary is acquired during the intensive language period. Also, that some vocabulary acquired receptively, begins to be used productively during the course, which would point to the value of extending the language experience beyond the classroom for young school learners, to give them the chance to use the language practically and develop productive skills.

P Garrett, Y Griffiths, C James & P J Scholfield
(University of Wales, Bangor)

Language of Pre-Writing Activity and the Attitudes and Written English Performance of Bilingual UK Schoolchildren

An ESRC funded project at University of Wales Bangor has been researching bilingual schoolchildren in Lancashire (Punjabi dominant) and Gwynedd (Welsh dominant). The central question being addressed is this. Does the language in which the teacher does the customary preparatory work with a bilingual class before they write an English composition affect any aspect of the written work subsequently produced, or the attitudes of the children to either of their languages, to writing tasks, etc.? Prior expectations might include the following. One might hypothesise that where preparatory work is done in Punjabi/Welsh, attitudes to these languages might become more positive - more so with Punjabi than Welsh, as the latter already has some official status in part of the UK. One might also suppose that the content of the written work would be better, since it is easier to absorb information and derive inference and interpretation in one's dominant language, but one might anticipate some loss of quality of the written English language through which the content is ultimately expressed. The actual results of the investigation should have valuable wider implications for the role of minority languages in ESL teaching in the UK, and bilingual education generally.

The research has been conducted in a number of schools in both areas. Classes were pre-tested on two specific kinds of writing task and an attitude inventory administered. Over a period of three months teachers then consistently did parallel pre-writing activities with comparable pairs of classes, differing just in that some classes had Punjabi/Welsh as the language of pre-writing activity, others had English. There was then a post-test on the specific writing tasks of interest, and a second gathering of attitude data.

Preliminary results on the data for the sixteen attitude variables measured show for example that the language of pre-writing activity does significantly affect pupils' attitudes to writing, though there is in any case a significantly higher regard for writing among the Punjabi dominant subjects. Attitudes to ethnic identity changed in the predicted way - with a marked effect for the Lancashire subjects only. By September it will be possible to report more fully on these results, and also on those concerning effects on the content and language of the written English compositions.

Arna S Peretz
(Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

The Influence of Concept Mapping and Summary Writing on Reading Comprehension Tests

This paper reports on a study designed to test the hypothesis that instruction and practice in concept mapping* and summary writing will lead to improved performance on reading comprehension tests. This hypothesis is based on two assumptions: 1) reading and writing skills share a common underlying communicative competence (Candlin and Breen 1979; Hutchinson et al. 1979), and 2) summarizing is one of the components of critical reading (Taylor 1986).

The subjects of this study were ninety advanced-level EST/LSP students from the Faculties of Science and Technology at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. Sixty students received instruction and practice in concept mapping and summary writing; the remaining thirty students formed the control group. At the end of the course, all students took the same reading comprehension test which consisted of multiple choice and open-ended questions.

In this paper, the rationale behind including concept mapping and summary writing as components of university-based EAP/EST/LSP courses in reading comprehension will be discussed. Results of the study will be presented and implications for teaching and further research will be suggested.

* A concept map is a two-dimensional diagram in which concepts are joined

by linking lines and words to show how they are related. It represents how concepts in the text are interrelated both in depth and breadth.

Miyoko Kobayashi
(Institute of Education, University of London)

The Content Validity of Reading Comprehension Tests: What Are They Testing?

In a series of studies, Charles Alderson has investigated the content validity of reading comprehension tests. He has shown that 'experts' rarely agree on the reading skills that particular items measure. Nor can they identify clearly the level of difficulty involved. Nor, indeed, do these experts make accurate predictions of the item statistics that each item generates. These findings pose considerable problems for current views of language testing.

The purpose of the study to be reported on was to investigate further these findings of Alderson. The intention was to probe some of the variables involved in more detail in the hope of finding that the situation is not as bleak for testers as the Alderson studies suggest.

The research consists of three phases:

1) An empirical phase, to collect data on test performance, involving 117 Japanese high school students living in the UK;
2) A judgemental phase, to obtain opinions on content validity of test items from experienced teachers of English; and
3) An exploratory phase, to search for possible factors interfering with test validity, by comparing test items which attained the teachers' agreement and those which did not.

On the whole, the study found little agreement in the teachers' judgement. However, the degree of agreement depended on the way in which an item was constructed and the framework in which the judgement was made. There was a tendency for easier and/or lower order items to attain more agreement. Besides, a relationship was observed between the level of skills and the difficulty of items.
It is hoped that the findings of this research have some implications for future development of test construction.

References

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Joan Turner
(Goldsmiths College, University of London)

M. A. P: Metaphors for Academic Purposes

In the current intellectual climate, the notion of metaphor has undergone a conceptual shift from being understood as a literary device, and therefore peripheral, to being a central force in the process of cognition. The proposed paper does not survey the substantial literature on metaphor, but seeks to illustrate the usefulness of spatial metaphors as an organising principle for critical academic writing in particular, but also for the academic enterprise in general. On the one hand, they provide a set of interlocking keyword networks for the development of a lexical syllabus in EAP; on the other hand, they provide an analysis of mental space and the operations of thought that are constitutive of it. The development of vocabulary is tied up with deepening awareness of the cognitive processes the words label in English. A metacognitive approach to EAP is thus envisaged, parallelling the trend in ELT pedagogy towards learning to learn, and promoting a unified vision of disciplinary enquiry, despite the diversity of disciplinary cultures.

Such an approach entails a shift in emphasis from language as medium to language as representation. These varying emphases also affect the understanding of language and nation: as a unity, or as the varying languages spoken within and across nations, whether linguistic, socio-cultural, or cognitive. The former emphasizes language as medium, particularly the medium of power, the latter, language as representation, where for example, the same ideas may be represented in different linguistic codes.

Janet Higgins & Roger Griffiths
(Nagoya University of Commerce & Business Administration, Japan)

Listening Comprehension Materials: Why Don't We Rate Them?

There is evidence that speech rate can be modified to facilitate NNS language comprehension (e.g. Lane et al, 1973; Griffiths, 1990) and that comprehension is reduced as rate increases above a certain point. L2 research is, in fact, catching up with L1 compressed speech investigations (e.g. Chodorow, 1979), which have consistently shown reductions in NS comprehension at fast rates (>300 wpm). Comparable rates, for low-proficiency NNSs appear to be in

the region of 150 wpm. It would, therefore, be expected that texts recorded, or selected, for use in classroom listening comprehension sessions, or for self-access, might reflect this greater awareness of the importance of SR, and that rate-control might be incorporated into listening materials. This is not the case.

This paper reports on an extensive analysis of SRs in popular, commercially produced, recorded materials designed for elementary-level learners: it shows, amongst other things, that only very few materials writers consider SR in their materials production. This results in rates of >200 wpm being quite common in listening comprehension materials and rates of nearly 300 wpm sometimes being approached. Research findings indicate that texts delivered at such rates will be massively incomprehensible to elementary-level NNSs.

Consequently, advantages of incorporating rate-control into materials and methodology (e.g. it provides necessary processing time and has beneficial effects on other aspects of delivery) are proposed and discussed. SR control, it is maintained, ought to be regarded as an essential constituent of listening materials: they might, then, facilitate comprehension rather than render it improbable.

Ali Shehadeh
(University of Durham)

Against Krashen's Input Explanation for the Age Factor in Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

It is well-established in the literature that children are more successful than adults in SLA in terms of success/final attainment. Several explanations have attempted to account for these differences. These include the critical period hypothesis (CPH) explanation, the cognitive explanation, the affective explanation, and the input explanation. Krashen's input explanation was claimed to be the most comprehensive one in accounting for these differences, since it extrapolates from the other explanations relevant data and adds to them. The main objective of this paper, among others, is to argue that Krashen's (extrapolatory) input explanation is contradictory. And that although it seems appealing for the first sight, it hides inherent contradiction upon examining its basic arguments.

Rohain Ibrahim
(Institute of Education, University of London)

Communication Strategies in the Transitional Dialects of Second Language Learners

This paper concerns aspects of Communication Strategies in the transitional dialects of interim speech of second language learners. Communication strategies can be defined as attempts made by inventive learners to circumvent their linguistic inadequacies in the language they are learning when their limited command of target language structures makes it difficult for them to say what they mean. Most of the existing empirical studies of strategies in learner communication are based on elicited data with specific research objectives in mind. This study is innovative in that it uses both controlled elicitation tasks and unelicited, spontaneous natural speech of learners of English.

The study is based on 15 hours of video-taped recordings of the communicative sessions of 150 Malaysian subjects at the University of Malaya, Malaysia, covering three proficiency levels - Poor, Intermediate and Fluent groups of English learners at the university. These video-taped sessions are comprised of activities that generate and promote communication in English in situations where the learners are motivated to interact freely with a partner and the language that is generated is for the communication of ideas and the exchange of real information rather than for the performance of structured drills. Hence the data has most of the attributes of authentic natural speech. Analysis of the CSs is based on relevant parts of the taped data containing instances of strategic behaviour, which were transcribed along with any significant contextual information. Linguistic, contextual and pausological (hesitation and pause phenomenon to indicate communicative difficulties) clues are used to locate and identify strategic behaviour.

The strategies are analysed and classified according to viable taxonomic criteria. They are then compared across proficiency levels in terms of their range, frequency of occurrence, and popularity. A rating coefficient showing quantity of language produced as a function of time is worked out to ensure the comparability of the data across the three proficiency levels. The findings of the study appear to support some of the conclusions of earlier studies that used elicited data of a more restricted nature. However, there are also areas of difference. Some new communication strategies have been identified, a revised version of some earlier taxonomies has been proposed, and some important pedagogic implications of some level trends in strategy use have been suggested.

Apart from investigating the possibility of including CS in the instruction and practice of L2, the findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of the second language acquisition process, the effective utilization of strategic behaviour in second language pedagogy,

the role of strategic competence in communicative competence, the interrelation of the linguistic and communicative abilities of the Malaysian learners of English and finally, the comparison of native speaker and non-native speakers' use of the Communication Strategies.

Penelope Vougiouklis
(Greece)

Factors that Effect Readers Competence and Confidence in Guessing Unknown Words

The ability to break up unfamiliar words into known elements is an important lexical comprehension strategy: this study investigates the possible role of NL transfer in this process, and the important relationship between objective and subjective success. It also investigates how readers use external clues in their guesses and whether this kind of clues plays a more important role than internal clues. The hypotheses put forward were: a) Greek subjects should be better and more confident at guessing words of Greek origin and less competent and confident on Latin ones while English subjects should be better on words of Greek origin than on words of Latin origin, yet equally confident, b) External clues should play a more important role in guessers' decision in cases where context and word are divergent, and c) The part of Speech each word belongs to should not affect guessers' confidence or competence. Twenty postgraduate students, ten native speakers of Greek with no knowledge of Latin, and ten native speakers of English, with no knowledge of Greek or Latin, were given a test consisting of 96 pseudowords made up from prefixes and stems of Greek and Latin origin chosen so that the subjects were expected to know the *meanings* of parts of each word and so they had them potentially available to make guesses with. Those words were in verb or noun form and they expressed, in one word, meanings which exist in both Greek and English but they are normally expressed periphrastically: For example, the word '*homocratise*' was used to mean 'the same people are in power' or 'two states have the same status, or governed by similar political parties' for which neither Greek or English provide a one-word expression. Those words were put in a) *Convergent* - (almost definitional) - *context*, b) *vague*, and c) *divergent context* - where the external clues seem to contradict the internal ones provided by the word itself. The data is still being processed.

David Rees Davies
(University College of Wales, Bangor)

Guessing Words

The purpose of this paper is to contrast the guessing of known meanings (word forms) with unknown meanings.

We might describe meaning in terms of genus, differentia and association so that a known meaning would be: This is a kind of barrier, This is made up of bushes, This can be trimmed, i.e. a hedge. An unknown meaning might be: This is to worship, This is done in a frenzy, Primitive tribes sometimes do this.

By presenting these elements of meaning to subjects one at a time and asking them to make a guess and state their confidence with each cue we can describe how the guessing process develops across information and contrast the conditions of known and unknown meaning.

Results show that confidence rises with increasing amounts of information for known meanings but remains static for unknown meanings. This latter result seems to be caused by information being rejected by subjects, particularly the differentia cue. A typical response to the unknown meaning above was *pray* or *sacrifice*. My conclusion is that subjects don't appear to guess unknown meanings, they simply replace them with known words.

Malele ma Ludani
(University of Wales, Bangor)

Contrastive Analysis of English, French and Kikongo and its Pedagogical Implications

The aim of this paper is to investigate the extent to which it is possible to predict and explain learners' errors and the relative difficulty of learning particular aspects of a construction by Contrastive Analysis.

This paper is particularly concerned with interrogative structures in English, French and Kikongo (a language spoken in Zaire). This investigation involves the description of these structures. This description is done within the framework of a contemporary model of syntax: X-bar syntax in the version outlined in Chomsky's "Remarks on Nominalisation" (1970) and in Radford's "Transformational Grammar" (1988). These interrogative structures are described in terms of Movements, i.e. I-movement and WH-

movement, they involve. This allows us to point out similarities and differences among these languages as to how and when these movements take place. From these similarities and differences we can predict and explain certain difficulties encountered by Kikongo/French speaking students learning English interrogative structures.

This paper also presents the results of the empirical investigation I have been carrying out in Zaire on this field to see if the predictions are in fact confirmed, using a variety of elicitation techniques on two levels of learners.

This study is very important in that these results will be of great help to teachers of English as a second or foreign language and to materials designers in the way they can improve the design and classroom techniques in the language teaching/learning process.

R Sheen
(Nagoya University of Commerce & Business Administration, Japan)

The Present Perfect! - A Thing of the Past?

The apparent free variation in the use of the simple past and present perfect in North America usage has been noted by a number of writers although, to a large extent, it has not been the subject of linguistic analysis. This paper will first offer such an analysis of the constraints of this free variation based on both contextual and situational redundancy, proposing that within this free variation there is a preference for the simple past in informal conversation and certain types of writing. Subsequently, it will go on to examine the present state of the use of these two forms in British English using data collected from the press, TV and overheard conversations. On the basis of the analysis of these data, it will be hypothesized that British English is beginning to manifest the first signs of the free variation evident in North American English but that, at these apparently initial stages, it is largely limited to contextual redundancy of the type where there might be said to be ambiguity as to the current relevance of the temporal adverbial phrases involved. In the third part of the paper, data will be examined from the English language press of the Middle East and Japan. This examination will demonstrate that the free variation between the present perfect and simple past prevalent in North America is also evident in these two cases but that the data predominantly reveals contextual redundancy, situational redundancy normally being a manifestation of oral communication. Finally, an analysis will be made of the implications of this apparent move away from the present perfect for the teaching of English as a foreign or second language.

4. ARTICLE

Applied Linguistics in Higher Education: Riding the Storm

At times of crisis certain groups are vulnerable. In education, the recently established fields are at risk compared with the long established, because they have not yet built up a public following, because their practitioners are not yet influential by age and seniority, and because they are still close to the discipline-definition arguments that led to their establishment in the first place. Applied fields are also vulnerable, for they are assumed to be secondary and derivative, and not clearly identified with 'pure' research. In British tradition, so the potent myth has it, the best scholars go to pure areas, the less good to applied.

Until very recently, language-related studies were also vulnerable in British education. The concentration of mind that 1992 now offers is remarkably soon after a period when all national quality newspapers responded to calls for more foreign language teaching with editorials on the virtues of remaining English-speaking in a multilingual world.

Who would be an applied linguist, then, in a period of reduced funding in higher education? How have we responded? What are our problems?

The first point to be made is that a crisis of people was apparent before the Thatcher years. In the late 1970s, Applied Linguistics had stopped expanding into teacher education, and the best graduates from Masters courses were not moving easily into higher education. When Peter Strevens moved from Essex to the Bell Education Trust, he was able to attract excellent people from universities and other public sector bodies to work in the private sector — and that process has continued.

One effect of this has been that many good graduates have left applied linguistics for direct teaching, administration, and valuable activity of a less academic kind. Those who have retained an academic role have often remained outside the university sector, or eventually gone abroad. The list of eminent British scholars working in higher education overseas is a long one, including people as notable as Sharwood Smith, Long, Ellis, Candlin, Stubbs and Swales, most of whom have been active in BAAL. We have all been living with a brain drain.

On the other hand, BAAL is twenty-two years old, and we are beginning to benefit from seniority. Fifteen years ago there were perhaps two professors and no readers in Britain with any serious knowledge of *applied* linguistics, at a time when (I was informed when I was asked for a referee of equivalent level), there were 100+ full professors in the United States. Now there must be at least seven or eight professors, and several other readers. The National Curriculum debate was able to call upon expertise from a number of academics with considerable understanding of applied language studies.

But applied linguistics is ill-defined, and lacks institutional support. Perhaps it suffers from having the name 'linguistics' in its title, for linguistics departments have had difficulties attracting undergraduate students in the years of narrow vocationalism. "All the disadvantages of Philosophy, and none of the prestige", I was told by one despairing academic linguist. Alternatively, though, some universities have seen applied studies as a way of letting linguistics in. Applied linguists are tolerated to attract students to some kind of high-flown teacher training, so that real

linguists can remain in post and do their research — in much the same way as teachers of language were held to 'subsidise' literary scholars in modern language departments.

These are anecdotal reports, though. What have been the significant factors for higher education practice in our field? What follows is an entirely personal view.

First, what we have shared with others has been more important than anything unique to us. We have been squeezed along with other groups in higher education. In practice, when you squeeze a system, you put pressure on those who were previously least privileged within it. But almost every subject group in higher education feels itself to have been unfairly squeezed in the past decade. The humanists feel that they are being punished for 'uselessness' (and perhaps — not entirely without justification — for their patronising attitudes to useful disciplines in the past). Scientists and technologists feel that their salaries are being held back compared with outsiders with similar skills, without compensatory security or provision of essential research equipment and support. Educationalists and others concerned with professional training feel that their funding bases have been wantonly attacked by inappropriate monetarist policies on funding for essential services. Social scientists feel that their right to exist as a serious discipline has been explicitly questioned. And so on. And in all of this applied linguistics has received a little of every attack. Traditionally, it has been closely tied up with teacher training, research and advanced professional education. But it is also partly a humanity, with a strong tie to philosophy, partly a social science, and partly a pure science with a tie to descriptive linguistics, and (particularly via phonetics) to expensive laboratory-based sciences.

Applied linguistics, by whatever definition (mine is 'the theoretical and empirical study of real-world problems in which language is a central factor') is necessarily a cross-discipline activity. Applied linguists, whether defined as those who bother to take out subscriptions to BAAL, or as those who have *bona fide* formal qualifications labelled 'Applied Linguistics', are found in some numbers in departments of English, modern languages, linguistics, education, business studies, EFL, sociology, psychology and no doubt others. Actual applied linguistics departments are rare. One side effect of this is that applied linguists contributed to research gradings in last year's research selectivity exercise in departments in all the areas mentioned above which exist in universities. Several distinguished applied linguists had work which never reached the linguistics panel taken into account by other panels, who may or may not have had any expertise in the field.

Responding to such (often unintended) side effects of government policies has been a major preoccupation in higher education. In the last six years, I should (I believe) have been spending my time making the department which I lead as effective as possible, teaching well, researching well, and administering itself efficiently to do those — and I should have been leading myself in all these ways, setting a good example from the front. In fact, while I have tried to the best of my ability to lead by example, most of the rest of my time has been spent attempting to persuade the outside world that we have any right to exist at all. Most of the time has been spent at meetings that were unnecessary, making us accountable, with the

same material in nigglingly different formats, to an enormous range of more-or-less critical, more-or-less well informed outsiders, who themselves did not wish to spend their time in this way, but who felt that if they did not do it someone worse would. Accountability (a desirable concept) has been replaced by systems management, in which the right system can be achieved regardless of who works in it, in which individuals have managerial needs and careers to build, and in which seniority is not a sign of greater academic respect, but an indication of greater organisational responsibility. Thus colleagues no longer feel equal regardless of salary or position, but feel uncertain of what 'management' (= head of department/dean/vice-chancellor/UFC/PCFC/DES/government) will do next. Changes to university administrative structures following the Jarrett Report force heads of department to represent *them* to *us*, rather than *us* to *them* — or will unless we fight back hard. And this is a story repeated over and over again throughout the public sector. We regularly meet colleagues in local government, in the civil service, the British Council, primary and secondary schools, and elsewhere, who tell of demoralisation, with colleagues taking grateful early retirement as soon as they feel able to. And the story is similar, "We are being made to work against each other", "Working for the state was the most unselfish thing you could do; now we are accused not of being altruistic, but of being selfish", "I came to this job to work against unfair advantage, now I am expected to work for it", and versions of these.

At the same time, the general suspicion of the social sciences had an accidental effect on disciplines that looked to the old SSRC (now the ESRC) for research funding. Until recently there was so little money that few scholars found the considerable effort (approximately a full-time week for an academic member of staff) to produce a research proposal worthwhile; however good the proposal, the chances of funding were too small.

Applied linguistics shares the conditions of higher education; this shares the conditions of public sector work. We should recognise common pressures.

But the case is not as straightforward as this litany of complaint implies. There *were* things wrong with universities that needed sorting out, and applied linguistics needs to locate itself in a period of general change within a broader perspective than simply its own selfish needs. Let us consider some of these problems, without rejecting the depressing (but I hope recognisable) picture that I painted above.

There has been an important ideological shift, which accompanied Thatcherism, and to some extent contributed to its success. Much of this shift is incomprehensible to those who imagine (however unconsciously) that voting is largely rational and largely the application of conscious ideology (opinion polls showed nearly 80% of university staff anti-Tory before the large election — they were not a representative cross-section of society). Part of this shift entails demanding a degree of accountability from 'altruistic' professionals that is entirely desirable (indeed I argued that many aspects of professionalisation were exploitative at a BAAL seminar in 1976, so perhaps I would be expected to sympathise with this demand). Part of it entails recognising that costs have to be acknowledged in a public activity, and therefore demanding personal financial accountability. The fact that these, and other features, are wrapped in an atavistic desire to pretend that Britain can be arrogant and xenophobic internationally, and briskly 'managed' internally, does not prevent

them from being valuable contributions to our self awareness.

The problems have been partly caused by the style and speed of change. For example, some of the requirements imposed on universities and colleges (such as the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals' Code of Practice on supervision of research students or the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education's demand for some 'recent and relevant' teaching experience) have contained good sense, and imposed good practice where it needed to be imposed. But there are parts of both of these which are either indefensible for work in the social sciences (such as the attempt to exclude supervisors from examining in the first document) or impossible to realise without greater funding than is available (like the demand for much greater teacher involvement in the second). The system did not have spare cash in large quantities, and extra money for imposed external requirements could only be obtained by removing it from other activities. These two examples illustrate many of the difficulties faced by higher education establishments. When the move was desirable, there was too little time, and too little resourcing; when the change was undesirable, the extremely limited consultation time prevented serious opposition forming, and the general impatient tendency to ride over opposition meant that for every desirable change, several irrelevant or undesirable ones had to be accepted.

None of these issues is unique to applied linguistics. The general complaints we share with doctors, teachers, civil servants and others. The specific changes that have affected applied linguists, like those I mention above, have also affected others who supervise research students, and others involved with teacher training. One feature, though, makes us vulnerable for the reasons that were referred to at the beginning of this article. All the codes of practice are inflexible. The CATE criteria for teacher education do not distinguish fundamentally between primary and secondary training, between universities, polytechnics and colleges, between three-year degrees and 9-month certificates. All must fit the same mould. PGCEs, for example, have more and more requirements poured on to them, when the available time is severely limited. Rules for postgraduate supervision must be the same for technical areas, where negotiation of knowledge is relatively limited, and for humane areas where competent PhD work has to be *argued* and *negotiated* through the viva. All scholarship must aspire to the managerially convenient technological model. Even in technological subjects this view is disputed, and for much applied linguistic work, such a technocracy as is implicitly envisaged would simply mean we stopped addressing the most important questions about language behaviour and limited ourselves to the measurable.

There is, however, one area where applied linguists may be the unconscious beneficiaries of recent changes. The National Curriculum enshrined in the 1988 Education Reform Act, will be making certain statutory recommendations about modern foreign languages, and has already made recommendations about English teaching. Although the main purpose of the act was to produce a general curriculum, the process of doing so has generated *de facto* a language policy. What languages may be learnt in schools are now laid down (in practice the small amount of leeway in the system is unlikely to enable schools to break away with different languages). Polish, for example, will not be taught; Gujerati may be. Irish will not be in England and Wales; Welsh must be in Wales but may not be in England. We now have the

basis of an odd but defined language policy. Coming to terms with the implications of this will be a major task for the next two decades, and those with linguistic, sociolinguistic and educational expertise may find themselves more in demand than looked likely a few years ago.

What does this imply for our field? While it is true that times are changing, we have to accept that many changes, including many we don't like, are here to stay. Consequently we need to establish strong enough power bases to be able to argue back. We need our common cause with LAGB and with the Philological Society, as we had in the UGC Research Selectivity exercise; but we also need common cause with others in the social sciences, as with ALSISS, and with educationalists. We need to look as if we ourselves know what we are doing, and — if we believe we are interdisciplinary — to argue the case for serious attention to interdisciplinary subjects. We need to fight our corner in all the places where we are anomalous, because the tendency of the day is to try to fit everyone into simple, and administratively convenient categories.

We need to argue our cases publicly, through the press. Others do, and if the climate is changing, we need to be publicly contributing to the change. But above all, we have to stay with it. The rash of early retirements referred to earlier is a sad symptom, but we need people to stay on and believe in our discipline, to continue applying for research grants, arguing our case with those who present bad proposals, insisting that consultation must be real consultation, that resources *are* sometimes essential before change can occur, that our field is important and worthwhile. Even if the style of management, and the means offered, are inadequate, some of the current tendencies need support. Moves to broaden access in higher education, efforts to improve foreign language teaching, demands for effective research training, are all worthy causes. Applied linguists should be party to all the arguments about these.

But if you feel that I have said little that uniquely applies to us, you are right. We have to make common cause with many others if we believe in our profession. And this is because the tensions we have been living under are basically an assault on the notion of professionalism. It is the role of specialised knowledge, for teachers, for social workers, for all but those doing the most obviously technical tasks, that is under attack. I said earlier than some aspects of professionalism were exploitative. But many other aspects are simply the results of division of labour, to create the conditions that enable civilisation to progress. There are signs of improvement as I write; we need to join those who believe in a serious professional ethic, from whatever field, to shape and extend our role for the 1990s.

Christopher Brumfit
Centre for Language in Education
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5. CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Editor

With reference to your editorial in BAAL Newsletter 37, I do feel we are going from one extreme to another in terms of the concerns of the Annual Meetings.

My fields are second language learning and translating; I greatly enjoyed the 1988 'Words' conference at Exeter, when I had just finished an Applied Linguistics MA and been offered my first post in higher education.

I looked forward to offering a paper myself at a subsequent meeting; unfortunately, the following three AMs seemed so heavily biased towards language and society that I felt that it would have been slightly false to attempt to bend any of my contributions towards the set themes (Language and Power/Nation/Culture).

I agree absolutely that one cannot see language use without reference to the society in which one lives, and that an EFL monopoly would be unacceptably narrow. But are we not now getting a sociolinguistic monopoly, one that seems equally narrow?

Why not vary the themes of the Meetings much more, so that all BAAL members feel that the meetings concern them, instead of going from one extreme to the other?

Yours

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Clearly the themes of AMs should respond to the varied interests of the BAAL membership, and this point is well taken. Of course none of the topics in themselves preclude discussion of related pedagogic issues.

I should stress though that we always welcome contributions on *any* aspect of Applied Linguistics (see the 'Calls for Papers' and our posters) at AMs. Proposals are selected purely on merit, and more than half the sessions are on topics outside the main theme, and these are regularly well attended.

Do submit a proposal. NB: this year's deadline for proposals is 31 March.

6. REVIEWS

Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific. (Multilingual Matters: 55).
Richard B Baldauf, Jr, and Allan Luke (eds).
Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990

One of the goals of contemporary language teacher education is to encourage a broader perspective on the language teaching enterprise, to see it in relation to the political, cultural and sociolinguistic realities of the society in which it is undertaken. For this purpose, the field of language planning provides a suitable disciplinary framework, as Kennedy (1983, 1989) has demonstrated in his two volumes of readings on the subject. This new book uses the same framework to survey policy and practice in language education in a particular region of the world.

One question that arises, though, is what that region is, because the title of the book is somewhat misleading. On the one hand, there is a whole section on Southeast Asia, which would not normally be considered part of the region defined by the title. On the other hand, the coverage of Australasia and the South Pacific is uneven. Two areas are well represented: the indigenous peoples of Australia (3 chapters) and the three Melanesian nations of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (6 chapters); in contrast, the chapter about the Samoas is the only one on the whole of Polynesia. At the risk of sounding parochial, I must admit that I was surprised to find that a book with this title had no chapter on my own country, New Zealand. Fiji is another significant absentee.

In fact, as is often the case with volumes of this kind, the book had its genesis in a conference held in Australia in 1987 and thus its content reflects the geographical spread of those who presented papers there. The editors have addressed the problem of uneven coverage by including three annotated bibliographies — on Australia, Melanesia/Polynesia and Southeast Asia. Although these vary in quality and comprehensiveness, they do provide useful guidance to the recent sociolinguistic literature on those parts of the world, including countries not covered in the chapters of the book. Thus Fiji receives its due; alas, though, New Zealand still barely rates a mention.

In Part I of the book, there are three introductory articles by the editors and by Robert Kaplan. From various theoretical viewpoints, they identify a number of problems in language planning, both as an academic field and as the actual process of making decisions about the status or form of languages. They stress the importance of considering the complex historical, political, cultural and economic factors that determine patterns of language use in modern societies. As Kaplan and Baldauf both point out, governments often fail to recognise the need for formal language planning and, as a result, educationists tend to become language planners by default. The arguments in this section are cast in fairly general terms, with somewhat limited reference to the countries covered in the case studies which follow. However, the editors have added an epilogue at the end of the volume, which summarises the main themes of the book and relates them to the concerns of the introductory chapters.

In the section on Australia, Joseph Lo Bianco gives a participant observer's

account of the development of the country's recently adopted National Policy on Languages, an interesting case of a predominantly English-speaking nation being obliged to come to terms with its increasingly multilingual character, as the result of political initiatives by a broad coalition of groups with interests in language. In contrast to this macrolevel perspective, the other Australian chapters deal with the provision of bilingual education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island children in small communities far removed from the mainstream society. The question of how this form of education should be evaluated raises important issues about the ultimate goals of such programmes and who determines what those goals should be.

As noted above, the most substantial section of the book is devoted to Melanesia. The case of Papua New Guinea and its lingua franca, Tok Pisin, is well known and well documented now in the international literature, but the present volume adds valuable comparative information about the two neighbouring countries of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, which are also linguistically heterogeneous and have their own varieties of the Melanesian Pidgin. In all three countries, Pidgin is widely spoken and performs a variety of informal and official functions: in fact, in the constitution of Vanuatu it is proclaimed as the national language. However, the most interesting question here is why the language has virtually no official role (either current or planned) in any of the three education systems. The reasons turn out to be complex (and vary somewhat from one country to another), but they highlight the difficulties of establishing the legitimacy of a pidgin as a language of education, even in nations like these, which would seem to offer such a favourable environment for it.

Although they appear a little out of place in this volume, the three chapters on Southeast Asia are valuable contributions to the literature in their own right. Gary Jones provides the first detailed account (so far as I know) of the new bilingual education system in Brunei, which is steering something of a middle course between the diverging language education policies of its neighbours, Singapore and Malaysia. The Singapore situation is not covered here, but Conrad Ozog offers an admirably balanced and succinct analysis of the complexities of language planning in Malaysia. The third chapter, by Andrew Gonzalez, reports on a large-scale evaluation of the nationwide system of bilingual schooling that was introduced in the Philippines in 1974. Elsewhere in the volume, it is noted that evaluations of language planning are all too rarely undertaken, and so it is particularly gratifying to read of one that has been carried out so capably and thoroughly.

In all, this is a substantial volume which provides valuable source material on language education in a diverse range of societies in the 'Southwest Pacific Basin', as Kaplan more accurately refers to it. It should be of great interest not only to those of us who work in the basin but to all who seek deeper insight into the complex interactions between language, education and society.

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The Structure of German

A. Fox

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990 326pp

Anthony Fox's book is impressive in its range, well illustrated and clearly presented. It is an attempt to describe the major features of German in terms of principles of linguistics and to introduce the reader — an undergraduate student of German — to the kinds of argument and evidence which may be used to evaluate competing claims about the structure of language. While such an approach may sound familiar to students and teachers of linguistics, the book's originality lies in its focus on German, for which to date no introductory book of this kind has been available. Fox's book will be welcomed by teachers of linguistics within German degree courses for whom the selection of accessible (in both senses) literature for student consumption has always been problematic.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Following the Introduction, the core of the book is structured to reflect the traditional division of language into levels: Phonology (Chapter 2), Morphology (Chapter 3), and Syntax (Chapter 5), with an intervening chapter on Classes and Categories (Chapter 4). Two final chapters deal more cursorily with Lexical Semantics (Chapter 6) and German and its Users (Chapter 7). Each chapter concludes with useful tips for further reading divided into subsections with headings, thus avoiding intrusive and repetitive references in the body of the text. Liberal use is made of footnotes (particularly in the Introduction, and in the chapters on Phonology, Morphology and German and its Users) to indicate alternative viewpoints, background information, further examples, explanatory comments, and so on. The footnotes are (to the reader's relief) given at the foot of the page, and not at the end of the chapter. The book concludes with an appendix summarising phonetic theory, and an index (author and subject combined) containing German and English terms. The layout is clear, and I only spotted one typographical error (Brinckmann, p.322).

In his Introduction, Fox sets out to establish some basic principles of linguistic theory as a conceptual and terminological framework, stressing that his aim is not to describe facts, as for instance in a grammar or text book, but to treat German as an object of scientific investigation. In this he largely succeeds, often providing the reader who is approaching the subject from a traditional point of view with easy access to complex problems, as, for instance, in his treatment of the rather abstract notion of X-bar Syntax (Chapter 5). In the early stages of the book, repetition of the author's intention to focus on "Scientific investigation" (e.g. p.v; p.1; p.16) rather than "facts" begins to sound defensive. Fortunately, however, no signs of this early apparent insecurity persist into the main body of the book. In fact, Fox succeeds in showing in a number of areas how "facts" may be viewed in more than one way, and how these views may be evaluated according to different criteria. Two examples will illustrate the general approach.

In discussing some problems of phonemic analysis in German, Fox weighs the arguments for treating diphthongs and affricates as combinations, e.g. /a/+/i/; /p/+/f/, or as single entries, e.g. /ai/; /pf/, stressing the importance of weighing

arguments for alternative analyses in the context of the phonological system as a whole (Chapter 2). In a later chapter (Chapter 7) he discusses the tricky question of dialect versus language specifically in the context of German, linking this to the equally thorny issue of the notion of standard language.

While each chapter is in itself well constructed and written, the pace of the book is somewhat uneven in terms of chapter length and accessibility, particularly for the reader who is unaccustomed to the objectives and methods of linguistic analysis. Following a fairly straightforward introduction, the reader is confronted with a steep incline in the second chapter (Phonology), where a solid overview is provided, ranging from phonetics to suprasegmental phonology. Good use is made of contrastive information, but the climb of the novice linguist could perhaps have been eased by the provision of a kind of sketch map of the levels of phonological analysis to be discussed in the chapter. There is some levelling off in the third chapter (Morphology) in which the terrain becomes more familiar, including inflectional and derivational morphology, both of which most students will have encountered in grammar teaching, even if in different guise. Fox brings out some interesting insights into certain aspects of inflectional morphology through a neat combination of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships which throws light on a number of problems, particularly for foreign learners who may have struggled with the apparent arbitrariness of adjectival endings for many years.

Nevertheless, I can't help feeling that — given the intended readership — the book would have been improved had it started with Fox's fourth chapter on "Classes and Categories" which deals with familiar notions such as the classification of parts of speech, and certain grammatical features associated with nouns (gender; number; case) and with verbs (person; tense and aspect; mood; voice). In the chapter on Syntax (Chapter 5), Fox once again presents in a clear and concise way a number of arguments which demonstrate the circularity of many traditional attempts to define grammatical notions such as sentence, subject, object, and so on. He manages to cover in the space of 56 pages a remarkable range, including Immediate Constituent analysis, Dependency Grammar, Satzbaupläne, X-bar Syntax, and Transformational Generative Grammar, as well as a number of other issues such as word order.

Fox is probably wise to confine his chapter on semantics (chapter 6) to lexical issues. This brief chapter deals with the problematic nature of reference, principal sense relations, and componential analysis. Throughout the chapter, useful comparisons and contrasts with English are pointed out. Once again, such insights may be relevant to foreign language students in an area which is frequently neglected in pedagogical grammars, but where cross-linguistic errors are often unwittingly committed.

The final chapter, while of interest, is rather a hybrid, dealing first with variation and then with the structure of discourse. The chapter also lacks cohesion with the rest of the book. It is not clear why Fox has included it.

A minor quibble for a book covering such a wide range of topics is that the suggestions for further reading are not up to date in a few cases. In the chapter on syntax, for example, the latest reference for German Transformational Generative Grammar is 1977 (Fanselow & Felix 1987 has appeared since then and is readily

available). The new book by Barbour & Stevenson (1990) would have been a useful addition to the discussion of sociolinguistic issues in the final chapter.

Overall, while admirably serving the teacher in many ways, Fox's book might be harder going for the typical undergraduate student of German, for whom the purpose of linguistic analysis — an issue which Fox does not explicitly address — is not self evident. Today's modern language students constantly demand 'relevance' — Fox's book still leaves teachers with the job of justification, but does a great deal of the hard work to help them on their way.

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Current Trends in European Second Language Acquisition Research

Hans W. Dechert (ed.)
Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 1990.

"Current Trends in European Second Language Acquisition Research" consists of 13 papers initially presented at a workshop of the same name at Georgetown University in 1985. The aim of the workshop was to bring the work of European researchers to the attention of the international applied linguistics community. There being no such entity as a unified SLA research tradition in Europe, the collection, as Dechert notes in the introduction, can however give no more than a glimpse of the variety of studies being undertaken. Furthermore, he also points out that not all European cultures and languages are represented in the collection, Eastern Europe being particularly underrepresented.

Nonetheless, the various presentations are united primarily (in fact, very often, merely) by geography. With few exceptions, the only other shared element lies in the high degree of individual specialisation evident in the papers. Consequently, to benefit from this volume, the reader will need to be extremely familiar with a large number of very disparate research areas. As it is becoming increasingly less possible to keep pace with the research output even in very localised areas, it is difficult to see exactly at whom the book might be targeted. Specialist researchers will be familiar with the work of colleagues in the same field (regardless, of course, of location), while the general reader is likely to have difficulty even in understanding some of the more specialised articles. The problem of identifying the potential average consumer is therefore a very real one.

Another problem with the collection results from the fact that the book has taken five years to publish. This is a long time in a young and thriving discipline: and, in fact, more recent reports on some of the studies have since been published (e.g. Skehan on the Bristol Language Project).

Despite the book representing widely different research interests, the presentations are grouped rather loosely in four areas. The first of these is theory and methodology in SLA. Papers in this section address the issues of: nouns and verbs in the learner's lexicon; typological markedness; the development of automaticity in foreign language development; and competing plans in L2 processing. Of these papers, Lehtonen's contribution is particularly interesting (at least to this reader). Beginning with the rare observation of a simple truth: "The ways there are to learn about the human information processing system are rather restricted...", (p.39) Lehtonen describes how reaction time measurement can be used to further L2 research in the development of automaticity. While the theoretical approach described in the paper (Shiffrin and colleagues, e.g. Shiffrin and Dumais, 1980) is not "beyond reproach" (Eysenck, 1984:71), the case for the use of reaction time in this type of research is convincingly made.

The second part of the book centres on the acquisition of both L1 and L2 by children. In this section, Skehan refers to the Bristol data in examining questions such as the relationship between foreign language aptitude and foreign language success, and the relationship between individual differences in L1 development and variation in foreign language performance. (Preliminary results, incidentally, indicate a strong relationship for the former and no direct relationship for the latter).

This section also includes an article by Titone on early bilingual reading, and Hullen attempting to explain classroom performance data as symptoms of processes aiming at successful communication. Hullen describes three projects aimed at analysing details of learner-teacher communication and concludes, "Learning is indeed communicating under special circumstances and with special aims. The outward appearance of communication, however, is discourse" (p.115-116).

Part 3 (reference in SLA) comprises reports of investigations by Noyau on the acquisition of temporality in French by Spanish-speaking immigrants (longitudinal case studies of three adult refugees), and Veronique on 'Reference and discourse structure in the learning of French by adult Moroccans' (also case studies).

In the final section (Cross-linguistic interaction in SLA) Sharwood-Smith describes research being carried out at the University of Utrecht exploiting links between SLA and theoretical linguistics. His position is that the attraction of the Chomskyan framework lies in the possibility of working within a developed theoretical framework rather than in relative isolation. The general argument cannot be gainsaid, and clearly it is only the particular models adopted that L2 researchers need to justify, mistakes at this stage being very costly in terms of research time and effort.

Part 4 also includes an article in which Ringbom discusses the effect of language transfer in relation to the learning of English by Swedish-speaking Finns and Finnish-speaking Finns. Findings from a large scale programme conducted in this area are reported, and he concludes with a restatement of the contrastive analysis hypothesis (framed in the form of absence of perceived similarities, rather

than the earlier formulation which focused on differences).

Not unexpectedly considering the large number of contributions from non-native English speakers (11 out of 13) what Dechert describes as 'linguistic compromises' (p.viii) are occasionally made. However, specific errors (such as 'stipulate' for 'stimulate' and 'duplicated' for 'replicated') merely register without impairing comprehension. This cannot be said of the general language of some of the contributors. Even allowing for the fact that it is somewhat unreasonable to cite a particular sentence out of context, extremely challenging examples are overly frequent. Oksaar, for example, writes: "Language use in face-to-face interaction takes place in the ecological near milieu of people, in which not only linguistic, but also cultural conditioned behaviour rules are valid, which call forth and regulate situationally conditioned behavioural patterns — both for the learner and for the teacher" (p.231).

There is, of course, always the possibility that humour is intentional: Oksaar also writes, "In Latin America, what is called punctuality in many situations implies a much later arrival than even that expected in Germany. Differences in this area can influence a communicative act before it really starts" (p.239). There are occasional typographical errors in the book; perhaps omitting the exclamation mark is one of these.

In general, however, the contributions are scholarly works written by authorities in specific areas, and they clearly reflect a thriving research tradition. It is still, however, highly doubtful if geographical proximity is enough to justify the unification of such diversity.

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The Use of Compensatory Strategies by Dutch Learners of English

N. Poulisse in collaboration with T. Bongaerts and E. Kellerman
Dordrecht: Foris Publications. 1990

The book is essentially a description and discussion of the Nijmegen project — an impressive piece of research into compensatory strategies which lasted four years and involved 45 Dutch learners of English at three different levels and produced a 110,000 word corpus of language-learner data. There is no doubt that a lot of thought and painstaking effort has been made in order to answer the questions the researchers set themselves. It is easily the most rigorous and extensive work into

the thorny question of strategies so far undertaken. However there are still problems with the concept of strategies, particularly concerning an accepted and acceptable taxonomy and perhaps most importantly with the identification of strategies. How do we recognise one when we come across one and can we be sure that others will recognise it as such? The problem of identification is central and until we can say with certainty that *x* is a particular strategy and *y* is not, all other research questions are premature.

The three research questions were:

1. What is the relationship between L2 proficiency and the use of compensatory strategies?
2. What is the relationship between compensatory strategy use in L1 and L2?
3. What is the relative effectiveness of different compensatory strategy types?

In order to answer these questions, three groups of Dutch learners of English at three different levels of proficiency (advanced, intermediate, beginners) took part in four different tasks. In the first task they were asked to name or describe in English twenty concrete objects which it was felt they would be unlikely to know. In the second task they had to describe novel graphic designs twice in Dutch and once in English. The third task required them to retell in English four mini-stories which they had previously heard in Dutch. The last task was a mini interview with a native speaker of English. All the material was video-recorded and then transcribed for analysis into strategies. The number of times each subject used a particular type of compensatory strategy was counted and then compared across proficiency levels. In the second task a comparison was made between the strategies used in the Dutch and English versions. The compensatory strategies from the stories in task three were presented to four groups of 25 to 35 native speakers of English who were asked first to guess the word which the strategy was intended to convey and then indicate on a 7-point scale how comprehensible they considered it to be.

A survey of recent literature and the various proposed definitions of strategies and taxonomies is undertaken in the second chapter. Here we run into the problem mentioned above: Which taxonomy of strategies is best for research purposes? A number are now available, Tarone (1977), Faerch & Kasper (1980), Bialystok (1983). In fact these authors identify 50 strategies between them, though many are merely different names for the same item. If one opts for too much detail one ends up with an enormous number of strategies and it is difficult to draw any generalisations. Alternatively, if one reduces the number into overarching categories, the danger is that important delicate distinctions will be lost. In effect the researchers propose their own taxonomy with two archistrategies (Conceptual and Linguistic) further subdivided into Analytic and Holistic (Conceptual) and Transfer and Morphological Creativity (Linguistic). Reducing the number from 50 to four does make good research sense, and basing the taxonomy within a model of communication (Levelt, 1989) does make it more plausible. Though it is not clear why, having noted Sperber and Wilson's model of communication (1986), they ignore it, nor, why having pointed out the reasons why Sperber and Wilson prefer 'mutual manifestness' to 'mutual knowledge', they retain 'mutual knowledge' merely pointing out that the latter is more widely known.

Chapter 6 outlines the research design, and at this point it becomes clear just

how much sincere effort has gone into trying to get things right. My own worry concerns the abstract figure description task in Dutch and English designed to compare strategies in the L1 with the L2. In order to overcome the learning effect resulting from having done the task in one language and this transferring to the other language, the researchers decided to carry out the task twice in Dutch, arguing that if the task is carried out first in Dutch and then in English, they would be comparing tasks of which the first would be linguistically easy but conceptually difficult, whilst the second would be linguistically difficult but conceptually easy due to the learning effect of having performed the first task. What appears to have been ignored here is that if performing the task once has a learning effect, then surely performing it twice will have a stronger learning effect.

The identification of the strategies was carried out by research assistants who worked independently. Only those strategies which were identified by both judges were accepted and even some of these were rejected on the basis of the subjects' retrospective comments. The details concerning inter-judge reliability highlight the central problem of identification. "Of the 541 CpS (compensatory strategies) identified by judge 1 only 49.7% were identified as such by judge 2. Of the 324 CpS identified by judge 2 83% were also identified by judge 1" (ibid). They point out that after a number of months judge 1 redid some data and increased the number of strategies recognised. However if one has to work at it to this extent it does rather the raise the question of how psychologically real strategies actually are.

The study confirms the usefulness of retrospective data both in identifying strategies and differentiating them from other problems, e.g. memory lapses in the story retelling task. In order to answer the first question concerning the relationship of proficiency level to compensatory strategy use the number of strategies used by each of the three proficiency groups was analysed by two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and an inverse relation was discovered between the absolute number of strategies used by a subject and their proficiency level. That is, the advanced group used the least number of strategies whereas the beginners' group used the highest number. In addition it was discovered that the type of strategy used was determined to some extent by the task and this confirms the importance of using a number of different tasks when investigating strategies. Some of the differences in type of strategy used were due to proficiency differences, e.g. more literal translation was used by the lower proficiency group.

Chapter 9 discusses the second hypothesis concerning the relation of L1 and L2 compensatory strategy use and concludes that L1 and L2 behaviour are largely similar. The general preference in both L1 and L2 was for Holistic strategies. The researchers conclude that learners applied their L1 competence in strategy use to their L2. The answer to the question of relative effectiveness of strategy use is not very straightforward, though tentatively they conclude that analytic strategies are the most effective whereas holistic strategies are the least. However, they point out the importance of context in determining how effective a particular strategy might be and that in certain contexts even transfer strategies can be effective.

In conclusion the researchers believe that compensatory strategy use is subject to general principles of communication and that any future studies must be integrated into a study of communication. As strategy use varies so considerably

with task, there is a clear need to study it within a variety of situations, and more attention must be paid to the selection of tasks in future studies. As for the pedagogical implications of the research, the recommendations are honest, if perhaps a little disappointing. As learners have already acquired how to use strategies in the L1, they can be expected to make use of this ability in the L2, and consequently there is no need to teach strategy use in the foreign language classroom. I am personally not convinced that what learners know already in their L1 can automatically be used in the L2. I suspect this will vary considerably from learner to learner and, as the researchers point out, this study does not include the very lowest proficiency group, who may well require help in developing appropriate strategy use.

An interesting point they make is the importance of maintaining vocabulary learning as a basic command of L2 vocabulary is essential to conceptual strategy use. Learners cannot progress from linguistic strategies, especially transfer, unless they have a minimally adequate vocabulary.

The researchers make a number of suggestions for further research, in particular the need to study less proficient learners and the use of strategies by L1 children who may have similar problems to adult L2 learners. In addition, the effects of background and personality on strategy use need to be observed, which requires establishing the learner's personality and cognitive style as a prerequisite. The importance of the role of the interlocutor needs to be borne in mind, and in particular the importance of the interlocutor's L1, social status, personality, etc.

This is an important piece of research which has added considerably to the store of information now built up around the subject of strategies. The fact that there are problems with the identification of strategies, designing an appropriate and plausible taxonomy and then working out the pedadogical implications cannot detract from the very real contribution which has been made. The researchers have in no way avoided the problems and have set out their work in a very open and rigorous way.

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Discourse Respiration: The State of the Art
L. Barton and A.H. Scry
Didcot Academic Press, 1989, 642pp, £43.50

It is almost exactly ten years since the appearance of Pierrette Machin's seminal paper *La respiration — musique intérieure du dialogue,* and this book provides a timely overview of developments in the intervening decade.

Machin was not of course the first to pay attention to communicative aspects of breathing — one thinks, for example, of Parker's work on the sneezing language of the Ojibway, or Sackbottle's account of the Lugardu (who resolve territorial disputes by seeing who can talk for longest without breathing in). But Machin was certainly the first to look at the matter from a discourse perspective. It is to her that we owe the now commonplace distinction between *breathing* (the physiological process whereby air is transported into and out of the lungs), and *respiration* (the procedure by which this air-flow is exploited to structure the interactive use of language). And it was Machin's realisation that all oral language use can be analysed in terms of an eight-cell matrix (generated by the intersections of the three key parameters *breathing/respiration, inhalation/exhalation* and *receptive/productive*) that really laid the foundations for current work in the field.

Following Machin, Slabside and Haunch did valuable work on the role of respiration in the negotiation of turn-taking, discovering, for example, that the speeding up of breathing as discourse boundaries approach seems to be a universal, and that in certain interactive contexts (they studied faculty meetings), participants appear to exploit relationships between breathing rhythm and eye movements for a variety of discourse-structuring purposes (though few would now regard Slabside and Haunch's tripartite analysis into *harmonisation, counterpoint* and *syncopation* as adequate).

Barton and Scry are particularly informative on recent developments, and give an admirable account of Heartsease, Gazunda and Wankfurlong's studies of 'listening respiration', in which it was shown not only that listeners tend to 'mirror' speakers' breathing rhythm, but indeed that cooperative discourse partners work mutually towards optimum harmonisation of their respiratory patterns.

The SLA implications are, as usual, unclear, and Barton and Scry make no attempt to paper over the cracks. As they recognise, while it is unwise to assume that learners can automatically transfer mother-tongue respiratory strategies *en bloc,* current theory provides no justification for the more extreme versions of the so-called 'DR' teaching approach. No doubt

second-language learners will be helped by training in relaxation, interactive breathing, and so forth, and classical yoga techniques have long been known to correlate positively with the development of top-down and bottom-up processing skills. However, one wonders whether the hardware associated with the DR approach (thoracimeters, respiration counters, oxygen masks and the rest) is likely to be genuinely cost-effective for the average learner.

Barton and Scry provide a competent account of the state of the art in discourse respiration studies, and there is little that I would wish to take issue with. In the still controversial area of text respiration (the extent to which a writer composes with the reader's breathing patterns in mind), they perhaps take too uncritical a view of the Wuppertal model — it is difficult to see how one and the same analytical instrument can really apply to such disparate texts as, for example, *Wilhem Meisters Wanderjahre* and the Paderborn telephone directory. Again, they seem to accept, lock stock and barrel, Calloway's theory of the role of respiration in signalling cohesion; most people in the field today would stop short of a position which regards both breathing and not-breathing as equally significant cohesive devices, even though such a view is not without parallel in the cohesion literature. There are occasional editorial slips (Piero della Francesca died in 1492; Darwin's ship was the *Beagle*, not the *Weasel*; Nagoya is not in the Atlas Mountains; *wombat* is not spelt with double *t*). All in all, however, this is a sound and important book which will clearly become a standard work in the field, and it can be warmly recommended.

Michael Swan