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In this Issue

Articles in this issue of *The ORTESOL Journal* reflect the diversity of interests of our readers.

- **Mary Blakely** spent three years in China training English teachers and doing research. Her article describes the language situation of minority populations in Guizhou province in the southern part of the country. The attempt in China to maintain minority groups' native languages while teaching literacy in the national language has implications for language policy in the United States.
- **Henry Morrison Millstein** describes the obsolescing of the tribal languages once spoken on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in central Oregon. Acknowledging the need for community consensus on goals, Millstein proposes using task-based instruction to teach young Native Americans the languages of their peoples and to train those who still know the languages to teach others.
- **Amy Roberts and Steven Locke** explore the potential for acculturation of Soviet Pentecostal refugees who have recently settled in the Portland area. They predict that strong ethnic identity and religious ties will slow the acculturation process. The background and life experiences of this newest group of refugees create special challenges.
- **Gerri Graber-Wilson** examines the relationship between scores on a standardized reading test and achievement in writing for ESL students. She compares achievement on narrative and expository discourse and on timed and untimed samples.
- **The book review in this issue** focuses on the current interests in learning (as opposed to teaching) a language. **Kathleen Hughes** reviews four recent books on language learning styles and strategies: Earl Stevick's *Success with Foreign Languages: Seven Who Achieved It and What Worked for Them*; Anita Wenden and Joan Rubin's *Learner Strategies in Language Learning*, Rebecca Oxford's *Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know*; and Thomas Parry and Charles Stansfield's *Language Aptitude Reconsidered*.
- **Gloria Streit Olness** describes the development of a systematized component for teaching pronunciation in the curriculum of the University of Oregon's American English Institute.

—The Editors

MINORITY EDUCATION IN RURAL CHINA: GUIZHOU

Mary M. Blakely
University of Oregon

Abstract

Changes in Chinese government policies in the 1980s resulted in some reforms in minority education, particularly in rural areas where minority students experienced less success in school than ethnic Chinese. This paper looks at Guizhou, a mostly rural southwestern province with a heterogeneous minority population. Districts serving Miao, Buyi, and Yi ethnic groups illustrate problems of trying to adapt schools to local needs, yet conform to national standards. Issues include economic development, compulsory schooling, standardized schools, teacher preparation, compensatory education, ethnic identification, and bilingual instruction.

The Setting

Guizhou People are so poor, they don't have three coins to rub together.

Guizhou Land is so rugged, a patch of level ground is never more than three meters square.

Guizhou Weather is so bad, there's never sunshine for three days in a row.

(common Guizhou saying)

During the year I taught at Guizhou Normal University (1987-1988) in the capital city of Guiyang, I found the weather so much better than in Chongqing where I had spent the previous two years that I ignored remarks about sunshine in their familiar saying. But although exaggerated, the self-mocking claims about poverty heard so often in this saying did seem to reflect Guizhou conditions. Site visits I made with Chinese colleagues to different rural minority areas made it clear that

minority peoples' lives in Guizhou, including schooling, have been strongly influenced by the land.

Punctuated by mountains, canyons, caves, and limestone cliffs, the picturesque Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau interests geologists today. Eighty-five percent of the province is too rugged for agriculture, so was "of no use" in the past, and left to local indigenous peoples.

Prior to the establishment of The Peoples Republic of China ("Before Liberation") in 1949, the entire province was undeveloped landlocked territory lacking transportation, communications, and industry. Even after 40 years of tremendous development Guizhou retains its reputation as one of the poorest and most backward provinces in China. The 1990 census reports one-fourth of the people over 15 years of age in Guizhou cannot read, compared to 16% nationwide.

University students from Guizhou often claim to be from Yunnan or Sichuan, adjacent provinces which do not have the same reputation for poverty-stricken uncivilized inhabitants. A major reason for this stereotype is Guizhou's large minority population. Popular opinion is that Yunnan is a place of colorful exotic people whose languages and cultures charm tourists, while Guizhou is a place of embarrassingly primitive tribal groups posing obstacles to modern civilization.

In reality the same ethnic groups live in both provinces; the difference has been a matter of public -relations. There is more than pride at stake. Officials expect tourism to bring economic development to minority rural areas, as it has in Yunnan (Swaim, 1989).

To improve its image, Guizhou is now promoting itself as a land of fascinating minority peoples whose traditional villages, costumes, dances, festivals, and folk art are treasured natural resources vital to the province's tourist industry. Modern Guizhou is portrayed on today's brochures by smiling young women in traditional costumes. This pattern of historical denigration and neglect followed by recognition, public attention, and economic exploitation is reflected in the treatment of minority students in Guizhou. Traditionally, schools were to "civilize" people, i.e. to teach them Chinese language and the dominant culture. Minorities who did not want to be assimilated did not attend school, and

peasant livelihoods usually did not require literacy. But political and economic reforms in the 1980s put schooling in rural minority areas in a new light.

China's rural economy is being transformed from a self-reliant peasant workforce into a commodity economy which encourages commercial enterprises at village and township levels (Lou, 1985). This economic structure requires a better-educated rural populace (Fei, 1986), or as one township official told me, "We want to become rich, so we need better schools."

Minority Population

China officially recognizes 56 "nationalities" (ethnic groups). The dominant nationality is Han (ethnic Chinese), constituting over 90% of the country's one billion people. Of the 55 minority groups, 18 now have a population of over one million. Between the 1982 and 1990 censuses, the Han population grew by 10%, while the non-Han population increased by 35%.

The actual birthrate for minorities is higher than for Han, since the strict one-child-per-family rules have not applied to rural minority groups. In addition, non-Han in remote areas were undercounted in 1982, and people are less afraid to identify themselves with their ethnic heritage than they were ten years ago. Furthermore, some people changed their registration to minority status in order to be eligible for special educational and economic opportunities (Blakely, 1990).

Population trends in Guizhou are similar. In 1949 the population of Guizhou was only half Han. In the ensuing years thousands of Han were sent from northern and eastern provinces to build railways, highways, power plants, telecommunications systems, hospitals, schools, colleges, and factories. By 1982 the Han population was 75%. In the 1990 census 65% of Guizhou people claimed to be Han; the other 35% claimed membership in one of the 48 recognized ethnic minority groups. The groups having more than 100 thousand members living in Guizhou are as follows:

TABLE I
1990 GUIZHOU POPULATION

Total	32,391,066
Han	21,154,520
Miao	3,686,900
Buyi	2,478,107
Dong	1,400,344
Tujia	707,413
Gelao	430,519
Shui	322,562
Hui	126,500
Bai	122,166

(Qin Hua, 1990)

Twenty-six percent of China's total population now live in cities and towns, whereas less than 20% of Guizhou people live in cities, and the majority of these are Han. Population centers are in the middle of the province (the cities of Guiyang, Zunyi, Liupanshui and Anshun), the Tongren District in the northeast, and Bijie District in the northwest.

About half the province is designated by the national government as Autonomous Prefectures, due to heavy concentrations of ethnic minorities. These districts (under combined provincial, national, and local jurisdiction) are The Southwest Buyi and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, The South Buyi and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, and The Southeast Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture. These areas have benefitted greatly in the past ten years from central government funds for minority affairs, including additional funds for basic schooling.

Compulsory Education

Schools in China are state-run, operated by the Central government through the provincial government's education commission, which

provides K-12 schooling through city or county education commissions, which in turn govern the schools in the towns and rural areas. Compulsory nine-year education introduced in 1985 calls for universal state-run schools in all geographic areas by the year 2000, and in most cities this has already been accomplished. In poorer rural counties in Guizhou the goal is universal primary schools (grades 1-6) by 2000, junior middle schools (grades 7-9) by 2010.

Rural School Conditions

There are too many children and too few teachers in rural areas to compel school attendance. Even with the present low enrollment rates, some village schools are so crowded that children under age seven are not allowed to enroll in the first grade; city children begin school at six. The province does not have enough money to train and hire teachers, to purchase materials, and to construct schools (including housing for teaching staff and for some students) to cover the entire population.

Because many villages have no schools, it is common for children to board at schools in township centers and county seat towns. The actual distance may not be great, but lack of transportation makes it unfeasible for them to walk to and from school every day. At a township school in the Southwest Autonomous Prefecture, even some first graders were boarders. Teachers told me that the Buyi minority children had more study time and better living conditions than if they lived at home.

When the state-run schools are too far away or too crowded, villages often set up their own schools and hire their own teachers. Teachers in these "local-people-run schools" are likely to be villagers having a primary or junior middle school education who take on teaching responsibilities in addition to farm work. Some continue their own formal education through correspondence courses and in-service classes in county teachers' schools. In this way over a several year period, teachers in local-run schools may earn two-year or three-year diplomas.

Teacher Preparation

Teachers in state-run rural schools generally have less formal education than their counterparts in city schools. Although there is

strong government pressure to improve the qualifications of teachers in rural schools, the demand for teachers is so great that it will be years before rural schools can hire only teachers who have three-year or four-year diplomas; therefore, formal education is given to in-service teachers (Yang, Lin, & Su, 1989).

At any given time, several teachers in one rural school will be away getting "further training" in township or county teachers' schools. Others are away from their positions for several years while enrolled in degree programs in Teachers' Colleges and Normal Universities. Their teaching tasks are taken up by substitute teachers (with varying levels of formal education and experience), who fill in until the teacher-with-diploma comes back.

Standardized Education

Under China's centralized system, schools throughout the country use standardized curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, examinations, and Chinese language. The system provides everyone, urban or rural, Han or non-Han, with the same education. Most people regard this as an equal education, like the principal of an integrated Han Miao village school who boasted that had I observed in a city school that day, teachers would have been using the same page of the same mathematics book.

The standard instructional approach accommodates class sizes of 40-50, even in primary grades. Teachers stand "on stage" in front of the class and deliver lessons using a lecture method. Unlike in America, rural schools in China are often as crowded as urban schools. It may be hard to imagine 40 first graders listening and repeating in unison after the teacher, but it makes sense in context. Traditional teaching is inexpensive: chalk, blackboards, and paperback textbooks. Rural schools cannot depend on electricity; they depend on the teacher.

David Wu's research in China illustrates that even preschool children learn that school is a place where large groups are led by teachers (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). It is hardly surprising that by the time they make it into universities, teachers and students find it difficult to forsake their familiar knowledge-based, teacher-centered interaction

patterns. This can be true even when alternative views of learning are known, as reported by Ye and Li (1988).

The standard curriculum prepares students for college entrance exams: politics, Chinese, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geography, English, PE, music, fine arts, and working skills. Advancement by examination is part of Chinese tradition, a hallmark of the ancient scholar-official system (Hayhoe & Bastid, 1987). Students who fail to pass exams at the end of primary, middle, or high school do not continue to the next level. Each year fewer students climb up the pyramid, leaving winners at the top. This contrasts sharply with our western assumption that the school's task is to teach all students, not to get rid of less capable ones.

For the majority of Han pupils across China, this centralized system has proven effective in delivering schooling on a massive scale. The 1990 census shows that Chinese as a whole are better educated than in 1982: 37% have primary school education; 25% have gone to middle school; 8% have graduated from high school; about 2% of the Chinese have received some kind of college education (Blakely, 1990).

TABLE II

EDUCATION LEVEL OF TOTAL GUIZHOU POPULATION

Nonliterate 15 year olds	24.27%
Primary school	37.34%
Middle school	14.64%
High school/technical school	3.93%
College/university level	.78%

(Qin Hua, 1990)

Unfortunately, standardized schooling has often meant low enrollment and high dropout rates for rural non-Han students, even in

primary school. Guizhou's education level remains below the national average, particularly in rural minority areas.

With virtually no hope of going to college, and few rural jobs requiring an education, there has been little incentive for many rural students to stay in school. Rural vocational secondary schools are now recruiting an increasing number of minority students, offering a salient reason to complete primary school.

Although education remains centralized, some control is being allowed to adjust curriculum to local needs. One example is English, which students in rural secondary schools often identify as their most difficult and least favorite subject. Some say English ought to be exchanged for a course more relevant to rural life, but administrators are afraid to drop it, as schools are judged on the basis of their students' examination results, including English. In several village middle schools, I was told poor English classes were better than none, because without them there was no hope of students' passing entrance exams to township high schools. County authorities see a connection from English to modernization and an improved local economy. Dropping English would be stepping backward.

Compensatory Minority Programs

To support rural economic development, special efforts are being made to improve minority students' success in school. To do this, many counties are lowering requirements for them at all levels. One example is a township in the Southwest Autonomous Prefecture where pupils in a Buyi village primary school were allowed to advance to the next grade with lower scores than were pupils in a nearby Han village. Local officials hoped more Buyi children would remain in primary school long enough to become literate and perhaps go on to middle school.

At a modern high school built with Minority Affairs funds in the same prefecture, the head of the foreign language department told me Miao and Buyi students were admitted from rural middle schools having no English classes. Because they could not be expected to pass high school English, they took Japanese, which should make it easier to pass foreign language written tests.

Lowered requirements have also increased the number of minority students admitted to colleges and universities. At my teachers' university each department allotted a small percentage of the freshman enrollment to minority students whose entrance exam scores were 10-30 points below the cutoff point. It is assumed that given the same opportunity, minority students will make up the difference and perform up to the level of other students. According to our dean, some of these students continued to struggle throughout their four-year program, and if they had not been in a special category they would have been forced to leave. Others rose to the middle and a few exceptional students graduated at the top of their classes.

This was not public knowledge because the identity of compensatory minority students was not revealed. In fact several students from Miao, Buyi, and Yi families told me privately that they refused to acknowledge their ethnic background for fear their classmates would assume they entered college with lower scores.

There is general agreement that lowering requirements is fair compensation for past discrimination, but there is also quiet animosity among non-minorities who see it as reverse discrimination. People resent giving limited slots to less qualified students when there are not enough colleges for all qualified high school graduates. Han students not admitted to university sometimes complain that if they claimed to be Miao, they would be admitted.

Ethnic Identification

This brings up the issue of ethnic identification. For purposes of this discussion, the key is an individual's eligibility for special minority programs. In brief, while negative stereotypes and social discrimination remain, today there are offsetting benefits to being minority. They are lowered exam scores, additional government stipends while in college, special classes and entire schools for minorities at secondary and college levels, and additional funding to rural schools requiring native language support. Furthermore, minority families are not required to adhere to the one-child family planning policy, and some civil service posts give precedence to minorities.

People often joked that in Guizhou it had become popular to be minority. There are similar patterns in Yunnan (Wu, 1990). Families who had been Han last year suddenly became Miao. H&J was this possible?

"It's easy," according to a group of young high school teachers from multi-ethnic rural counties. "If one parent or grandparent is Miao, then you can be. You just take your registration card to the office to apply and they give you ID." A chance at earning advanced degrees and higher salaries prompted these formerly Han teachers to change their official registrations to Miao, Dong, or Buyi. Some siblings remained Han. When asked if it was as easy to change from Miao to Han, they said, "No, but it doesn't matter."

Assimilation

Of course only assimilated minorities can enjoy these double benefits. Chinese say "Hanhua," i.e. to be transformed into Han. The "Hanhua" are just like everybody else; their only non-Han identifier is a word on a piece of paper that nobody sees. A Minority Affairs official in a predominantly Miao county complained that those "paper Miao" used up places in colleges intended for "true Miao," i.e., Miao who have not intermarried, have not become assimilated into Han culture, have not replaced Miao language with Chinese.

Native Language in Schools

Previously, schools were taught exclusively in Chinese. Non-Chinese languages were considered a hindrance to national unity, and it was believed that through schools everyone would be assimilated to a common Chinese language. This goal did meet with some success, as evidenced by ethnic minorities in mainstream society. After the Cultural Revolution the government reversed its position, saying the Chinese-only policy actually had a divisive effect by causing nonparticipation, noncooperation, and academic failure among minorities.

The new position is that language policies in any area must suit economic and cultural development of minorities as well as enable groups to communicate with each other to work for local development.

The purpose of the new native language policy is to facilitate unification, not separation (Tyson, 1991). In schools where it is deemed helpful, native language can supplement but not replace Chinese.

This policy affords flexibility needed to address the range of language use and degree of assimilation present in different areas of Guizhou (Chen, 1987). There are many "Hanhua" areas near cities where assimilation has been complete in past generations. In one township center in northwest Guizhou where everybody claimed to be Yi, only a few old women could recall snatches of oral Yi language, and no one could read Yi (Li, 1988). Seeing no value in Yi language in school, town leaders refused minority language funds, but used minority affairs funds to replace the dilapidated 50-year-old wooden school.

An outlying school in the same county was in a bilingual area where people used Chinese in public and Yi at home. Teachers *knew* recent minority education policies allowed the use of native language in school, but they were still in the habit of using Chinese, except for explaining some things in Yi. A proposal by local Minority Affairs leaders to make Yi literacy a requirement in the school was opposed by local Education Commission officials who thought it would confuse the students, who needed to learn Chinese in order to pass the tests. Most of these leaders were Yi who had learned Chinese literacy in the same school 30 years before. They share a common sentiment of most ethnic people that to succeed in China one must know Chinese, and increasingly, one must read Chinese (Tyson, 1991).

The compromise was an after school Yi literacy class for children in grades 4-6. The class was in its second year when we observed and only a small percentage of eligible students participated. The Yi literacy teacher, who had attended special training classes to learn to read the Yi script, taught Chinese language in the mornings. She was a middle-aged woman whose father had been a Yi scholar in the days Before Liberation.

Bilingual Instruction

This same form of add-on native language instruction is being tried in several bilingual areas in Guizhou. A branch of Provincial Minority


Affairs was set up in 1982 to promote the use of native languages among minority groups. This includes the development of textbooks, as there were no materials prior to the new policies. In fact, Yi is the only language with a previously existing script. Miao, Buyi, Dong, and many other languages have only recently been put into phonetic romanized script by linguists. Fortunately, a number of linguists who worked at recording these minority languages prior to the Cultural Revolution are once again working in Guizhou directing the compilation of native literacy textbooks.

One of the best examples of a broad application of new native language policies is in a county in the Southeast Miao-Dong Autonomous Prefecture dominated by Miao (also known as Hmong). Miao in Tai Jiang County have a long history of stubborn resistance to assimilation, including armed rebellion. Today a high percentage of the county officials are Miao, and Minority Affairs is powerful.

Miao families in the county seat sent their children to school, but the high school completion rate was poor. In the surrounding countryside Miao peasants seldom completed primary school. Although there was no history of Miao literacy, local Miao Minority Affairs leaders view the new language policy as the hope for better schooling and a better life.

In just a few years Miao language specialists have taught native teachers to read their own language and trained them to teach Miao literacy to children and adults. Miao women with no school experience learned to read and write basic Miao in adult night classes. Written Miao has been added to official court documents and Minority Affairs communications. Local native language supporters claim even middle-aged adults learn quickly because the Miao script is a new phonetic system that faithfully follows oral Miao. People who had never learned to read the Chinese characters that surrounded them all their lives were learning to read Miao. Popular opinion in Tai Jiang is heavily in favor of native language in the schools if it will help the children be more successful.

The local Education Commission is guarding against the institution of Miao literacy in schools. They support oral bilingual instruction, and



took me to visit one exemplary primary school in town. A well-trained young Miao teacher spoke in Miao and introduced some key Chinese words when she taught math to first graders. She and her fourth-grade math class spoke both Miao and Chinese. School personnel believe that students who receive systematic bilingual oral instruction perform better than those whose teachers use only one language. The most obvious improvement was parental support, evidenced in higher attendance for male and female students; traditionally Miao girls had not attended.

Local Minority Affairs leaders are encouraged about the progress in town schools and laud demonstration projects, yet insist it is not bilingual instruction unless all students learn to read both languages. The Education Commission claims there is no use for written Miao in formal education since there are not any books to read except basic literacy texts.

This lack of cooperation prompted the Minority Affairs Commission to start its own demonstration primary school several miles out of town in a Miao village where the Education Commission's standard Chinese language school had a low success rate. On our visit, my colleagues estimated that the only student fluent in Chinese was a 15 year-old-boy in grade five. As in many language-minority village schools, no students had gone on to middle school in years. This is what Minority Affairs wants to change.

The Minority Affairs demonstration primary school consisted of a room in the housing compound and two local Miao teachers newly trained in Miao literacy. Enrollment was voluntary. All pupils began with Miao literacy instruction in grade one; the plan was to introduce oral and written Chinese in the fourth year. Most striking was the large number of girls in the class, and how well they read their Miao textbooks. Teachers claim they have no problem with attendance, and all pupils had made progress in both math and reading in the two years since the school began. Until the day we visited, the head of the Education Commission had not known of the existence of this new local-run native language school.

Conclusion

Few of the bilingual programs in Guizhou follow the model most preferred by western educators for initial literacy instruction in native language (Goldenberg, 1988; Roller, 1988; Wyner, 1989). The need for Chinese literacy is increasing and the value of native literacy as yet unknown, so most bilingual projects reserve native literacy until after pupils can read Chinese. The range of sociolinguistic environments makes it important to carefully analyze the local situation before determining what form of language support is best suited to each minority school.

I am doubtful the top-down centralized system can make room in its structure for grassroots decision-making such as the local-run Miao initial literacy school. It would not be realistic to expect parents to be given individual choice in the matter. Yet the situation is promising.

Investments in better buildings, qualified teachers, and appropriate materials are paying off in improved enrollment, attendance, and completion rates as well as test scores. If increased revenues from tourism and commodity enterprises can be realized, rural counties can provide even better schooling for all the students. That means the better-educated youth can contribute more to China's stated goal of socio-economic development in rural areas.

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TASK-BASED SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AT WARM SPRINGS: AN APPROACH TO THE REVITALIZATION OF AN OBSOLESCING LANGUAGE

**Henry Morrison Millstein
Warm Springs Indian Reservation**

Abstract

Three traditional Indian languages formerly spoken at Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon are obsolescing. A currently popular TESL method, task-based learning, is proposed here as an approach to help maintain those languages. This article begins with a sketch of the current language situation at Warm Springs. Suggested goals reflect the varied learner needs and interests on the reservation. The difficulty of training the few remaining Indian language speakers in traditional language teaching methods that focus on formal or functional languages leads the author to recommend task-based learning, which centers around accomplishment of tasks using the target language, such as interviewing elders and participating in religious ceremonies. Task-based instruction could also be used in training teachers to develop culturally appropriate materials. The paper concludes with a discussion of cultural issues affecting choice of tasks and potential advantages and problems of using this approach to restore an obsolescing language.

Introduction

This paper explores the contribution that a currently fashionable approach to second language teaching, task-based learning, may make to a specific situation: the learning of traditional Indian languages on the Warm Springs Reservation in central Oregon. While this may seem at first glance a situation remote from those encountered by teachers of ESL, this examination will show that it is in fact not remote at all in key

respects. I believe that demonstrating the practical applicability of current thinking in second language acquisition will be valuable for anyone in the field.

The notion of "task-based learning" is taken largely from The Fall 1989 issue of *Papers in Applied Linguistics* devoted to this topic. Several papers there, though developed from research and practice in a situation very different from that of Warm Springs, make valuable suggestions for the Reservation's Indian language program, thus showing the generalizability of the ideas presented.

The Language Situation at Warm Springs

The Warm Springs Reservation in central Oregon is home to speakers, or descendants of speakers, of three different Indian languages: Sahaptin, Wasco, and Northern Paiute. These three languages are for all practical purposes unrelated, although there has been some lexical and even morphological borrowing between Warm Springs and Wasco and both are believed to belong to the Penutian stock, a large but still hypothetical Indian language family thought to include many languages in California, Oregon, and Washington, and which may include or be related to Mayan. None of these languages are learned any longer as first languages by children growing up, and most speakers are no younger than their late fifties, although Sahaptin has a handful of people in their forties or early fifties who are semi-fluent. There is at least one woman in her eighties who feels more comfortable speaking Sahaptin than English, but there are no longer any monolingual Sahaptin speakers. Sahaptin is still used publicly in religious ceremonies, particularly those of the Waashat or Seven Drum religion practiced at two longhouses on the Reservation. While from time to time elders may be heard talking with one another in Sahaptin, it can be said that there is essentially no longer a Sahaptin-speaking community in the sense of a body that consistently uses Sahaptin for all or most of its daily interaction.

The picture for Wasco is even more bleak. None of the present Wasco speakers profess to be as fluent as their parents' generation, and there are not more than about a dozen people on the Reservation who are semi-fluent or better in Wasco.

For Paiute, the picture is still worse as far as the Reservation itself is concerned, but brighter in terms of the off-Reservation survival of the language. There appear to be no fully fluent speakers of Paiute left at Warm Springs, but the language is still spoken by Paiutes at Burns and on various reserves in Nevada; on at least one of these, Fort McDermitt on the Oregon border, children are still growing up speaking Paiute as a first language. People at Fort McDermitt have worked with personnel from the Summer Institute of Linguistics to develop literacy materials in the language, including a complete translation of the New Testament and a variety of shorter publications including both Biblical and native cultural stories. It should be noted, however, that at least some of the Paiutes at Warm Springs find significant divergence between the dialect of these materials and that with which they are familiar. The Paiutes at Warm Springs are by far the smallest of the three tribes represented there, those identifying themselves as primarily Paiute in ancestry numbering only around 60 of a total Tribal membership of around 2,700.

None of the fluent or semi-fluent speakers of Indian languages at Warm Springs have completed college, and most have not finished high school. A couple of older speakers of Sahaptin have training and experience teaching in the Tribal Head Start program, where some Sahaptin is being taught.

Alphabets and written materials exist in all three languages, but only a few of the speakers of the languages read and write them comfortably.

In short, the languages at Warm Springs are clearly obsolescing, in Bauman's (1980, p. 11) sense. (It must be understood that the term "obsolescing" here is *not* a value judgement, but solely an estimate of the degree of use of the language and of its survival chances.) There is, however, a strong desire on the part of Tribal membership and leadership to keep the languages alive in some fashion.

There has, however, been little clarity on what realistic goals might be set for a language renewal program. The general hope—not always explicitly expressed but nonetheless clearly present—has been for some approach which could instruct the younger generations in the languages to the point where they would reach full fluency and be able to restore the Tribal languages to the everyday use they formerly enjoyed. Given

the present state of the languages, this is almost certainly an unrealistic goal; it could conceivably *be* achieved by an immersion program, but the prospect of Indian-language immersion programs at Warm Springs, though exciting, raises very serious problems of practicality. (These are further considered in the appendix.)

At the opposite extreme from a language program designed to restore full fluency and everyday language use is one designed to provide learners with some knowledge about the language as a token of identity and a means of building community pride and self-esteem (Burnaby, 1980, p. 316). For such a goal, a program of the sort already in place in the Head Start/Preschool program, teaching children a few simple expressions of greeting, body parts, animal names, and colors, might be sufficient. It does seem, however, that it is not unreasonable to aim for something between full language restoration and the very limited program of language remembered solely as a token of identity. For one thing, there are still speakers, especially of Sahaptin, able and desiring to pass their extensive knowledge on to others. For another, the Culture and Heritage Department, as well as outside scholars, have for many years been amassing a collection in written form and on audio and videotape of Indian language materials, particularly of the vast oral literature of legends. Finally, some religious services are still conducted in Indian, and there is a strong desire on the part of many tribal members to keep this tradition alive.

These facts suggest a direction for goal-setting for Indian language at Warm Springs. Some goals that suggest themselves are:

- Learners will be able to take part in and conduct religious ceremonies in Indian.
- Learners will be able to understand and interact affectively and intellectually with Indian language materials preserved in writing or on audio- or videotape.
- Learners will be able to engage in limited conversation with Indian-speaking elders (the limits of such conversational ability to be defined; I am thinking here of enough competence at using

greetings and phatic formulas to encourage elders to deliver Indian language materials to the younger generations).

- Learners will know how to collect Indian language texts from elders.**
- Learners will be able to transcribe and, with the help of elders, to translate into English taped texts in Indian language.**

Obviously, not all learners will want or need to develop all these abilities. Some will be content simply to learn enough to maintain language as a token of identity: a few formulas of greeting and limited vocabulary, perhaps centering on matters of Indian culture. Others will want to be scholars of their heritage, poring over the classic texts left behind and interpreting them for new generations, so that the Tribes always retain some relationship to their Native-language past. Some may try to reach as close to full fluency as they can get, to take advantage of the still-present opportunities for conversation and relationship in Indian language. An effective language program must cater to all these degrees of need and commitment. That means, among other things, that it must have as a central goal enabling students to learn how to learn more, to take advantage of both the living and archived resources available to them to deepen their language knowledge.

Above all, there must be solid community commitment to whatever goals are agreed upon for the language program. Thus far the community has given only an affirmative response to a very general survey question indicating their interest in language renewal. There is at this time no evidence of a community consensus concerning specific goals for such an effort.

The Applicability of Task-Based Learning at Warm Springs

In the lead article of the issue of *Papers in Applied Linguistics* mentioned above, B. Kumaravadivelu (1989), a leading figure in the movement for the application of task-based learning to second language instruction, struggles with terminological questions concerning the definition of "task" and "task-based learning." For my purposes, the definition of task given by Nunan (1989a) will suffice; a task is

. . . a piece of classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form. (p. 10)

This definition may, on the face of it, seem so general as to be of little value. It is clear, nonetheless, that most activities that have traditionally gone on in language classrooms are not tasks in this sense; investigation would most likely prove that most classroom work even today in second language classrooms is focused on linguistic form, even when some communicative elements are present. The specific feature of task-based learning in a second language context is that it calls for the negotiation of meaning in the target language to accomplish a communicative task; the *form* of the language thus generated may vary widely and may not even be foreseen by the designer of the task.

The concept of task-based learning will gain greater specificity as we continue our consideration of it. Indeed, Kumaravadivelu (1989) himself brings us a step farther in understanding when he comments:

As has been pointed out by learning-centered methodologists, there cannot be a set of syllabus specifications as we know them in traditional language teaching experience. Learning-centered materials can only be an indication of content in the form of activities and tasks, leaving the actual language to be negotiated in each classroom. In other words, we ought to think in terms of *learning* materials rather than *teaching* materials. (p. 15)

Kumaravadivelu provides in an appendix an example from an ESL curriculum consisting solely of a specification of tasks and activities, without specification of language according to either formal or functional criteria; that is, the language must be created in negotiation among learners and teacher (p. 25ff).

Although Kumaravadivelu puts this suggestion in the context of a "learning-centered" approach (similar perhaps to the Krashen-Terrell "natural approach"), it is compatible with a variety of approaches and may in fact hold the key to reconciling several of them—to what one might call a "balanced eclecticism." (Consider this fortunate, since there

is so little agreement among SLA researchers and theorists even on basic issues that a "learning based" approach purportedly justifying itself by a specific psycholinguistic theory of SLA seems to be on very shaky ground.) The formal, functional, and communicative features of the language generated by these tasks can themselves be subjects of instruction and further tasks of either a form-based or notion/function-based nature. The difference between this approach and more traditional ones would then lie in how the language is generated. In more traditional approaches, formal and/or functional features are sequenced first and then language is generated (in part by curriculum developers, in part by teachers) to exemplify them; in this, language grows out of a task and the language actually negotiated around this task is allowed to determine the formal and functional features serving as input.

This suggestion promises a new approach to the development of a language teaching program that holds great promise for a situation such as that at Warm Springs. As can be inferred from the outline of the linguistic conditions on the Reservation, a major obstacle to developing an effective teaching program is the absence of trained teachers with fluency in the Indian languages. It is, of course, not impossible that some of the Indian language speakers could be trained in traditional language teaching methods. This would, however, be a time-consuming process (especially when one considers that the teachers would also have to develop syllabus and curriculum materials), and its success is uncertain, particularly in view of the relatively advanced age and limited formal education of most of the potential participants. (This is not to say that extensive formal education is necessary to be a good language teacher, only that the usual programs of teacher training presuppose it.) Furthermore, in a situation where the languages are in as precarious a state as they are at Warm Springs, time is of the essence.

Indian language speakers at Warm Springs would have great difficulty in generating language to exemplify either formal or functional features, since that presupposes a linguistic self-consciousness that they are not trained to possess. They would, however, have little difficulty in generating language around a specific task—say, a social situation, such as greeting a friend on the street, or a culturally-related activity, such as beadworking.

A syllabus and curriculum for Indian language could, then, consist of a sequenced specification of tasks to be performed using the language. A non-native-speaking linguist or language teaching specialist could observe the language generated and cull out certain formal, functional, and communicative elements for further instruction. Such observation might also lead to revision of the task sequence.

The effect of this approach would be to throw the need for expertise in second-language teaching as much as possible onto a professional (presumably non-Indian, since the Tribes have no members trained in this field), leaving the native speakers free to contribute what is more essentially theirs: their native command of the language and its use.

In "Pedagogic Tasks and Materials Design" Nunan (1989b) moves into the specifics of class design for the classroom. Unfortunately, its direct applicability to the Warm Springs situation is limited, as Nunan presupposes a community using the target language in all areas of life (e.g., an ESL rather than an EFL situation). Nunan sends learners out into the community to interact with native speakers and then back into the classroom to discuss their experiences in doing so. As noted above, the community of native speakers requisite for this no longer exists at Warm Springs. Nonetheless, Warm Springs language learners can be assigned tasks involving interviewing of elders and participation in religious ceremonies. Indeed, tasks in these areas would be essential to reach the instructional goals mentioned in the preceding section.

It should be pointed out that cultural parameters of language use [as described by "ethnography of speaking" in Hymes' (1974) sense] must play an important role in devising tasks. This point is obvious, but it is not pointed out in the literature probably because the cultures using the target language are not believed to differ much in this respect from the cultures of the learners. In any event, certain facets of proper language use at Warm Springs definitely do impinge on task design.

An anecdote may make this clear. Early in my Warm Springs career, I prepared a series of Sahaptin language lessons cast in question and answer format, modeled on some Berlitz materials. When I checked it over with a group of native speakers, I noticed that although they

accepted most of my language as grammatically well-formed, they were clearly uncomfortable with the product. When I questioned them, they said, "Any child who went around asking his elders 'What's this?' 'What's that?' all the time would get slapped around." Question and answer dialogues—particularly with questions initiated by children—are culturally questionable at Warm Springs. Children are expected to learn by observing and practicing on their own rather than by asking frequent questions. Obviously, this imposes constraints on language task design. On the other hand, when native speakers understand the purposes of certain procedures, they are tolerant of "bending the rules" somewhat to help teach the language, as long as one shows some sensitivity to their cultural norms.

Questions of the interplay between cultural background and the appropriateness of given tasks in the second language background are raised implicitly, though not explicitly addressed, in research by Salmon (1989). Salmon studied the differential performance of students of different proficiency levels at a task involving response to questions based on a dialogue. She classed her questions as follows: (a) information from text ("What does Juana ask for?"), (b) inference from text ("Is the waitress busy? How do you know?"), (c) opinion about text ("What does the waitress say that is polite?"), (d) opinions involving feelings ("How do you feel when you don't understand other people?"), (e) opinion-generalizations ("Do you think Americans are polite/impolite?"), and (f) information about personal experience ("Have you ever had an experience like this?") (p. 60). She then analyzed the relative difficulty of each question type for students at different levels.

At the beginning level, all question types except opinion-generalization produced communicative breakdowns. The advanced students had no breakdowns with information-from-text questions. All levels had breakdowns when faced with inference-from-text and opinion-feeling (type d) questions (Salmon, 1989, p. 63).

For all students, including beginners, opinion-generalization questions appeared to generate the most language. This may at first glance be surprising, since opinion-feeling questions were the most difficult for all levels. The difference appears to be that the latter asked for expressions of personal affect, while the former asked for expressions of opinion on

impersonal topics (Salmon, 1989, p. 64). That affective factors (self-consciousness) caused the difficulty of opinion-feeling questions rather than any linguistic factors is shown by the fact that they caused breakdowns at all proficiency levels.

Salmon uses these results to suggest an ordering of question types that may be useful for learners at various proficiency levels, starting with information-from-text questions (which may be skipped by advanced learners) and ending with optional personal feeling questions.

These data are obviously useful in constructing question-and-answer tasks. The interplay of affective and skill factors in the difficulty of different question types is of great interest, and highly relevant to developing a language program at Warm Springs. Salmon, unfortunately, does not specify the cultures from which her students came—it would have been interesting to correlate the difficulty of opinion-feeling and opinion-generalization questions with cultural background—but it seems likely that opinion-feeling questions would cause even greater difficulty for Warm Springs learners than for those in her study. In general, Warm Springs people are brought up to be reticent in the expression of personal feelings except in certain contexts. And while opinion-generalization questions seemed to be the most stimulating to the subjects in this study, such questions might prove to be much more uncomfortable for Warm Springs learners. Such affective and cultural factors are not taken into account often enough in curriculum design. In that respect, Salmon's paper has more profound implications than are explicitly addressed.

Thus far, this paper has looked at the implications of research into task-based learning for the design and practice of classroom instruction. As noted above, however, one urgent need at Warm Springs is for teacher training, a task complicated by the fact that those Tribal members whose fluency renders them potential teachers are mostly without the "Anglo" educational background that traditional teacher training programs call for.

Here, too, experience with task-based learning yields useful suggestions. Crookall (1989) reports on a teacher training course taught with a task-based approach. He set up a simulation in a graduate TESL

class in which the class was divided into four groups, each of which constituted itself as an ESL/EFL curriculum development firm responding to the *need* of an organization or agency seeking an ESL program for a specific constituency and purpose. The "firms" were required to compete with one another to win "contracts" from the various (simulated) agencies. The materials produced by this class were of such quality that some were submitted to a commercial publisher.

This idea has interesting implications for Warm Springs. The participants in this effort were, of course, all graduate students in TESL, and most probably had prior teaching experience; but what might happen if one took a group of potential Indian language teachers and divided them into small groups, including in each group a person with professional second language teaching expertise and experience? The idea here would not be to have the teaching professional function as a teacher; that would too easily throw the Indian language speakers into an unproductive passive role. On the contrary, the effort would be to create teams in which all the participants, by virtue of their differing knowledge, could play equal roles in working toward a common task. A factor encouraging such a project is that, while competitiveness in individuals is not usually encouraged in Warm Springs culture, competition between groups is acceptable; having several groups working on teaching programs for a single language could well be fruitful. At the end, some sort of award might be given to the group deemed most successful; but elements from the different programs could undoubtedly be combined.

Conclusion

The ~~task-based~~ task-based approach clearly has promise even for a situation such as Warm Springs quite unlike that for which it was originally designed: the teaching of established languages with a solid written tradition. While the literature on this approach for the most part does not provide the specifics of program design, it promises an exciting step forward for Warm Springs and other similar situations.

The task-based approach shows a good "fit" with the Warm Springs situation because the aim of restoring an obsolescing language must realistically be limited to teaching and encouraging its use for specific

cultural ends rather than for an unrealistic goal of reinstating it as a universally-used language. These cultural ends can be regarded as, or divided into, specific tasks which can then become the basis for generating language between students and teachers—language which can then become the subject of other modes of instruction, whether form- or notion/function-based.

Task-based instruction also lends itself readily to a desideratum in Warm Springs language teaching: the instruction of whole families as a unit. Indeed, if the family includes Indian language speakers in the elder generation, that would automatically expand the corps of teachers.

Naturally, some problems have yet to be addressed. First among these is the setting of language learning in the context of Warm Springs cultural norms. As noted above, the most important public use of Indian language at Warm Springs (as at many other reservations) takes place in religious ceremonies. Teaching these ceremonies in school is taboo from both an Indian and a Euro-American perspective. This aspect of language, then, would have to be taught outside the school setting. It is, however, possible that some of the language used in religious contexts could be taught, in non-religious contexts, in a school program.

A second problem is that of motivation. All of the learners and some of the teachers in any Indian language program at Warm Springs will inevitably be English-dominant. The temptation to switch to English when performing a given task will often, especially at the beginning stages, be all but irresistible. It will be necessary to find some means of motivating the learners (and teachers) to stick with Indian language.

Despite these and other possible difficulties, the task-based approach offers great promise for our language efforts.

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APPENDIX

On an Immersion Program for Warm Springs

Burnaby (1980, p. 389), in her study of Indian language programs in Canada, points out that successful Indian language programs for English-dominant students are likely to be at one of two possible extremes: either a minimal program aiming only at giving a token knowledge of Indian language as a badge of ethnic and cultural identity, or else an immersion program aimed at producing full fluency. Since there is a desire at Warm Springs to have more than a minimal program, the possibility of an Indian language immersion program has been raised there. How practical is this?

I am, personally, excited by the possibility of an Indian-language immersion program. Nonetheless, I see two possible difficulties, one in my estimate relatively minor, the other quite significant.

Studies of the results of immersion programs demonstrate that such programs have considerable success in producing second language skills --far greater than that available through more conventional programs. There is, however, a serious limitation. The outcome of a successful immersion program is near-native-like receptive capacity, but a productive capacity marred by serious grammatical inaccuracy; immersion students typically come out speaking a pidginized form of their second language (Hammerly, 1987; Richmond, 1985). While this grammatical inaccuracy can perhaps be overcome by immersion in a community speaking the target language, such a speech community, as already noted, no longer exists at Warm Springs. (It could happen, though, that the speakers coming from an immersion program will begin to recreate such a community, at least for certain language uses.) It is even possible that the development of such a pidginized Indian language capability might have a negative effect on Warm Springs self-esteem and cultural identity; people might constantly be comparing themselves unfavorably with the previous generations who spoke a "purer" or "more correct" version of the languages. Some of that unfavorable self-comparison with "the old people" goes on today even among the relatively fluent Indian language speakers.

I call this a relatively minor difficulty, because the survival of Indian language in a form heavily influenced by English (and therefore recognizably different from the language spoken by "the old people") would surely be better than no survival at all. Modern Israeli Hebrew, after all, is a flourishing language, although the influence of European languages has made it very different from the original Biblical or even the later medieval Hebrew that used to be spoken or written; there is no indication that Israelis, or Jews generally, value the modern Hebrew language less for this or that they are less grateful for its revival and survival. Warm Springs people could learn to accept whatever sort of language emerges from an immersion program as legitimately Indian, its changes simply reflecting the great contact and interaction that the Tribes now have with Euro-American culture generally. People might, however, have to be prepared to accept this "new" version of their "old" language as part of the community education progress.

There is, unfortunately, another potentially more intractable problem. An immersion program, based as it is on the teaching of the content of elementary education through the medium of a second language, requires skilled teachers who can teach through the medium of that language and curriculum materials for elementary education in the target language. For instance, the *Immersion Teacher Handbook* by Snow (1987) is explicitly aimed at experienced elementary teachers (in the target language) who want information on the special characteristics of instruction in the immersion situation. Such teachers are not available in any of the Warm Springs languages. Nor are teaching materials available in any of these languages. Even the development of Indian language vocabulary for some subjects would probably require a good deal of work, and some way to gain community agreement to and acceptance of the new vocabulary generated.

Despite difficulties of this sort, Burnaby (1980, p. 258f; 1982, p. 31) reports that one Ontario Ojibwe community maintained an immersion program for several years. The Maoris in New Zealand have instituted what appears to be a very successful immersion program in their ancestral language. There are, then, realistic grounds for optimism as to the possible success of an immersion program at Warm Springs. Creativity and determination may be able to overcome the difficulties that present themselves. An immersion program at Warm Springs offers

the possibility for a dramatic and virtually unprecedented resurgence of traditional language. Perhaps the only obstacle that lies between present efforts and such future success is the generation of sufficient community consensus and commitment; and it would be no surprise if Warm Springs, which has achieved unprecedented success in economic development among reservations, should achieve an unprecedented breakthrough in this area as well.

RESETTLEMENT AND ACCULTURATION OF SOVIET PENTECOSTAL REFUGEES IN OREGON

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Abstract

The rapid resettlement of Soviet Pentecostal refugees concentrated in the Portland, Oregon, area presents challenges to social service agencies and educational institutions. This paper examines the relationship between life experiences of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees and their acculturation in the United States. The authors predict that acculturation will be slow because of extreme cultural and social differences. The locus of control construct is presented as an intrapersonal variable affecting acculturation potential of refugees. An unexpectedly high internal orientation found in a survey of Soviet Pentecostals in Oregon is attributed to their religious devotion and church-centered lives. The article concludes with recommendations for professionals dealing with Soviet Pentecostal refugees, with a focus on improving intercultural communication skills and increasing sensitivity to cultural differences. Extended English language training is recommended, particularly for Pentecostal females.

Introduction

All too frequently, refugees and other immigrants are viewed as blank tablets on their arrival to the United States. Their backgrounds are reduced to such simple quantified measures as age, years of education or previous education. (Haines, 1985, p. 15)

From a political and sociological perspective, the resettlement of a large number of refugees has been considered by many to be a significant national achievement (Haines, 1985). But for many refugees,

the flight from their native country is just the beginning of a long and difficult transition in acculturating to at least some aspects of American society (Haines, 1985). While the acculturation process is inevitable, it is neither quick nor without difficulties for refugees and the social service agencies which attempt to serve them.

Social service agencies often depend upon research findings to ensure cultural sensitivity and to increase understanding regarding the needs of specific immigrating groups. In contrast, a lack of scholarly research addressing distinct ethnic groups of refugees often hinders the initial support system which makes important decisions regarding refugee resettlement. While a lack of research on smaller ethnic groups appears to be unimportant because of the smaller number of refugees involved in resettlement, a sudden influx of a group of refugees flooding a particular area of the country can create problems for the community.

Recent political changes in the Soviet Union have resulted in liberalized procedures for Soviet immigration to the United States, with six million refugees expected over the next several years (Nelson, 1989). While the majority of applicants for refugee status are Jews and Armenians, many Pentecostals are also seeking emigration (Nelson). Many of these Soviet Pentecostal refugees have settled in and around Portland, Oregon.

The rapid and concentrated resettlement of this group of refugees has presented the state of Oregon with many important considerations. Social service agencies and educational institutions assisting in the initial resettlement process of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees have been faced with new and very difficult challenges.

The primary purpose of this paper is to examine the background and the life experiences of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees and the relationship of these elements to their acculturation in the United States. Previous research addressing Soviet refugee resettlement has largely been limited to Jews. A group which differs greatly from the Pentecostal refugees (Haines, 1985), Jewish refugees have much smaller families (Kirschten, 1989), have obtained higher educational standing, some mostly from white collar backgrounds (Simon, 1985), and have not had to rely on help from government or quasi-governmental agencies in the

resettlement process. Most Jewish resettlement has been handled by private communal organizations such as Jewish Family Services (Simon, 1985; Rubenstein, 1989).

Pentecostals, on the other hand, are often faced with major problems when trying to find appropriate housing for their large families of 9 to 13 members (Roberts, 1991). While all Soviet refugees have been described as difficult social service clients because of their high expectations about employment in the United States (Haines, 1985), the Pentecostal refugees are even more so due to their having been denied by the Soviet government both educational opportunities beyond the high school level and professional and skilled job opportunities (Kirschten, 1989). This is an important factor when considering that refugees without advanced education or particularly relevant occupational skills, such as the Pentecostals, have much greater difficulty adjusting to the United States (Haines, 1985).

Soviet Pentecostal Refugees

Knowledge of refugees' country of emigration and cultural background is very useful in understanding their plight. As mentioned in the introduction, refugees are seldom viewed in terms of their distinct cultural backgrounds when they arrive in the United States. The Soviet Pentecostal refugees are no exception. To most Americans, all people from the Soviet Union are considered Russians. The terms "Russian" and "Soviet" are often used interchangeably when in fact the Soviet Union is composed of people from many different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Eubank, 1974). Only some of the many different ethnic groups in the Soviet Union can be considered Russian.

The Soviet Union is a federation of 16 republics which are each inhabited by a different ethnic group. A majority of its citizens live in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Ukraine and Byelorussia (Eubank, 1974). The people who inhabit these republics are Slavic in origin and belong to a similar linguistic group (Gerber, 1985). The people living in the RSFSR are referred to as "Great Russians," while those living in the Ukraine are called "Little Russians" or "Ruthenians" (Eubank). The group which inhabits Byelorussia are referred to as "White Russians."

The majority of Soviet Pentecostal refugees who are presently settling in Oregon are from the Ukraine. They share the same language and culture and are referred to as "Christians of Evangelical faith" in their country. The Soviet Pentecostals are distinct from other Evangelical groups in the Soviet Union due to their religious emphasis on speaking in tongues and their beliefs in healing, prophecy, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit (World Relief, 1989).

The history of the Pentecostal church in the Soviet Union is rife with persecution and harassment. Before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, all Evangelicals were persecuted by the Russian Orthodox Church (World Relief, 1989). After 1917 the Communists allowed the Evangelicals to practice their faith openly in hopes of diminishing the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church (Ripp, 1984). Hundreds of Evangelical churches were established during the 1920s, but this period of religious freedom was brought to an abrupt end in 1928 by Joseph Stalin. He created harsh anti-religion laws which were enforced throughout the republics (World Relief, 1989).

In the Soviet Union the Pentecostals have often been singled out for persecution because of their commitment to practicing church doctrine and maintaining religious identity. They have been viewed as being anti-Soviet and their leaders and active members have been imprisoned and harassed (World Relief, 1989). Soviet Pentecostal families have constantly lived under the threat of having their children taken away and placed in state boarding schools, where they are indoctrinated with atheistic teachings. They have been denied access to higher education and discriminated against in the workplace because of their religious beliefs (World Relief, 1989).

Most refugees who have come to the United States since World War II have left their countries because of political or ethnic persecution. The Soviet Pentecostal refugees, on the other hand, have emigrated because of religious persecution (World Relief, 1989). This makes them and their adjustment situation unique among refugee groups entering the United States.

In a study of Dutch Calvinist immigrants in the 1920s, Bratt (1983) found that the maintenance of institutional structures such as ethnic

churches and schools is conducive to the preservation of ethnic identity and the resistance of cultural assimilation. The case of Soviet Pentecostal refugees is very similar. They have immigrated to the United States for the main purpose of maintaining their faith and Christian principles. Since the Pentecostal refugee communities in and around Portland are close-knit and centered around the church, cultural barriers will not come down easily and acculturation will not happen quickly (Roberts, 1991).

The adjustment problems facing Soviet Pentecostal refugees have been due to the disparities between the society they are entering and the one they left behind. Not only has the church been pivotal in maintaining ethnic identity, but as with all refugees, the Pentecostal refugees face a conflict between a "compulsive quest for their old identity" and acceptance of American culture (Goldstein, 1979, p. 264). Extreme cultural and social differences have been a major stumbling block for Pentecostal refugees trying to acculturate to the United States.

Barriers to Refugee Resettlement

The transition from a closed, totalitarian system where the state provided many services to an open society based on individual initiative and responsibility has been problematic for Soviet refugees (Edelman, 1977). The idea of having to actively seek housing and to compete in a job market has been overwhelming for them (Martinis, 1989). Positive communication and interaction between refugees and those assisting them in resettlement are often inhibited by cultural misperceptions (Haines, 1985). Refugees' perceptions of the social agency and the agency's perceptions of their refugee clients often do not fit (Haines, 1985). This results in refugees being alienated from the very people attempting to facilitate their adjustment (Goldstein, 1979).

Having experienced religious persecution in their native country and difficulty in obtaining exit documents at the hands of government officials, Soviet refugees are very suspicious of American social service agencies (Goldstein, 1979). They perceive these organizations to be an arm of the government which cannot be trusted (Edelman, 1977). They also do not comprehend the social agencies' emphases on counseling and intervention because they are accustomed to a government that supplies

a variety of basic material needs and is relatively unresponsive to their demands (Goldstein, 1979). Refugees consequently feel that social service agencies owe them a considerable amount of material aid but will be slow and unresponsive in furnishing that aid (Goldstein, 1979).

American educational facilities have also been caught unprepared for special English-as-a-second-language needs and the particular learning styles of Soviet refugees (Andersen & Powell, 1988). Unlike American classrooms which are often informal and interactive, classrooms in the Soviet Union are rigidly controlled by the teacher. Students normally rise when asking or answering a question and sit with their arms folded when listening to a lesson (Andersen & Powell). American educators and Soviet Pentecostal refugees are often faced with a new and very different set of challenges for which neither are adequately prepared. This is an important factor, considering that education and language training are essential for successful acculturation (Caplan, Whitmore, & Bui, 1985).

The need to provide a basis for understanding and improved intergroup interaction between Soviet Pentecostal refugees and the social service agencies and educational institutions which attempt to facilitate their resettlement has become critical. Programs for refugees should de-emphasize admission decisions and relief efforts and concentrate more on programs to support positive adjustment and acculturation. Program adequacy should be seen not in terms of what refugees fled from, but rather in terms of how they are adjusting and acculturating during the resettlement process (Haines, 1985).

While past research has been useful in examining the acculturation of refugees into a new culture, it has done so outside the refugees' personal experiences (Seigel, 1988). Although there are common patterns in the experiences of all refugee groups in the United States, the key to understanding each group's unique situation is through acknowledging the wide diversity of their previous experiences (Haines, 1985).

Locus of Control and Refugee Resettlement

The relationship between socio-cultural settings during refugee resettlement and control beliefs of Soviet Pentecostal refugees has recently been examined using the locus of control construct as an intrapersonal variable which represents life experiences, or to be more precise, social, economic, and political behaviors (Roberts, 1991). The internal/external locus of control construct is a basic sociological personality dimension, characterized by the generalized tendency to attribute cause or control of events to internal (i.e. ability, effort) or external (i.e. luck, task difficulty) causes. Roberts utilized the locus of control construct to study the life experiences and thus the acculturation potential of Soviet Pentecostal refugees.

Rotter (1954), using the locus of control construct as a measurement scale, reported that individuals with a high internal locus of control score were more alert to aspects of the environment which provided useful information to them, tried to take control of their environments, placed greater value on skills and achievement, and tried not to be influenced by others. In contrast, Rotter hypothesized that individuals with high external locus of control scores believed that they had little or no control over their environments. They perceived that normal events occurred largely because of chance, fate, luck, and other external forces.

In a study of northeastern Nigerian students, Reimanis (1977) suggested that the internal/external locus of control construct was designed to deal only with an individuals's perceptions and feelings concerning levels of personal control. It does not attempt to measure the individual's objective reality (Rotter, 1966). The locus of control construct has been utilized to predict many social behaviors and attitudes (Banks, 1984; Fry & Grover, 1982; Norris & Niebuhr, 1984). Ziegler and Reid (1983) noted that regardless of the subject's age, race and gender, perceived internal/external locus of control was an indicator of job satisfaction, life satisfaction, racial tolerance, and social achievement.

Locus of control studies conducted in the United States indicate Americans have an internalized locus of control orientation (Hsieth, Shybut, & Lotsof, 1969). The average American has recently been found to score between 10 and 12 on the locus of control scale (J. Ratter,

personal communication, November 1990). A higher score would indicate a more external locus of control orientation while a lower score would suggest a more internal locus of control orientation.

Individuals raised with values of self-reliant individualism, pragmatic ingenuity, and personal output of energy, such as Americans, are likely to be more internally oriented than those who have lived under a paternalistic government which provides all information and education, such as citizens of the Soviet Union (Goldstein, 1979). Interestingly, Soviet Pentecostal refugees were recently found to have an average locus of control score of 10.5 (Roberts, 1991). This is surprising, considering that Soviet refugees have a strong tendency to deny the existence of problems and blame external factors rather than facing their own personal problems (Goldstein).

The high internal orientation, especially in the life satisfaction category, does not necessarily mean that Soviet Pentecostal refugees do not feel alienated in the United States. These internal scores in the life satisfaction category can be explained by their religious devotion and the fact that their lives center around the church (Roberts, 1991). Since their primary reason for coming to the United States was to escape religious persecution, they would naturally have positive feelings having achieved their personal goals (World Relief, 1989).

High life satisfaction can also be explained by the fact that there is a great deal of social participation, approval, and acceptance within their community through their church. The Soviet Pentecostals have, for the most part, stayed together as a group in western Oregon. But while the ability to participate within a similar language and cultural group will naturally lead to greater life satisfaction, it is not conducive to rapid acculturation (Gordon, 1964).

Soviet Pentecostal females were found to have more internal locus of control scores than the males. This could indicate that females have higher life satisfaction and acculturation potential (Roberts, 1991). Even though their culture tends to be male oriented and dominated, the females appear to be more open to new experiences and willing to explore new options. In English classes at Portland Community College, ESL instructors remarked that the Soviet Pentecostal women were

generally more willing to take risks and had more control and power than their roles would lead one to expect. Roberts also found that the relationship between locus of control and economic satisfaction suggested that Soviet Pentecostal women were more economically satisfied. They tended to see and be more encouraged by the economic possibilities in the United States than their male counterparts.

Recommendations

Numerous sources note the lack of global sensitivity and international knowledge among Americans in general (Burn & Perkins, 1980; Taylor, 1979). Recent surveys have concluded that there is extremely limited understanding of other countries and their cultures in the United States. One study noted the tenuous relationship among knowledge, attitudes, and language as they pertain to foreign relations (Barrows, Clark, & Klein, 1980).

In the United States case workers and other agency support staff involved in refugee resettlement sometimes experience confusion and hostility toward Soviet refugees when they do not fit the preconceived image of what Soviet immigrants should be like (Haines, 1985). Many social workers are not aware of the conflicts that often occur while trying to adjust refugees to the "American way of life" (Goldstein, 1979, p. 260).

According to Forbes (1985) and Brodsky (1980), agency support has had minimal impact on refugee resettlement and monetary assistance has worked as a disincentive for success. Brodsky posited that the lack of agency success is due to the ethnocentric attitudes of social workers. She also noted that Soviet clients, in particular, tend to draw a strict division between the coldness and formality of the public area and the warmth and spontaneity of relations with family and friends.

Brodsky (1980) recommends that social workers who deal with Soviet refugees need to be more informal and directly and personally involved with their clients. She also recommends that social workers pay closer attention to the importance of the extended Soviet families. Lastly, they need to focus on providing practical help in adjusting to American culture while at the same time being aware of their own dogmatism and ethnocentrism.

The ability to deal with different communication styles is also an important factor for agency success and is essential for intercultural effectiveness (Hannigan, 1990). One of the goals of social service agencies should be to help support staff recognize the importance of and to practice using different communicative styles.

Hannigan (1990) offers the following topics as areas for exploration in agency staff training programs:

- 1. How willing am I to be flexible while accepting values different from those of my own culture?**
- 2. Under what conditions will I accept a culturally different way of doing things?**
- 3. How important is it for me to pick up on cues from clients who have culturally different orientations as compared to American culture?**
- 4. What are the significant factors in understanding a different culture?**

While increasing intercultural communication skills is important, agency staff should also be aware of other potential problem areas. As mentioned earlier, the value of competitiveness and working hard to get ahead cannot be assumed with Soviet Pentecostal refugees. Working in a job market where they could be fired from their jobs is overwhelming and is an alien concept to the Pentecostal refugees (Martinis, 1989). Social workers, employers, and others who interact with them must be careful not to negatively evaluate the refugees as lazy or unmotivated.

Agency staff need to understand that Soviet refugees often find it difficult to make the transition from a closed, totalitarian system, where the state provided many services, to an open society based on individual initiative and responsibility (Edelman, 1977). Soviet refugees are accustomed to receiving support from their native government and therefore perceive that American social services owe them a considerable amount of material aid.

Support should focus on providing the refugees with information about cultural differences and techniques to establish successful communication within these institutions. Soviet Pentecostal refugees would benefit greatly if American values were explained to them early in the resettlement process. While this presentation would help prepare them to participate more fully in resettlement, Grove and Torbiorn (1985) suggest that newcomers are more receptive to specific information at different stages of their acculturation. Consequently, extended and ongoing exposure to the American way of life is beneficial.

Lastly, social service agencies also need to consider the religious persecution Soviet Pentecostal refugees experienced in their native country. Often they are suspicious of assistance and associate social service agencies negatively with the government (Edelman, 1977). Support agencies need to be patient and careful not to misjudge or negatively evaluate their refugee clients when they do not respond or are unwilling to accept agency assistance without suspicion.

As noted previously, ethnic identity is retained and resistance to cultural assimilation is usually most pronounced when strong ethnic and religious institutions are in place (Gordon, 1964). Time to gain trust and acceptance within the Soviet Pentecostal community is perhaps one of the most important considerations in the resettlement of Pentecostal refugees. Social service agencies need to consider that Soviet Pentecostal clients may not be adequately prepared to function without agency support when their benefits are terminated at the end of the established 18-month period.

The strong ethnic identity and religion-centered community of Soviet Pentecostal refugees can be used as an aid to their resettlement instead of viewed as a barrier. Given this strong religious structure, support should be made available through their churches. More specifically, the church leadership circle should be sought out and used as a conduit to the refugee community. Individuals, Roberts (1991) found, look to their church community and leadership for moral, spiritual, and physical guidance and support.

Throughout the initial stages of resettlement, church and community leaders could be utilized to facilitate discussions of the readjustment experiences of refugees. Topics for discussion could include:

1. What have I discovered about America?
2. What have I discovered about myself since immigrating to America?
3. What are my expectations, dreams, and the reality of life?
4. Am I meeting my expectations?
5. What problems am I having with language and communication? (Goldstein, 1989, p. 262)

Discussion of these topics, says Goldstein, would help refugees learn about cultural differences and techniques to establish successful communication.

Instead of trying to assess and treat each individual as a separate entity, resettlement agencies might gain more trust and acceptance by approaching and treating the community as a whole. Through this approach social agencies might gain a larger and much clearer picture of the problems and needs of the community.

Implications of Continued Education and ESL Training

According to Simon (1985), Soviet refugees over the age of 30 or with blue-collar backgrounds are more likely to have problems with language acquisition than younger refugees or those with white-collar skills. Haines (1985) noted that refugees without advanced education or particularly relevant occupational skills, such as the Soviet Pentecostals, have greater difficulty adjusting to life in the United States.

Since the mean age of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees is 38 years old and the majority are not educated beyond the high school level, adjusting to life in the United States and successful language acquisition

are important considerations. This situation suggests that extended English language training is needed for all Soviet Pentecostal refugees.

Presently many refugees view English training merely as one of the requirements to maintain good status with the social service agencies (Roberts, 1991). Soviet Pentecostal refugees should understand that one of the best predictors of successful acculturation of refugees into American culture is the level of English proficiency of all family members (Caplan et al., 1985).

In addition, Soviet Pentecostal refugees should understand the structure of education facilities in the United States. As mentioned previously, they are accustomed to learning in an environment that is rigidly controlled by the teacher (Andersen & Powell, 1988). They often do not realize that learning in American classrooms is normally more informal and interactive and therefore mistake the American educational structure as lacking seriousness. Soviet Pentecostal refugees need to accept the situation in American classrooms as one which involves a new and very different set of challenges for which they might not be adequately prepared.

One last consideration which has been overlooked by those involved with refugee resettlement concerns ESL classes for Soviet Pentecostal females. Females often are excluded from programs such as English language training since they remain at home with young children. This is a discouraging situation when considering the relationship between the perceived life and economic satisfaction and thus acculturation potential for females (Roberts, 1991). Roberts concluded that females see the opportunities of living in the United States and thus could be instrumental in helping the family adjust to their new environment.

Language training is an important element for interaction and thus acculturation and adjustment to the host culture, and females should not be excluded from language training just because they are at home with the children (Oberg, 1960). Programs need to consider the potential benefit of Soviet Pentecostal females to society and take measures to assure them opportunities similar to those of their male counterparts. Perhaps one option would be to provide a child care program that would encourage females to participate more fully in programming.

In conclusion, approaches to ESL classes and learning should be similar in structure to the rest of the resettlement effort. Again, the strong ethnic and church-centered community can be used as an aid to English language learning instead of being seen as a barrier. Community leadership could be utilized to assess language needs and problems and could act as a liaison between the community and the institutions involved in ESL training. While individuals might be hesitant to disagree or voice concerns or problems they are having for fear of being singled out, a group might be more willing to share in the development of their ESL learning.

Soviet immigrants want to feel good about themselves while also feeling free. Goldstein (1979) notes that the greatest advantage of American life to Soviet refugees is the freedom to be what they want to be. Soviet Pentecostal refugees are willing to take advantage of the institutions and opportunities which are available to them. However, physical availability is not enough. The elimination of cultural barriers and misunderstanding is paramount to the resettlement of this unique group of people.

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CAN A READING COMPREHENSION SCORE PREDICT WRITING ACHIEVEMENT AMONG ESL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS?

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Abstract

This study examined the relationship between measures of reading and writing achievement for 99 international ESL students in narrative and timed and untimed expository writing samples. For the reading comprehension test, the Degrees of Reading Power (1985) (DRP), considered appropriate for ESL learners, was used. Although this test employs exclusively descriptive passages, results of the study indicated a strong positive relationship between the reading comprehension score and writing achievement in both narration and exposition. However, midterm interviews revealed that reasons for writing problems differed among higher- and lower-level readers. It was evident that while some students in each category were better able to control thoughts and language on the shorter, timed sample than on the expanded, untimed sample, this was true for a higher percentage of the lowest reading group. In general, lower-level readers lacked rhetorical and syntactic writing skills. Higher-level readers showed frustration with discourse mode, especially narration.

Just as spoken language is learned largely from models, it seems logical that the vocabulary, organization of ideas, and syntax of literary language would also be learned through models. Reading and writing have been viewed in an interactive relationship where reading ability initially precedes writing ability, but later influences writing skills. This belief seems to be confirmed by Heller's (1979) observation that good readers appear to use more detail in their writing and are able to include more ideas in a T-unit without losing control of syntax. Smith (1983) believes that reading and writing form an essential relationship. He proposes that all the conventions of writing, which are too numerous

for formal instruction, are acquired through reading and, like spoken language, without conscious awareness of learning.

A fundamental connection between reading and writing for native speakers of English appears to be the ability to recognize organizational skills as a reader and to use them as a writer. Meyer and Rice (1984) point out that the patterns of organization recommended by contemporary rhetoricians are similar to Meyer's overall organizing principles of the prose analysis system recommended for proficiency in reading: antecedent-consequent or causal relationship, response or problem-solution format, comparison, and description.

Despite numerous studies which confirm a positive relationship between direct measurement of reading achievement and writing achievement among college freshmen, Nist and Sabol (1984) believe that reading and writing involve different processes. In their observations of college reading and writing, they discovered that students were confused regarding the focus of the task in each area. Nist and Sabol view a concern for details in reading as far less important than the same concern for supporting details in writing. Although they see a relationship between reading and writing, they believe that successful readers and writers are aware of the disparities.

Reading and writing pose unique problems for second language learners in reading skill, background knowledge, text organization, and language. Several theorists and researchers consider success in reading in a foreign language to be dependent on the reading skills acquired in the first language (Coady, 1979; Cummins, 1980; Rigg, 1977). In fact, Coady asserts that problems in foreign language reading are reading problems and not language problems.

The relationship between prior knowledge and reading comprehension is particularly significant for ESL learners. Several studies show that cultural background affects a reader's interpretation, inference, comprehension, and recall of text (Carrell, 1984; Rumelhart, 1980; Steffensen, Joag-Dev, & Anderson, 1979).

The organization of the text is also a factor in comprehension and recall for ESL readers, according to studies by Carrell (1984) and Ezzaki

(1984). However, Carrell's study showed that expository organization in comparison, problem/solution, and causation facilitated the processes more than did description.

It is not surprising that language limitations may cause problems in reading comprehension as well as in writing. Studies by Cziko (1980) and Ulijn (1980) showed that nonnative readers were restricted in the use of semantic clues and had to rely more on graphonic and syntactic clues than native readers, thereby losing attention to meaning. In writing, Norment (1984) observed that the language background of Chinese and Spanish subjects influenced structure in both narrative and expository modes. As Kaplan (1966) maintains, rhetoric is evolved out of culture and is not universal.

However, academic demands of the university require the highly competent ESL writer to follow English organizational skills in development of the paper, in the use of a thesis statement and in supporting details; and to show unity, coherence, and progression. Language proficiency must be demonstrated not only in correct usage but in syntactic variety and appropriate word choice.

The rare studies that involve the reading/writing relationship for ESL college students use small populations, only one language group, only one writing sample, or the Nelson-Denny Reading Test, considered by Heise (1982) to be inappropriate for ESL learners.

The present investigation proposed to examine the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between reading ability as measured by the DRP and writing achievement for international ESL students?
2. Is there a significant difference between achievement in narrative writing and in expository writing?
3. Is there a significant difference between writing achievement on timed and on untimed assignments?

4. Is one writing sample sufficient evidence of writing ability? If so, which one, timed or untimed?
5. Can a reading comprehension score predict writing achievement among ESL university students?

Method

Subjects. The subjects for this study were 99 international undergraduate students drawn from six sections of a first year writing course for foreign students at Oregon State University (OSU). Students who were permanent residents of the United States were excluded from the study. Freshmen and sophomores were equally represented at 37 each; juniors numbered 21, and seniors 4. The average age was 21. Countries of origin were mainly the Pacific Rim and Middle East, and, typical of national figures, the students were predominantly male (72%). Most were enrolled in business, science, and engineering.

Instruments. The instruments used in this study consisted of the Degrees of Reading Power (DRP) reading comprehension test (PB2 form for freshman college students) and three writing samples.

The DRP is an untimed, standardized reading assessment instrument. The passages, on universal themes with interest general enough to avoid cultural bias in most instances, are written in descriptive mode and in a modified doze format.

For this investigation, the limitation of the test lay in the discourse made. Carrell (1984) has observed that the organization of descriptive passages is less helpful for comprehension than are other expository patterns. Moreover, if transfer of reading skill to writing occurs only when prose structure of story schemata is taught, as Belanger (1987) notes, comprehension of the exclusively descriptive passages of the DRP may not indicate skill in the narrative and expository requirements of the freshman composition course. Conversely, a lack of skill in this area may not be relevant.

The freshman composition course required of all students at OSU, including international students, is process oriented and usually includes

practice in three of the traditional discourse modes: narration, exposition, and argumentation. For the study, the first two assignments, narration and exposition, were selected. Because academic writing includes both timed in-class examination questions as well as untimed preparation of papers, the writing samples were assigned in both settings and included (a) a revised untitled narrative composition, (b) a prepared 45-minute in-class expository composition, and (c) a revised untimed expository composition.

Narration seemed to be appropriate for two other reasons. Dubin and Olshtain (1980) maintain that it offers an advantage for ESL students in its universality of form and use. Furthermore, in a study of both native and nonnative college adults, this mode of discourse was most likely to elicit syntactic complexity (Norment, 1984). It should therefore have offered students the best opportunity to show the language skill required by the scoring guidelines (see Appendix).

For validity and reliability, Hartnett's (1978) recommendations were followed: The purpose of writing was not diagnostic, more than one sample was used, and independent raters used a holistic scoring guide.

The TWE Scoring Guidelines, which cite and illustrate the characteristics of each increment of the scale, provided the criterion validity of the writing assessment so that the frequent misjudging of this type of writing mentioned by Hake (1986) could be avoided. The assertion in the narration assignment replaced the thesis requirement of the guidelines.

For the first two samples, four ESL writing instructors, including the class instructor, were available to read the 198 compositions. Consensus was reached on 87.9% of the essays. Those assignments which did not receive identical grades were given to a third reader. In the rare cases where three scores were recorded (3 out of 198), the raters discussed the reasons for their decisions until consensus was reached. Reliability was sacrificed on the third writing sample so that the midterm score would reflect normal classroom achievement.

***Procedure.* During the first week of each of three quarters, the DRP was administered to all writing students by the instructor. To**

prevent instructor or rater bias on the writing scores, the reading tests were not scored until after the end of each quarter. Since Cooper (1977) recognizes rehearsed writing as the only kind that permits the writer to produce the best writing, sufficient time was allowed to prepare the writing sample either beforehand, as in the timed, in-class assignment, or during the process of revision in the untimed essays.

During the first week of classes, students were made aware that the audience would be composed of at least two raters, including the class instructor. They received copies of the grading criteria to be used, heard and read models of narration with an assertion, received specific instruction in development and organization, and then wrote a rough draft in class, consulting both peers and instructor. Work on the draft continued out of class, and students were encouraged to use the tutoring services of the writing lab.

To avoid the problem of student preference in discourse mode, the topic for the first assignment was adopted from Hake's (1986) list of five topics which elicited pure narration on between 2,500 and 3,000 exams at two universities. The first sample was written during the second and third weeks in response to the following oral and written directions: "In 400 to 500 words, narrate an important event in your life and tell how this event has changed your attitude, behavior or lifestyle."

The second assignment was a comparison/contrast composition started in the third week. As with the first assignment, the topic allowed the subjects to use culturally familiar material. The oral and written directions were given as follows: "In 500 to 750 words, compare and/or contrast some elements of your culture with those of another culture, or some customs of the past with those of the present in your own culture, and show how the beliefs of each affect behavior." For this writing sample, students were asked to write a short version of their paper in an in-class assignment.

The third sample was the fully developed and revised version of the in-class assignment. Representing a normal midterm evaluation of writing skill, the instructor was the sole rater, but students were not aware of the change in audience.

Before completion of the untimed expository assignment, the instructor conducted individual interviews. The following questions were asked:

- 1. Did you have any trouble on the timed assignment? What were the problems?**
- 2. Are you having any trouble developing your ideas on the untimed, longer assignment?**
- 3. Do you have any suggestions for making this course more effective?**

At the end of the third quarter, the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 (KR20) was applied to all the DRP scores yielding a reliability of .87. Reading scores were divided into raw-score groupings based on the seven-point increment scale of the PB2 conversion table. The two lowest groups were combined because of the small number of students who fell into these score ranges. Compared to norms for Grade 12, Spring, a raw DRP score of 68 is equivalent to the 50th percentile point. The percentile point range for 71-77 is 55 to 90+; for 64-70: 36 to 54; for 57-63: 21 to 35; and for 40-56: 6 to 20.

Means and standard deviations were calculated for the reading test and for each of the three writing samples. Three one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA), with GB-STATE software, were used to analyze these data.

Results

All writing test scores proved to be significantly related to reading comprehension scores ($p < .01$). The means alone indicate a general trend to higher writing scores for higher reading scores (see Table I).

The mean for all reading scores was 67.25 with a standard deviation of 7.5. Examining the means for the two higher DRP groups, 71-77 and 64-70, one observes that the achieved writing scores are consistently above 4, minimal competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels (see Appendix).

TABLE I
MEANS (AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS) FOR
READING AND WRITING PERFORMANCE

Group	DRP	Narration	Timed Exposition	Untimed Exposition
71-77	74.29 (2.25)	4.71 (0.93)	4.89 (0.89)	5.08 (0.89)
64-70	67.03 (2.32)	4.47 (0.75)	4.38 (0.89)	4.85 (0.78)
57-63	60.77 (1.93)	4.00 (0.94)	3.88 (1.16)	4.67 (0.98)
40-56	51.34 (4.66)	3.22 (1.09)	3.44 (0.53)	3.89 (0.93)

Table II illustrates the percentages for each of the writing scores for each reading group. Almost two-thirds of the top reading group (71-77) and approximately half of the second group (64-70) achieved the scores of 5 or 6 on all three assignments, "demonstrating competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels." Only one person in each of these top reading groups showed less than minimal competence by the third assignment while 33% of each of the two lower reading groups had not yet achieved the minimal grade of 4 (included in this percentage are three students with reading scores of 57, 68, and 59 who withdrew without completing the third assignment because, as they stated in the midterm interview, they had previously received grades of 2 and expected to fail the course). Because no one received a score of 1 on any assignment, this level has been omitted from the table.

TABLE II
WRITING SCORES FOR EACH READING GROUP

Group	n	Narration	Timed Exposition	Untimed Exposition
71-77	38	2 - 0.0%	2 - 0.0%	2 - 0.0%
		3 - 10.5%	3 - 5.3%	3 - 2.7%
		4 - 26.3%	4 - 31.6%	4 - 28.9%
		5 - 36.8%	5 - 34.2%	5 - 28.9%
		6 - 26.3%	6 - 28.9%	6 - 39.5%
64-70	34	2 - 0.0%	2 - 0.0%	2 - 0.0%
		3 - 8.8%	3 - 17.7%	3 - 2.9%
		4 - 41.2%	4 - 35.3%	4 - 29.4%
		5 - 44.1%	5 - 38.2%	5 - 50.0%
		6 - 5.9%	6 - 8.8%	6 - 17.7%
57-63	18	2 - 11.1%	2 - 16.7%	2 - 16.7%
		3 - 22.2%	3 - 27.8%	3 - 16.7%
		4 - 33.3%	4 - 22.2%	4 - 5.5%
		5 - 33.3%	5 - 27.8%	5 - 50.0%
		6 - 0.0%	6 - 5.5%	6 - 11.1%
40-56	9	2 - 11.1%	2 - 0.0%	2 - 0.0%
		3 - 77.8%	3 - 55.6%	3 - 33.3%
		4 - 0.0%	4 - 44.4%	4 - 55.6%
		5 - 0.0%	5 - 0.0%	5 - 0.0%
		6 - 11.1%	6 - 0.0%	6 - 11.1%

(a) Withdrawals with expected score of 2.

The analysis of variance for all three samples confirms a strong correlation between the measurement of reading and the grade achieved

on each of the three writing samples: narration, $F(3, 95) = 7.91$ $p < .0001$; timed exposition, $F(3, 95) = 8.88$ $p < .0001$; and on untimed exposition $F(3, 95) = 5.56$ $p < .0015$.

Those students who scored in the two lower reading groups were more likely to show incompetence in writing than those in the higher groups. The writing problems of the lower readers also persisted into the third assignment more frequently than those of the higher-level readers.

A secondary finding of interest indicated that the mean reading score, 67.31, for females was slightly higher than the 67.22 mean for males; however, only 28.57% of the females scored in the top reading group compared to 42.25% of the males. On the other hand, the lowest reading group was composed of only 3.57% of the females but 11.27% of the males.

The difference between narrative and untimed expository writing was statistically significant: $F(1, 192) = 9.56$ $p < .0023$. Table II shows an increase in the lowest score on the untimed expository sample for only one group, 57-63. The writer in the lowest reading group who demonstrated competence in narration showed equal competence in the untimed exposition.

Those who showed "incompetence" in narration demonstrated inadequate organization or development by listing a series of events in a time sequence, including irrelevant details, and failed to show the significance of the events. These writers also exhibited errors in syntax which frequently obscured meaning. While some of the writers in the two higher reading groups demonstrated "developing competence" (level 3 of the scoring guidelines) with flaws on either the rhetorical or syntactic levels, or both, "incompetence" (level 2) appeared only in the lower groups.

The analysis of variance for timed and untimed writing on the same topic in exposition for all groups also indicated a significant difference: $F(1, 192) = 9.56$ $p < .0023$. The timed, rehearsed writing sample revealed further differences between the low-level and high-level readers. While approximately 16% of the writers in each of the three higher

groups were able to control the development and organization of the content and language on the short assignment better than on the expanded assignment, this was true for a higher percentage (22%) of the lowest group. Fewer writers in all categories achieved 6 on the shorter, timed version of their papers, and 39% of all writers performed better on the untimed assignment. Fully 44% of all except the highest reading group received lower scores on timed expository writing. More of the best readers showed competence in both.

On the untimed, comparison/contrast assignment, the weaker writers who were also the weaker readers failed to show the significance of the cultural elements they described. Often the composition resembled a shopping list of foods for the holidays. The most apparent problem for this group appeared to be the lack of analysis of the cultural elements they chose to compare; for example, "In my country women cover their heads and bodies with a veil and long robe when they go out of the house." They wrote description rather than exposition.

Others, rather than omitting analysis in the discussion, showed the fallacies of logic mentioned by Irmscher (1972). Erroneous conclusions were based on unsupported generalizations; "all" and "some" were confused; and emotion was frequently substituted for evidence, or evidence was manipulated to prove questionable assumptions. Frequently, writers appealed to a personal authority in suggesting cures for American society. Although form may have been rooted in cultural differences, the arguments remained unconvincing to the raters.

The only high-level readers who scored below "minimal competence" (level 4) on the untimed assignment exhibited unique problems. The first writer ignored the comparison/contrast and analysis elements to write a humorous personal narrative. The second writer became so emotionally involved in the subject that organization and syntax were ignored in a ten-page stream of consciousness.

The Japanese had other unique problems. Despite more English training than most other students in the course (an average of almost nine years), their average reading scores (60) and writing scores on both untimed assignments were the lowest in the group. One reason may have been the high percentage of single females in the group, seven out

of eight. They reported that a college degree was more important to them for a marriage certificate than for a job and grade was insignificant. Some, including the sole male, admitted rejection by better Japanese universities as a reason for studying in the United States. Others blamed their lack of fluency in English on the type of language training that overemphasized grammar and memorization of vocabulary lists from archaic forms of literature.

A western language background seemed to be of little advantage to the European group. Although their reading scores were higher than the average (71.33), these students struggled equally with their Asian and Middle Eastern peers over mode of discourse, organization, grammar and vocabulary. The fact that not one of this group showed less than minimal competence on the timed expository assignment may indicate a European cultural familiarity with this type of writing.

Discussion

While a TOEFL score is often the basis for admission to the university, many students skirt the requirement by attending a community college for a few courses to avoid the test. Although preparation in a campus English language program is desirable and recommended, many students refuse this option as being too costly and time consuming, or they cut short the time in attendance to one quarter. As a result, the students entering the composition course arrive with greatly diverse abilities in English. To save them time and money, accurate placement is imperative. To accomplish this, many program directors rely on a single writing sample. But which mode of discourse is suitable? Should the sample be rehearsed? Should it be timed or untimed? Some of the results of this study may prove helpful to writing instructors whose classes include ESL students.

First of all, the mode of discourse influenced writing considerably. The overwhelming recommendation of the subjects in this study was to omit narration. Since only 4% preferred narration, and nearly 25% were unable to achieve even minimal competence in it, it seems that the omission of this mode of discourse at the university level would benefit most ESL students. Many who demonstrated skill in writing exposition expressed a lack of motivation to write narration. Confirming research

by Horowitz (1986), Johns (1981), and Kroll (1979) that narration is unnecessary for the kinds of academic writing required in most courses, even those who did well on the assignment reported that they would never use narration in English in either their personal or academic writing and viewed learning it as a waste of time. Some of the weaker writers also reported difficulty in understanding the assertion requirements of the assignment, thereby showing a purpose for narration is evidently not universal.

Should the writing sample be rehearsed? Timed, rehearsed writing assignments appeared to work to the advantage of lower-level readers. Because they were able to control both thought and language better than those writers who showed more competence without the time constraint, it is possible that rehearsal allowed some less competent writers to memorize a short composition rather than compose it. They may also limit grammatical structures to those which are most familiar. Cooper's (1977) recommendation that writing be rehearsed to produce the best results appeared to be inappropriate for most ESL students in this study.

Should the writing sample be timed or untimed? The time limit frustrated many. Confusion about what to include and how to present it out of context resulted in either short, disconnected paragraphs or an overemphasis of only one point. The better writers felt that the time constraint prevented sufficient monitoring of syntactic choices. **It** therefore follows that timed writing alone should not be used as an indicator of writing competence for international students.

An additional recommendation for preparing ESL students for the academic writing of the university, besides omitting narration and allowing the best possible writing to develop without time constraints, is that high standards for writing be upheld. It is not helpful for an ESL instructor to read between the lines and accept rhetorically or syntactically flawed writing that obscures meaning. This acceptance only confuses the student later when writing rules are more stringently adhered to.

This study also underlined the need for including critical thinking skills in ESL reading and writing courses. Better writers were successful in organizing their thoughts in the logical patterns customary for English,

but weak writers were unable to recognize their own assumptions or evaluate their own arguments. They experienced difficulty in drawing conclusions from their examples or interpreting information they had provided. Extra time is needed to develop these skills in students who are perhaps more familiar with rote learning and highly structured written responses.

Peer evaluation caused problems for several reasons. Guidelines did not ensure effective evaluation. On one hand, the better writers considered the opinions of less able writers inaccurate or not helpful. On the other hand, those who needed help with rhetorical or syntactic problems found that their peers were no more knowledgeable than they were. Finally, many were reluctant to offer any opinion at all and spent the time socializing. An overwhelming majority thought the practice should be discontinued.

The necessity for preparation of ESL students for university writing courses is obvious. To encourage ESL students to take the time for adequate language training, universities should award them the same credit for learning English that other students obtain for learning any foreign language. While foreign students must compete with native speakers in their content areas, which are usually highly contextual, competing with native speakers in composition classes seems unnecessary. Instead, second language learners need a place to practice the specific kinds of academic writing required for the courses they take.

The present study indicated that a DRP reading score may be helpful in appropriate placement of ESL students in writing courses. Reading scores generally predicted writing achievement. What they could not predict was the effect of lack of motivation on the few high scoring readers who could not or would not write narration, the one who would not write exposition, or the one who did not like to write at all. Neither could it predict the influence of motivation on the solitary low-level reader who loved to write.

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APPENDIX

Test of Written English (TWE) Scoring Guidelines

Scores

- 6 Clearly demonstrates competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it may have occasional errors.**
- 5 Demonstrates competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it will have occasional errors.**
- 4 Demonstrates minimal competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels.**
- 3 Demonstrates some developing competence in writing, but it remains flawed on either the rhetorical or syntactic level, or both.**
- 2 Suggests incompetence in writing.**
- 1 Demonstrates incompetence in writing.**

Excerpted from Educational Testing Service "Test of Written English" (TWE) NC 6151 Scoring Guidelines (reproduced with permission of the TOEFL Program Office).

LEARNING STYLES AND LEARNER STRATEGIES
Review Article

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Success With Foreign Languages: Seven Who Achieved It and What Worked for Them. Earl W. Stevick. New York, NY: Prentice Hall. 1989.

Learner Strategies in Language Learning. Anita Wenden and Joan Rubin, editors. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. 1987.

Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know. Rebecca Oxford. New York, NY: Newbury House. 1990.

Language Aptitude Reconsidered. Thomas S. Parry and Charles W. Stansfield, editors. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. 1990.

Since the early 1970s researchers in second language learning have been finding out how students learn languages by asking the students themselves. This new focus on how learners learn—from their own point of view--paints a more complete picture of the whole process of language learning, making it clear that while it is important to understand the many effective ways to teach relevant language material, it is equally important to understand the variety of effective ways to learn that material.

The various methods students use to learn languages are called learning strategies. Research in this area attempts to answer questions about what learners actually do when they set out to learn a language—how they study, what they do in and out of class, and how they approach specific learning tasks. The basic assumption is that if we can discover how students learn languages—especially successful students we can construct a body of information on learning skills that can be taught along with language skills.

As a group, the four books listed above offer an excellent look at this flip side of language learning, a side many researchers feel will reveal the inner workings of the mind as it processes second language information. The questions raised by looking at language learning from the student's perspective are among the most interesting in second language acquisition (SLA) research today: How do successful students learn languages? What strategies do they use? How can these strategies be analyzed, classified, and taught? Can we teach struggling language students to be successful learners? Is it possible to predict who will be a successful language learner and who will be unsuccessful—and can we do anything to change this?

Success with Foreign Languages: Seven Who Achieved It and What Worked for Them

Stevick's book is highly readable and he takes the reader right to the heart of the matter by interviewing seven successful language learners. Anyone interested in hearing what "good" students actually do in and out of class will be fascinated by the detailed descriptions these real people give about their language learning. To highlight the different approaches found among the students, Stevick divides his book into seven chapters, one for each learner type he observed: intuitive, formal, informal, imaginative, active, deliberate, and self-aware.

His presentation format allows the reader to overhear an interview between student and "teacher," interspersed with informative asides by the teacher. As Ann spoke, I recalled something written by John Carroll Ann seemed to be verifying. . . . I also remembered some advice from Eugene Nida. . . ." (p. 2)]. After a certain amount of interview dialogue, Stevick stops to ask the reader specific questions designed to focus the ideas, then continues with his comments on the ideas and issues that he has raised. Stevick uses the alternation between student comments and his own comments to introduce the reader to a wide variety of theoretical concepts, managing to discuss an impressive array of ideas, techniques, methods, and practical applications. At times, this format seemed intrusive—I wanted to hear everything the "good" students had to say—but it became clear that Stevick was using his format to bring the students' comments into focus and to engage the reader in an informative dialogue on the marriage between theory and practice. In

fact, it began to read like a textbook or teacher preparation text on second language acquisition presented in a chatty, relaxed manner, with the refreshing addition of real-life examples.

In Chapter 1, for instance, Stevick introduces not only Ann—who is learning Norwegian and who tells us how she's doing it—but also concepts like "top-to-bottom" listening, the need for "meaningful context," and "nonverbal communication." He does this both by taking a cue from Ann's dialogue and by extending her discussion into the relevant areas of SLA research. He also discusses practical techniques like selective listening and how to examine a newspaper. He challenges readers to think through ideas, inviting them to look at what he's saying through their own experienced eyes—either as student or teacher, or both. Because the entire discussion, for me, was so "reality-based"--so focused on the learners themselves—I found myself wishing I had been presented with the whole idea of second language acquisition teaching methodology through this kind of text.

It becomes apparent while reading this book that rather than discovering how all successful language learners are alike, Stevick allows us to see more clearly their amazing diversity. He admits he wanted to find the tactical similarities among successful language learners in order to teach these similar strategies to struggling students, and although he says he did not find the similarities he was looking for, he did divide his learners into categories (intuitive, formal, imaginative, etc.) and throughout his discussion he points out similarities in approach. Because of this I fully expected to find learner profiles at the end of his book, constructed not by the similarities between learners, but by the individual differences among them that could still place them into definable categories—am I an intuitive learner, I wanted to know? Or do I operate within several categories, but still within some definable, established profile? I was disappointed that no attempt was made to give a clearer picture of how each learner approached language study so I could compare myself with real, successful language learning "types."

However, Stevick points out an important issue raised by the discovery of so much diversity. He maintains that studying the diversity may provide us with important insights into how to avoid building methodologies around particular strengths of proponents of each

methodology or how to avoid casting and recasting the learner in our own images (p. 141). To that end, Stevick lists six "teaching" strategies he would integrate into his own classroom, the sixth being a warning to himself not to build a "system of teaching around one type of learner" —a reminder to the teacher that his or her own language learning style and preferences should not provide the basis for a philosophy of teaching (p. 150).

Although Stevick sees no conclusive pattern emerging from his study of successful language learners, he attempts to discuss what he sees as "parts of a pattern." In a lengthy description of how he sees language learning taking place, he loosely ties his theories to his interviews, saying that he believes there must be a convergence of verbal and nonverbal images in students' minds, triggered by simultaneous external stimuli. Where I looked for more specific conclusions drawn from his actual data, I found a more general theoretical discussion. But he does suggest several ways to actively pursue language learning, including encouraging students to create their own meanings for words, to plan their own learning, to design their own learning tools, and to accept responsibility for how "things turn out" (p. 145).

At the end, Stevick includes a helpful profile of himself as a language learner, giving specific kinds of tasks he would set for himself. This is one of the most interesting sections but one of the shortest. In addition to his own profile, as I said, I would like to have seen profiles set up for all seven successful language learners. After reading about the innovative and seemingly ingenious tactics used by these successful students, I could see the value in constructing profiles of "successful students" to distribute in language classes. These glimpses into the inner world of "good" students—how they studied, what extracurricular activities helped them, what they did in class—could provide an effective smorgasbord of options for each student to pick and choose from according to his or her own interests and inclinations.

However, even without the concise profiling I was looking for, I still believe Stevick's book provides a wealth of information for both the teacher and student interested in how "good" students say they learn and what theory has to say about their observations.

Learner Strategies in Language Learning

While Stevick's book introduces the subject of learner strategies by going to the "horse's mouth"—exploring first-hand accounts of language learning by the students themselves—Wenden and Rubin edit a book that takes a step in the opposite direction, a step back to gain a broader perspective of the history, development, and current applications in this area. This book provides the reader with a complete overview written by various authors of the who, what, when, where, why, and how of research in learner strategies.

One major concern this book addresses from the beginning is the validity of self-report research—a concept at the core of learner strategy research. The assumption within this area of research is that student perceptions, observations, and analysis are a valid research domain, valid and in reality vital to unraveling the mysteries of language learning. In one of the two forewords to this book, H. H. Stern puts his finger on the pulse of learner strategy research by observing how it reverses two unfortunate trends in the profession:

. . . it counteracts two tendencies which are implicit in much language learning research and language pedagogy. One is the tendency in pedagogy to infantilize learners and to maintain them in a state of intellectual and emotional dependency on teachers, course materials, tightly organized "methods," and gadgetry. The other is the tendency in research to overemphasize unconscious acquisition processes which are largely beyond the learner's or the teacher's control. (p. xi)

Stern's observation goes to the heart of learner strategy research with its emphasis on developing active, independent, and responsible language students who can "learn how to learn" aided by research into the conscious processes used by successful students. Encouraged by the growing concern that it is impossible to teach everything about languages within the confines and constraints of language classrooms, researchers are renewing their efforts to produce students who will be successful language entrepreneurs—students who can take classroom information and effectively expand it into the kind of knowledge they need to continue learning on their own.

Wenden and Rubin's book gives a thorough picture of how learner strategy research has developed. The book is in three parts. Part One answers four basic questions: (a) What are learner strategies? (b) How is information on learner strategies obtained? (c) What assumptions about language learning underlie its research objectives, procedures, and analytical concepts? and (d) What are the educational implications of this research? (p. 1).

After this theoretical introduction, Part Two presents six empirical in-depth studies on different approaches to language learning emphasizing various strategies and how they might affect acquisition. Part Three then discusses the implications of such research, suggesting that teachers help their students not only to acquire linguistic competence but also to develop their competence as learners—this being the dominant theme in learner strategy research.

One interesting aspect of this research is the emphasis on self-directed learning, on creating an autonomous learner who has established language learning goals and knows how to achieve them. Oddly enough, however, the literature on such autonomy lies outside second language learning research, with the exception of experiments in France, Great Britain and Sweden. In North America researchers must turn to the area of adult education for information on how to encourage and develop autonomous learners (p. 8). This is an interesting comment on the thrust of language learning pedagogy with its emphasis on how teachers teach, rather than on how learners learn. Wenden addresses this important issue in the last half of her introductory chapter.

Chapter 3 touches on the controversial subject of what methods to use in order to gather student-generated data. Although the battle still lingers over objective vs. subjective observations or qualitative vs. quantitative studies, author Cohen tries to dispel many of the objections raised about self-report or verbal report techniques—interviews, questionnaires, diaries, journals. Central to his argument are the many inconclusive studies done in typical classroom observation style in which researchers were unable to observe the strategies they were looking for, leading them to initiate direct contact with the learners through what Cohen refers to as "self-report," "self-observation," and "self-revelation" techniques of data reporting (p. 32). Cohen reports that although the

major objective to these self-report techniques has been the long-held theory that most language acquisition and language learning occurs subconsciously, some researchers believe that the amount of language processing done consciously has been underestimated. As studies accumulate on the processes students themselves describe—and say they use—perhaps we will see a more balanced pattern of conscious and unconscious processes at work.

The six chapters in Part Two form an interesting overview of key studies on learner strategies. Included are chapters on strategies involving memory and teacher feedback, and three chapters on what successful language students say they do. Chapter 9 explores how what students believe about language learning affects what they do about it. This section offers good insights into the kinds of research projects being conducted in the learner strategy area.

In Part Three, the editors devote a whole section to the issue of how to train students in "how to learn" a language. This important section addresses another central issue—the educational goal of learner strategy research—and tries to answer the question "How can we teach students 'how to study' languages?" Basic questions arise when we begin to discuss educational objectives.

... what should the objectives be—helping students clarify and assess their beliefs? expand their repertoire of effective learning strategies? learn how to regulate their learning (i.e. define their objectives, choose materials, evaluate outcomes)?
... Should the purpose and significance of learner training activities be made explicit or remain implicit? Should it precede language training or be integrated with it? And, who is to be responsible for directing or regulating training? i.e. should activities be structured and determined by the teacher or should a more non-interventionist approach be taken? Finally, how is it to be evaluated? (p. 131)

In her concluding chapter, Wenden discusses answers to some of these questions, offering tentative guidelines in what she calls a "relatively new field of endeavor" that offers only a "sparse body of information" to teachers and students who want to know what kind of classroom

activities will promote learning skills (p. 167). This book raises many important questions about learner strategy research and it is an excellent place to find the relevant background information in this area. It is also a perfect jumping-off point to pursue what has been done in this area more recently.

Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know

After we have read the Wenden and Rubin book, which offers a thorough grounding in what learner strategies are and why they are important, it is appropriate to turn to Oxford's recently published work on the classification, assessment, and teaching of learner strategies. Oxford takes the questions outlined above concerning the educational objectives of learner strategy research and produces a volume designed to answer those questions.

An interesting personal note at the beginning of Oxford's book describes how her interest in language learning strategies arose from her own frustration in language classes and shows very clearly the research connection between learner strategies and the push for autonomous learners:

Totally discouraged with language learning as I experienced it, I began to take events into my own hands. Against what seemed to be insurmountable institutional odds, I started assuming some personal responsibility for my own language learning. I invented my own private strategies for learning new languages, techniques including making mental linkages, grouping and comparing words, and using pictures and colors. Eventually it dawned on me that new languages could be learned more readily through foreign travel, living abroad, and correspondence with foreign friends, and with great personal effort I began to use those techniques, too. Little did I know that these and other strategies had been potentially accessible the whole time, but the instructional establishment had simply not understood the need to encourage learners to use such strategies. (p. x)

Oxford's personal frustrations echo a more general frustration felt by students and teachers alike concerning how to shape activities inside and outside the classroom to enable students to become more personally involved and knowledgeable about their language learning. With this book she has made certain that if teacher and students want access to learner strategies, they will have it. She has tracked down almost all known strategies, has subjected them to close scrutiny, categorized them, developed ways to assess their use by students, and developed a system to teach them to the uninitiated. She also keeps track of strategy use here and abroad by offering the reader an interesting chapter on networking opportunities for those interested in who's doing what, where.

This book will acquaint the reader with a variety of learner strategies neatly packaged into a system covering six main types of strategies, which are further divided into two major categories—Direct Strategies: memory, cognitive, and compensation; and Indirect Strategies: metacognitive, affective, and social. These six categories are divided again. For example, under memory strategies there are four strategy activities: creating mental linkages, applying images and sounds, reviewing well, and employing action. Altogether there are two classes, six groups, and 19 sets of strategies.

As scrupulous as she has been about her desire to corral a body of elusive learner strategies into a single volume visibly restrained in economical categories, Oxford admits:

there is no complete agreement on exactly what strategies are; how many strategies exist; how they should be defined, demarcated, and categorized; and whether it is—or ever will be—possible to create a real, scientifically validated hierarchy of strategies. (p. 17)

Having made this disclaimer, she goes on to show that it probably is possible.

In the first chapter, after acquainting the reader with her system of classifying learner strategies by using several diagrams, a lengthy discussion, and an action-packed section on "activities for readers," Oxford offers 12 pages of activities for students to acquaint them with

the world of learner strategies. This book is not light reading and would be best begun in a serious mood. Oxford's approach is exhaustive, her intent is to create knowledgeable teachers and users of learner strategies, and the method is intense.

The succeeding five chapters discuss, in depth, each specific strategy under the heading of either Direct or Indirect Strategies. Chapter Six presents a way to assess any strategies students might be using, and an eight-step plan to teach relevant strategies. There are seven appendices, the first three being Oxford's Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), a system she has developed for identifying and diagnosing students' strategies. The SILL has two versions, one for English speakers learning a new language and another for speakers of other languages learning English. Accompanying these assessment tools is an appendix containing general instructions to administrators of the SILL.

Two other useful appendices serve as important reference keys to the large variety of activities covered in her book. Appendix E, for example, shows the reader how to locate activities such as "Work with Skimming and Scanning," or "Consider the Nature of Practicing." Appendix F is a reference list of the exercises for students, for example the "Embedded Strategies Game," "Memory Practice," or "Jigsaw Reading." To make use of the book even easier, in Appendix G Oxford has listed all definitions and explanations of strategies according to the four skills required to perform them--Listening, Reading, Speaking, and Writing. There is also a well prepared subject index.

Although this book is mainly for teachers of second or foreign languages, Oxford points out its relevance for all teachers and I agree. Any language teacher can benefit from the insights in this book, and I hope teachers in other disciplines might be affected by this area of research as well. In almost every discipline or subject area teachers who acquaint themselves with the special demands and focuses of their subject can do their students an important favor by teaching appropriate and relevant learning strategies, whether those strategies apply to mathematics, music, sociology, or Russian.

Language Aptitude Reconsidered

This edited volume of papers presented at the 1988 ILR Invitational Symposium on Language Aptitude Testing at the Foreign Service Institute Language School in Arlington, Virginia, is a result of government agency interest in finding "good" language learners for their intensive language programs. Participating agencies included the CIA, the FBI, and the NSA (the National Security Agency). **In the introduction to this volume, the editors note that interest in language training by these agencies was (in 1988) at an all-time high, while funding was becoming "increasingly scarce" and career diplomats with excellent language proficiency were retiring (p. 1). This state of affairs, then, created a need for "cost-effective" language learners, resulting in the call for help throughout the linguistic community.**

Since the government's primary method of selecting candidates for their language programs centers around aptitude tests and these tests are not always "accurate" predictors of success, a need has been identified for new language aptitude research and testing. **The six papers presented in this volume represent the response to the government's desire for accurate and reliable language aptitude testing and address the basic question—how can we predict who will be a successful language learner?**

If this question sounds familiar by now, it is because it is basic to learner strategy research, and in fact, one of the presenters at this conference was Rebecca Oxford. In her paper Oxford defines various factors contributing to successful language learning including learning styles, cognitive styles, and learning strategies, discussing how current research might contribute to improving our ability to predict success in language learning.

While three of the other presenters discuss specific conventional aptitude tests—MLAT, VORD, DLAT, and DLAB—using empirical studies to determine their effectiveness, Oxford and two others discuss how more affective measurements might also predict aptitude, measurements or learner characteristics such as personality, motivation, attitudes, learning styles and strategies. Madeline E. Ehrman, Director of Research at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), discusses the

relationship between language learning styles, preferred learner strategies, and the methods of instruction at the FSI. She uses the Meyer-Briggs Type Indicator (MTIB) which classifies student's personalities according to their preferences for activities, problem solving, interacting with people, and behavior in general.

In her discussion of how psychological type might interact with language aptitude, Ehrman is cautious about answering the most often asked question—are certain types better language learners—mainly because samples on which her conclusions are based are relatively small. But she does venture a guess that Intuitive-Feeling (NF) students seem to have an edge. Her main concern, however, is not only the usefulness of this kind of research to predict aptitude, but its more important role: "to help learners make the most of their assets and compensate for their liabilities in a systematic way" (p. 169). In other words, she sees research in this area as a way to help teach students more about "how to learn" their language, and more specifically, how they personally and individually—with increased knowledge about their own preferences and skills--can become more proficient learners.

Robert C. Gardner's paper examines the relationship between other learner characteristics: attitude/motivation and personality and their relationship to achievement in second languages. He finds little correlation between personality and language proficiency—which is perhaps more a comment on the testing devices than on the idea itself—but he does find a clear relationship between attitude/motivation and language learning. The relevant factors in attitude/motivation characteristics include desire to affiliate with the target language, attitude toward the learning situation, and motivation to learn the language. In combination they predict language "fairly well." Gardner's discussion includes cautionary information on the discrepancies between the format and design of aptitude measures and attitudinal measures and suggests that these differences affect any correlation with achievement.

In examining existing aptitude tests and their effectiveness in predicting "good" learners, symposium leaders asked John B. Carroll, author of the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT), to provide an update on this 30-year-old aptitude test with an eye toward improving it. In his discussion, Carroll is skeptical about the possibilities for improving

the test's predictive powers; however, he does offer comments on "fine tuning" several measurement devices in light of recent research. This is an interesting discussion by the author of one of the most widely used aptitude measurements available today.

A second paper reports on the relationship between a new test (the VORD), the MLAT, and language proficiency. The VORD was developed by the Department of Defense to test aptitude by asking students to learn an artificial language "based on the properties of Turkic languages" (p. 4). Thomas S. Parry and James Child designed a study to compare the "correlational and predictive validity" of the VORD by giving this test to 36 students in a government language training program. This study is one of very few over the past 15 years to experiment with new kinds of aptitude measurement, a comment on the appropriateness of this collection of papers at the present time. The questions raised in each paper, as well as the collective emphasis on reevaluation and integration of recent research, suggest promising advances in our ability to measure and predict aptitude and to apply these discoveries directly to educational goals designed to enhance students' understanding and proficiency in language study.

The last paper in this series, by John Lett and Frank E. O'Mara, describes how the Defense Language Aptitude Battery (DLAB) is used to select candidates for study of a particular foreign language at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. These authors also describe a major study of the variables associated with foreign language acquisition and attrition. The variables amassed for this study included sex, level of education, age, brain hemisphericity, prior experience learning a foreign language, attitudes and motivation, learning strategies, personality and cognitive style, field independence and extraversion, and language aptitude as measured by the DLAB. The discussion of the results led the authors to believe that language aptitude tests "may have some diagnostic/prescriptive value" (p. 8).

In this study, the integration of such a wide variety of variables in aptitude measurement studies—with the accompanying emphasis on students' conscious abilities, preferences and activities—shows the impact of research on student characteristics. Throughout this book the shift can be seen from the emphasis on relying on measurements of

intelligence of subconscious cognitive processes, to relying on the more observable measurements of personality, motivation, attitude, and strategies. Slowly the student is emerging in these studies, not as a mute partner in the drive toward linguistic knowledge, but as an active participant able to make a significant contribution to our understanding of the baffling linguistic processes.

Conclusion

Throughout these four books the reader can see heads turning from all directions to look at the student. The student is visible, active, a participating and contributing member of the research team. Only in the last book does the emphasis change somewhat as the government views second language acquisition research as a means to find a cost-effective subject to serve its varied purposes. But it is interesting to note that due to the shift in research toward the learner, the government, along with the entire linguistic community, is now taking a more personal look at individual characteristics in order to meet specific language objectives.

What these four books contribute to teachers is a growing understanding of the importance of listening to students. Researchers are advising us to look up from our textbooks, lesson plans, time-crunching schedules, professional activities, and personal objectives to take a closer look at our learners. We are being challenged to ask new, more focused questions about the learners themselves: What can we reasonably expect to teach them during the time they spend in class? What are they actually doing to learn in class? How are they spending their time outside of class to learn? How does our approach to classroom learning affect them? Can we help them "learn to learn," to become independent of teachers, textbooks, methodology, time, space, and the constraints of formal education? Heady questions, but some feel the time has come to seriously address these important issues.

The thrust of learner-centered research is to find out what is really going on inside the heads of language students as they attempt to learn. As researchers begin to seek answers to perplexing language questions from the students themselves, perhaps we are approaching the last linguistic frontier. The path we are taking parallels recent research in the field of writing. For years we have been studying the products of

writers to find out how they have managed to produce such amazing texts. In our enthusiasm we have dissected novels, short stories, poems, essays, diaries, journals, any scribblings at all in an attempt to get inside writers' heads to figure out how they did it. Finally, dissatisfied with the answers we found through this outside-in approach, and out of frustration, we simply began asking writers to tell us how they did it. By addressing this basic question to the artists themselves, we gained fascinating glimpses into the mind of the writer and into the process of writing. Writers told us what they were actually doing, thinking, feeling, and experiencing as they wrote, and as a result we now have a more complete picture of how writers write.

Now, possibly out of the same frustration, linguists who have been dissecting students' products—their output, their utterances, their errors, their test scores and their apparent activities—are now asking students for their own observations about these products—how they are producing them, how they are processing language information, what they are thinking, feeling, and experiencing as they study, write, memorize, talk, and play with the language. As we gather the data generated by students themselves, we move into an uncharted area of applied linguistics, an area that not only offers students a full partnership in the business of language learning, but an area that also may provide us with more complete answers to the basic and elusive questions about language acquisition.

PRONUNCIATION INSTRUCTION WITHIN AN INTEGRATED CURRICULUM: A CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS REPORT

**Gloria Streit Olness
University of Oregon**

The purpose of this progress note is to discuss a new curriculum structure which systematically addresses pronunciation skills within an integrated content-based intensive English as a Second Language (ESL) program. These ideas are in an early stage of implementation, and this note is not intended to address specific pronunciation teaching techniques. Rather, it is intended to provide ideas for and to elicit comments from other professionals who have interest in making intelligibility skills a more intentional part of their ESL programs.

As Anderson-Hsieh (1990) recently commented, we are currently at a time in our profession when pronunciation and intelligibility are being neglected. Emphasis on a content-based approach has left many instructors without the time, curriculum format, training or resources to address intelligibility in any systematic way. The assumption has been that the intelligibility of ESL students will develop automatically as they work with English to communicate about topics of interest. However, we still encounter some students who request more direct feedback about pronunciation. Worse yet, we find students who may or may not be interested in pronunciation, but who remain largely unintelligible despite our best efforts within the content-based framework.


How can we address pronunciation in a content-based curriculum: Do we relegate it to a separate course? Do we leave it up to the discretion of core course instructors? Who teaches it, when many instructors have not been trained in this area? How do we provide ongoing staff training which targets this curricular area?

What Has Been Done in the Past

As a first step, the American English Institute (AEI) at the University of Oregon examined the history and current status of

pronunciation teaching in our own program (via class observations and instructor interviews). We also made informal phone contacts with administrators in other programs and asked our teachers what had been done at their previous places of employment. We found that ESL programs in general have used a wide variety of formats to address pronunciation. These include:

- Elective courses or mini courses on pronunciation. These are often limited by the vicissitudes of staff interest or instructor availability, and they are rarely offered more than one time a year. Programs found that it was frequently the better students who decided to enroll in these classes; those who really needed the work often chose not to take the class, even when it was recommended to them.**
- Optional pronunciation work "woven into" the regular curriculum. Some programs "recommended" pronunciation to their instructors by listing it as an objective for courses, placing pronunciation books on the recommended text lists, or incorporating a few specific pronunciation lessons in the curriculum. Other programs did not overtly recommend that their instructors work on pronunciation, but trusted that it would appear naturally in the curriculum. However, with each of these approaches, it was not certain how much pronunciation was addressed, since this was usually left up to the discretion of the instructors. Teachers either used the pronunciation texts, or they chose to focus on other areas. They worked on pronunciation daily, two times a term, "as it came up," or not at all. Some administrators questioned whether pronunciation was adequately addressed in their core curriculum.**
- Integrative laboratory work. Some programs had a mandatory lab for students in oral skills classes and assumed that pronunciation would be included in this component. One program mentioned that the lower levels especially were those that would include some pronunciation work in the labs. Other programs made the lab work optional and left the amount of pronunciation instruction in the labs up to the discretion of the teachers.**
- Referral of students to supplemental resources. Alternatively, instructors in some programs had the option to send their students**



for extra-curricular work with pronunciation books, tapes or videos. Again, this was usually at the discretion of the instructor. In many cases instructors were not aware of what was available and did not use these resources. One program mentioned that they would like to expand materials that students could use for independent work on pronunciation.

- **Staff training in specific techniques.** Some programs offered occasional training of staff in techniques specific to pronunciation instruction (e.g. Visipitch, *Jazz Chants*). One program mentioned that some of their instructors (especially in ESP) used the Visipitch on a regular basis.
- **Use of student tutors.** The AEI had previously tried training university students to tutor ESL students specifically in pronunciation. This was found to be labor intensive, with a high turnover rate for the tutors. Currently tutors are simply given basic vocabulary and concepts needed to act as better informants for students who have pronunciation difficulties (and other difficulties in general) rather than training the tutors in specific pronunciation teaching techniques. Individual tutoring with an English-speaking peer is a free service given to tuition-paying students.

Ideas and Development

The AEI staff wanted to apply the best aspects of pronunciation curricula that had been tried in the past with a few new ideas to develop a more systematic approach to pronunciation instruction in our curriculum. The program needed to be broad enough that no student could get through the curriculum without encountering work on pronunciation in a number of different areas. The program also needed enough depth in certain areas that extra help would be available (a) for students who needed it and (b) for students who did not need it as much but who desired an extra pronunciation focus. At the same time, we wanted an approach that would tax neither the resources of the standing curriculum nor the work loads of the teachers. The approach which we are now developing (as well as some ideas from other ESL programs) is as follows:

- **Continue what we are already doing. The approaches we were already taking were worthwhile, and we wanted to continue them. They include optional work on pronunciation in the core courses, reasonable amounts of office hours with instructors, referral to a pool of tutors (either through self-referral or upon the recommendation of the instructor), and referral to the lab for extra work on specific pronunciation problems. Certain recommended texts on pronunciation are included in the curriculum; the number of these can be increased as additional resources are found (see below).**
- **Establish a pronunciation referral service for those students who require more intensive work on pronunciation. The Appendix provides a copy of the form that teachers can use to refer students to a separate pronunciation instructor. This instruction is done one-on-one or in small groups with students whose pronunciation skills are falling behind those of their ability-matched peers. This specialized instruction is available every term, and one instructor is given 10-12 hours a week to do the teaching. Written feedback is provided to the instructor who referred the student, the instruction is non-credit and ungraded, and the student is given optional homework. Student and teacher feedback after the first term of this service has been positive.**

We also found that local speech-language pathology clinics offer individualized pronunciation instruction to ESL students. We opted to keep our pronunciation instruction department-internal. However, for other programs that cannot afford the staff or financial resources for department-internal pronunciation instruction, referral to an outside clinic may be a viable option. For example, our campus speech-language pathology clinic provides a two-hour evaluation session for \$10, and one term of twice-weekly, hour-long individual lessons for \$30. These relatively inexpensive services are provided by a student clinician in speech pathology supervised by a professionally certified speech-language pathologist. Community speech pathology clinics may also offer pronunciation instruction services, but often at higher rates (e.g. \$40 for each one-hour lesson) because a certified person is providing the service.

- **Expand library of pronunciation resources available to instructors (instructional books, tapes, videotapes, and computer programs). We are in the midst of reviewing all available pronunciation resources from ESL catalogues and other programs. From these lists, and based on other background research in theory, we will establish a corpus of current resources of the most practical use for teaching pronunciation.**
- **Place resource information in an accessible format. Teachers are often pressed for time, and they are more likely to use a resource if they are aware of its availability. To encourage them to work on pronunciation, we are forming a computer database which will arrange information about pronunciation resources by category. This will include information about the resource medium (tapes, books, videos, computer disks); specific pages or tapes to use for specific pronunciation areas (e.g. voiced/voiceless contrasts, contrastive stress); the instructional format (e.g. drill, sentences, dialogues, self-instructional); and the instructional level (beginner, advanced, or general). Subsets of the database will also be printed out and placed in binder form for teachers not familiar with computer use. Instructors can use these databases either to find ready materials for in-class pronunciation instruction or to find resources to which their students can be referred for extra work on specific pronunciation difficulties.**
- **Gather information on pronunciation theory and techniques. ERIC searches on CD ROM are a ready source of this information, as are other electronic library searches. They allow for searches of pronunciation and intelligibility information, with sub-searches for language-specific material, testing vs. instructional material, etc.**
- **Disseminate information on pronunciation theory and techniques to staff. In addition to the database described above, key articles and books will be announced at staff meetings before they are entered into the computerized resource list. We will place copies of helpful articles in a binder for staff use (e.g. an article on typical pronunciation difficulties of Korean students). We have also begun in-service training on pronunciation, with the theory and practical**

techniques of a specific pronunciation sub-area presented at each meeting.

- **Expand the group of materials that students can use for self-instruction. Not only are tapes and videos useful for this purpose, but computer programs are now also available which can be set up for auto-instruction of pronunciation. IBM's SpeechViewer, for example, combines both audio and visual feedback to students in a format which can be individually tailored to student needs. It allows the student to work independently, since the materials can be placed on disk for the student ahead of time. Computer programs such as SpeechViewer can offer the advantages of other feedback instruments like the Visipitch, but with the added advantage of freeing instructors to do other work. The reader will find a review of technological aids for pronunciation instruction and evaluation in Edney (1990).**
- **Maintain and develop student tutors as a resource (as described earlier). We are developing a set of dialogue-based pronunciation materials that students could take to their tutors on recommendation of the student's instructor. This would allow for work on a problem pronunciation area without requiring the tutor to find or develop expert materials on her own. For those programs which cannot afford to develop a tutor program, a local library or Chamber of Commerce may have information on community volunteer groups which offer tutoring to normative speakers of English.**
- **Place more responsibility on students for pronunciation progress. Once the above resources are established, teachers can place reasonable expectations on students for out-of-class pronunciation work. Students can advance in their pronunciation studies according to their skills and interests. When in-class work does not suffice, they can be referred for remedial work with the pronunciation instructor or they can be referred to the tapes and computer materials in the lab to refine more advanced skills. They can request a tutor or spend a minimal standard of time communicating with English speakers outside of class.**

The reader has probably already remarked that this curriculum does not include a separate pronunciation course. **This is one of its advantages, since separate pronunciation courses are often time- and resource-consuming and cannot be offered on a regular basis. Also a teaching approach that does not relegate pronunciation to a separate course increases the likelihood that pronunciation work will be integrated with other skills in a variety of contexts. However, some programs may find reasons to include a separate pronunciation course in their pronunciation curriculum.**

Summary and Comments

Because the curricular approach described above is eclectic and multifaceted, it has the advantage of providing both extensive and intensive pronunciation work to students who need or desire this. The major time and resource investment of this program is in establishing it. However, once it is established, the program can easily be incorporated into a content-based, integrated curriculum. Maintenance of the program would simply require occasional updating of the database and incorporation of new materials. The program also effectively uses the resources of staff who are competent in pronunciation work, while providing training and support for those less familiar with the area. Teachers of core courses are more likely to work on pronunciation in their courses since they have ready access to the necessary resources and training.

To set up the program, we hired one staff member who was interested in pronunciation techniques for 17 hours a week do to the background research, interviews, materials development and staff presentations. This person sought out the expertise, help, and material resources of other people on staff as needed. As an alternative, work could be divided among those staff members who have an interest in any given area (e.g. database entry, ERIC searches, phone calling about computer resources) without requiring the administrative costs of adding an extra staff person. Those most interested could later be used as in-service leaders on their particular topics of interest. For larger programs, graduate students in applied linguistics could also be used as a resource for background research.

Future Plans

We eventually hope to set a minimal standard for pronunciation skills for our graduating students. Testing procedures could be used to identify students with pronunciation problems, to document progress, etc. This part of the process is crucial to such a program, and needs to be considered as the new curriculum is implemented.

* * * * *

I wish to acknowledge the support and input of the American English Institute staff at the University of Oregon on this continuing project, especially that of the Acting Director Peggy Dame and Curriculum Coordinator Martha Low. These people are the conceivers and believers who are making the program possible.

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