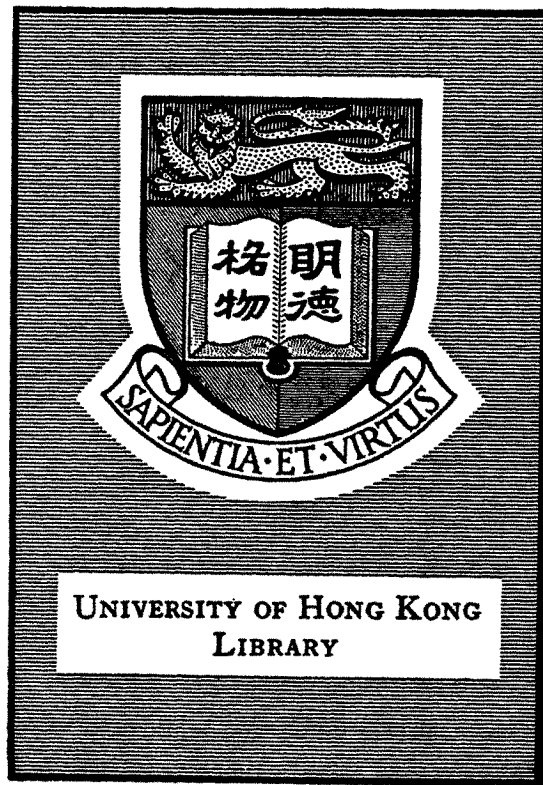




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Working Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching publishes work in a number of areas, including: general linguistics, language teaching methodology, evaluation of teaching materials, language curriculum development, language testing, educational technology, language and language teaching surveys, language planning, bilingual education. Articles on Chinese and Chinese language teaching may be published in Chinese.

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ESL CURRICULUM INNOVATION AND TEACHERS' ATTITUDES¹

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Introduction

In the literature on foreign language curriculum innovation in public education systems the main emphasis has been on large-scale changes brought about by educational planners to the system itself. Curriculum innovation at this macro level is typically initiated by educational authorities and carried through by institutions such as curriculum development committees, teacher training colleges, and public examination boards. This kind of change brought about within an educational system itself we would like to call for the purposes of this paper a *systemic* change. However, the documented cases of the failures of systemic changes to achieve their objectives of better teaching and learning (Mountford 1981 on Yemen, Etherton 1979 and Rodgers 1981 on Malaysia), together with our own experience of the difficulties associated with the implementation of a communicative English curriculum in Hong Kong schools give us cause to doubt that a purely systemic change can ever be wholly effective in curriculum innovation without a concomitant change in teachers' behaviour and attitudes. In Candlin's words (1983:21), 'Innovation implies change and, understandably enough, focuses the minds of the participants on action. There is a tendency for this *action* to be understood in terms of *activity*, particularly oriented towards the tangible products of materials and printed work, less on the intangible process of personal development of the teachers and other participants concerned.'

It is this process of personal development of the teachers, or more specifically, the process of attitude change, that we would like to focus on in the present paper. We hope to show that teachers' attitudes are a crucial variable in the dynamic of foreign language curriculum innovation; that without effecting change in teachers' attitudes any systemic innovation in the curriculum which purports to bring about a communicative dimension to language teaching will not have a significant effect on what happens in classrooms; and lastly and most pessimistically that, of all the factors in the dynamic of curriculum innovation, teachers' attitudes are the least susceptible to change.

This paper is in four parts. In the first part we will investigate the influence that teachers' attitudes have on their classroom behaviour; in the second part we will survey the relevant literature in social psychology on attitude change to attempt to identify those features which may most usefully be incorporated into in-service education and training courses (INSET courses) for teachers in order

to bring about an attitude change; thirdly, we will look at one particular INSET course which has been designed for maximal attitude change on the part of the participants; and lastly, in view of a critical evaluation of this course we will consider what part the dimension of attitude change could play in a new model of planned systemic curriculum innovation.

Education and Teachers' Attitudes

The relevance of teachers' attitudes to the nature of communication in the classroom was first investigated in a classic study by Barnes and Schemilt (1974). These two researchers investigated the attitude of various teachers at secondary schools in Britain to their pupils' written work. Teachers were asked to complete an open-ended questionnaire consisting of four questions about the reasons why they set written work and what they did with their pupils' written work after it had been handed in. Their replies were factor analysed and were found to fall into two reasonably distinct categories which Barnes and Schemilt labelled *Transmission* and *Interpretation*. In a slightly reconstructed form the two attitudes may be characterised as follows (Barnes and Schemilt 1974:223):

The Transmission teacher...	The Interpretation teacher...
1. believes knowledge to exist in the form of public disciplines which include content and criteria of performance;	1. believes knowledge to exist in the knower's ability to organise thought and action;
2. values the learners' performances insofar as they conform to the criteria of the discipline;	2. values the learners' commitment to interpreting reality, so that criteria arise as much from the learner as from the teacher;
3. perceives the teacher's task to be the evaluation and correction of the learners' performance, according to criteria of which he is the sole guardian;	3. perceives the teacher's task to be the setting up of a dialogue in which the learner can reshape his knowledge through interaction with others;
4. perceives the learner as an uninformed acolyte for whom access to knowledge will be difficult since he must qualify himself through tests of appropriate performance.	4. perceives the learner as already possessing systematic and relevant knowledge and the means of reshaping that knowledge.

The transmission-interpretation dichotomy has proved to be a powerful way of looking at the structure of classroom communication. Whereas it reveals primarily two views which teachers may have with regard to knowledge, Barnes in a later development (Barnes 1976) relates the dichotomy to other factors in the teaching-learning situation, namely the teacher's role, the students' role, and the kind of learning which is fostered. This scheme is reproduced in Figure 1.

<u>The teacher's view of knowledge</u>	<u>The teacher's role in the classroom communication system</u>	<u>The pupil's role in the classroom communication system</u>	<u>The kind of learning fostered</u>
Public discipline	Transmission	Presentation	School learning
Knower's ability to interpret	Negotiation	Collaboration	Action learning

Figure 1: Hypothetical covariances among variables in the Barnes model of classroom communication (adapted from Barnes 1976:146)

Barnes's assumption is that the transmission-interpretation dimension of a teacher's attitude to knowledge will also influence the roles that the teacher and the students play in classroom communication and also, ultimately, the kind of learning which takes place. Thus a transmission attitude to knowledge is consonant with the teacher's role as a provider of information and a judge of pupils' behaviour; it encourages pupils to contribute to classroom communication only through the presentation of a finished draft, of a well-thought-through idea, and this attitude fosters an academic kind of learning which is not related directly to the learners' purposes and needs. On the other hand, an interpretation attitude to knowledge encourages a role for the teacher in which the learners' replies to her questions are treated as of value in their own right and not simply as a function of whether they correspond to the teacher's view of correctness or not; the students' role is one in which they are free to explore the subject in collaboration with other students and with the teacher without fear of them being judged by the teacher as right or wrong; and lastly this attitude fosters a kind of knowledge which goes beyond the bounds of normal academic knowledge and can be related to the students' interests and needs outside school.

Barnes's model is highly suggestive, with its hypothetical covariances among such crucial educational variables, but unfortunately only a small number of studies have been carried out to test the model. Gardner and Taylor (1980) carried out a study of Australian high-school students in which a questionnaire designed to elicit students' views of a teacher on a transmission-interpretation scale were found to correlate highly with their perceptions of the teacher's role as directive or non-directive. Young (1981) devised a 40-item transmission-interpretation questionnaire in order to elicit teachers' attitudes to the teaching of literature. This questionnaire was used in a slightly modified version by Falvey (1983) in order to identify two teachers of ESL in Hong Kong who represented extreme positions on the scale. A thorough discourse analysis of one lesson taught by each

of the two teachers revealed a marked difference in the nature of the classroom communication in the direction predicted by the Barnes model.

The relevance of the foregoing discussion of teachers' attitudes to the dynamics of curriculum innovation in ESL becomes apparent when we consider the type of learning which is fostered by the Transmission and Interpretation teachers in the Barnes model. The school knowledge versus action knowledge dichotomy is reflected almost exactly in the concern of curriculum innovators for a move from a foreign language curriculum organised around the teaching of formal elements of the language — the vocabulary and grammatical patterns — to one in which the foreign language is used for the purposes of communication, in which students are free to use whatever resources they have at their command to communicate with each other and the teacher about whatever is relevant to their personal needs and interests. As is mentioned in one official syllabus for ESL, previous attempts and methods of ESL instruction had not been successful because they had concentrated too much on school learning to the detriment of action learning, 'Meaningful use of the language for purposes of communication represents an essential element in successful language learning. Familiarity with the forms of the language, ability to manipulate those forms, to carry out conventional exercises in the language correctly — these are necessary but not sufficient for the successful learning of a second language.' (Hong Kong Government 1981:21)

The same point is made by Brumfit with regard to his accuracy-fluency dichotomy which is, in essence, identical to the formal practice - meaningful use distinction made in the Hong Kong syllabus. Brumfit quotes a number of sources in the literature (Sajavaara 1980; Krashen 1976, 1979; Lawler and Selinker 1971; Bialystock and Fröhlich 1977; Widdowson 1978) in support of his contention that 'language use is not simply the realisation of the language system in interaction' (Brumfit 1983:1) and that consequently the processes of negotiation involved in authentic language behaviour (or meaningful use) must be taught and learned in the classroom². Classroom activities which foster these processes of negotiation Brumfit calls *fluency activities*, whereas those designed to practise the correct usage of the language forms Brumfit calls *accuracy activities*. Activities are contrasted on a number of dimensions as shown below (adapted from Brumfit 1983:4-5):

<u>Accuracy Activities</u>	<u>Fluency Activities</u>
1. <i>Correctness</i> However native-speaker-like the language, the focus of the user will be on how correct or appropriate the language use is.	1. <i>No intermediary</i> Language used in class should pass directly from speaker (or writer) to hearer (or reader) without the intervention of an intermediary.
2. <i>Teacher's role</i> The relationship of the students to the teacher will be central to accuracy work.	2. <i>Content</i> The content of communication should be determined by the speaker or writer alone.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. <i>Judgemental attitude</i> Decisions as to what to say and how to say it will always be taken with the judgement of a third party in mind.</p> <p>4. <i>Learner dependence</i> The dependence of the learner on the teacher will be emphasised at the expense of learner autonomy.</p> | <p>3. <i>Real-time processing</i> Language used in the classroom will show the effects of real-time processing: improvising, repair and reorganisation.</p> <p>4. <i>Objective</i> The objective of a fluency activity will be clearly distinct from the formation of correct or appropriate language.</p> <p>5. <i>Teacher's role</i> The teacher will intervene in a fluency activity as a co-communicator and not as a judge of correctness or appropriacy.</p> |
|---|--|

Brumfit's formulation of the characteristics of accuracy and fluency activities is predominantly from the point of view of the attitude that the learner takes towards what is said in the classroom. However, if we compare this dichotomy with the one set up by Barnes to distinguish between Transmission and interpretation attitudes on the part of teachers, there is clearly a marked degree of correspondence between the two pairs of concepts. The Transmission teacher's role as judge of the learner's performance accords well with the learner's attitude during accuracy activities in which he is constantly aware of the presence of the teacher as judge, moreover both Transmission teachers and accuracy activities foster a relationship of one-sided dependence of the learner on the teacher. On the other hand, the Interpretation teacher's tendency to value the learner's contribution on its own terms corresponds to the focus of fluency activities on the task to be performed, rather than on the language required to perform it. Similarly, both Interpretation teachers and fluency activities encourage a more balanced and equal learner-teacher relationship.

It seems likely, therefore, that Transmission teachers will find that accuracy activities fit well with their view of what constitutes knowledge and the teaching-learning situation, whereas fluency activities are more likely to appeal to teachers with an Interpretation outlook. How far this correlation translates into actual differences in classroom behaviour is not clear (although Falvey's research is suggestive here). However, it still seems to us a reasonable hypothesis that *ceteris paribus* the proportion of fluency work to accuracy work in a Transmission teacher's lessons will be significantly less than for an Interpretation teacher. The implication for an innovation in the ESL curriculum which attempts to encourage more fluency activities in the classroom and to discourage an overemphasis on accuracy activities is clear: such an innovation will not succeed unless there is a corresponding shift in teachers' attitudes towards the nature of language learning and their role in that process.

That such an innovation cannot be brought about by simply equipping teachers with a new armoury of fluency activities to extend (or replace) the accuracy techniques they already have at their command, is apparent if we consider in greater detail exactly which kinds of classroom activities can be classified as fluency and which kinds as accuracy work. If we do so, we come up against an interesting paradox. Brumfit's characterization of accuracy and fluency activities is deliberately couched in terms of learners' attitudes, learner-teacher relationships and the nature of the communication taking place in the classroom rather than in more empirically observable methodological terms. For Brumfit, the crucial methodological distinction between accuracy and fluency is what he calls 'the constraint on divergence' (Brumfit 1983). By this he means that the language used by learners in an accuracy activity is in some way predetermined by the teacher or by the activity, while in a fluency activity there is no such predetermined constraint and the learner is free to call on whatever linguistic resources he has at his disposal in order to accomplish the task.

If we look closely at the sorts of classroom behaviour which are normally classified as fluency activities, we see that a shift of attitude on the part of the teacher and a concomitant change in the nature of the teacher-learner relationship can transform the activity into an accuracy exercise. Let us take as an example of this phenomenon a dyadic communication game such as *Describe and Draw* (Byrne and Rixon 1978). Normally, this is an open-ended exercise in which information is exchanged quite freely between the students at a level which is determined by their level of proficiency and by the task at hand and is not constrained by any linguistic constraints other than these. In this case, the activity quite clearly exemplifies the features of Brumfit's fluency activities. On the other hand, the teacher could restrict the pictures to be described to simple geometrical forms such as squares, rectangles, of different sizes and colours and pre-teach the language necessary to describe those forms. The *Describe and Draw* game now becomes an exercise to practise the pre-taught language. In this case, the game is no longer divergent and what is superficially the same game is now in reality an accuracy activity.

Equally, a shift of emphasis in the opposite direction can transform an accuracy activity — for example, multiple-choice comprehension questions as traditionally used in class for intensive exploitation of a reading text — into a fluency one. Munby (1968) suggests a way of using multiple-choice comprehension questions in small group discussions in class in which the members of each group decide among themselves which is the correct option by discussing each one in turn and justifying their acceptance or rejection of it until they negotiate a mutually agreed answer. In this case, since neither the language of the discussion is predetermined, nor is there a sense that any one member of the group (or the teacher) has prior knowledge of the 'right' answer, multiple-choice reading comprehension questions take on the guise of a fluency activity.

These two examples show that Brumfit is justified in defining accuracy and fluency in terms of attitudes and communicational

constraints rather than in terms of characteristics that are directly attributable to particular teaching techniques. How far it can be shown that every technique in the ESL teacher's arsenal is susceptible to the same sort of schizophrenia is beyond the scope of this paper, but we believe that the point is general enough to justify an emphasis in INSET courses and other instruments of curriculum innovation on changing attitudes rather than simply providing teachers with new techniques. Exactly how this can be done in practice is the subject of the following section.

Components of a Social Psychology of Attitude Change

Research into quantifiable attitude change goes back as far as Likert (1932). Recent summaries of the research (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey 1962; Kiesler, Collins and Miller 1969; Lambert and Lambert 1973; Zimbardo, Ebbesen and Maslach 1977) agree on a general definition of attitude as 'an organised, consistent and habitual manner of thinking, feeling and reacting to events and persons' (Lambert and Lambert 1973), and in general they agree on a componential view of attitudes, the components in the Lambert's definition being thoughts or beliefs, feelings, and tendencies to react.

Research into attitude change has concentrated on an experimental paradigm whereby some independent variable hypothetically related to the attitude under investigation is subjected to treatment and the resultant change in the dependent variable — the attitude — is measured by an attitude questionnaire administered before and after the treatment. It appears, however, that it is far from easy to effect a genuine change in attitude except by fairly massive treatment of a crucial independent variable. In Lambert and Lambert's words (1973:89),

'Changing one attitude is not easy because it becomes part of a network that gives order to one's personality. Well-planned attempts to modify attitudes often succeed only in altering the thought-belief component without modifying feelings and reaction tendencies so that in time the attitude may easily revert to its former state.'

Insofar as it is possible to modify attitudes there are a number of more effective treatments which are revealed by the research and which we shall outline below:

Face-to-face contact Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) report that new attitudes are more likely to be transferred through face-to-face communication than through impersonal lectures or mass media communications.

Group identity Lott and Lott (1960) found that if a certain attitude is held by a particular social group with which an individual wishes to identify, then that attitude will be relatively

easier to acquire than would be the case if the attitude were not associated with the target group. Similarly, the perceived trustworthiness of the persuader is another important factor in attitude transfer. These experimental results confirm a hypothesis of need satisfaction as an important determinant in the formation of attitudes: if a person recognizes that it is to his advantage to change his attitude, then he will be encouraged to learn to change.

Active participation Janis and King (1954), and Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1969) found that simple exposure to persuasive communication was not as effective in bringing about an attitude change as was active participation by the subject in some behaviour associated with the new attitude. Thus role-playing was found to be an effective means of bringing about the re-ordering of beliefs and needs associated with attitude change. Festinger (1957), and Festinger and Carlsmith (1959) developed a hypothesis for explaining this result and others associated with attitude change. According to this hypothesis, people have strong tendencies to try to resolve inconsistencies that they perceive between their attitudes and their behaviour, as well as among their attitudes. If people perceive such an inconsistency, they experience anxiety and are motivated to reduce that anxiety by acting to return their action and belief schemata to a position of equilibrium by means of either a change in attitude or a modification of behaviour. This hypothesis explains the effectiveness of role-playing behaviour associated with a target attitude in bringing about a change of attitude: subjects experience *cognitive dissonance* between the behaviour they role-play and the attitude they profess, and act to modify their attitude in the direction of one which is more consonant with the new behaviour.

In summary, then, more effective treatments to bring about attitude change include face-to-face contact, the trustworthiness and group identity of the persuader, and active participation in behaviour associated with a target attitude. Need satisfaction and cognitive dissonance are two explanations that have been advanced to account for attitude change, which nevertheless remains a difficult endeavour. After establishing this basis for a discussion of attitude change in the context of teacher education, we would now like to go on and show the application of some of these principles in the design of an INSET course for maximal attitude change on the part of participants.

Changing Teachers' Attitudes: an Example

The particular attempt to use an INSET course to modify attitudes of participants as well as their behaviour that we wish to describe needs to be seen in context (for a description of the broader ELT context in which this course takes place in Hong Kong, see note 3). The course described here is designed by the Hong Kong British Council for re-training primary school English teachers to familiarise them with the communicative approach to language teaching.

The course was designed to enable 150 teachers to participate in 90 hours of in-service re-training spread out over a period of

three months; this cycle would be repeated three times in one year. The stated aim of the program was 'to effect a change in the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of participants towards a more communicative orientation to the teaching of English in primary schools in order to enable them to function effectively after the implementation of the new syllabus in 1984.'

The 90-hour course was divided into a number of modules, three of which were offered each week, and participants were free to choose which modules to attend. The topics covered in the modules included *language form and communicative function, reading with a purpose, drama techniques, communicating with pictures, evaluating communicative materials*. etc. Each module was designed and taught in a way which we hoped would allow for maximum effect on participants' attitudes. The style of instruction was highly participant-centred with the participants sitting in groups of six around tables and the instructor's role being to initiate discussion of the topic at the beginning of the module and to summarize what had been achieved at the end. For the majority of the time participants were actively engaged in their groups in problem-solving activities and practical tasks, and during this time the instructor acted as counsellor and animator to the individual groups. It was through this intimate contact between instructor and participant that we hoped to transfer attitudes more readily, as suggested by Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) rather than through impersonal lectures. A further feature of this style of instruction was the fostering of a sense of belonging to a group which had similar attitudes to the new approach as oneself and which would allow each individual to experiment with new techniques in a non-threatening environment without the judging eye of the instructor upon her. The sense of identity with the group of like-minded fellows which formed during the course may perhaps be a rather ephemeral feeling in comparison to the more important identities that participants felt with their colleagues at school and in the wider community, whose attitudes would likely be at variance to those promulgated on the course.

The program involved a large amount of experimentation with new techniques and relatively little explanation of theories underlying them. In this way we hoped to develop the active participation which Janis and King (1954) and Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1969) had mentioned as an important factor in attitude transfer.

Since, of the three aims of the INSET program, attitude change was regarded as the most significant, an attempt was made to measure what effect, if any, the course had had on the participants' attitudes towards their teaching. To this end, a questionnaire was administered to participants on the first and last days of the course. The instrument used was an adaptation of Young's (1981) questionnaire designed to measure native English-speaking teachers' attitudes to the teaching of English literature. The adaptation used was one made by Falvey (1983) to identify extreme transmission and interpretation attitudes among native English-speaking teachers of ESL in Hong Kong. The questionnaire consists of 40 statements about teaching which respondents replied to on a seven-point Likert-type response ranging from +3 'I strongly agree with this statement' to -3 'I strongly

disagree with this statement'. The 40 items were given in both English and Chinese to the teachers, since for some of them the English of the statements may have been too difficult. Of the 40 items, 10 were fillers, responses to which were ignored in the final calculation of a respondent's score; of the remaining 30, 11 were positive items (sample: 'Small group work allows students to explore problems for themselves and thus have some measure of control over their own learning. It is therefore a particularly valuable means of organising classroom learning. '), agreement with which would indicate an interpretation view of teaching; and 19 were negative items (sample: 'Direct instruction in the rules and terminology of grammar is essential if students are to learn to communicate correctly and effectively. '), agreement with which would indicate a Transmission attitude. In scoring the questionnaire replies to the negative, items were reversed in polarity and then all items excluding fillers were converted from a -3 to +3 positive/negative scale to an all positive +1 to +7 scale. The scores on the 30 items were then totalled. The hypothetical range of responses run from a lower limit of 30 (representing a modified score of 1 on each item) to an upper limit of 210 (representing a modified score of 7 on each item), a total range of 180 in which the higher the score, the greater the interpretation attitude.

The questionnaire was administered to 136 participants at the beginning of the course and 94 participants at the end. In both cases, it was administered by personnel unknown to the participants to eliminate the possible 'halo' effect if it had been administered by the instructors themselves. In addition, the reason given to participants for the questionnaire was that the administrative personnel wanted to discover their views on language teaching, and no mention was made of its relevance to the INSET course. The results are shown in Figure 2.

	Number of replies	Mean score	Standard deviation
Before the course	136	117	14
After the course	94	122	21

Figure 2: Replies to questionnaire before and after course

As the Figure shows, participants on the INSET course showed a slight movement in the direction of an interpretation attitude by the end of the course, but the change was so small as to be negligible. A number of explanations can be put forward for this result. Firstly, as is stressed repeatedly in the literature on attitude change, attitudes are remarkably resistant to change and even if a change is apparent immediately after a particular treatment, the attitude may return to its original state in the following weeks or months. It is unlikely therefore that a 90-hour course which did not affect materially the objective constraints operating in the participants' schools would have a significant effect on the attitudes to teaching of experienced teachers. Secondly, the instrument used to measure attitude may well have been an insensitive measure of attitude change.

The same questionnaire was administered by the authors to a group of 273 Chinese secondary school teachers of English on the first day of an INSET course, and it was also administered by Falvey to a group of 35 trained native-English-speaking teachers from Britain, Australia and New Zealand teaching at the British Council in Hong Kong. If the above results are compared with the scores of these other groups who took the questionnaire, an interesting pattern emerges as shown in Figure 3:

	Number of replies	Mean score	Standard deviation
Chinese primary school teachers of English: group 1	136	117	14
group 2	123	116	15
Chinese secondary school teachers of English	273	119	23
Native English speaking teachers of ESL (Falvey 1983)	35	148	16

Figure 3: Replies to questionnaire from different groups of teachers

It can be seen that there is a remarkable degree of consistency in the mean scores for Chinese teachers at the beginning of the INSET courses, whether they be teaching in primary or secondary schools. However the group of native-English-speaking teachers scored much higher on the scale. These results would suggest that cultural attitudes to education in the Chinese and Western traditions are rather different, and while concepts such as interpretation and transmission may have meaning for teachers in both cultures, individual attitudes need to be seen against the backdrop of a social norm, and that norm would appear to be much more Transmission-like in Chinese educational culture than it is in Western societies. This explanation is supported by Young's (1981) original calibration of the questionnaire when he used it with British teachers of literature. He marked 133 as a lower cut-off point, scores below which would indicate an extreme Transmission attitude, and 174 as an upper cut-off point, scores above which would tend to indicate an extreme Transmission attitude. For the Chinese teachers this calibration has little significance since the great majority of scores cluster below the 133 mark and not one Chinese teacher out of the total of 409 who replied to the questionnaire scored above Young's upper cut-off point.

It seems that the apparent failure of this particular INSET course to have a significant effect on teachers' attitudes needs to be seen in the context of the limitations of the course and of the measure used to evaluate attitude in Chinese and Western societies. Clearly, more research is needed on the measurement of attitude change among teachers who are both actors and recipients in curriculum change.

A New Model for Curriculum Innovation

In this last section we would like to consider the implications of the importance of attitude change in curriculum innovation to a planned systemic change in the curriculum. In this we shall follow the framework established by Sharan, Darom and Hertz-Lazarowitz (1979) in their work in introducing small group teaching in schools in Israel. The Israeli study identifies three areas, or domains, in which attitude change may be brought about by INSET courses: the experiential domain, the environmental domain and the cognitive domain.

The experiential domain was identified since clearly attitudes are determined by one's experience and evaluation of that experience. In the Israeli study it was found that teachers who had had more experience of the particular curriculum innovation in question — small group teaching — expressed more positive attitudes towards it than teachers who had had less experience of these techniques, provided that the initial experience had been a positive one. In our own INSET course for Chinese primary school teachers of English, an objective had always been to provide an experience of communicative teaching techniques in action, both as a student and as a teacher. Whereas an attempt had been made on our course to simulate as far as possible the actual experience of teaching communicatively to a class of primary school children, the simulation — in the form of microteaching — is still a long way from the actual classroom

situation which the teachers experience in their schools. Since the experience of successfully using the new techniques in the actual situation in which they are designed to be applied is such a crucial one to the process of attitude change, there is a clear implication that INSET courses should be based around participants' experiences of teaching real children in actual classrooms, and not simply by a simulation of that situation in the controlled environment of the teacher-training institution.

Secondly, as was identified in the research cited on attitude change, the attitude of one's peer group and high-prestige personalities exerts a strong influence on the learning of new attitudes. This is confirmed by the Israeli study in which it was found that the attitudes of teachers' colleagues and superiors towards the new teaching methods were a very important factor in helping or hindering the acquisition of a positive attitude towards the new methods. In the words of these researchers (Sharan, *et al* 1979:59),

'Teachers will be more amenable to the implementation of instructional innovation if the new knowledge and skills acquired are within the context of a system-wide effort rather than on an individual basis so that staff norms and attitudes will be supportive of individual attitudinal and behavioural learning.'

This is well born out by our own experience. If the attitude in the participants' schools is favourable towards the communicative approach to teaching ESL to young children, then what is learned on the INSET course is transferred to the participants' teaching situation when they return to their normal teaching. However, even if participants experience an attitude shift in favour of the new methods while they are on the course their attitude may easily revert to its former state if they find that their colleagues and school principals are hostile to the new approach when they return to school. Here again is an implication for a planned systemic change to the curriculum: INSET courses should be organized much more around individual schools in which the whole staff and the school management is involved in the course, rather than being run as they generally are at teacher-training institutions where only one or two teachers from any one school attend at a time. Recent British experience with school-based or school-focussed INSET courses (Henderson 1979) seems to confirm the greater efficacy of this approach.

The third area identified in the Israeli study is the cognitive domain. One's information about a new way of teaching and one's cognitive understanding of the principles underlying it is an important source of attitude formation and change. In fact, the Israeli study found that the teachers' understanding of the principles of small group teaching was the most prominent predictor of the attitude of teachers towards the new techniques, indicating that those teachers who are better able to identify the principles underlying a new approach are also more likely to feel that it is a more effective way of teaching. The implication is that a model of curriculum innovation by means of INSET courses which is entirely organized around more progressive training techniques involving

discovery methods without a more traditional cognitive dimension of presentation and discussion of the principles involved will not be an efficient way of effecting attitude and behaviour change.

In this paper we have focussed on teachers' attitudes towards their teaching as a crucial factor in curriculum innovation, and one that has so far been neglected in systemic approaches to educational change. We hope to have shown that in the particular case of an attempted systemic shift from a structural to a communicative approach to the teaching of English as a second language, any attempt to change teachers' behaviour without at the same time bringing about a change in their attitudes is doomed to failure, and that even if there is a temporary change in teaching behaviour as a result of INSET courses, the behaviour will not reflect the principles underlying the communicative approach. We have put forward a model of an INSET course as part of a systemic dynamic of curriculum innovation which has been designed as far as possible to bring about the desired attitudinal as well as behavioural change, and we have discussed one example of such a course in terms of its strengths and weaknesses.

NOTES

- 1 The curriculum innovation program described in this paper is largely the work of one man, Ray Tongue, who from 1978 to 1982 served as English Language Adviser to the Education Department of the Hong Kong Government. We would like to express our gratitude to him for the stimulus and encouragement that we received throughout this period.
- 2 Ways in which negotiation can be achieved in the ESL classroom as well as further background to the curriculum reform programme in Hong Kong can be found in Young (1983).
- 3 The attempt took place in Hong Kong, a linguistically homogeneous community of six million mainly Cantonese-speaking Chinese, who for reasons of politics and economics place great emphasis on the need to acquire some sort of competence in English. The language is taught as a 'foreign language' in the six grades of primary school, after which parents may choose to send their children to secondary schools which are in name either English- or Chinese-medium. The great majority of parents, having an eye on their children's future career prospects, opt for an education through the medium of English. In these English-medium schools (known as Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools), besides being the medium of instruction for all subjects except Chinese and Chinese history, English continues to be taught as a subject in its own right.

Since 1979 the Curriculum Development Committee of the Hong Kong government's Education Department has promulgated a series of reforms in the English curriculum which aim to update what is regarded by many teachers and inspectors as an out-of-date and ineffective curriculum which aims at a mastery of the forms of the language with no regard to the pupils' ability to use those forms in appropriate communicative settings. Pilot re-training courses for English teachers to familiarize them with the communicative approach to language teaching began to be held in 1979. One year later, the English paper in a public examination taken in the third year of secondary school, was designed afresh with the overt aim of testing communicative ability in English and not just the manipulation of the grammatical forms of the language. In 1981 a new public syllabus for primary school English was published by the Education Department and was followed one year later by a draft revision of the English syllabus for secondary schools. Both syllabuses, due for implementation in 1984 and 1986 respectively, place great emphasis on the need for children in Hong Kong schools to learn to use English for real communication. In 1982, the Hong Kong government set aside the sum of HK\$320 million to be spent over the following five years in a concerted attempt at improving standards of English and Chinese teaching in schools, and in 1983 retraining of English teachers in primary and secondary schools began in earnest. Both authors were working at that time for the British Council in Hong Kong and were given the responsibility of designing the Council's contribution to the general re-training effort — a program for 450 primary school teachers and 350 secondary school teachers to follow each year.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN TEACHER ATTITUDES AND TEACHER STYLES

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This paper discusses some of the problems teachers face when they attempt to implement currently recommended approaches to foreign language teaching. These approaches require that teachers re-evaluate the role of the learner in the learning process and adopt classroom management styles which concentrate on the facilitation of learning, in contrast with classroom management styles which concentrate on imparting knowledge. It is suggested that certain types of teacher attitude may impede teachers' ability to implement interactive approaches to learning. Reference is made to a project which compared the teaching styles of teachers holding contrasting attitudes towards learning and communication.

Introduction

The need for a more communicative, more learner-centred approach is the underlying theme of many recent publications which discuss the classroom teaching of second or foreign languages. The classroom is seen increasingly as an environment in which learners should 'learn how to learn'. Krashen (1982) suggests that time spent in second language classrooms should be viewed as a transitional phase which prepares the learner for further second language acquisition outside the classroom. Low and Morrison (1980) suggest that the classroom is an environment in which individual learning strategies and the individual's capacity to monitor and inference should be developed through interactive learning processes.

Such views suggest a change in the role of the learner in the classroom learning process. The learner can no longer be viewed as a passive recipient of input, whose performance is subject to evaluation by the teacher. Instead the learner must become an active participant in the learning process. He must, for example, take responsibility for the selection of the ideas, or personal meanings, he wishes to communicate and also for the selection of the language he will use to express these meanings. He must also assume responsibility for the monitoring of errors, his own and those of his peers, and for deciding whether or not to correct or ignore these errors or whether to adopt other strategies to repair communication breakdown. If the learner is to be involved in this type of activity the subject matter, or the purpose of the interaction, must stimulate him sufficiently to ensure that his attention is concentrated on the message — his own as well as those of others — rather than on the form in which the message is expressed.

The changing role of the learner carries implications for the

role of the teacher. The implementation of interactive approaches to learning cannot take place unless the teacher allows it to happen. The mere organisation of furniture and/or learners into groups does not guarantee that interactive learning processes will take place. It is possible for each group to be no more than a smaller replica of the large classroom organisation with the teacher continuing to act as 'provider of information, injecting knowledge into empty vessels' (Alexander 1979). We need to examine more closely the demands made of the teacher who seeks to implement interactive learning approaches in the classroom.

The Changing Role of the Foreign Language Teacher

In a foreign language learning classroom which provides the type of learning environment described above the learner appears to take over many of the roles which have been traditionally performed by the teacher. In a classroom in which learning takes place through interactive processes the teacher will no longer be the sole purveyor of knowledge, responsible for the evaluation and correction of the learners' performance. Instead it seems that the teacher's role will be that of a manager whose task is to ensure the achievement, by a group of individuals, of a set of long-term learning goals and aims. These learning goals or aims, however, specify not only the outcome, what is to be learned, but also, by their nature, the short-term goals and the management style to be employed during the learning process. The teacher's role as a manager is therefore heavily prescribed; not only are his management objectives specified but also his short-term goals and the organizational system and management style by which he will achieve these objectives.

Descriptions of the type of management style required in classrooms suggest some variation of opinion amongst writers. Littlewood (1981), for example, expands the teacher's role from that of 'language instructor' to 'facilitator of learning' and reassures the reader that, although the learning process takes place independently of the teacher, there is still a role for the teacher in the structuring of the classroom environment so that it provides adequate exposure to the foreign language and adequate motivation to communicate through the foreign language. Littlewood's description of the roles the teacher may need to perform, however, imply that the teacher will still be the decision-maker and the source of learning motivation, will decide on the purposes of group work and will be responsible for setting goals and evaluating progress. Littlewood's description of the teacher's roles implies an organizational system of classroom management which varies considerably from the model proposed by Morrison (1979) which suggested that optimum conditions for learning require a system of classroom organization, or management style, which is based on the system of organizational management described by Likert and Likert (1967) as 'participative'. This system suggests that 'students and teachers make decisions together', that learning motivation comes chiefly through 'personal reward through group involvement', that the purpose of groups is that they 'serve as the main focus of learning and class management' and that 'students are fully involved in setting goals and evaluating progress' (Morrison 1979).

Although there appear to be significant differences between these two descriptions of classroom management style, the differences can be seen as a matter of degree rather than as representing divergent views. Littlewood's description could perhaps be viewed as representing a stage in the transition from the role of the 'language instructor', with an 'authoritarian' management style, to the role of the learner-centred teacher with a 'participative' management style of the type recommended by Morrison. During this transitional phase the teacher might adopt interim management styles such as 'benevolent authoritarian' and 'consultative' both of which would be categorised by Morrison as teacher-centred rather than learner-centred. What does seem clear, however, is that current thinking about the foreign language learning process and the learner's role in that process increasingly implies the need for a classroom management style of the 'participative' type (See for example Krashen 1982; Alwright 1982; Finocchiaro 1974, 1982; Bell 1983; Taylor 1983). This in turn suggests that some foreign language teachers may need to make major changes in their behaviour in the classroom.

Implications of Changes in Teacher's Role

For the experienced foreign language teacher the implementation of a 'participative' classroom management style is not necessarily a simple matter of changing roles. It may involve changes in attitude towards, for example, the role of learners, the role of knowledge and the role of language in the learning process. It may also involve changes in attitude towards the nature and purposes of the learning process itself. For some teachers these changes in attitude may be similar to the changes in attitude which would be necessary for the manager of a commercial organization, with a personal management style of the 'authoritarian' type, who is suddenly required to adopt a 'participative' management style. Management studies imply that this would involve changes in attitude towards subordinates and also towards the role of a manager within an organization.

MacGregor (1960) attributes the differences in the two types of management style to differences in perception of the role of a manager and to differences in assumptions about people and, therefore, subordinates. These differences can be summarised as follows: the 'authoritarian' manager perceives the major function of a manager as that of the direction and control of subordinates and views the average person as being by nature averse to work, lacking in ambition, interested only in him/herself disliking and resisting change, lacking in intelligence and therefore easily taken in by the demagogue. By contrast, the 'participative' manager perceives the major function of a manager as the integration of the organization's goals with the personal goals of his/her subordinates and views the average person as willing to expend energy on tasks which he or she considers worthwhile, ambitious, willing to take responsibility, preferring to make decisions for him/herself, willing to make changes perceived as necessary, intelligent and not easily swayed by spurious arguments. Bell (1983) suggests that the behaviour of teachers as leader/managers may depend on sets of attitudes which are similar to those described by MacGregor. If this is true, there is no reason to assume that it will be any easier

for teachers, experienced or otherwise, whose attitudes incline them towards the authoritarian management styles, to make the change to 'participative' management styles than it is for a manager with similar attitudes to make the same changes.

The 'participative' approach to the management of learning and the concept of interactive models of learning are not exclusive to foreign language teaching. The role of language in education, the relation between language and learning and the role of the learner in the learning process have long been the object of attention in educational studies (Britton 1970; Rosen 1969; Stubbs 1976; Barnes 1976; DES Bullock Report; 1975, to mention only a few).

Such studies have been devoted mainly to the role of the learner and the role of language in learning environments in which the medium of instruction is the mother tongue of both learners and teacher. The resultant 'participative' approach to the management of learning, with its emphasis on group work, peer mediation and the involvement of learners in decision-making and evaluation, perceives language, particularly the language used by learners, as a means to an end, a vehicle for learning. This perception is not dissimilar to the views quoted earlier² about the role of the foreign language in the foreign language classroom.

To-day, a career in foreign language teaching seems to involve being subject to increasing demands for change. Teachers need to keep up to date with increasing, and frequently changing, bodies of knowledge in fields such as linguistics, sociology, psychology and philosophy. Many of the skills and techniques of classroom management and organization acquired over the years appear now to be superfluous to the management of learning. Teachers seem to be in danger of losing their right to make their own decisions about their management styles. Furthermore teachers are expected to implement classroom management styles of which they may have no experience themselves either as learners in school, trainee teachers or teachers. It is not, after all, unusual for lecturers in University Schools of Education, and teacher trainers, to introduce their trainees to 'the communicative approach' or to interactive models of learning through the medium of the lecture format. Education studies suggest that learners are more likely to retain and use knowledge if they have gained that knowledge through³ experience as opposed to receiving knowledge transmitted by a teacher. It seems possible therefore that teachers' attitudes towards the roles of learners, knowledge and language in the learning process, together with their attitudes towards the management of classroom learning, are as likely to be influenced by their experience as learners as by information and ideas transmitted⁴ to them through the lecture format by lecturers and teacher trainers.

The factors which influence teachers' attitudes may ultimately prove significant in the implementation of interactive learning processes in the classroom. First, however, it is necessary to identify teachers' attitudes and establish whether or not their attitudes influence their classroom behaviour.

Teacher Attitudes

Bell (1983) implies that teachers' attitudes may determine the extent to which they are able to implement interactive learning processes and 'participative' management styles in their classrooms. He also suggests that those of us involved in teaching (and presumably in training) need to examine our own attitudes with a view to establishing the extent to which our own attitudes are influencing our classroom behaviour and therefore the learning outcome. This involves recognising the differences between declared attitudes and underlying attitudes and I therefore begin this section by discussing some of the attitudes declared by experienced teachers.

The following impressions are based on comments made, in speech and in writing, by teachers attending further training courses. These post-experience teachers have the experience of working, not only as classroom teachers, but also as employees, subordinates and colleagues in educational institutions. As a result their comments offer a broad perspective on the practicality and difficulty of implementing new approaches, a perspective which reflects experience that the pre-service trainee does not have.

Whilst expressing a personal commitment to new theories and approaches, it is not uncommon even for motivated experienced teachers to express reservations about the possibility of their implementation in the classroom. Reasons given for this often include reference to constraints such as examination requirements, the attitudes of heads of department, school heads, the inspectorate and parents, and the difficulty of getting through the syllabus in the time allotted. Such comments suggest that even highly motivated, professionally committed and experienced teachers of foreign languages feel that they are subjected to conflicting demands. It is not difficult to see why they feel this. Their own experience as learners on teacher-training courses provide one example of conflicting demands. As a result of the introduction of one new approach after another it is quite likely that experienced teachers attending a further training course in 1983 will be exposed to theories and ideas which are not only different from those presented during their initial training courses but which also give the teachers the impression that their earlier training was either woefully inadequate or seriously in error. In Hong Kong, for example, primary school teachers of English who received their initial training in 1976 in the Oral-Structural Approach will find that further training offered in 1983, for the purpose of introducing the new Primary School Syllabus, recommends a 'communicative, more purposive' type of approach requiring very different classroom practices from those recommended in 1976. Faced with this sort of contrast, experienced teachers may feel that their subject has changed; that language has become a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In 1976 they were trained to teach 'language', now, in 1983, they are expected to teach 'communication through language' (Littlewood 1981).

Teachers who resolve this conflict, by acknowledging that new research findings account for the contrast between their initial and further training experiences, may still find themselves subject to what

they regard as conflicting demands. In Hong Kong, for example, secondary school teachers may note that the new secondary school syllabus for English specifies the long-term English language needs of Hong Kong students as they occur in the five 'domains of use', all of which involve the ability to listen and speak in English and as well as the ability to read and write English. They may also note that the syllabus devotes approximately equal space to a) listening and speaking skills and b) reading and writing skills (47 pages to the former and 45 pages to the latter). By contrast, in the discussion of objectives, primary emphasis is given to the short-term needs of students which are defined as the use of English medium text books, taking English-medium examinations and further study through the medium of English. This may suggest to teachers that they should concentrate on the development of reading and writing skills, a view which will be reinforced by consideration of the format of the Hong Kong School Certificate Examination in English language which provides five minutes for the testing of listening and speaking skills out of a total examination time of six hours.

A decision of this kind having been made, teachers may then find themselves facing another set of conflicting demands arising from the expectations of teacher trainers, on the one hand, and the expectation of students, parents and possibly departmental or school heads, on the other. Influenced by what they have read or heard on their further training courses, experienced teachers may attempt to apply their newly acquired knowledge of learning theories and the management of classroom learning to their teaching of reading and writing skills and the preparation of their students for public examinations. If, however, they adopt the role of manager and facilitator of learning and attempt to foster individual learning strategies through, for example, pair and group work activities and peer interaction, these teachers may well find themselves in conflict with the expectations of pressure groups such as departmental and school heads, parents and even the students themselves. When teachers involve students in interactive activity in pairs and groups, it may appear to these pressure groups that the teachers are placing primary emphasis on listening and speaking skills rather than on reading and writing skills. It may also seem that the teachers are abdicating the traditional role of the teacher, a role which viewed the teacher primarily as a source of knowledge and expected the preparation and teaching of lessons to concentrate on conveying a body of knowledge to students and on the evaluation of students' command of this knowledge, according to clearly defined criteria.

Once teachers have come into conflict with the expectations of pressure groups who hold such views, explanations about learning theories will do little to reassure the pressure groups. Such pressure groups will probably continue to regard student-student interaction and student-talk as a waste of time because they can see for themselves that the examinations require little in the way of pair or group interaction. Faced with these pressures, and cut off from the support of teacher trainers and course tutors, it is not surprising that many teachers of foreign languages decide that the effort is too much and revert either to their own previous teaching styles or to those of teachers by whom they were taught in school.

The preceding comments refer to some of the pressures to which the

foreign language teachers of to-day may be exposed. As a result of pressure from these groups, teachers may experience role conflict (Dunham 1976). Dunham identifies two types of role conflict. The first is *inter-role* conflict which may occur when a teacher has to fulfil a variety of roles such as teacher, manager and social worker. The second type of role conflict is identified as *intra-role* conflict which teachers experience when subjected to pressure from groups who have contradictory expectations. Dunham identifies intra-role conflict as the major source of pressure for most teachers. Burke and Dunham (1982) suggest that there are different pressure groups 'within' schools: 'students, parents, head teachers, colleagues and school governors all demand *both* good examination results *and* communicative competence for utilitarian purposes' (my italics). Rightly or wrongly, many experienced language teachers regard these expectations as contradictory, as is evidenced by their comments during further training programmes. Burke and Dunham also refer to pressure groups 'outside' schools, such as lecturers in academic language departments and education departments, who may also claim the teacher as a subordinate and expect the teacher to perform his role in a prescriptively acceptable manner.

The expectations of pressure groups described by Burke and Dunham are similar to the constraints quoted by teachers themselves during further training courses when they explain that, in spite of their enthusiasm for new theories and approaches, they will be unable to implement them in their classrooms. It is tempting to believe that if these sources of pressure could be removed and/or the contradictory expectations of pressure groups harmonised, we would then immediately see the enthusiastic and successful implementation of new approaches, at least in the language learning classrooms of teachers who have recently undergone further training and expressed a commitment to new approaches.

My own experience suggests that all this does not necessarily follow.

Relationship Between Teachers' Declared Attitudes and Their Classroom Management Styles

The following comments are based on impressions gained during 500 hours of classroom observation conducted over two years on 50 teachers undergoing further training for the Dip.RSA and 52 teachers undergoing initial training on RSA Preparatory Certificate course. Observations were restricted to general English classes attended by adult students at elementary and intermediate levels whose declared purpose of learning English was work-related and *not* directed towards examinations. Observations indicated that the majority of students responded enthusiastically to pair and group work involving student-student interaction. The management of the institute in which both the training courses and the English language classes took place had expressed a firm commitment to interactive models of learning and, although this commitment may have been based on varying interpretations of the implications of such an approach, it can be stated that management expected to see pair work, group work and interactive activities used extensively during the teaching/learning process. The teachers who were observed were free to determine the aims and objectives of their

lessons and free in their choice of materials. They were, however, encouraged to base their aims and objectives and selection of materials on the needs of each group of learners.

The classroom observations took place in what could be described therefore as an almost ideal environment. The constraints caused by the contradictory expectations of pressure groups were reduced because, although certain pressure groups still remained (the teacher trainer, the management, and the students), their expectations appeared to be in harmony. In such an environment one might expect to see evidence of the implementation of new approaches, involving changes in the teacher's role and the relationship between teachers and learners together with examples of 'genuine communicative interaction' (RSA: Autumn 1983). At the very least, one would expect to see a reduction in teacher talk and teacher domination of classroom interaction, together with an increase in student-talk and student-student interaction.

The classroom observations suggested that those teachers who succeeded in promoting pair and group work in their classrooms fell into four broad categories which represent a cline on which the behaviour of Category 1 teachers came closest to demonstrating 'participative' management styles.

- 1 Those whose students participated in peer-to-peer exchanges exercising choice over the forms and functions used and the purpose and outcome of these exchanges;
- 2 those whose students participated in peer-to-peer exchanges exercising choice over the forms and functions used and the purpose of exchanges but were subject to teacher control over the outcome of these exchanges;
- 3 those whose students participated in peer-to-peer exchanges, exercising choice over the forms used but no choice over the functions, the purpose or the outcome of these exchanges;
- 4 those whose students participated in peer-to-peer exchanges but had not been allowed to exercise choice over either the forms and functions used or the purpose or outcome of these exchanges.

Teachers who failed to promote pair and group work fell into two broad categories (referred to as 5 and 6 for ease of reference):

- 5 those whose lesson plans and selection of materials indicated that they had intended to promote pair and/or group work;
- 6 those whose lesson plans and selection of materials indicated that they did not intend to promote pair or group work.

The observations also suggested that the six categories referred to above showed some slight correspondence with reference to the six roles described by Littlewood (1981) as the roles the teacher may need to perform as a 'facilitator of learning'. Teachers in Category 1 above appeared to perform all six roles, with the amount of classroom time devoted to each role varying from lesson to lesson. These teachers tended not to intervene after proceedings had been initiated allowing

learners to operate independently of the teacher. The role to which least time was devoted by teachers in Category 1 was the role described by Littlewood as 'the familiar role of language instructor', who 'will present new language, examine direct control over learner's performance, evaluate and correct it'. By contrast, teachers in Category 6 performed only one role, that of the 'language instructor'. Teachers in Category 5 performed the role of language instructor less than those in Category 6 and the use of this role appeared with decreasing frequency in Categories 4, 3 and 2 respectively. While the use of the remaining five roles described by Littlewood corresponded with Categories 2 to 5, in the sense that a greater variety of roles was performed by teachers in the second and third categories than by teachers in the fourth and fifth categories; there was no correspondence between the frequency of the occurrence of a particular role in any category, nor was it possible to identify a category in which any one particular role occurred consistently.

Two further points emerged from the comparison of the six categories specified above and the six roles described by Littlewood. Firstly, it had been anticipated, in accordance with Strevens' distinction between the instructor/teacher progression that the 52 teachers undergoing initial training would tend to perform the role of the language instructor only and could therefore be expected to fall into Category 6. This did not, however, appear to be the case as the majority of these teachers fell into Categories 3 and 4. Secondly a larger proportion of the 50 post-experience group seemed to fall into Category 6. These two observations seemed to suggest that length of experience and/or training did not relate either to teachers' performance of the variety of roles required of the 'facilitator of learning' or to the incidence of 'genuine communicative interaction between learners'. (RSA: Autumn 1983).

Consideration was given to the possibility that the 102 teachers observed over the two-year period could be categorised according to their declared attitudes towards new approaches of the type which involve changes in the teacher's traditional role. Teachers in Categories 1 to 5 had all expressed a commitment to such approaches. Teachers in Category 6 had expressed either misgivings or total disagreement with any concept which involved expanding the teacher's role beyond that of the 'language instructor'. Informal discussion revealed that teachers in this category considered student talk a waste of valuable teaching time and seemed to perceive their role and responsibility as requiring them to confine themselves strictly to the role of language instructor. It appeared, therefore, that the attitudes expressed by teachers in Category 6 were entirely consistent with their behaviour in the classroom, whereas the attitudes expressed by teachers in Category 5 were not consistent with their classroom behaviour. This inconsistency could not be explained by the length of teaching experience or training because similar proportions of the pre- and post-experience groups fell into Category 5. One possible explanation of the inconsistency was that teachers in Category 5 were responding to the expectations of pressure groups when declaring their attitudes and were expressing attitudes which they felt were expected of them, rather than expressing their own beliefs. However, it seemed unlikely that *all* the teachers in Category 5 had felt constrained to conceal their beliefs, particularly

as teachers in Category 6 had apparently felt no such constraints. Moreover, teachers were encouraged to question new approaches and also advised against attempting to implement approaches with which they disagreed. In addition, this explanation did not account for the inconsistency between declared attitudes and classroom behaviour in the remaining categories.

Another possible explanation lay in the teachers' own expectations and behaviour as learners on training courses. During training, teachers who were later identified as falling into Categories 5 and 6 had tended to express preference for the straight lecture approach with lots of content delivered with an air of authority. These teachers tended to regard time spent on pair and group work or lecturer-trainee interaction not only as a waste of time, but often as evidence of lack of preparation or lack of knowledge on the part of the lecturers. On the other hand, teachers who were later identified as falling into Categories 1 and 2 tended to express preference for interactive approaches and to consider that their future classroom behaviour should be influenced as much by their own learning experiences and their reactions to these experiences as by the statements of lecturers. These teachers also tended to question statements offered by lecturers and sought to be convinced of their validity rather than accepting 'declared truths'. Teachers in Categories 3 and 4 tended to vary in their reaction to their own learning experiences, to the extent that they could be described as holding no clear views about their individual preferences.

It appeared that many of the 102 teachers observed declared different, and sometimes conflicting, sets of attitudes towards the role of the teacher. The set of attitudes declared seemed to depend on whether they were considering the role of the teacher from their own point of view as learners or their own point of view as teachers. This raised the question as to which set of attitudes, if either, was influencing their classroom behaviour as teachers. On the basis of the observations it seemed likely that the classroom behaviour of the majority reflected their declared attitudes as learners rather than their declared attitudes as teachers.

All this suggested the need for a formal study to identify teachers' underlying attitudes towards the role of the teacher in the classroom and to establish whether there was any correlation between these attitudes and their classroom behaviour as teachers. The initial stage of this study took the form of a small-scale project which compared the teaching styles of two teachers who were identified as having contrasting underlying attitudes towards the role of the teacher in the teaching/learning process and classroom communication. The purpose of the project was to establish whether there were any significant differences in the classroom styles of the two teachers and whether the relationship between teachers' attitudes and their teaching styles merited further study. The project was conducted in three stages, the first identifying two teachers with contrasting attitudes, the second describing their classroom behaviour and the third analysing the findings and drawing conclusions.

The Project: Teacher Attitudes and Teacher Styles

Sample 56 teachers were selected from a total of 120 practising teachers on the staff of one English language teaching institution. All 120 teachers were native speakers of English. The backgrounds of the 56 teachers were as follows: six of them were senior professional staff receiving on-going professional training and lower-level management training, six were receiving initial management training and on-going professional training, 23 were preparing for the Dip.RSA and 21 were preparing for the RSA Preparatory Certificate.

Description of attitudes The attitudes of the 56 teachers were categorised on the Transmission-Interpretation dimension devised by Barnes and Schemilt (1974) in a study which was designed 'to find out how teachers differed in their tacit assumptions about classroom communication'. They offer a hypothetical re-construction of these assumptions which is quoted below:

<i>The Transmission Teacher</i>	<i>The Interpretation Teacher</i>
1. believes knowledge to exist in the form of public disciplines which include content and the criteria of performance;	1. believes knowledge to exist in the knower's ability to organise thought and action;
2. values the learners' performances in so far as they conform to the criteria of the discipline;	2. values the learners' commitment to interpreting reality, so that criteria arise as much from the learners as from the teachers;
3. perceives the teacher's task to be the evaluation and correction of the learner's performance, according to criteria of which he is the guardian;	3. perceives the teacher's task to be the setting up of a dialogue in which the learner can re-shape his knowledge through interaction with others;
4. perceives the learner as an uninformed acolyte for whom access to knowledge will be difficult since he must qualify himself through tests.	4. perceives the learner as already possessing systematic and relevant knowledge, and the means of reshaping that knowledge.

The beliefs of the Transmission teacher with relation to the roles of teachers and learners appeared to correspond quite closely with the attitudes of the authoritarian manager towards the roles of managers and subordinates, as described by MacGregor, whereas the beliefs of the Interpretation teacher appeared to correspond more closely with the attitudes of the 'participative' manager. There also seemed to be some correspondence between the role of 'language instructor' and the views of the Transmission teacher whereas the beliefs of the Interpretation teacher seemed to correspond more closely to the learner-centred approach described by Morrison.

Identification of Attitudes Teacher attitudes were identified by a test which followed the pattern of the test devised by Young (1981) to identify Transmission and Interpretation teachers amongst teachers of literature. The test, was slightly modified so as to have reasonable

face validity for language teachers.⁵ It consisted of 40 items, of which 30 were 'true' items and 10 items were 'filler' items. Of the thirty 'true' items, nineteen were 'negative' elements (those with which Interpretation teachers would tend to disagree) and eleven were 'positive' items (those with which Interpretation teachers would tend to agree). As in the Young test, respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement on a scale from +3 (very strong agreement) to -3 (very strong disagreement). Test scores were interpreted according to Young's criteria, with Transmission and Interpretation teachers being identified as those who fell into extreme sub-groups on the dimension Transmission versus Interpretation. Out of 56 teachers, one Interpretation teacher and twelve Transmission teachers were identified. Of the twelve Transmission teachers, six were from the same training group as the only Interpretation teacher identified and, of these six, the teacher with the most extreme Transmission views was selected as the Transmission teacher for observation. Comparison of the backgrounds of the two teachers revealed that prior to becoming teachers they had both undergone similar training and work experiences.

Collection of data Data consisted of transcripts of two one-hour lessons, one given by each teacher, together with video and audio recordings of each lesson. Both teachers were teaching one of their regular classes at lower Intermediate level and in both cases the students were adults in the age range 18 - 35 years, whose declared purposes for learning English were work-related. The tape data were supplemented with notes made by a non-participant observer. Video recordings were made with two fixed cameras linked to multi-directional microphones suspended, above head height, from the ceiling. The two video cameras were fixed to the walls, above head height, and positioned so that, between them, they captured most of the classroom. Audio recordings were made on five audio cassette recorders placed amongst the students. These, together with the sound tracks from the video recordings, yielded a total of 7 audio recordings.

Video recordings were used to capture non-verbal activity in real time, such as eye contact and gesture, which can often supply details of interaction taking place during silent periods on audio recordings. The five audio recordings were made for the purpose of recording the responses of students who spoke quietly in teacher-student interaction and also to record student-student interaction in pair and group work in order to allow description of classroom behaviour in terms of the degree and type of learner-learner interaction taking place. All recording equipment was switched on before the lessons began and both audio and video cassettes had the capacity to record for one hour without adjustment.

Method used to describe data The method used for the description of data relied heavily on the Sinclair-Coulthard model (1974), extended by some of the modifications introduced by Willis (1981) and further extended to include some of my own modifications, designed to adapt the capacity of the descriptive apparatus to handle the type of interaction predicted as likely to occur in classrooms in which a 'participative' management style is adopted.

At this stage my primary interest was in the behaviour of the teachers and my attention was focussed on the extent to which the teacher retained, or abdicated, the traditional teacher role of dominant participant in classroom interaction. I was therefore interested in describing the extent to which the teacher initiated and terminated topics, determined the nature, purpose, timing, introduction and change of activities, took responsibility for the monitoring, evaluation and correction of learner performance and responses and acted as the purveyor of knowledge. The extent to which learners performed these roles, or attempted to perform them, was of secondary significance at this stage as I was more concerned with the extent to which teachers were prepared to abdicate these roles and with the strategies used by teachers to do this.

The Sinclair-Coulthard model for the description of classroom discourse offered an apparatus which was designed to describe teacher-learner interaction in the traditional classroom, a type of interaction which is overtly rule-governed with participants' roles remaining relatively fixed. The model offers an apparatus for the description of discourse in the traditional classrooms in which teachers, as 'dominant' participants, usually initiate and follow up while learners' contributions to the discourse frequently involve responses. The question-answer technique employed by teachers offers an example of this. Very often, teachers already know the answers to the questions they ask learners, and the learners are aware of this. Therefore when learners supply an answer they expect some sort of evaluation to follow. When teachers operate as dominant participants, supplying evaluative comments, the resulting discourse differs significantly from the discourse of desultory conversation in two ways.

The first point of contrast refers to teacher-learner interaction. When teachers ask questions to which they already know the answers, they are reinforcing the role of dominant participant by exercising their 'right' to demand a response which entails a performance. When teachers comment on the quality of the resulting performance, rather than on the message contained in the response, they are treating the response as a performance and again demonstrating the role of a dominant participant who is the guardian of knowledge, responsible for the evaluation of learner performance and progress.

The second point of difference relates to teacher control over learner-learner interaction. Learner-learner interaction can be defined as falling into two broad categories, the first involving 'quasi-interaction' and the second 'genuine interaction' (Willis 1981). In the case of 'quasi-interactive' exchanges, learners are involved in learner-learner exchanges in which the purpose of the exchange is to demonstrate that learners can reproduce or select language which is appropriate to context or to a prompt or a preceding move which has been provided by the teacher. An example of this would be the type of 'role-play' provided in many current coursebooks in which the learner is provided with a series of cues such as GREET: ACKNOWLEDGE: ENQUIRE AFTER HEALTH: RESPOND. This type of learner-learner interaction allows the teacher to supply follow up moves at any time. These follow up moves may take the form of evaluative comment or merely consist of encouragement to continue, not necessarily involving the teacher in

the learner-learner interaction. Teachers frequently move away and begin to make comments on another conversation, a form of behaviour which would be unacceptable if the teacher were viewed as an equal participant. Teachers do sometimes 'join-in' learner-learner interaction, often interrupting, to ask a learner to repeat something, to correct learner performance or to impose a change of topic. Here again the teacher is exercising the rights of a dominant participant and demonstrating a form of behaviour which would be regarded as an unacceptable intrusion into interaction amongst equal participants unless accompanied by an explanation. Regardless of the role played by the teacher, the type of learner-learner interaction described above involves the use of language as an end in itself, that of a performance designed to enable the teacher to evaluate student progress. Interaction of this type cannot be described as 'genuinely interactive' as it precludes the need for learners to select and negotiate personal meanings, substantially reduces the need for learners to monitor or inference and focuses learners' attention on the form of the message rather than on the message itself.

Interactive approaches to learning seem to require learner-learner interaction which goes beyond the example quoted above. The type of learner-learner interaction required by interactive approaches involves learners as equal participants in discourse with equal rights to initiate and follow up and also equal rights to withhold a response by offering a new initiation, involving a change of topic instead of the prospected response. Learner-learner interaction of this sort is more likely to be 'genuinely interactive', as participants will be involved in the selection and negotiation of personal meanings, in monitoring and inferencing and in making decisions about the existence and repair of communication breakdown, all of which can only occur if their attention is focussed on the message rather than on the form in which the message is expressed. This type of learner-learner interaction may be the result of teacher stimulation but will be free from teacher-imposed constraints on form or content. Such exchanges might, for example, be devoted to a discussion of the strategies learners plan to employ to solve a problem or complete a task. If teachers are to create an environment in which learners can participate in learner-learner interaction as equal participants it may be necessary that teachers withdraw from any form of participation in learner-learner interaction on the grounds that their acknowledged role as dominant participants in the classroom precludes them from operating as equal participants in interaction with learners.

A 'participative', learner-centred approach to the management of classroom learning suggests, however, that teachers will also have to abandon the role of dominant participant in classroom discourse for at least a proportion of classroom time. The teacher is, after all, usually the best available model of the language being learned and it seems desirable that learners should have some opportunity to operate as equal participants in interaction with such a model. If this is to occur then teacher involvement in learner-learner interaction would be more likely to take the form of initiation such as 'Can I help you?' or responses to learner invitations requesting help such as 'What's the problem?' or inviting the teacher to offer an opinion or act as

referee over a disagreement. In such situations the teacher has to make a choice, deciding whether to operate as an equal participant or a dominant participant. The former choice may be less easy to implement because learners tend to accord the teacher the role of dominant participant and may resist the teacher's attempt to play the role of an equal participant.

The role of the teacher as dominant participant in classroom interaction is reflected in the Sinclair-Coulthard model by the difference in the specifications of structure for teacher-initiated and learner-initiated elicitations. Thus teacher elicitations have the structure Initiation - Response - Follow Up whereas learner-elicitations have the structure—Initiation Response—with no follow up. This specification of structures is adequate for the description of a traditional classroom in which the teacher performs the role of language instructor, employing an authoritarian management style. Willis (1981) however, found that, even when the teacher retained the role of language instructor in the less formal classrooms of adult learners, these specifications of structure needed modification.

Willis proposed the structure: Initiation-Response, with an optional Follow-up, for both Teacher Elicit and Student Elicit Exchanges and specified that the Follow-up Move is not necessarily evaluative. Willis' data, collected in 'informal' classrooms, reflects a classroom in which the teacher retains the role of language instructor but adopts a 'benevolent authoritarian' and sometimes 'consultative' management style. While her own data offers some examples of teacher-learner interaction in which learners exercise the rights of equal participants, Willis points out that the teacher still tends to retain the role of dominant participant and that examples of learners operating as equal participants occur more frequently in learner-learner interaction.

As the 'participative' approach to classroom management implies the need for learners to operate as equal participants, in both learner-learner interaction, and teacher-learner interaction, a number of modifications were made to both the Sinclair-Coulthard and Willis' models to allow both situations to be coded, particularly in terms of the extent to which the teacher retained or abdicated the role of dominant participant. Thus the coding system could cope with cases where either teacher or student operated as dominant participants. These modifications and the discussions which followed are described in more detail in Falvey (1983).

Provision was also made to facilitate description of the extent to which teachers exercised control over learner-learner interaction by extending Willis' Exchange Type TEACHER DIRECT: VERBAL ACTIVITY to include two sub-classes, CLOSED and OPEN. The former follows Willis' specifications for the Exchange Type, TEACHER DIRECT: VERBAL ACTIVITY, the latter being designed to describe learner-learner interaction following a teacher instruction which sets a task or a problem to be dealt with by learners but in which the subsequent learner-learner exchanges are completely free of constraint on form or content. In other words the subsequent exchanges involve the use of language as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Such exchanges

might, for example, be devoted to a discussion of the strategies the learners will use to solve the problem or complete the task or may be devoted to a more common feature of classroom behaviour, an illicit discussion which attempts to sort out precisely what the teacher requires of the learners.

Findings A comparison of the analysis of each lesson showed significant differences in the classroom styles of the two teachers and also in the length and type of teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction which took place during their lessons. The findings indicate that certain aspects of the two teachers' differing behaviour may be linked with their positions on the Transmission - Interpretation dimension. The major differences are summarised below.

There was a marked contrast in the time devoted to teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction. Learner-learner interaction occupied 42 minutes out of 60 minutes in the Interpretation teacher's lesson, by comparison with 13½ minutes out of 60 minutes in the Transmission teacher's lesson. Of the remaining 18 minutes in the Interpretation teacher's lesson 14½ minutes (less than a quarter of the lesson time) were devoted to teacher-learner interaction whereas, in the Transmission teacher's lesson, 36 minutes (more than half the lesson time) of the remaining 46½ minutes were devoted to teacher-learner interaction. Analysis of the structure and type of exchanges in teacher-learner interaction also revealed significant contrasts.

Teacher-learner interaction: The analysis showed that, in the Transmission teacher's lesson, 211 out of the 216 teacher-learner exchanges were initiated by the teacher, with learners initiating a total of 5 exchanges (2.3% of the total). In the Interpretation teacher's lesson the teacher initiated 110 exchanges out of a total of 123 exchanges, with learners initiating a total of 13 exchanges (10.5% of the total). Analysis of the teacher-initiated exchanges revealed a significant contrast between the two teachers in that they appeared to favour different Exchange Types. The descriptive apparatus used offers three Exchange Types in which a teacher-initiation prospects a learner response in the form of a verbal contribution. Two of these prospect responses are described as genuinely interactive - TEACHER ELICIT OPEN and TEACHER ELICIT CHECK. The third Exchange Type (TEACHER~DIRECT VERBAL) prospects a learner response in which the form, length and content of the response are prospected by the teacher-initiation. In figure one below these Exchange Types are presented in an order which reflects teacher control over learner response. The Exchange Type which exercises most control is presented first.

EXCHANGE TYPE	TRANSMISSION TEACHER	INTERPRETATION TEACHER
TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL	41	11
TEACHER ELICIT CHECK	22	2
TEACHER ELICIT OPEN	19	40

Figure 1: Teacher control over learner response

Of the 11 exchanges of the type TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL which occurred during the Interpretation teacher's lesson, all but one initiated a choral response and the teacher-initiation frequently took the form of a model to be repeated by the students. The eleven exchanges occurred in an almost unbroken sequence. This type of teacher-learner, or teacher-class interaction—choral drilling—did not occur at all in the Transmission teacher's lesson, in which exchanges of the type TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL prospected response by one learner only. Although the two teachers initiated almost exactly the same number of Exchanges of the type TEACHER ELICIT, which have been described as 'genuinely interactive', the Transmission Teacher initiated 22 of the latter type which prospect a short learner response whereas the Interpretation teacher initiated only 2 of this type, but initiated 40 exchanges TEACHER ELICIT OPEN by contrast with 19 in the Transmission teacher's lesson of the ELICIT Exchanges initiated by learners, two in each lesson, were all of the sub-class CHECK.

Another Exchange Type which highlights a marked contrast in teacher-learner interaction in the two lessons is the Exchange Type: TEACHER DIRECT. This Exchange Type prospects a non-verbal response from learners such as closing books, turning to a particular page, organising themselves into groups or looking at the blackboard. The Transmission teacher initiated 31 Exchanges of this type by comparison with 6 initiated by the Interpretation teacher. This contrast is particularly significant in view of the fact that all Exchanges discussed so far are FREE Exchanges and do not therefore include Exchanges designed to re-initiate a previous Exchange which has failed to produce the prospected response, or to extend an initiation to prospect a response from other learners after the prospected response has been supplied by one learner. In other words, each incidence of the Exchange Type, TEACHER DIRECT itemised above represents an initial attempt to prospect a non-verbal response and does not include repetitions of that attempt. The descriptive apparatus categorises such repetitions as BOUND Exchanges.

The one remaining FREE Exchange Type involving teacher-learner interaction is the Exchange Type, INFORM which, in the modified version of the descriptive apparatus, has the structure: Initiation with no Response but an optional Follow-up. The Transmission teacher initiated 8 Exchanges of the type TEACHER INFORM and the Interpretation teacher initiated 4 Exchanges of this type. By contrast, in the Transmission teacher's lesson, learners initiated 3 exchanges of the type STUDENT INFORM while in the Interpretation teacher's lesson there were 7 exchanges of the type STUDENT INFORM.

Learner-learner interaction: There was also a marked contrast in the types of learner-learner interaction stimulated by each teacher. This was revealed by a comparison of the analysis of the types of instruction given by each teacher when promoting learner-learner interaction. The comparison made here refers to the initial attempt to promote learner-learner interaction and does not refer to repair strategies involving the repetition or rephrasing of the teacher's initial instruction which would be categorised as Bound Exchanges. The Transmission teacher gave a total of four instructions designed to promote learner-learner interaction, one of which TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL EXCHANGE involved learners in a single Exchange consisting of

an initiation and a response. The other three (TEACHER DIRECT : VERBAL ACTIVITY :CLOSED)involved learners in a series of Exchanges but gave them no choice over the form, content, purpose or outcome of the Exchanges. Two, for example, involved the reading aloud of a dialogue. The Interpretation teacher issued more instructions designed to promote learner-learner interaction, a total of seven. All prospected a series of Exchanges rather than a single Exchange. Of the seven, one Exchange was of the type TEACHER DIRECT: VERBAL ACTIVITY CLOSED which directed learners to play a game which involved trying to find out each other's jobs. The rules of the game imposed a restriction on the forms which could be used, in the sense that participants could refuse to answer a question which asked for anything other than a YES or NO answer. The remaining six Exchanges were of the type TEACHER DIRECT: VERBAL ACTIVITY OPEN which left the learners free to select the form, content, and outcome of the exchanges although in some cases the purpose of the Exchange had been determined by the teacher. Examples of the instructions given by the Interpretation teacher include 'Talk together and try to work out the meanings of the words', 'Think about the job and discuss what qualifications might be needed'.

Structure and Organisation of Lessons: In the Sinclair-Coulthard model this aspect of classroom discourse is described largely by an Exchange Type defined as a Boundary Exchange. These Exchanges differ from the Exchange Types discussed so far in this paper. All Exchanges mentioned so far have been Teaching Exchanges which fall into two categories: Bound Exchanges and Free Exchanges. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:49) distinguish between Boundary and Teaching Exchanges as follows: 'The function of a Boundary Exchange is, as the name suggests, to signal the beginning or end of what the teacher considers to be a stage in the lesson; Teaching Exchanges are the individual steps by which the lesson progresses'. In classrooms someone has to take responsibility for signalling the beginning or the end of stages in a lesson and this responsibility is more frequently accorded to the teacher than to the learner. Interactive approaches to learning do not necessarily imply that this role should be taken over by learners. 'Participative' approaches to the management of classroom learning also seem to imply that someone has to take responsibility for 'chairing' class discussions although this responsibility may be rotated and the extent to which the chairperson may act as dominant participant may be curtailed by mutually agreed rules.

With the exception of two instances in the Interpretation teacher's lesson, both teachers initiated the Boundary Exchanges which occurred during the two lessons. There were 23 Boundary Exchanges in the Transmission teacher's lesson, and 18 in the Interpretation teacher's lesson demonstrating very little contrast between the two. This in itself is interesting as, given the higher incidence of teacher-initiated exchanges in the Transmission teacher's lesson (216) one would have expected a corresponding incidence of Boundary Exchanges enabling the teacher to organise and set the stages of a lesson in which there was far more teacher-learner interaction than learner-learner interaction. The contrast in the structure of the Boundary Exchanges in each lesson offers a possible explanation of this however. The Interpretation teacher used Boundary Exchanges to signal a change in activity and also to reveal the organisation of the lesson by

commenting on the nature and organisation of the discourse. The Transmission teacher used Boundary Exchanges to signal a change of activity only. In this teacher's lesson Boundary Exchanges were frequently followed by Teaching Exchange types: TEACHER DIRECT, used to initiate non-verbal activity, TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL or TEACHER DIRECT VERBAL EXCHANGE. The Transmission teacher made little use of the second element of structure in Boundary Exchanges which is used to refer to the nature of preceding or prospected discourse.

Another area of contrast between the two lessons is revealed by the different ways in which the two teachers use Bound Exchanges. The Transmission Teacher's use of Bound Exchanges reflected the role of dominant participant. In this lesson Bound Exchanges were used to elicit correction of a preceding learner response or, following learner responses or follow-up moves, to re-establish the initiating more of the preceding exchange. This in effect meant that many learner responses were treated as though they never occurred. By contrast the Interpretation teacher used Bound Exchanges either to indicate interest in the preceding learner response or to ensure the continued involvement of the learner in the interaction, a type of behaviour which resembles the behaviour of a peer rather than a dominant participant.

Discussion

The project just described set out to establish whether there were any significant differences in the classroom styles of two teachers who had been identified as holding Transmission and Interpretation views in order to determine whether the relationship between teachers' attitudes and their teaching styles merited further study. The findings revealed significant differences in the classroom styles of the two teachers, particularly in their exercise of the roles of peer or dominant participants in teacher-learner interaction and also in the extent to which they encouraged or allowed 'genuine interaction' in both teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction. Many of these differences can be linked to their positions on the Transmission-Interpretation dimension.

With reference to the overall structure of the two lessons, for example, the use of Boundary Exchanges reflects a difference in the teachers' perceptions of the role of learners in the learning process. The Interpretation teacher uses Boundary Exchanges to share the teacher's view of the discourse with the learners so that they understand the path the discourse is taking and are given access to the teacher's purpose in each stage of the discourse. The Transmission teacher uses Boundary Exchanges to draw learners' attention to the next task, in particular the organisation of the task or the performance required of the student, using the Boundary Exchange to ensure completion of the task rather than to enable learners to understand the purpose of the task.

Attitudes towards the role of content in the learning process are also reflected in the overall structure of each lesson. A comparison of the early stages of each lesson provides an example of this. The Interpretation teacher begins by focussing on the general

topic of the lesson and proceeds with a series of TEACHER ELICIT OPEN Exchanges, which elicit both information and perspectives from the students. The topic is then developed from the students' contributions when the teacher follows a Boundary Exchange with an INFORM Exchange which introduces new information on the topic but constantly relates this information to the students' contributions. On the other hand the Transmission teacher begins the lesson by citing a language item almost immediately, seeking a 'correct' interpretation and proceeds, mainly with TEACHER ELICIT CHECK and Bound Exchanges until finally, having rejected student answers, the teacher gives a detailed explanation in two INFORM Exchanges, the second of which essentially repeats the content of the first, in neither of which is any reference made to student contributions. The next stage of this lesson involves a change in topic and leads to the study of a text with attention again being paid to 'correct' interpretation. By contrast the INFORM exchange in the Interpretation teacher's lesson is followed by the setting of a task which involves students in the exploration of a text and in student-student exchange of ideas.

The features of the overall structure of each lesson together with the ratio of teacher talking time and student talking time in each lesson, indicate the Transmission teacher's concern with content and knowledge to be 'taught' as opposed to the Interpretation teacher's concern with the learners' existing knowledge of the world and content and the need for learners to match new information against previous knowledge. The examples given above also seem to reflect differing views of the teachers' role. The Transmission teacher seems to 'perceive the teacher's task to be the evaluation and correction of the learner's performance, according to criteria of which the teacher is the guardian and to perceive the learner as an uninformed acolyte for whom access to knowledge will be difficult since he must qualify himself through tests of appropriate performance' whereas the Interpretation teacher seems to 'perceive the teacher's task to be the setting up of a dialogue in which the learner can reshape his knowledge through interaction with others and to perceive the learner as already possessing systematic and relevant knowledge, and the means of reshaping that knowledge' (Barnes 1976).

The teachers' selection of certain Exchange Types seems to emphasise the difference in attitude towards the role of content in the learning process. The Transmission teacher makes more use of the Exchange Type TEACHER ELICIT CHECK than OPEN, using the CHECK to confirm that students are paying attention or to elicit answers to content or usage questions ('fact or habit?'). This teacher uses TEACHER ELICIT OPEN Exchanges mainly to elicit comment on content or usage and treats the propositional content of the Responding Move as having no interactive value in itself. The Initiating Moves in the Transmission teacher's ELICIT OPEN Exchanges usually prospect the content of the Response although leaving the form and length of the response to the learner. Throughout the TEACHER ELICIT Exchanges, both OPEN and CLOSED, there is a focus on content and usage and on evaluation of learner performance. This relates to a Transmission view of learning which 'believes knowledge to exist in the form of public disciplines which include content and criteria of performance and values learner

performances in so far as they conform to the criterion of the discipline' (Barnes 1976).

An Interpretation view which 'believes knowledge to exist in the knower's ability to organise thought and action and values the learner's commitment to interpreting reality, so that criteria arise as much from the learner as from the teacher' (Barnes 1976) is more evident in the Interpretation teacher's selection and use of TEACHER ELICIT OPEN and CLOSED Exchanges. This teacher uses the Initiating Move in ELICIT OPEN Exchanges to elicit new content or information from the students, prospecting Responding Moves in which the propositional content has interactive value and the teacher's Follow-up Moves are usually a response to the propositional content of the Responding Moves. Initiating Moves also elicit student opinion or attitudes and the Follow-up Moves in such Exchanges comment on or evaluate the Responding Move as a contribution to the interaction rather than as answers to be evaluated as right or wrong. Follow-up Moves resemble those of a peer-participant in that although the teacher evaluates the propositional content of the Responding Move, the teacher also signals that the teacher values the Responding Move both as a contribution to the interaction and as a contribution towards the topic under discussion. The very limited use of the Exchange type: TEACHER ELICIT CHECK is restricted to details of classroom organisation (for example, 'Can you see the board?') and is therefore very different from that of the Transmission teacher.

The findings show that there is a significant correspondence between the attitudes of the two teachers towards communication and learning and the discourse that takes place in their classrooms. In the Transmission teacher's classroom the teacher retains the role of dominant participant: interaction takes place mainly between the teacher and individual learners and nearly all the interaction, teacher-learner and learner-learner is quasi interactive. In the Interpretation teacher's classroom the situation is almost the reverse. The teacher frequently plays the role of peer participant: the bulk of the interaction takes place between learners and nearly all the interaction, teacher-learner and learner-learner is 'genuinely interactive'. These findings suggest that teachers' attitudes towards communication and learning have a significant influence on their ability to implement interactive learning processes and participative management styles in the classroom.

The project findings reveal significant contrasts in the discourse in two lessons and significant correspondence between the attitudes and teaching styles of two teachers. At the same time the project findings raise many questions. Whether or not a similar correspondence can be established between the attitudes and teaching styles in a larger sample of teachers is the subject of work currently in progress.

The project described here dealt exclusively with teachers who are native speakers of English. Examination of the relationships between the attitudes and classroom styles of teachers who are non-native speakers of English is probably of more relevance in Hong Kong where most English language teaching is done by non-native speakers. Studies in this area would require the development of completely new

attitudinal tests, to identify the range of attitudes towards communication and learning which exist amongst non-native speakers in this particular environment.⁶

Another area which requires in-depth study is learner-learner interaction in foreign language classrooms. This point has already been made by Low and Morrison (1980) who point out the need for a descriptive apparatus which goes beyond 'simply categorizing pupil-talk and teacher-talk', 'provides a proper framework for examining classrooms' and also 'a way of describing interactive monitoring and inferencing in the context of small groups'. The Sinclair-Coulthard model which was originally published 'to promote the generalization of the descriptive apparatus' offers a framework which has already demonstrated its potential not only for the description of discourse in a range of classrooms but also for the description of discourse occurring between doctors and patients, in committee meetings, BBC English language broadcasts, and in structured monologue such as occurs in formal lectures. Some aspects of these uses are described in Coulthard and Montgomery (1981). My own attempts to use the modified version of the Sinclair-Coulthard and Willis models for the analysis of learner-learner interaction occurring in my own data suggest that the application of the Sinclair/Coulthard descriptive apparatus for 'describing interactive monitoring and inferencing in the control of small groups' merits further investigation.

The investigation of learner-learner interaction in foreign language classrooms will provide information on the viability and potential of interactive models of learning for the foreign language learning process. If the findings provided support for the implementation of interactive models of learning, a problem may still remain, that of ensuring that teachers adopt interactive approaches. Bell suggests this may necessitate effecting change in teachers' attitudes. This in turn will require investigation into the influences which produce teacher attitudes. Analysis of trainer-trainee interaction, trainer-trainee-group interaction and trainee-trainee interaction on teacher education courses, in EFL and other subjects, might provide some interesting insights here. Widdowson suggests that the successful implementation of new approaches is dependent on a teacher's grasp of the theoretical bases for such models (Widdowson 1983). While I agree that the degree of success will be dependent on this sort of understanding, my own belief is that such understanding will not guarantee that attempts are made to apply theory in the classroom. A comparison of the approaches to learning employed by lecturers and trainers with the approaches to learning employed subsequently by their trainees in classrooms, together with a comparison of the extent to which trainees are deemed 'to have understood theoretical models' could contribute to discussion in this area.

Findings from educational studies suggest that little teacher training succeeds in the achievement of objectives in the long-term in spite of apparent success during teaching practice and probationary periods. Lacey (1977) comments on the evidence of 'discontinuity between training and the reality of teaching'. Those of us involved in the training of teachers may have much to answer for. We need to consider theoretical bases for our approaches to learning on

training courses and also to decide whether our objectives on training courses should be related to the achievement of performance in the short term or learning strategies for implementation in the long term. Given the many changes in approaches to language learning which have been introduced in the last two or three decades, together with the fact that further training often appears to the teacher to undermine previous training, perhaps we should give serious thought to training objectives which concentrate on the development of learning strategies and the independence of trainees as opposed to their dependence on trainers. For many of us this may involve questioning ourselves about our own view of our roles as managers and our attitudes towards the role of our trainees in the learning process - a process which will be no easier for us than it is for teachers or commercial managers who face a need to change their management styles.

NOTES

1. Terms introduced by Likert and Likert 1976.
2. In spite of this similarity many teachers point out that foreign language learners tend to arrive in the classroom with rather less ability to use the foreign language than is true of native speakers even in their early years and also that learners frequently have little or no access to the foreign language, or the system underlying it, apart from time spent in the classroom. They argue therefore that interactive models of learning cannot be implemented until learners have a body of language to use for interacting and participating. This view seems to embrace two assumptions. Firstly that the implementation of interactive and 'participative' approaches to foreign language learning demands the exclusive use of the foreign language and precludes the use of the mother tongue, an assumption which I question. The second assumption involves adherence to the view that, in language learning, language is an end in itself, rather than a means to an end, and that the teaching objective is to teach 'language' rather than 'communication through language'. This view is in direct conflict with the perceptions of the purposes of language on which many current approaches are based.
3. See amongst others : Barnes, Britton and Rosen 1976; Barnes and Todd 1977; Delamont 1976; Morrison and McIntyre 1972, 1973; Open University 1976.
4. See Royal Society of Arts Examinations Board Report on Examinations in Sessions 1979-80, Part IX, page 2, point iv.
5. The test was designed for native speakers of English from Western cultures and educational backgrounds. It would not therefore offer a reliable tool for the identification of attitudes of non-native speakers. It should also be noted that the test was designed to identify teachers on the extremes of the dimension: Transmission versus Interpretation and would not discriminate satisfactorily within the extremes. Neither therefore would it provide a means for measuring changes in attitude.
6. In view of the many and varied statements made about the existence of traditional and hierarchical attitudes, Rotter's work on 'Generalised Expectancies for Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement', together with Redding and Ng's work on 'group and individual face' may be of relevance in establishing the range of attitudes which do, in fact, exist.

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COOPERATING WITH THE LEARNER: A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON
RESEARCHING LEARNERS' PROBLEMS WITH PROCESSING TEXT

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In this report I would like to give the background to the continuing research at the Polytechnic into how learners approach the processing of written English texts and their problems and strategies for learning their subject disciplines through the medium of English. This sort of applied linguistic research has itself many problems and inherent difficulties in the techniques for gathering data and in consequence part of this paper will investigate the nature of the research process and the type of data collected as well as the role of the researcher and subject to the extent that these considerations have influenced the directions that the work has taken so far.

Background

I should like to begin with a brief outline of how the Department of Languages at the Polytechnic came to identifying the area that it felt was important to research into and that would give the most informative data for development of its courses. The primary influences that have affected research into language teaching and learning have been the shift of recent thinking towards a criterion for establishing an acceptable analysis of learners' needs and the consequent re-appraisal of the role of the language teacher, in particular the language teacher who is working in the area of language for special purposes or language for academic study. With the advent of degree programmes at the Polytechnic it became necessary for an analysis of the role played by the Department of Languages within the framework of undergraduate courses run by the various Engineering departments. What contribution could the Department of Languages make and what should it be able to make? For a variety of reasons the accepted role of a servicing department, i.e. that of providing English language back-up for learners of other disciplines, with EAP or EAP tailored courses, became less acceptable especially in the light of discussions with parent department staff on the type of learner they would be considering for degree awards. A survey of academic staff on their understanding of what constituted a 'good' student resulted in a consensus that the ideal Polytechnic undergraduate would show initiative in his learning experience and be able to contribute much to his own education. Creativity, critical awareness and self-awareness were factors which staff felt their learners would benefit from.

For the language teacher, then, learners' needs started from a criterion of learner type rather than from the linguistic or communicative needs of the course that he was following. As Widdowson (1982) has put it, the distinction is between goal-oriented and a process-oriented approach to the definition of needs. And as

Douglas *et al* (1981) point out, the distinction has to be further made between the description of what a non-native English speaking student has to do and what types of mastery he needs in order to do it. As teachers (and testers) Douglas suggests that, for success in learning, we should be concentrating on the language-based abilities necessary for the student 'to go on and learn in his chosen field'.

The implications of this for the language teacher and researcher are far-reaching. Rather than teaching the language per se, or even teaching how to communicate in the language, the role of the teacher has become that of creating an environment in which students can learn how to learn their subject disciplines through the medium of English. The focus of interest is more 'to make the learner autonomous, so that he can define his objectives... and can evaluate and adjust his progress' (Riley 1976). This emphasis on the learning process and the learners' 'control over their own thinking and learning' (Gagne 1980) and the use of cognitive strategy to place 'a construction upon incoming sensory data... within a framework that can be assimilated' (Sherman and Kulhavy 1980) has shown the direction that applied linguistic research might take and thus enable us to get a closer understanding of how the learner operates in his world and 'interacts with the mind-pool of human culture' (Harri-Augstein 1981).

A Search For Focus

Given these theoretical considerations, what practical direction could or should the teaching of 'English' take in order to provide for the learning needs of the Polytechnic undergraduate? In many ways the development towards helping learners with their studies in English at tertiary level has been made in the various perspectives of the 'study skills' programmes (Gibbs 1976, Widdowson 1975, Candlin *et al* 1978 for example). But, as Hounsell (1979) suggests, a study skills approach seen as 'a collection of identifiable skills... emphasising means or techniques' does not go far enough and should not be confused with learning to learn which is 'an intensely personal activity characterized by a search for meaning and understanding... emphasising the awareness of purpose (with) process inseparable from the individual'. The problem of directions for language teaching revolves around the theoretical input from studies in learning and the professional sphere in which the language teacher operates. Learning is vastly complex, and successful learning requires the consideration of at least a learner's motivation, teaching styles, relationships between learner and teaching staff, as well as the socio-economic position of the learner. Looking at the situation from a Polytechnic perspective the language teacher has a limited involvement in the learning process but an involvement at a point where the learner is interacting with his environment at a fairly intense level. Much of the Polytechnic learner's academic activity focuses on the processing of linguistic messages coming at him through written texts. The potential and importance of this area of the learning experience has been identified, among others, by Manago. If, as she says (Manago *et al* 1982), 'text processing is taken as the construction of meaning through the interaction of the reader and text, then it follows that reading is a complex cognitive activity requiring the development and use of many skills beyond simple

word-recognition skills. In order to gain meaning from print the reader must bring a vast store of knowledge of language and world to the reading task. He must utilize a set of problem-solving activities to regulate and co-ordinate comprehension processes, to employ relevant previous knowledge in constructing meaning from text incorporating new information into appropriate knowledge structures'. Sajavaara (1981), similarly, in his message processing model for language learning, notes that 'perception and recognition of new information takes place in reference to previous knowledge'. Brown (1981) also identifies the importance of teaching the learner to learn from texts emphasising that the learner should be able 'to tie in information into his previous knowledge and activate appropriate schemata... seeking relationships and analogies'. The key to successful learning from texts depends on how easily a learner is able to adapt incoming stimuli to what he already knows and has assimilated. Saljo (1981) categorizes this adaptability in learners into deep processing or surface processing, namely into 'those who memorize and reproduce, and those who focus on comprehending the main ideas and principles and in general (have) a more reflective attitude towards the learning material'. Babbs and Moe (1983) refer to these types as the one 'who re-reads purposefully, raises questions... and uses reading as a tool for learning' and the other 'who has little or no awareness of the occasional lack of understanding... (and) has not learned to use reading as a tool for learning (or pleasure)'. The key, as Babbs and Moe suggest, is metacognition and the ability to monitor one's own cognition or 'thinking about thinking'.

The direction that the Department of Languages should take in identifying which aspect of the Polytechnic learner's learning needs will provide the richest potential for his development becomes clearer. To best serve parent departments in their efforts to produce successful learners an investigation into how learners cope with and assimilate information from written texts should be carried out. Problems may then be identified and categorized, levels of processing and problem-solving strategies may be identified which could provide a basis for the design of curricula which would be more adaptable to individuals or groups of learners who face particular text-processing barriers. The assumption is that such text-processing problems will derive not so much from the grammatical dependencies of the surface forms of the texts as from the 'lack of mutual access and relevance within a configuration of concepts and relations (of the textual world)' (Beaugrande 1980). If metacognition is indeed the key, then investigations in this area will also have considerable relevance to methodology in the form of consciousness-raising techniques designed to induce the learner to be more aware of his own learning potential.

Methods

With a theoretical framework reasonably established to justify a research focus, there remains 'only' the practical problems of the research process itself, which in the main can be summarized as the tension between what is traditionally accepted as 'scientific' research methodology on the one hand and the nature of the information required in the social sciences on the other.

The hypothetico-deductive method of setting up a theory based on general observation and testing it against experience to provide quantitative data which can be analysed objectively, may not yield the wealth of information available from more qualitative data provided by the humanistic dimension in research as is emphasised in interpretivist sociology and ethnomethodology. Cavalcanti (1982) argues that 'in dealing with human beings, a subjective interpretation of data, sometimes dismissed as non-scientific, seems (to me) able to provide a humanistic dimension to the accuracy exhibited by figures'. Rockhill (1982) goes further and refers to her 'fundamentally altered assumptions about research, ways of inquiring and reporting'. The qualitative perspective opens up the possibility of a new line of inquiry with the 'search into unasked questions which may lead into deeper insights (into the phenomenon of participation)'. The purpose of qualitative research perspectives, says Rockhill, is to understand, explain and specify when meaning is the product of social interaction, truth is relative and subjective methods are inductive.

Complying with such principles of humanistic psychology, the choice of methodology in any research into learning processes and problems, it seems to me, must identify the subject of the investigation as an active participant in the research process itself. Researcher and subject must be able to collaborate so that encounters between the two can provide a creative basis for understanding and interpretation.

So far I hope that I have adequately, though briefly, outlined the major themes that have influenced the directions taken in the Polytechnic research programme into how best to utilise the human resources available to provide curricula and methodology for undergraduate level English courses. The broad aims are to investigate learner problems and strategies specifically related to the processing of written texts. Methodological decisions have been influenced by the qualitative perspective to research data, based on aspects of hermeneutics and phenomenology which allows the researcher 'to get into the defining process of the participant'. (Rockhill 1983) What follows is a report on the difficulties I have experienced with the practicality of designing a research project and of collecting data that are based on the theoretical constructs above, and that follow the principles that I have decided will control my investigations.

Collecting Data

Techniques for gathering data in applied linguistic research that can be viewed from the qualitative perspective and which involves the researcher and the subject in a cooperative effort have been borrowed from established techniques in psychology and problem-solving theory and come under the broad category of introspection. The classification of these techniques into what Cavalcanti (1982) suggests falls into the broad continuum of self-observation (or introspection proper), self-reports and thinking aloud has been a major area of discussion insofar as these techniques have been used in investigations into learning in general and language learning in particular. (See for example Hosenfeld 1977; Cohen 1978; 1980, and 1983, and in general the work continuing in

CUNY and SUNY, Buffalo). Cohen (1983) includes 'stream of consciousness' type of disclosure of thought processes, involving both introspection and retrospection (self-observation immediately after the event or while the information is still in the short-term memory). Mann (1982) categorizes the available techniques as thinking aloud, introspection and retrospection. For Mann, thinking aloud involves externalising the contents of the mind while engaging in a particular activity as in the problem-solving work already done. Introspection involves the observation and reporting of the workings of the mind and the processes in operation, whereas retrospection involves reporting how a particular task was done after the event, which demands that the subject 'infers his own mental processes or strategies from memory'.

In the course of my own studies, selection of data collection techniques had to take into account the various demands made on the subject by introspection and retrospection activities as outlined by Mann. The cognitive demands of memory load, and the capacity of the short-term memory would seem to require additional effort on the part of a subject which may distort data by asking him to perform several unfamiliar tasks, simultaneously, at the conscious level. This distortion would be aggravated by the lack of English fluency in Polytechnic learners - particularly as metacognition plays such a vital role in inferring processes from observation.

For this reason I decided to attempt retrospection rather than introspection. However, as Polytechnic learners may not be practised in monitoring their processes during reading (cf. Babbs and Moe 1983, on reading types) I decided that some form of focus on problems encountered was necessary during the reading stage of the experiments, in order to provide a basis for retrospections later.

Design

Ideally, research data should provide a balance between qualitative and quantitative information. In my case I felt that the conceivable wealth of subjective information should somehow be balanced, moderated and indexed to some measure of a more objective kind. I was looking for data that could be elicited and referenced to a controllable model of text processing which would help in analysing and classifying the data that came from the more qualitative direction. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) provide a complex model for the analysis of texts based on their procedural approach to text linguistics and their notions of the standards of textuality. Free recall of written texts formed one of their procedures for identifying factors related to coherence of texts and for identifying how '(linguistic) expressions activate knowledge' so that the reader may build a 'satisfactory' text-world based on his understanding of the real world through processing the meanings of expressions (or the content of concepts) which when occurring in a textual world 'should be reasonably stabilizing and delimiting'.

My early experiments, therefore, related to data gathering procedures, included a recall exercise as well as data provided by the retrospections. I was hoping to discover what effects retrospection on a text would have

on later recalls of the text and to see whether problems noted by subjects during the processing stage, on-line as it were, would repeat themselves in any identifiable way in the written recall.

Procedures

The first experiments were attempts to find procedures that would produce data. I was aware that not only would my subjects be new to the concepts of 'cooperative research' but that the idea was also unfamiliar to myself. For these reasons I approached the face-to-face situations with an open mind, willing to be influenced by circumstances in the classroom that might indicate alternative techniques and approaches. But at the same time I tried to remain clear as to the aims of the research. I also had to include for the probability that subjects would be unpractised in the techniques of retrospection, which in Babbs and Moe terms meant that their level of metacognitive awareness would be low. Given also that subjects would be unprepared for this type of research, and, though willing to please, they would give biased data of the type they felt the researcher wanted, some sort of sensitization would be required. At first this was done at a fairly simple level, by explaining to subjects that I was interested in how they approached the reading of a text, and how they managed to create meaning from the text. I was not particularly convinced that these explanations were completely understood, but the desired effect was to convince subjects that I was not testing them. Although my explanations seemed removed from the practice of text processing, I avoided using the words 'problem' and 'difficulty' which as Mann has been careful to point out, are loaded terms open to interpretation. When the text was handed to the subjects, I asked them to mark on the paper, in whatever manner they liked, every point in the text when they felt they had not completely understood. Mann used the terms 'pause' or 'hiccough' which I felt could be avoided in this case. Instead I asked subjects to indicate where they had to stop reading for a moment to think about the text, or where they had to go back and re-read parts of the text.

This stage was important as a 'warm-up' for the time when retrospection would take place and later, when attempts were made to elicit more introspection data, or rather, using Mann's terminology, when an 'immediate retrospection' was required. The markings on the text would be the focus of the questions designed to elicit processing problems.

At this point the type of text that the subjects would be asked to process becomes important. Different texts would create different text-processing problems, and a choice of text could introduce a bias which would have to be taken into account at the analysis stage. Not only would it be necessary to consider the conventional linguistic methods of producing text types but also, if, as de Beaugrande suggests, a text type 'is a set of heuristics for producing, predicting and processing textual occurrence', (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), some account should be taken of the experience subjects might have had with certain texts which would influence their abilities to manage the functional and cognitive elements of the text, or, indeed, different parts of the

same text. It would have been conceivable to conduct studies on different types of texts, but as a starting point, I was happy with any text which in the main would exemplify a pattern of textuality (following Beaugrande) that my subjects would have to deal with in the normal course of their studies. For this reason, although acknowledging that a given text can often contain a mixture of traits, I opted for the category of 'descriptive text' which dealt with a topic of 'general scientific' interest which could be used across subject-specific disciplines without causing too much difficulty in the form of 'knowledge gap' between subjects in the research.

Trial Run

In the one experiment I will deal with in a little more detail, the subjects were students of Production and Industrial Engineering in the first year of their Higher Diploma course at the Polytechnic. As I was interested mainly in gathering data, and not, as yet, in matching data against subject discipline or year of study, I sampled students from those who were available at the time. This meant that all subjects were members of one or other of my regular classes. This gave rise to several problems related to teacher-researcher role, noted below, but allowed to me to conduct variations on the recall/retrospection experiments which was essential for refining procedures of data collection and to find out just what was practical.

The text I used was a short (250 words) description of chemical and biological weapons offered in comparative and contrastive terms of their effectiveness in warfare over traditional arms. In the manner I have outlined, subjects were asked to read the passage and mark the text at points where their understanding was interrupted in some way. They were not given a time limit but were asked to read the passage in as normal a way as possible, and in any event were stopped after 5 minutes, when the papers were collected up. At this point subjects were asked to give a title to the passage they had just read and also to imagine that a friend had asked them what the passage was about. They were asked to write down what they would tell him/her. Fifteen minutes were allowed for this part of the experiment.

As this experiment was carried out during the scheduled class hour, time was a considerable problem. Analysis of all recalls and retrospection interviewing of all subjects was impossible at one sitting. A compromise system of management was adopted which meant that, while some subjects were writing their recalls, I interviewed others on their marked texts before their recall was attempted. In this way, although some data would be lost, I would at least have some data at pre- and post-recall stages. This was an extremely rough and ready condition and later I hoped that I could be able to catch subjects out of class hours when more time was available and fewer distractions imposed on their retrospections. However, as I have mentioned, these in-class experiments were partly conducted to introduce subjects to the notions and practice of cooperating on an equal footing in an investigation that would (hopefully) be of mutual benefit to themselves and the researcher.

In the retrospection interviews I wanted to discover why the texts had been marked in particular ways by individual subjects. This involved discovering what the nature of the problem was, whether it was a major or minor difficulty, whether the problem was solved as the text was processed further, and, if possible, how the subjects proceeded in finding what they felt was an acceptable solution. At a later stage some classification and a taxonomy of the problems could be attempted, but at this point the mechanics of interviewing and the psychological aspects of gaining rapport and establishing a role relationship were primary considerations. This also involved negotiations to establish an acceptable metalanguage between subject and researcher. The situations in which these early retrospections took place could hardly be considered conducive to the free flow of uninhibited insights into the subjects' thought processes. Nonetheless the exercise was useful in giving subject and researcher valuable experience of this kind of cooperation.

The focus of the interviews was the marked text that subjects had previously given in. These problem points, on the whole, were predictable, indicating the subjects' obsession with vocabulary items. Looking at the marked texts there were few indications that the text presented any other difficulties or points where the processing might have been held up. This was to be expected if the activity of retrospecting is taken as requiring a reasonably sophisticated understanding of the reading processes and a correspondingly high level of metacognition, neither of which it could be reasonably expected subjects possessed, at least consciously, at this stage.

The interviews were all recorded using a Sony Pressman cassette recorder, which was running before the subjects began the sessions. The general approach to the sessions was to have a planned series of questions but to allow for follow-ups in whatever direction the retrospections might take. The interview began with questions about the general difficulty of the text and with questions about the subject's previous experience with the topic and whether the text had provoked any interest and opinions. Then, with the marked text between us, questions focussed on the specific points marked by the subject. When asked why a certain mark was made on the text the response was 'because I didn't understand'. Although this may be a natural response, for Babbs and Moe it is a fundamental one in metacognition: to acknowledge that there is a lack of understanding is a prerequisite for learning. It was perhaps not surprising that, in these early experiments, a large proportion of subjects did not admit to having many problems, i.e. their texts were marked sparingly.

The next phase was to tread gently towards discovering what kind of non-understanding occurred and to move towards discovering why. Most of the problems were related to vocabulary items and I attempted to find out why this word caused a problem and whether the problem was permanent or had been solved as the text was processed further. Had the word been seen before? Did subjects read back or read on when the word occurred as a difficulty? A difficulty to be admitted here concerns the time between subject's first reading of the text and retrospections. In some cases the time-lag was as much as thirty minutes and imposed on the short-term memory to the extent that subjects were

unable to identify clearly how they had worked on the processing of the text. Some subjects were able to retrospect with confidence, others were not. It soon became obvious that what was happening was not a retrospection activity but a teaching activity, as subjects were taking my questions as instructions to operate in that manner during the interview sessions. The retrospection activity had become a training activity for introspection. As a result it might be possible in further experiments to go straight for the 'immediate retrospection' and to ask subjects to read a text and interrupt them after smaller sections of the text had been covered, to ask them what they had been doing.

The analysis of the written recalls, I hoped, would provide the possibility of judging subjects' ability to impose a coherence on the sample text. By comparing the continuity of senses of the sample text with that of the written recalls it should be possible to identify areas where the sample text caused problems, of whatever nature, for the subjects. By cross-referencing the recalls with the marked texts it should be further possible to identify more precisely the type of problem that was occurring. For example it was reasonable to suppose that if a particular vocabulary item caused a problem during processing then this item would not occur in the written recall. If it did feature in the recall then it would be important to identify the context in which it had been used giving some evidence of the strategy used during processing. This scrutiny would provide a focus for the retrospection interviews that would examine problem-solving strategies.

A preliminary analysis of the written recalls did, in fact, show that difficulties or problems marked on the text were absent in the recalls themselves. However, all the recalls were closely related to the original text in its comparative and constructive structure. Cohesive devices used in the text to indicate cause, enablement and reason were repeated verbatim undoubtedly as a result of this feature of texts having been a strong element in subjects' previous English courses.

As well as noting gaps in the recalls, some consideration of the ways in which concepts were paraphrased might also indicate processing strategies.

The post-recall interviews were conducted in the same unsuitable environment as were the pre-recall interviews. The problems of distractions and unfamiliarity with the procedures meant that, again, these sessions provided little in terms of retrospection data, but were extremely useful in giving both subject and researcher important experience which could be built on and used to develop techniques for cooperative interaction later. From the information that was available however, it seemed that subjects' processing of the sample text relied a great deal on the availability of vocabulary items suitable for the text in question. Unknown vocabulary would cause an unsolvable problem. There seemed to be a reluctance to devise a set of strategies to find a solution, even though subjects admitted that it should be possible to find ways of reducing the difficulty of unknown vocabulary in the overall understanding of the text. Once again the evidence was there that subjects admitted non-understanding but seemed powerless to progress

further (at least the methods of eliciting such metacognitive awareness that I was using were unable to reveal such strategic competence). Paraphrasing was acceptable for subjects only when the original vocabulary item was familiar, and without the aid of cohesive devices subjects were unprepared to make the inferences that were necessary to fill apparent discontinuity in the textual world, whether this inference could be made from the store of global knowledge or from personal experience.

Conclusion

I have described one small-scale experiment in cooperating with the learner which was undertaken to try a) to discover whether it was possible to attempt a data gathering procedure that would involve the learner in the research process where he/she would have considerable responsibility for the outcomes, and b) to make a preliminary analysis of such data that was available to discover whether learners' processing problems could be identified and strategies for problem-solving could be, at least, inferred. The two questions can be isolated in theory but, in practice, they merge in the interaction that is necessary between researcher and subject. One of the major problems that was not altogether unforeseen, was the subject-researcher role relationship. It proved difficult at first to persuade subjects that the experiments I was running were not directly connected with the continuous assessment of the course for which, on other occasions, I was their teacher. When subjects did acknowledge the independence of coursework and research, then for some, the procedure became unfocussed and lost any relevance it might have assumed otherwise. The importance, therefore, of subject training becomes paramount and for untainted data (or indeed any data at all), it is vital that the subjects can relate the experimental procedures to a real-life context that has immediacy in terms of returns for effort. In this situation, content and context of the investigation cannot be separated. Research should include a data gathering stage which, with the cooperation of the learner, produces a set of further principles that will push the development of the information gathering towards a refinement that brings subject/learner closer to an awareness of his/her own potential for learning and problem-solving.

In some ways this is tantamount to suggesting that research into learners' problems should become, at least, part of the curriculum. The learner and 'teacher' would then be cooperating for the real purpose of establishing the goals of the curriculum and in so doing provide the framework for its aims and suggest directions for an acceptable methodology.

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VARYING INTERPRETATION: A PILOT STUDY USING A TRIANGULATED PROCEDURE

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*Background to the Study*¹

This study represents an implicit critique of some of the English language teaching materials currently available on the market which adopt a variant of the functional/notional approaches to syllabus design based on a dubious assumption that communicative competence can be acquired by learning a stock of form-function, form-situation language expressions (for example, Jones 1981). Drawing from the insights of studies of pragmatic communication, ethnomethodological studies of talk, and the process-oriented approaches to syllabus design and communicative methodology², it is considered important that the active role of the language user/language learner in exploiting his experience and commonsense knowledge of communicative interaction should be given a place in the design of the teaching and learning of a second language.

This criticism does not imply that the formal system of language does not have an important place in communicative methodology but that its place should be situated within a proper understanding of the relationship between form and meaning. It can be said that the principal flaw inherent in the approaches noted above is the failure to locate an appropriate relationship between form and meaning because they have not been able to conceptually integrate the 'double perspective of language' (Candlin 1976) - that on the one hand it is a formal system of sounds, words and grammatical structures, and on the other it is a communicative system, part of human behaviour. This failure has meant a misplaced focus on teaching language as form - very much akin to the structural approach - to the exclusion of teaching language as behaviour. A more fruitful conceptualisation of the relationship can be obtained from a view of language as communication, as goal-directed action, and from the perspective of language as human interactive behaviour.³

In an attempt to clarify the role of interactant knowledge and communicative intention in language communication, a study was conducted with the hope that the results produced might serve to buttress support for or misgivings about the pedagogy embodied in the type of teaching materials mentioned above. At the same time, I was concerned to try out a research strategy that might exemplify the relationship between communicative competence and communicative performance.

The applied linguistic justification for such a study, as was originally conceived, was two-fold. First, it was thought necessary to find means of empirically illustrating from the perspective of the speaker-hearer the nature and the interrelationship of communicative knowledge involved in communicative performance. Widdowson, and

Breen and Candlin have, following Halliday, emphasised that communication represents a unity of textual, ideational and interpersonal knowledge systems (Halliday 1973, Widdowson 1979, Breen and Candlin 1980). A number of communication studies, by employing a variety of observation and self-reporting research techniques, have come up with various models illustrating the multiple dimensions of communicative competence needed for the enactment of the management of communication (see for example McHugh 1968, Fisher 1978, Norton 1978, Duncan and Fiske 1979). These studies suggest that the crucial aspects are empathy, behavioural flexibility and interaction management. The manner in which these communicative skills are interrelated and realised in the actual course of communication is a central concern of the present investigation.

A second justification is related to the belief that there is an urgent need to bridge the gap between applied linguistic principles and pedagogic practice so as to enable the former to be translated into classroom practice, for example, in the writing and evaluation of language teaching materials and in the monitoring of classroom communicative processes. This type of educational practitioner research has been termed 'action research', the chief purpose of which is to involve the practitioners — the classroom teachers — in the study and to encourage them to initiate analysis of problems relating to the communicative process, so that a level of refinement in understanding and perception of the communicative processes in the classroom can be reached to enable the practitioners to critically monitor and evaluate their own teaching processes and the materials being used. A notable example of this kind of research is the Ford Teaching Project in which teachers and pupils are involved in a triangulated research process in an attempt to identify the communicative obstacles in the teachers' effort to implement a new teaching methodology (Elliott *et al* 1973).

It should be noted that this investigatory study has been conducted by the practitioner in the spirit of meeting the practitioner's need for bridging the gap between theory and practice, or between conceptual understanding and practical pedagogic understanding of the nature of the communicative process. As the study stands, it can only be regarded as a preliminary pilot study exploring a procedure that might contribute to making a more comprehensive study possible.

Theoretical Framework

In the present study, I was interested in trying out a procedure that might elucidate the interplay of some of the factors of linguistic communication and interpretation. My concern was: if we accept the basic tenet that there is no one-to-one isomorphism between form and meaning, and that meanings are multiple and probabilistic (Candlin 1981), how could a study be designed to get at the bases of people's communicative interpretations, and how could they be empirically illustrated?

A major theoretical assumption inherent in the issue of interpretation is that interpretation is not solely based on a reflection of the under-

standing of surface form (semantic meaning or text) but emerges from an interactive process involving surface form, context, and the knowledge and purpose the interpreter brings to the process. If this assumption is valid, the outcome of this interaction could be different according to the different interpretive knowledge different people bring to the text. It is envisaged that this aspect could be elucidated by getting at the different informants' interpretations of a piece of linguistic data.

It is further assumed that meaning is related to the context in which the text occurs. The text functions as an interpretive device from which pragmatic meaning can be derived. Pragmatic meaning is seen as related to the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer through the understanding of illocutionary and rhetorical acts and the attribution of interactional values to contextualised cues (cf. Leech 1981, Cavalcanti 1982). The identification and assignment of values to contextualised cues are related to the knowledge and purpose of the speaker-hearer, and what he/she considers to be relevant to the context (van Dijk 1979).

Levinson and Cicourel have further extended the understanding of the nature of the meaning construction process by their postulation of the concepts of activity-type and interpretive procedures. Levinson's concept of activity-type places meaning centrally within the context of purposeful interaction in relation to the goals, strategies, procedures, constraints specific to the activity-type (Levinson 1979). Going beyond the bounds of the analysis of the sentential utterance, Levinson was able to demonstrate that deciphering meaning from language forms depends greatly on our knowledge of the kind of activity the talk occurs within, the possible underlying norms, constraints and strategies likely to be employed by the interactants to realize their goals of interaction in particular activity-types. That people impute intentions to what others say to make sense of their acts has been extensively analysed in ethnomethodological studies of interaction scenes (see note 2). Cicourel, in reviewing sociological studies of social order, has identified a number of interpretive procedures by which speaker and hearer both 'fill in' and recreate each other's elaborated intentions from the surface forms of the utterance⁴ (Cicourel 1973).

The purpose of the present study is to examine the extent to which the communication process reflects aspects of the communicative framework described above. Owing to the nature of the study, the search for appropriate research tools has posed particular problems (see for example discussions in Cavalcanti, Mann, 1982; and Hunt in this number). In what follows, I shall only be reporting briefly on my study design.

Methodology

The focus of this study is more on identifying individual informants' interpretations and a discussion of them in relation to other informants than on identifying generalisable rules for explanation amongst clearly defined and highly controlled variables. The nature of the study thus underlines the need for an investigative methodology that yields data which is necessarily of a qualitative and descriptive nature.

'Qualitative data' in this sense refers to data that is essentially interpretivist in nature, as is propounded by the interpretivist approach to sociology, and they are interpretivist insofar as they are related to the intersubjective meanings of the interpreters in question. I have made two major provisions for the study. The research strategy adopted differs from some participant observation strategies popularly used in studies of communication (see, for example, a review by Wiemann and Backlund 1980), because it is thought that a third-person observation and evaluation of the communication process can at best represent non-participant accounts of their interpretation of the communication process. The study recognises the need to elicit from the participants' reciprocal accounts of their own construction and interpretation of the communication process. I regard it as important that the speaker-hearers' statements of what they mean on the occasion when the primary data is produced should be obtained, as it is assumed that these statements would constitute different interpretations for comparison with both the participant speaker-hearers and the non-participant informant accounts. The juxtaposition or comparison is considered necessary because it is assumed that in the nature of communication, a speech act as carrying speaker intention or as manifested in text is incomplete by itself; it requires a reciprocal interpretation to complete its meaning in the social context. It has been demonstrated by research studies that there can be significant discrepancy between speaker-stated intentions of what they mean by what they have said, and the actual effects as perceived by hearers (Elliott *et al* 1973, Barnes and Todd 1981, Adelman 1981).

There are accordingly two sets of data and two kinds of informants in the study. The participant accounts refer to those of the speaker-hearers participating in the speech event. The non-participant informant interpreters refer to third persons who had not been present during the speech event. It is hypothesised that the outcome of the two accounts could provide a reflection of the sources of difference of interpretation because of the different degrees of access to contextual knowledge.

In order not to bias the informants with respect to what is or is not relevant to attend to, so that they could freely bring their own communicative knowledge and purpose into play in their interpretive process, I consider it important not to specify for the informants what to respond to, that is, to let what informants conceive to be relevant and meaningful actions freely emerge. In this connection, I have ruled out the use of the performance of tasks as data because it specifies a certain focus for the informants which in some way could well defy the openness and authenticity necessary to encourage informants to freely bring their communicative resources into play, just as they would in everyday normal communication practice.

In terms of methodological design, I have adopted a triangulated approach to data collection and analysis. Triangulation is often used as a generic term in qualitative research methods involving varieties of sources of data, investigators, theories, methodologies in the study of the same object (Denzin 1970). Triangulation as used in the study is adapted from ethnomethodology and refers to a procedure for relating the way in which speakers of a speech event give accounts of what they

mean by something they have said against an account of what other people say they mean (for examples of studies using this procedure, see Garfinkel 1967, Cicourel 1973, Elliott *et al* 1973).

As I am interested in getting at the bases of people's interpretations, I decided to focus on the collection of verbal rather than written data from informants in that the former allows the simultaneous presence of and interaction with the researcher as the data is being produced, after which the elaboration on the basis of interpretation can where necessary be sought immediately. There are two stages and types of data collection from each informant: a protocol or self-reporting stage when the informant freely comments on anything he/she finds of interest in the piece of language data given, and an interview stage when the informant is asked to elaborate on the basis of his/her interpretation. Similarly, the study necessitates that the researcher assumes two roles in the collection of data. The first is that of an unobtrusive organiser for protocol elicitation, and the second an unbiased interviewer whose own interpretation of the data must not unduly influence the outcome and the process being investigated; this means the researcher has to base the interviewing questions firmly on points raised by the informants in their protocol data.

Procedure

A surreptitious recording of an interview for a youth opportunities post (YOP) for helping out with a computer project with a university teaching department was used as the primary data. There were two interviewers and an interviewee who was a young school-leaver, at the time anxiously awaiting his A-level results. These will be referred to as participants of the speech event.

Protocol accounts of the participants were collected individually by asking each to listen to the tape-recorded interview, to stop the tape at any place he felt he had something to comment on concerning what was happening and to record the comments. It was thought that what was chosen for comment would be indications of what the participants regarded as significant actions, either by themselves or in their interpretations or 'uptake' of others' actions.

It was hypothesised that different sociocultural knowledge would constitute a source of interpretive difference, and especially in this case the understanding of the specific context of the speech event -- that it is a YOP interview. Both native and non-native informants were included in the non-participant interpretive data collection. There were two native non-participant informants and three non-native informants. Each of them was asked to listen to the interview tape, taking notes if they needed, and then record what they thought of the interview. Each was given the same background information about the interview: what it was all about, where it was, and the number of speakers. This was intended to provide more or less the same bases of information relating to the specific context of the interview. When the informant indicated that he/she had finished saying what had to be said, the researcher came in with some questions which generally

were not prepared but developed from the informant's own comments. The questions were generally limited to seeking clarification of what had been said.

A list of ten items was drawn up based on areas all the participant and non-participant informants had commented on. According to it details of informant comments were summarised and presented. Alternative interpretations of the same episode are evident. Interesting comments and discrepancies in interpretations were noted, and questions based on these were formulated for use in the second round of participant interviews.

Presentation and Discussion of Data

In this section, I shall be illustrating how I have presented the triangulated data. A preliminary discussion of the data on some aspects of the communication process will also be included.

I have attempted to resolve the problem of the presentation of speaker intention, of what they said they did, what they actually said in text, and how the interactant interpreted and assessed what was said, by juxtaposing the self-report protocol data of the two participants of the YOP interview against the transcribed text of the interview. Participants A and C 'PA' 'PC' are the two interviewers, participant B 'PB' is the interviewee and 'I' stands for the interview text, the numerals are line references. As an illustration, sections of the juxtaposed data are presented on the next two pages.

doing simple sorting routines and ripples sorts
and that kind of thing. 1105

PC And what about the Apple at home do you use that
for erm writing music? 1110

FB Well it has a little speaker on the left, it would
be nice if it could be wired on to the peripherals
attached to make it er so you can actually write
stave music but it would cost several hundred
pounds and you need a disc drive rather than a
cassette but erm certainly I have erm written erm
just peeking and poking the actual number and sounds
from the Basic the note length the pitch and other
various short pieces of music but that is only
monotonic you can only get one note on it so it's
not really exciting. 1115

PC I just mentioned that because that's erm well you
see most of our programs are written in Pascal
rather than Basic. 1120

PB I know little about Pascal but it's fast it's
tipped to be the language of the future. 1125

PC Have you seen any programs in any languages other
than Basic at all? 1130

PB erm I saw Fortran the Fortran one but of course I
didn't really know what it was all about erm I saw
a Pascal program and it seemed very er very different
to Basic erm er bits here and bits there but it seemed
very kind of abbreviated and compact and different. 1135

PC What is the er longest program that you've written?
PB That was a 16k. 1140

PC In number of lines? 1145

PB Oh number of lines can't remember how many lines
but it has many lines it was 16 or 15.5
actually erm in Basic and that was er was a 1150

erm PA's friend er I think his name is er /int: PC/
erm PC yes er he's er asking me about the Apple he
hasn't said so much up to now and so that may have
meant that erm he was interested in micro-computers
erm rather than erm the pure linguistic side erm
er I've told earlier of writing music and I started
trying that to the computer as well the Apple micro-
computer does have a speaker er on it he made the
logical step and asked if I did music on the computer
and er he was right 1155

erm again er it seems that PC seems to know much more
about computers than I do erm so I can't do much more
than telling what I do know and erm just er admit my
ignorance about the wonders of Fortran and Pascal and
what have you 1160

I thought he asked what was the longest program or
the most advanced erm erm but that was no real problem PB40
because erm er I could see that one coming and er
I've been working on that program about a year earlier
and erm erm if it hadn't been so hard I wouldn't
have remembered it 'cause it never quite I never quite
finished it and it never quite worked so er of course PB45
I remembered it

well I was quite happy about the way he described
his interest in computers erm I wasn't really
expecting very much from this sort of school-leaver
it's rather a plus in his favour that he's actually
got a computer at home that he does simple programs
and also that he took the general studies er computing
option in his er sixth form studies. And er he seems
to have a fairly reasonable familiarity with computing
notions which is more than what one can say for most
of our undergraduates and he uses inwords like number
crunching peripherals oh I forgot the other ones but
er anyway he's got some of the computing vocabularies
PA105 at his fingertips I suppose he was a little bit
apologetic and was aware that he hasn't done much
computing as we might have desired from him and er so
he was making the most of what he'd done but at the
same time pointing out that since he's been studying
PA110 for A-levels he hadn't done as much as we might have
liked but then erm that seems to me a reasonable
expectation anyway

PA145 yes and er I was really impressed when he actually caught on to grammatical labels because most students who came to us as undergraduates don't know the slightest thing about grammar but he was asking quite intelligent things about NM must refer to a

PA150 noun or something which was quite correct incidentally my general feeling about him was that he was quite an articulate young man and er perhaps a little too in a sense a little too facile in his responses I felt that he was very good at communicating verbally

PA155 but I was beginning to wonder you know how thoroughly interested would he be in his work er in a sense I have no right to expect him to be thoroughly interested but that was my slight reservation that perhaps he was a little too easy-going and too facile in his responses

PA160 yea when PC came in about the suffix rules he's talking about endings in 'ics' etc would be tagged by the suffix rules and that was in an answer to the question posed by PB PB said surely you'd need a massive dictionary or word list in order to get all these tags and again I

PA165 was rather impressed he actually took the initiative to ask the question and obviously it was something which puzzled him until we gave him the answer so I considered that to be a plus mark for him

er I mean it simply has quite a large word list /PB: erm it just sorts down./ that's the first stage unfortunately you can't just rely on just a word list sometimes it has many different labels for the same word you take a word like 'round' it can be an adjective or noun or preposition /PB: yea a round of golf or a round table/ yea so therefore it has to make a choice which is the correct word and on the basis of that try to work out the most probable sequence of tags and so to that extent it involves...

PB These number codes these codes here er just describes the word itself? Is that NM noun?

PA er it's a plural noun or the counterparts of plural noun or else it's a present tense verb erm and it chooses to put square brackets around the noun.

PC The figures after it gives some indication of the likelihood....

PA That's right it works out roughly 98% likely to be a noun rather than a verb only 2% likely to be a verb.

PB erm complicated er the actual list of words that it compares the sentence with er how big is it er it must be you know massive.

PB well how many?

PC 7,200 words er actually that's very small compared to the total number of words in the corpus because a lot of words it classifies according to suffix rules er general suffix rules for example 'ics' is going to be either a singular or a plural noun.

PA Yea for example this one whenever er this tells you how it decided this. 56 means it erm actually didn't look at the whole word that whole word was not in the dictionary or the word list which it immediately recognised as being a plural noun on the basis of the percentage /PB: ngm ngm/ similarly this one 'particularly' it decided that was an adverb simply

1175

I've got the basic explanation of what it's all about and I'm feeling a lot happier now er of course at first it all seemed like Greek to me but er the explanation now of what's actually what the point is and how the actual program works explaining in English erm so I am feeling a bit more at home now.

PB65

1185

At that time I was so confident that I started to ask for an explanation of what the codes are at the side of a list although I didn't really understand the explanation once it's given.

PB70

1195

1200

1205

(Taken from Cheng 1982, pp. iva, iv, ivb; va, v, vb of the appendices)

As a summary of the data collected, the ten items most informants commented on have been presented in tabular form to facilitate the comparisons of interpretations. One of the items is given below.

Item 4	PA	PB	PC	npl	np2	np3	np4	np5
Description of computer project and PB's responses	1) re 1147-296 need explain to him what project was doing for information (PA124) I was impressed by his very relevant comments and questions, showed intelligent interest and initiative (PA135-) but my slight reservation was he might be too facile in his responses (PA152) 3) maybe 'facile' should not be taken as criticism I might simply be too impressed by him.	1) same 2) was actually very nervous and worried: printouts looked daunting (PB56, 89) looked very complicated to me (PB58) I didn't really understand the explanations (PB72) maybe they were proud of what they did (PB90) now this is a leading question (PB78) I am feeling happier, confident enough to ask questions (PB66)	1) same 2) The description for the benefit of his information. Wasn't consciously assessing him on his responses. But it was nice he seemed to know something about grammatical tags and re-writing process. No response would have been negative.	Project sounded impressive but why all this talk when they said his work would be routine and clerical? Perhaps untruthful and covered-up.	Really unfair of PC to go into so much technical detail about the project trying to get more out of him than he knew. It's like getting blood out of a stone, almost like those 'dog eat dog' ways. PB's responses did not impress me, he was quite muted perhaps it was their way of keeping him down.	Impressive description of the project but nowhere did they mention about PB's role in this, surely he could not assume he could have any big role in this, why didn't he ask what his work really involved and why didn't they tell him? But that aside, PB handled his responses intelligently.	Description was long, quite unnecessary and the technical man got carried away. PB responded well, showed interest, it's a good technique to assess a candidate. PB appeared too clever sometimes with his constant interruptions.	Did not really catch this part what was going on and all that, tape quality was bad. PB asked a lot of questions may be he wasn't sure or did not understand. Heard grammatical labels mentioned was he doing some sort of test? maybe for teacher training?

[notes to abbreviations

- PA) interviewers
 - PC) interviewee
 - PB) interviewee
 - npl) non-participant informants (native-speakers)
 - np2) non-participant informants (Asians)
 - np3) non-participant informants (Asians)
 - np4) non-participant informants (Asians)
 - np5) non-participant informants (Asians)
- 1) refers to data in the interview text
 - 2) refers to data in the first participant protocol interview
 - 3) refers to data in the second participant interview]

In an examination of the data presented above, it can be observed that the procedure for eliciting participant protocol accounts has brought to light some of the underlying covert skills which may be related to social skills relevant to that activity-type and the interactive relationship created by the participants. What has emerged from a comparison of the data may generally be termed social strategic skills specific to the purposes and roles of interviewer and interviewee in a job interview. In the actual text of the job interview no reference was made to the assessment of the situation or the performance of others. The protocol data, however, teems with instances of such revelation. It was possible to show for example how the interviewee managed successfully to hide on the one hand his apprehension of not being able to understand what was going on during the complicated discussion of the computer program and yet on the other hand to impress the interviewers with his interest in the program with his follow-up questions and comments. The juxtaposition of the triangulated data does seem to spell out explicitly the necessary social and cognitive skills which enable the interviewee to clearly define and capitalise on the situation as it unfolds in the course of the job interview. The procedure has seemed to indicate evidence of the integral nature of social skills and communicative competence discussed by Canale and Swain (1980).

The data suggest that there sometimes exists a gap between the stated intention of the speakers and the actual effects of their actions on the interactants taking part in the speech event as well as on the non-participants with the result that the hearers may react differently to the same utterance. One major factor is that the informants have made sense of the utterance from their respective roles and purposes which give rise to different perspectives and points of view. Largely because of this, the informants have, for example, conceived or made sense of the YOP post in very different ways. This is indicated by the very different expectations they had of the job:

PA /from the employer perspective, motivated by a concern for equilibrium, for the general good of the department as well as for the employee/

- 'Need make sure the post is of benefit to both parties. For employer benefit, employee has to help out with routine office work and not be a burden to the research associates who have to train him. For employee benefit, nature of the job is not entirely fixed depending on his initiative and interest to learn.'

PB /from employee point of view, it's work and training experience/

- 'It's a "course" to me, getting experience and working at the same time. I'll be learning the Mainframe and what have you as I go along, "almost like a course in the university". I certainly was not happy about the changes when I first learnt about it.'

In this context, non-participants are observers of the speech event and their perspectives are necessarily those of observers, which means they have to bring in other sources of inference, for example, applying knowledge, experience, values:

npl - 'Clerical work means boring paper work, I know it because I had been a clerk before. They probably wouldn't train him; there are reports that some employers had abused the YOP scheme, it's a "pretend" job'.

np2 - 'all considerations aside, research work in the university is better than those "faceless jobs" he's going to be interviewed for at the Fisheries and Inland Revenue.'

Here we see that PA's intended characterization of the job was in no way adequately grasped or shared by the participant or non-participant interactants. Despite what PA has explicitly uttered, the interactants may have their own views on the nature of the job which is only partially influenced by the intended meaning put across by PA.

The data has revealed that discrepancy reasoning occurs when what has happened fails to match with the facts or with informant expectations, especially among informants who did not have knowledge of the specific context of the job interview. When this happens, they usually compare them with some 'normal' expectations that they themselves hold about the subject. The protocol procedure makes explicit the ongoing implicit 'matching' process that when discrepancy arises, interpreters attempt to reason it out in various ways. In that process, they may 'fill in' facts, attitudes, motives that they are not told but which they feel meaningful to make sense of the discrepancy. Broadly speaking, discrepancy reasoning in the data has taken some of the following forms:

a) *Explicit query* - this occurs when what was said clearly failed to square with some other factual information, for example:

nnp3 - 'I don't see why the post could not be filled according to the original blueprint. Why not? It doesn't seem to be consistent with the facts given. Two hours at the computer terminal is 25% or 8-hour working time, and nothing is said about why and how the 9-month delay should affect it.'

or when some vital information is missing, as for example not knowing what YOP is, has given nnp5 some difficulties in putting some pieces together:

nnp5 - 'PB said he's interested in teacher training and it was said that the job he is being interviewed for has something to do with a computer project. Why did he come for this job when he wanted to go to teacher training college?'

b) *Making the facts agree* - this has been done by nnp4 when he tried to match the inferred opinion of the interviewer with that of his own:

nnp4 - 'the interviewer has not made any commitment about training, maybe he thinks it's not important from the interviewee's point of view; it's a short-term job and he probably isn't going to put much

effort into it anyway.'

or as nnp3 when he attributes a reason for PB's lack of action:

nnp3 - 'Surely PB wouldn't think he has any great role in that impressive program and all these emphases on routine work should be discomfoting. He should have asked about it but he didn't, he's inexperienced or he wasn't very serious about taking up the job'.

or as in the case of nnp1 who, when the researcher's slip of the tongue mentioned the word 'subject' in referring to PB, immediately catches on the cue:

nnp1 - 'Well, that explains it! They were student subjects doing an experiment; that's why they are nervous and inexperienced!'

c) *Making allowances* - this occurs, for example, when interactants adopt reciprocal perspectives to accommodate differences

nnp5 - 'It gives me the impression that the relationship did not seem to be one between prospective employer and employee because it was too informal and I have always assumed, in my culture anyway, that an occasion like this is a serious one. But it might be a good thing to make people feel comfortable, it's perhaps quite common in their culture'.

or to assess

PA - 'I was quite happy about the way he described his interest in computers. I wasn't really expecting very much from this sort of school-leaver'.

d) *The should/could-have-been phenomenon* - this sometimes occurs when what was said fails to match with informant expectations:

np2 - commenting on PB's assertiveness: 'he should have pushed himself forward to try to get the job', 'he talked about the Inland Revenue, Fisheries and the present job as if they were all the same to him; as though he didn't have any preferences'; at the end 'you could see the interviewer coming to negative conclusions: he could only stay 3 months instead of 6, he's got other interviews to go to, he's not so keen about this one, it does seem he doesn't mind what jobs he goes into'.

nnp4 - commenting on the ways the two interviewers handled the interview, 'had they done their homework properly and had the relevant background information at their fingertips - one obvious case was they didn't even seem to know that PB didn't have maths for the job - they could have structured the interview more effectively'.

np2 - who had some strong feelings about PC's long and technical description of the computer project, 'I think it was a bit unfair to go on the way he did, going into his own subject like that'. 'they were trying to get blood out of a stone, trying to get more from him than he knew'; 'they did it to keep him down as it were it's almost like those "dog eats dog" ways'.

The study has illustrated that there can be no necessary isomorphism between form and meaning. Interpretation and communication necessitate the interactants to go beyond grammar and lexicon to get at the communicative intent of utterances through interpretive procedures. It is shown from the study that interactants understood more than what was actually said; they frequently impute meanings and underlying intentional patterns, even though surface contents do not reveal these meanings to the observer. Different bodies of substantive knowledge are brought in to construct and interpret meanings — social, linguistic, interactional, activity-type-specific, purpose-specific — the deployment of which calls for constant redefinition of the situation in relation to retrospective and prospective assessments. The study has indicated that such 'process competence' is highly relevant and essential even to the application of rules and norms in communication settings to decide which clues and evaluations apply to particular situations.

The foregoing discussion suggests that language teaching materials based on the identification of functional categories and specification of forms that realised the functions have confused an important aspect of the nature of the relationship between form and meaning. The nature of inferential strategies and procedures that enable us to derive meaning from form are examined by reference to language use as human interaction in activity-types guided by what are socially accepted as normative, rational behaviour. The latter approach clears the way for the conception that meaning does not reside in the utterances themselves but in the nature of linguistic communication as goal-directed social activity and the different frames of reference interactants bring to the construction and interpretation of situated utterances. The clarification of the communicative process thus obtained calls for a more refined conceptualisation of language curriculum and materials design.

A brief evaluation of the triangulated procedure seems to be in order.

Although the triangulated procedure enables one to attempt to get at the interactants' communicative intent as well as their interpretive procedures, there are certain problems arising from the nature of retrospective data and the experimental situation.

Owing to the nature of the retrospective data collected, it is conceptually necessary, following Barnes and Todd, to distinguish between operational meaning and reflective meaning (Barnes and Todd 1981). Operational meaning is the meaning participants construct implicitly in the course of ongoing interaction. Reflective meaning on the other hand arises from subsequent reconstruction of the interactional scene which often enables participants or observers to attribute a more stable, sometimes different meaning to the exchange. The

distinction is necessary and important if we are not to confuse and misrepresent the implicit, shifting, variable nature of meaning construction during conversation with the explicit and relatively stable nature of meaning reconstruction from retrospection. To the extent that the study provides some insights into the possible bases of informants' meaning construction process, it is necessary to bear in mind the possibility of distortion of the process in retrospective accounts.

In the same vein, it also seems necessary to distinguish three types of context of an interpretive event. They are, firstly, the general context, and secondly, the specific context of the speech event or activity-type both of which are sources of contextual knowledge. General context is where one's factual, conceptual, socio-cultural knowledge and experiences of similar events come into play and acts as a general source of contextual knowledge and inference — in this instance in the study, the job interview. Specific context relates to the specific characteristics surrounding the particular activity-type in question and acts as a specific source of inference — that it is a YOP interview. The third type of context is the task or purpose perceived by the informants in the activity/event they are in — in this case the purpose perceived by the informants in the 'experimental' situation. It is however not possible to assess the extent to which the third type of contextual inference affect the interpretive process in the present investigatory study.

In the study, the triangulated procedure has been shown to be a useful device for obtaining the actors' accounts of what their actions were against other interactants' accounts of their interpretations of these actions. Apart from being able to show empirically that meanings/actions are situated in their social context of interaction, triangulation has also been used in classroom communication research for uncovering and understanding communication obstacles in the teaching and learning process. For example, the Ford Teaching Project, using triangulation as a device for getting at the teacher's and pupils' accounts of their actions and interpretations of the same classroom teaching-learning event, has found that the discrepancies between stated intentions and actual effects of actions often lie in the two groups operating in different frames of reference, or rules of classroom communication; that is, the pupils were operating within the rules of communication of the 'traditional' classroom while the teachers were trying to implement the discovery/enquiry approaches in the classroom such that the latter's 'open-ended' questions were often interpreted by the former as 'check' questions (cf. Elliott *et al* 1973, Adelman 1981, discussions in Cheng 1983).

The Ford Teaching Project has been regarded as an example of 'action' research which encourages classroom interactants, especially teachers, to do research into their own teaching so that they can become more self-reflective through more effective self-monitoring of the language communication process occurring in the classroom. The triangulated procedure has proved to be a fruitful procedure for the purpose. The relevance of this kind of research in classrooms in general and language classrooms in particular can hardly be doubted, especially in the Hong Kong educational context where a second language is so widely used as a medium of instruction. But this will have to be the subject of another research project.

NOTES

1. This study was conducted as part of an MA dissertation presented as part of my MA studies at the Department of Linguistics, University of Lancaster, in 1982.
2. In explaining why people often implied more than they said, Grice has postulated the concept of conversational implicature - that the extra meanings are 'worked out' on the basis that interactants generally observe the cooperative principles of communication: when people speak, for example, they speak sufficiently informatively, truthfully, relevantly and clearly (Grice 1975).

Ethnomethodologists are interested in identifying the ways people make sense of and decide on what is being talked about, as well as the methods they usually employ to remedy the essential indexicality and opaqueness of speech. Ethnomethodologists maintain that meaning is built up via social interaction and communication follows certain patterns of norms and strategies. (cf. Garfinkel 1967, McHugh 1968, Goffman 1969, Cicourel 1973).

Proponents of the process-oriented approaches to communicative syllabus and methodology view language learning as a process that deals with a product that is not static. They emphasise that language is not a set of definable and pre-arranged tokens but a process of linguistic and cultural negotiation of meaning. They argue that students should be helped to develop their innate ability to use language for their own purposes in interaction with the purposes of other language users. (cf. Brumfit 1980, Candlin 1981).
3. The perspective of language as goal-directed action is situated within a general theory of human action. Within this perspective, an action is defined as a unit of goal-regulated behaviour (as in, for example, Parisi and Castelfranchi 1982, Leech 1983) and a sentence uttered by a speaker in a given situation is, like all other forms of human action, a means towards the attainment of a certain defined goal perceived by the actor.
4. 'Interpretive procedures' has been postulated by Cicourel as an analytical tool for understanding everyday communication and interaction. This perspective presumes the existence of certain normal forms of acceptable talk and appearance upon which members rely for assigning sense to their environment. Cicourel has termed some of these procedures the 'reciprocity of perspective', the 'et cetera assumption' and they permit the speaker-hearer to make normative sense of immediate settings by permitting temporary, suspended, or 'concrete' linkages with a short-term or long-term store of socially distributed knowledge (Cicourel 1973).
5. Interpretivists assume that people do things that are meaningful to each other in terms of cultural rules or norms. They want to

identify the numerous rules that guide social actors in orienting their actions to the actions of others (cf. Blumer 1969, Schutz 1972).

6. The Youth Opportunities Program is initiated by the Thatcher government to provide state-funded training and job opportunities for young unemployed school-leavers.
7. Data extracts are taken from Chapter 4 of Cheng, 1982.

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'INTENSIVE LEARNING OF VOCABULARY' IN THE TEACHING OF CHINESE

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This paper discusses the concept and experimental experience of intensive instruction of Chinese vocabulary practised in Mainland China over the past 20 years, and examines its relevance and implications for primary school level Chinese Language teaching in Hong Kong.

'Intensive instruction of vocabulary' — as distinct from 'scattered instruction of vocabulary' — has a two-tier goal. It aims to help pupils master 2,500 characters within the first two years of schooling. By mastery is meant that pupils do not only learn the graphic form, sound and meaning of the characters but also the principles governing the structure and formation of Chinese characters. It is believed that this has the advantage of developing the pupil's analytical awareness and vocabulary self-learning abilities, as well as laying a good foundation for the development of Chinese proficiency.

During the two years, the 2,500 selected characters independent of any text are taught in four groupings. There are many possible ways of grouping the characters. After much experimentation, two ways have been reported as being able to achieve satisfactory results. The first one is a semantic grouping and the second is teaching through association with familiar basic characters. The idea of the latter comes from the structure of one of the six kinds of Chinese characters*: the phonetic compound, which is a complex character made up of a semantic component (usually the radical) and a phonetic component (usually a simple character, i.e. pictograph or indicative symbol). Characters which share one basic part are grouped together. Basic characters, which are taught first, are mostly simple characters, but sometimes complex characters which can be further broken down into simpler characters may also be taught as basic characters.

Although the concentration of time and effort and the use of teaching materials derived from the rule-governed principles of the formation of Chinese characters have been found to be a fairly fruitful approach to vocabulary and reading instruction, there are bound to be misgivings. Evolution of the Chinese Language have made it increasingly difficult to subject all character formation to rule-governed principles. Moreover, because the instruction of mono-characters is always done before

* The six kinds of Chinese characters are pictograph (xiàngxíng), indicative symbol (zhǐshì), compound ideograph (huìyì), phonetic compound (xíngshēng), derived adaptation (zhuǎnzhù) and false borrowing (jiǎjiè).

that of compound words or before seeing the characters/words used in context, the resultant time gap is not always desirable and can sometimes de-motivate the learners. It is suggested that this can be overcome to some extent by a proper combination of both the 'intensive' and 'scattered' approaches to vocabulary instruction.

In the author's view, there is a number of constraints affecting the intensive learning of vocabulary in Hong Kong at this moment. These constraints are related to some of the following: the present 'Syllabus of Chinese Language for Primary Schools'; the content of the teaching materials, especially language-textbooks, in primary schools the teaching scheme; and an inadequate knowledge of the possibilities of educational resources of this kind among teachers in Hong Kong.

The paper concludes with some suggestions for consideration. In particular, it advocates experimenting with intensive instruction in vocabulary in a small number of local schools. From the results of these experiments, it may be possible to evaluate the effectiveness and applicability of this approach, and review the adequacy of the present techniques of Chinese vocabulary instruction in Hong Kong.

中國語文教學中的集中識字教學^①

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一 集中識字是什麼

中國語文識字教學，主要有兩種方法：一是集中識字；一是分散識字^②。

所謂集中識字，是一種暫時脫離課文，先集中力量識字的方法：「識字時集中力量識字，讀書時集中力量讀書」（楊樹 1980），使學生大概在兩年內，掌握二千五百字左右，辦法是先識一批字，再讀書，然後是再識一批字，再讀書。目的在更好地培養學生的讀寫能力（張田若 1980）。至於「先識一批字」「再識一批字」的「一批字」，並不是毫無目的、毫無範圍地向學生提供的。在集中識字教學過程中，教師要把構字規律和識字方法教給學生，因此每批字的提供方法，是有計畫地按文字形、音、義的特點，分批歸類（郭惜珍 1980）。

根據上面所述，我們或可對「集中識字教學」得到一個概括的了解：集中，可指時間、精神、文字三方面。教師集中在一段時間內教字，學生集中在一段時間內認字，這是時間方面的集中；教師集中精神多教字，學生集中精神多認字，這是精神方面的集中；教師把文字歸類集中去教，學生把文字歸類集中來認，這是文字方面的集中。換句話說，師生集中目標，經常反復在識字上多下功夫，使學生認識一定數量的生字，把識字效率提高，這就是所謂「集中識字教學」（張運勝 1980）。

二 爲什麼要集中識字教學

爲什麼要集中識字教學？理由大致可以歸納爲下列幾項：

(1)提高語文程度：語文程度，包括聽、說、讀、寫幾方面。集中識字，對學生的聽、說能力，有沒有提高的作用？張玉昆（1980）給小學一年級學生，作了些試驗。這些學生，經過了集中識字訓練後，引起他們要大量閱讀的興趣，大量閱讀又推動了識字學詞，而字詞語匯的累積，使學生的聽、說能力，有非常顯著的提高。

在讀、寫能力方面，集中識字所起的訓練作用，也就更爲直接。因爲識字是讀、寫的基礎，不識字或識字不多，就難以進行讀、寫或根本不能讀寫，而讀、寫能力的高低，往往就是語文程度高低的表現。郭林（1980）的試驗指出，小學二年級的學生，經集中識字訓練後，能大量閱讀課外書，也能寫出三、五百字的短文，而且文理通順，很少錯別字。

其實，即使沒有上述試驗結果，我們大抵都會同意：識字多少，與語文程度的高低有極密切的關係。縮短時間，使小學低年級學生較早掌握大約兩千五百常用字，應該有提高他們聽、說、讀、寫能力——提高他們語文程度的重要作用。

(2)符合心理需要：集中識字教學，使學生多識字，因而提高他們的語文能力，這個意見，大家都能接受。但是，過度集中，識字量過大，會不會使學生感到枯燥乏味？會不會使他們產生不勝負荷之感？乏味、負荷的感覺來自心理，如果教學內容與心理內在需要脫節，乏

味、負荷的感覺就會特別強烈；反過來說，如果教學內容符合心理的內在需要，乏味、負荷的感覺就會減輕，甚至乏味、負荷之感若失！集中識字，是否真能符合學生心理的內在需要？楊樹（1980）表示了肯定的意見。楊氏指出：每個小孩子都喜歡聽故事、看畫報，集中識字，使他們在短時間內多識字，正好符合了他們的心理內在需要，滿足了他們的好奇心、求知慾。

劉曼華（1980）有類似的看法。劉氏認為，小學生敏感、好奇、求知慾強，渴望得到新知識。集中識字能夠在較短時間內滿足學生的迫切識字要求，滿足可以讀書的願望，於是腦子裏許許多多的「為什麼」，就可以通過書本得到解決。

集中識字，可說是掌握了小學一、二年級學生年齡特點的一項教學。也就是說，這項教學，是符合小學生心理內在需要的。年齡不同，心理內在需要也會不同。這種心理內在需要，就是我們所常說的年齡特點。孩子愈小，年齡特點愈明顯，能照顧年齡特點的教學，教學內容就不會與學生的心理內在需要脫節。

(3)促進智力發展：智力所包括的因素有感覺、觀察、記憶、分析、想像、思維、判斷的能力。集中識字教學，對學生智力的發展，是否有促進作用？

有人認為，學生識字多，就可以大量閱讀，於是就可以獲得豐富的知識，「發展了他們的觀察力、分析力、抽象思維和邏輯思維能力」（劉曼華1980頁53）。根據高惠瑩（1980）的實際觀察研究，識字早、識字多的幼兒園和小學的學生，會特別好奇，會多讀、多想、多問。這對學生的智力發展，是有促進作用的。

或許有人會說，知識與智力，可以是兩回事。雖然學生認識了一定數量的字，或獲得了相當知識，但能否把知識增長轉化為智力發展，在教育上也不是沒有爭論的。不過大家都會同意，智力發展，是離不開知識的，缺乏了必要的知識，無疑會妨礙一個人的智力發展；同時，知識掌握的難易與速度，又依賴一定的智力。智力強的學生，可迅捷而有效地掌握有關知識，在教學生知識時，同時也要發展學生的感覺、觀察、記憶、分析、想像、思維、判斷的能力。朱作仁（1980）特別指出集中識字教學與智力發展之間的關係。朱氏認為要發揮集中識字促進智力發展的效果，教師不只要教學生識字，還要教他們學會怎樣識字，使他們具有分析字形、掌握規律的能力。

談到字形的分析與規律的掌握，我們或許會問：小學低年級學生，是否真有這樣的能力？田本娜（1980）提出了肯定的答案。她認為集中識字教學，正好利用小學低年級學生在思維方面，具有形象性、直觀性的特點，達成培養學生理解、分析、概括能力的目的。田氏還指出，集中識字的教學內容，是根據文字規律和音、形特點而設計的，通過這項教學，不但可培養學生對文字的理解、分析能力，同時也可發展他們的抽象概括能力。理解、分析、概括，跟一個人的智力密切而不可分，培養理解、分析、概括能力，其實就是促進智力的發展。

(4)便於掌握規律：識字教學的目的，主要是教學生認清字形，讀準字音，理解字義或詞義，達到能聽、能說、能讀、能寫的地步。因此，在識字教學中，幫助學生掌握文字的形、音、義，是非常重要的工作^③。集中識字教學，就是利用中國文字的規律和形、音特點，幫助學生識字，使他們對每一個字的形、音、義，能在腦中牢固地聯繫起來。集中識字教學，可以方便教師引導學生掌握構字規律和認記方法，於是他們就能夠通過形聲、形近、同音、反義等歸類，一串、一串地集中識字，而不是一個、一個地孤立認字（張玉昆1980，頁97）。據試驗結果顯示，參加集中識字班的學生，他們的獨立認字能力，往往高於其他學生。理由是什麼呢？郭林（1980）認為中國文字字形雖然複雜，但有規律可循。集中識字，既便於學生掌握構字規律，同時也能訓練學生懂得觸類旁通，舉一反三，用推理方法來多識新

字。

所謂構字規律，究竟是什麼？田本娜（1980）認為，中國文字大部份是合體字，而合體字之中，形聲字佔了百分之八十到百分之八十五。形聲字的特點是：形旁標義，聲旁標音，如清、請、蜻、晴、睛這組字，在字形結構上都有基本字（聲旁），基本字加上偏旁部首（義旁），就構成新的合體字。又如「胡」字本來是合體字，也可以作為基本字，帶出胡、糊、葫等字。這就是中國文字的構字規律之一。集中識字就充分運用這條規律，先教可以作為基本字的獨體字，後教合體字；簡單的合體字，也可作為基本字先教。這樣按照構字規律去教學生，對他們的識字效率，可以大大提高④。

(5)有利識字鞏固：任何學習，都有遺忘的現象。我們要把識字遺忘率控制在最低限度，一般的做法是：把學過的東西加以復習。不過，機械性的復習會變得枯燥乏味，徒然減損了學生的學習興趣。要改進復習的效果，不妨利用心理學上有關的規律。朱作仁（1980，頁142）引述了心理學家的意見：把學生學習過的東西從新的角度重現，也就是把舊材料在新組合中進行復習，可以達到復習鞏固的目的⑤。

集中識字的進行方式，跟上述心理學家所提的意見，在原則上有互相契合的地方。如集中識字教學要學生先集中識字，後大量閱讀，於是學生先前學過的生字，在新組合的閱讀材料中重現，他們的認識，也就得到鞏固的機會。其次，集中識字教學重視擴詞、組詞訓練，使學生曾經認識的生字，也在新角度、新情境中得到重現。例如學生學過「拍」字，跟着是一連串的學：拍手、拍球、拍子、拍打、拍掌、拍照、拍發、拍攝、拍紙簿、拍電影、拍電報、球拍、節拍、合拍、繩拍等等，這樣，學生的識字，就不再是枯燥乏味的簡單重複，而且他們對「拍」字的認識，就會更為深刻了⑥。

此外，集中識字教學採用集中歸類、比較分析的施教方式，會預防或減少學生錯別字的產生，這對學生的識字鞏固，提供了非常有利的條件。

三 怎樣進行集中識字教學

學生在集中識字課中，應該識多少字？根據統計，中國現代語文的常用字是三千多字，小學語文教學，就是要使學生掌握這三千多字。

集中識字教學在小學一、二年級階段實行，兩年之內，學生要識兩千至兩千五百字左右（辛安亭 1979）。這些字分四批集中，也就是半年一集中。據黑山北關實驗學校的反復試驗，他們以兩千五百字為準，按一上、一下、二上、二下，把字數分配為五百、七百、八百、五百（楊樹 1980，頁45）。

集中識字的方式很多，例如：看圖識字、以歌詞帶字、同音歸類、基本字帶字、偏旁部首歸類、會意字歸類、反義詞對比、形近字對比、意近字歸類、按字義以類相聚等等（林建偉、葉全祥 1981，頁30—36；辛安亭 1979，頁213—215；張運勝 1981，頁69—77）。這些方式，許多時都在同時採用。

近期有人指出：方式的採用，應有主次之別，主次不分，會使教學缺乏中心。在多種方式中，「基本字帶字」和「按字義以類相聚」，經多次試驗後，據說效果頗為理想。於是有人就採用其中一種，作為主要施教方式。現簡略介紹如下：

基本字帶字：這是一種以熟字帶生字的識字方式，也是一種形近字帶字和形近字歸類的識字方式，這種方式，創意來自形聲字的結構規律，所以由基本字帶出來的字，大部分是形聲字。也就是說，「基本字帶字」是一種把形聲字包括在內的識字方法（朱作仁 1980，頁136；趙喜盛 1980，頁225）⑦。有些字雖不是形聲字，但在字形結構上只要有共

同基本部分，也可以合爲一組，用集中識字法來施教^⑧。「基本字」多數是獨體字，但合體字也可以是「基本字」^⑨。

按字義以類相聚：這是一種著眼在字義方面的識字方式。主張採用這種方式的人認爲：由同一「基本字」帶出來的一組字，讀音會有分歧，學生在認字時，往往會產生很大的困惑（辛安亭 1979，頁 214；李鏡流 1980，頁 206 和 213；王協 1965，頁 110—117）。按字義以類相聚，則音易記，義易明，而形也不難認識。不過，按字義以類相聚的形式，必須力求多樣化，以引起學生的學習興趣。例如：單純的以類相聚、帶說明的以類相聚、反義詞對義詞的以類相聚、對偶形式的以類相聚、排比形式的以類相聚等等（辛安亭 1979，頁 217），都可以採用。

原則上，集中識字教學，不妨以「基本字帶字」方式爲主。理由是：根據心理學研究，小學低年級學生在比較字形異同時，掌握字形之間共同性的能力，大於掌握字形之間差別性的能力（朱作仁 1980，頁 143）。在以「基本字帶字」爲主的集中識字教學中，學生對「基本字」這個共同點已經熟習。在這樣有利條件下，當以「基本字」帶出一連串生字時，學生就可以在教師引導下，把注意力集中在生字之間的相異點上。

爲補救「基本字帶字」的不足，教師又可採用形旁指導作爲輔助，引導學生對有關偏旁部首進行比較、分析、歸類^⑩。其他種種識字方式，只要能引起學生的學習興趣，有利於他們認字，也不妨配合運用。

四 集中識字教學的試行

國內試行集中識字教學，開始於一九五八年。由一九五八年至今，集中識字教學的發展大致可分爲四個階段（楊樹 1980，頁 30—35；王昆等 1982，頁 4—14）。

由一九五八年九月至一九六〇年四月，可算是第一階段。這階段主要是「探討規律，摸索途徑」。經過大量調查與反復研究，結論是分散識字的效果並不理想，於是決定採用先識字、後讀書的集中識字方法。最初試行這種方法的是遼寧省黑山北關小學。據說只用了一個學期的時間，就可使小學一年級學生的讀寫水平達到二年級。一九五九年十月，中國科學院心理研究所參加了這項試驗。一九六〇年四月，遼寧省的省委在黑山北關實驗學校召開現場會議，肯定了集中識字教學的效果，於是集中識字教學開始推廣於其他學校。

由一九六〇年四月以後至一九六五年文化大革命前夕，是第二階段。這階段是總結經驗，並力求集中識字教學科學化。從經驗總結中，他們發現小學生識字的主要困難是在字形方面。爲了加強字形教學，他們採取以形聲字爲主的「基本字帶字」識字法。至於那些不屬於形聲字的字，也設法找出它們共同的基本部分來教。這種方法，既強調了字形，也不忽視音、義。一九六〇年春，北京景山學校採用了「分批集中識字」辦法，把識字與寫字、讀書、寫作緊密地結合起來（劉曼華 1980，頁 49—50）。一九六二年，人民教育出版社編出一套十年制的語文教材，汲取了集中識字教學的經驗與精神，於是集中識字教學試驗，就在全國展開了。到了一九六五年，國內的集中識字教學，既有了固定的方法，也有較完備的教材。

由一九六五年至一九七五年，可說是第三階段。在這段期間，是持續十年的文化大革命，也是集中識字教學的挫折期。據說許多與集中識字教學有關的圖書、參考資料、教材，都大量散失了。當時除了黑山、景山兩校外，國內其他學校，都停止了集中識字教學。黑山、景山是繼續進行集中識字教學了，但爲了遷就現實環境，不免把政治材料大量引入教材之中，於是教材的內容、面貌，跟以往的教材比較起來，是大不相同了（郭林 1980，頁 18；

楊樹 1980，頁 34）。

一九七六年國內文化大革命結束，是第四階段的開始。不少地區，逐漸恢復了集中識字試驗。經過了三年左右的時間，集中識字教學不但積極推廣於各地，而且在教法、教材方面，也有較大發展。試驗結果，據說成績可喜，證明了集中識字教學的積極性與優越性。一九八〇年五月，國內召開了全國集中識字經驗交流會。《集中識字教學經驗選》這冊書就是這次交流會文件的選編。一九八二年五月，《快速集中識字手冊》出版，收常用字六千多個，為集中識字教學提供了工具書。

五 集中識字與分散識字的比較

集中識字與分散識字孰優孰劣的問題，目前仍在爭論階段①。

集中識字的優點，上面已提過了。至於缺點，大致有：1.時至今日，不少中國文字已失去原有的構字規律，我們要利用文字特點進行歸類集中，一定會受局限。2.集中識字以認識單字為先，不能使字、詞、句、文有較迅捷的結合。3.集中識字的識字量頗大，如果教材、教法不善，學生會感到單調、乏味，而且容易把學過的生字遺忘。

分散識字的優點，主要有：1.邊讀課文邊認生字，可使學生較易認識字形，讀準字音，理解字義。2.「寓識字於閱讀之中」，可使字不離詞，詞不離句，句不離文，有助於訓練學生的聽、說、讀、寫能力。3.通過講解、朗讀、復述、聯詞、造句等方式重現生字，可避免單調、乏味。至於分散識字的缺點，也有：1.隨課文分散識字，學生注意力分散，學習時間拖長，識字效率不高。2.生字數目不多，而且分散在各篇課文內，學生較難利用構字規律認字。3.生字受課文內容影響，出現難有規律；課文又受生字限制，因此內容大多貧乏、單調，限制了學生智能發展。

集中識字和分散識字，都各有本身的優點和缺點②，可以互相結合、補足，達到殊途同歸的效果。刻意為這兩種識字方法判別高下，輕率屏棄其中一種，我認為都不是改進語文教學的積極做法。

幾十年來，我們過分強調了分散識字而忽略了傳統語文教學本來就有的集中識字，未免是一種偏差，因此有意引起識字教學的話題，希望大家注意偏差的情況。

六 集中識字在本港小學是否可行

據我了解，在目前階段，如果要在本港小學全面實施集中識字教學，恐怕限於客觀條件，會有實際困難。下面是我所提出的意見，或可供大家作為參考：

1、課程綱要的規範：現時本港小學的中國語文教學，大都按照教育署所頒佈的《小學中國語文科課程綱要》（1980年版）的提示施教。而課程綱要並沒有特別強調字的教學，它只是把識字教學的要求，納入「讀書教學」的範圍之中，並建議教師在介紹生字時，要「以詞為單位」，同時要注意「筆順的指導」和「字形結構的分析」（頁6—7）。編選課程綱要的委員，據我們所知，都是富有經驗、學養的現職語文教師和專業人士，他們提出的建議，必然會考慮到本港社會環境的條件、語文教育的需要和其他種種因素，因此在釐訂課程時，並沒有特別強調識字教學的要求，應該有他們充分的理由。除非我們不理會課程綱要的提示，而重新釐訂一個專為自己學校而設的語文課程，否則既要全面實施集中識字，又要照顧現行課程種種教學要求，恐怕困難很多。

2、語文教材的限制：目前本港小學的語文教材，主要是由各家出版社出版的課本。一

般語文課本的編纂，在字詞選用方面，大多會參考課程綱要所附的「小學常用字表」（見頁75—91）。但就我們所知，能夠在小學特別強調識字教學的語文課本，目前並不多見，而對字詞出現規律特別措意的語文課本，恐怕更爲罕有。強調識字，注意字詞出現的規律，充分發揮中國文字的特質，的確是將來編纂小學語文課本時值得留意的問題。至於現行小學語文課本沒有配合集中識字教學的要求，則應該早在意料之中，因爲課本的編纂，要配合課程綱要的要求，課程綱要既沒有集中識字教學的建議，語文課本之中，自然不會有這樣的安排。因此，教師如果要實施集中識字教學的話，必須自編教材作爲補充。這大抵不是一件容易的事。

3、時間與進度：根據課程綱要建議，小學中國語文科每周所分配到的課節是：一年級十二節，二年級十一節，三年級十節，四至六年級九節。從數字來看，一、二年級的課節，似乎也不算少，除寫作教學和寫字教學所佔的課節外，一、二年級讀書教學所佔的課節分別是九節和八節，如果要安排集中識字教學的話，大抵教師會在讀書教學的課節裏安排。但在原有課程、既定進度的要求下，教師未必可以在已有教學時間內，省下足夠時間，集中識字教學。即或可以省下足夠時間，但在課程規範、教材限制、各班統籌的條件下，校方能否容許個別教師，在某一班級中附加集中識字教學的項目，實在值得懷疑。

4、教師的認識與經驗：集中識字教學，在國內開始於一九五八年，距今已有二十多年歷史。由於受到教育當局的重視、推廣，因此目前雖仍在「集中識字」與「分散識字」孰優孰劣的爭論，但集中識字教學的作用，無疑已爲許多人所認可。而且，集中識字教學經歷了這許多年的發展，國內每位語文教師，對這一項教學，會有或多或少的認識。在本港，情況顯然不同。據我所知，關於集中識字教學的參考書籍或資料，並不常見，而本港小學中國語文教師，對集中識字有較多認識的，似乎也不普遍。至於實際施教經驗，恐怕更談不上。換句話說，在本港，集中識字教學，無疑仍待認識、體驗、檢討。

5、語文教學與現實環境：語文教學，與一個地方的環境條件有極密切的關係，忽視現實環境而侈談語文教學改革，是不切實際的。同樣的理由，我們在評估集中識字教學的功能時，就不能忽略本港的現實環境。國內的環境條件，跟本港的確有不少相異的地方，因此，實行的難或易，已不一定相同，而利於彼者也未必利於此。集中識字教學雖經試驗證明有良好的成效，但是否值得全面實施、積極推廣，即使在國內也不是沒有爭論。現時仍有人認爲，集中識字，只適宜實施於某些地區，或只可作爲教學的輔助方法。根據全日制十年制學校小學語文教學大綱（試行草案）精神所編寫的全國通用語文教材，就分別汲取了集中識字和分散識字的經驗，提出了多種形式的識字教學方法。在本港，我們可以先來認識、吸收、評估而不立刻全面追隨，應該算得是矜慎的做法。

上面所舉理由，恐怕仍然有不足的地方，但通過這幾項理由，我們可以明白現時要在本港全面推行集中識字教學，可說時機還未成熟，條件也未足夠。既然這樣，我在上面所講有關集中識字教學的種種，豈不是徒費唇舌？我個人覺得，作爲語文教師，應該有了解各地語文教學動態的責任，因爲經過瞭解以後，就會促使我們自我反省，自我檢討。我之所以選取「集中識字教學」作爲討論的課題，與其說是爲了要介紹這項以傳統爲基礎而具有新意的教學，倒不如說是爲了要從介紹中得到一些啓發。

七 從識字教學中得到的啓發

集中識字教學，雖說目前限於種種條件，未能在本港小學中全面實施，但從國內試驗、檢討的過程中，我們或可得到一些啓發：

1、「識字是閱讀和寫作的基礎」^⑬，這話強調了識字對讀、寫方面的作用。其實，多識字，不但可提高學生的讀、寫能力，同時也可提高他們的聽、說能力。我們想要提高本港中、小學生的中文程度，不妨汲取集中識字教學的經驗，想辦法增加學生的識字量，使識字教學在提高語文教學的效率中，發揮較大作用。

2、識字教學的目的，表面看來，是教學生多識生字。事實上這是不夠的。我們還要指導他們認識中國文字特點，掌握構字規律和認記方法，使他們能觸類旁通，用推理方法來多識生字。因此，主張集中識字教學的人，都認為這項教學有訓練學生辨析、思考的作用，同時也可逐步培養、提高他們的自學能力。語文教學，能力訓練重於知識灌輸。集中識字教學的要求，很能顯示這方面的性質。我們進行識字教學時，不一定會採用集中識字方法，但只要我們對這種方法有所了解，而且明白它的優點，那麼，我們就不會認為識字教學的任務，只是教學生多識幾個生字，更不會讓學生用硬背死記的方法來認字。

3、近幾十年來的語文教學，一向較重詞語方面的指導。著重詞語教學，固然有有利的一面，但只知道有詞而不知有字，也是一種偏差。怎樣在詞語教學中加強學生對字的認識，增加他們的識字量，是一個值得留意的課題。識字量大，對組詞、擴詞、用詞的訓練也有幫助，因此加強識字教學與著重詞語教學，應該可以同時兼顧，是並行不悖的。只要認字時不忘學詞，學詞時突出認字，字與詞有分有合，既有著重，又能兼顧，在實際語文教學中，證明是可行的（張志公 1981）。

4、根據試驗證明，集中識字教學，的確有利於鞏固學生的所學。在本港中國語文教學中，無論中、小學生，都經常寫錯別字。通過對集中識字教學的認識，我們指導學生認字時，不妨利用學生所熟悉的獨體字，或用其他歸類方式，帶出一組組生字，並且提示學生把注意力集中在生字之間的相異點上，再隨而進行比較、分析。我們雖則不能像集中識字教學那樣在小學一、二年級中，分四批集中施教生字，但在整個小學階段中，隨時利用適當時機略一集中指導學生識字。這對我們的語文教學，一定有很大裨益。

5、集中識字教學，本身雖有缺點，但它的教學要求，對語文教學是有利的^⑭。目前我們不能把這項教學在本港各小學低年級中全面實施，但如果有些學校願意撥出一些班級，邀請有認識的教師進行切實試驗，肯定會有助於語文教學改革。我們是否可以鼓勵或安排一些學校，在不違反本港語文教學課程精神的原則下，進行小型而切實的集中識字教學試驗？經過一段時期的試驗後，我們就可以總結試驗結果，檢討實效，重新評估向來所採用的識字教學方法與技巧；這樣，我們的語文教學，就會有所改進。這些改進，即或只不過是一點一滴，但只要有改進，對整個中國語文教學來說，仍然是有利的。

附註

- ①本文原長三萬字左右，限於篇幅，這裏刊載的是個「節本」。筆者曾據「節本」在「香港語文研討會」（1983）中演講，現在把「節本」略為增補，發表於本刊。
- ②參閱朱作仁 1980，頁 1。又高惠瑩、麻鳳鳴 1982，頁 102—108。高、麻二氏認為識字教學的形式大致有四種：集中識字、分散識字、集中和分散相結合、多種形式識字法。所謂「集中和分散相結合」，顯然不出「集中」、「分散」的範圍；而「多種形式識字法」，形式雖說多樣化，但概括起來，也不外透過「集中」或「分散」的方法來識字。
- ③彭震球指出能認識字的形、音、義，才是「全識字」1979，頁 118。
- ④田氏（1980）列舉了幾種掌握構字規律的方法，基本字帶字是其中一種，其他還有：形聲字和同音字歸類、偏旁部首帶字、連續帶字等（頁 159—160）。
- ⑤王昆（1980）也提出一些理由，說明集中識字有利識字的鞏固：「(1)教的是規律性知識，好學好記。……(2)學生掌握了大量的字詞之後有了閱讀的要求，主動地閱讀課文和課外讀物。(3)後次復習前次，每節新課都有計畫有針對性地復習一些學過的字詞。」（頁 120）。
- ⑥倪海曙（1955）：「識字的意義，不但要認識生字，而且還要能掌握這個字引伸的各種意思，這樣才能鞏固和才叫做鞏固。」（頁 113）。
- ⑦在中國文字中，形聲字的比重很大，把形聲字字形結構上共同具備的基本部分視為「基本字」，就可以帶出一組、一組字，例如：方——坊、芳、妨、防、訪；令——伶、玲、鈴、聆、零；古——估、沽、咕、姑、故；青——清、蜻、情、晴、請。編教材時，可自常見的形聲字工具書取材。
- ⑧如尋、寺、封、射、討、對、導、村、付、尊等字，可放在以「寸」為基本字的字組裏來學；量、野、童、裡、裡（裏）、俚、哩、釐等字，可放在以「里」為基本字的字組裏來學（楊樹 1980，頁 33）。
- ⑨如胡、路等合體字，只要加上不同的偏旁，就可以組成新的合體字，因此也是基本字（張田若 1981，頁 92—93）。
- ⑩通過形旁的指導，可幫助學生掌握、運用「形旁按事類表義」的規律。例如教師可告訴學生：愉、情、悵、懼、怖、思、意、悲、恐、怠等字與心理活動有關，所以從「心」；臉、腿、腳、腰、胸、肚、膽、股、胞、脈等字與人體各部有關，所以從「肉」（月）；雪、霜、霧、露、雹、雲、霧、霓、霖、霞等字與大自然雨水有關，所以從「雨」（朱作仁 1980，頁 144）。
- ⑪《集中識字教學經驗選》所收各篇文章，都強調集中識字的優點。不過有些教師，却較為肯定分散識字的優點（如斯霞 1979）。
- ⑫下列各項資料，較公平地分別談論集中識字和分散識字的優點和缺點：參閱高惠瑩 1982，朱作仁 1980，林建華 1981。
- ⑬語見《全日制十年制學校小學語文教學大綱》頁 4。
- ⑭北京教育學院師範教研室編的《小學語文教學法》列舉了識字教學的原則：(1)要根據漢字的特點進行教學；(2)要把字的音形義緊密結合起來，突出字形教學；(3)要正確處理以識字為重點與培養讀寫能力的關係；(4)在識字教學中要發展學生的智力；(5)在識字教學中要注意兒童的心理特點（1982年北京出版社，頁 36—41。）上述原則，跟集中識字教學的要求，無疑有許多契合的地方，因此，我們要通過識字教學，達到上述五項原則的要求，使學生取得良好識字成果，應該困難不大。

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORD ATTRIBUTES AND WORD LEARNING OF CHINESE

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Progress in the study of the Chinese language has been slow in Hong Kong, and the knowledge accumulated in this respect has been scarce. The deficiency of research data of Chinese language precludes a clear understanding of the language phenomenon and thus retards the process of Chinese acquisition and instruction, especially at the elementary level. In Mainland China, a large project was launched not long ago to provide intensive instruction in Chinese vocabulary. By means of the pinyin system, character structure and word chain approach, it aimed to teach the pupils to master 2,500 commonly used words within the first two years of schooling. In Taiwan, a similar project was implemented for pupils of lower primary levels to acquire 3,000 commonly used words from the basal readers. Both these projects believe that the acquisition of some thousand basal words at the primary level will lay a good foundation for the development of Chinese proficiency. If this is true, the suggestion is that it seems necessary to use the graphic, semantic, grammatical and structural information of Chinese characters in order to reduce the memory load of a few thousand signs of the Chinese lexicon, which consists of mono-character and multi-character words.

A review of the research studies indicates that some attributes of the Chinese words are related to the acquisition process.

1. *Frequency*. One study reported that among the 40,032 commonly used lexemes, two thirds were of two-character words. The multi-character words, formed by the constituent characters, may generate their own meaning, independent of the constituents. Research findings showed that the association patterns to a stimulus word (two-character) in the free association test varied in terms of the word frequency as well as the frequency of its constituent characters. Word frequency alone had significant positive effect in pair-associate learning as obtained from a study of 239 two-character words. Word frequency is definitely a significant attribute affecting the acquisition of Chinese lexical units.

2. *Structure*. Research evidence showed that both frequency and simplicity of the word structure are beneficial to the recognition and reconstruction of the known words. One study evidenced that the structural element of a Chinese character was best perceived when embedded in a character context, next in a pseudo-character context, and worst in a non-character context. It also found that error identification from the two-character words was easier when the error appeared in the first position. That the upper-left quadrant of a Chinese character conveyed much more information than the bottom-right quadrant was revealed by another study. The structure of a word does

show its effects on the perception, recognition, reproduction level of the learners.

3. *Strokes*. The simplification movement was started on the hypothesis that the simplified characters were easier to learn and write. Two studies were conducted to verify this hypothesis, particularly for character reproduction. However, there is no agreement in the definition of a simple character in terms of the number of strokes, the relationship between the number of strokes and the developmental process of word acquisition is still an unsettled problem and awaits research evidence.

4. *Syntactic Category*. Learning the content words and function words in sequential stages is in accordance with the principle of cognitive growth from concrete to abstract. Quite a number of studies have confirmed that acquisition of words of different syntactic categories is associated with children's developmental process. It was found that twice as many nouns as verbs or adjectives were given by young children in the recognition, association, and reproduction tests. One longitudinal study argued that the verb system mastered by the young American children could influence their acquisition of increasing linguistic complexity. The extent of the influence of the syntactic category and the complex feature of multi-character words on the developmental process of children's learning in Hong Kong needs further exploration.

The problems arising from the literature review supply the ideas for the design of this study. In order to expedite the process of word learning in young children, it has to (1) identify a quantity of commonly used lexical units appropriate to the acquisition levels of the young children, and (2) determine the effects of the word attributes on the process of word acquisition in different developmental stages.

Specifically, the present study professes to

(1) compare the frequency count, stroke, structure, and syntactic category of the Chinese lexical units as found in primary school texts from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan; and

(2) compare the results of word learning among children of different age levels who are being examined on the knowledge of the word attributes under different instructional designs.

詞語屬性與詞語習得的關係*

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一 導言

美國語言心理學家布魯姆 (Lois Bloom 1981) 寫了一篇專文《語文對語文發展的重要》，其中一段綜述語言決定論 (Linguistic Determinism) 的燻演：

「五十年代的語言決定論強調詞性特徵對語言發展的制約；六十年代則強調先驗性的衍生語法通則 (universal principles of Generative Grammar) 對語言發展的影響；七十年代則專注於不同語系對語言習得序列的研究，亦即是說：不同的語言背景與內容能導致不同的語言發展次序；而八十年代將是探討一語系中一特殊語項 (如動詞語系) 對語言習得所扮演的重要角色。」

布魯姆研究美國兒童語言發展有年。她發表了一系列論文，說明兒童從單詞到複詞到單句到複句，無不與動詞的認知和運用有關。從兒童掌握性質不同語義不同的動詞能力，可窺探兒童對語言運用的成熟程度。始自七十年代，語言研究專家已着力研究個別語系對語言發展的影響，並比較語系間的異同因素。他們發現不同語系有不同的語言特色，對語言習得過程產生不同影響。於是，有關中國語文特色的研究亦漸趨蓬勃。人類語音約有三十種不同特性 (如音色、音素、音高、音量、音變等)。每一語系只具十五、六種，沒有一種語言是全具三十種特性 (Miller 1981)。例如，中文之有四聲變化為西方語系所無。當西方兒童尚在勤習主謂協調、詞態變化的用法，中國兒童正進行四聲的練習。事實上，三歲以後的中國兒童對四聲的辨識與運用已甚少混淆 (Chan & Ryback 1974)。中西語文除了在語音系統有不同，文字體系亦迥然而異。中文屬表意語系，而西方文字屬標音語系。在傳遞這兩種結構不同的語文訊息時，學習者是否需要有不同的認知過程呢？曾志朗等人的研究 (Tseng & Wang 1983) 發現在辨記中國文字時，視覺記憶比聽覺記憶較為有利；而辨記英文，則有相反效果。漢字本身的訊息結構有其特色，可產生特殊的傳意功能。有人認為漢字能引發生動的意象 (Wang 1973)，有認為能加強視覺記憶的參與 (Tseng & Wang 1983)，有認為漢字結構差度大，冗餘訊息高，便於辨記 (曾性初 1983)。這種解釋實在說明了漢字形意的緊密關係，在傳意過程中可衍生鮮明意象，有利於形意聯想。但是曾氏等亦發現在傳遞中文詞和句時，就需倚重左腦功能，對詞的音、形、義作整體分析，而不是只偏重形義的結合了。於是，在認知中國文字過程中，辨字形與解詞意可有不同的資訊傳遞過程 (information process)。中文雙字詞發展源遠流長，並早已作為表情、達意、狀物的語義單位，但中文詞的構成式和整合性 (連結強度) 有很大的差異。就單音字而言，其出現率高的其聯想值 (可據以聯想出有關項目) 亦高。但就詞而言，一詞的聯想值並不單純取決於該詞的出現率，而需兼顧其構成份子的出現率及其構成形式。一項研究

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(黃榮村 1979) 就為上述的說法提供實證。中文雙音詞的組成份子為字而英文字的組成份子為語素 (Morpheme)，兩者引起不同的聯想特性是不足為奇的。在語音文字之外，中英語法體系亦有頗多相異之處。一些專家，如李和譚臣 (Li & Thompson 1974, Hakuta 1981) 認為漢語語法屬主題式結構 (topic - prominent language) 而英語語法屬主位式結構 (subject - prominent language)。下列句子就是以主題來構成整句意義：

這場火，幸虧救火員來得快。

這份報告，早就發表了。

那棵樹，樹葉很大。

我們不能以西方表層語法體系來闡釋上述句子的結構，不然，就會產生語法與語意間纏糾不清的現象。李和譚臣等人均認為須以主題式語法結構作解釋才妥當。上述例子只說明了漢語體系與別的語系一些不同的特色。我們固然不可儘求突出不同語系相異的一面而罔視它們之間相同的一面。但強調了語系間不同之處可避免強將一語系研究所得輕率地應用於另一語系裏面。語言發展研究所得很難作跨語系詮釋和應用。研究英語發展和習得過程的報告可算盈筐累牒、車載斗量，而研究中文在這方面發展的數量就相形見絀了。大陸和台灣等地區對中文學習的研究實不遺餘力，但起步較遲而產量亦有限，香港在這方面的研究質量就更為匱乏。於是，香港的中文教育不是向其他地區的中文研究取材，就是從英語研究中借鏡，這種強借硬援非但無助於香港中文教育之推展與發揚，對中文教育問題癥結的了解，亦有窒礙。

二 研究問題

近年香港學生語文程度低降，對中文的掌握遠離理想。導致中文水準日降的成因可不少：香港語文教育政策混亂是其一，政府對中文教育推展不力是其二，社會大眾傳播媒介對教育功能的蠶食是其三。但中文教育本身缺乏系統研究、缺乏整體策劃，方是致病之源。於是在教材編訂和教學組織方面，呈現一片混亂。每當謀求改革，不是倚重直覺經驗來頭痛醫頭，就是套用外語模式作局部修改。這種病急亂投醫的態度不但不能治病，還導致其他併發病症，令病情加深。中文教育就變成沉疴不起了。

香港中文教學發展遲滯不前，與缺少中文教學研究不無關係。具規模的語文研究不但可觸發語文教育改革、指導改革路向，還能帶動更多更有建設性的有關研究。因此，香港需要中文教學研究，尤其是基層語文發展研究，例如字詞出現常模統計，學生語文能力發展等，有了這些基礎研究資料，後來的語文研究就有所根據，可健全地發展下去。最基本的語文教學研究莫如識字教學研究。一切語文教育改革需從基層做起。所謂「凡為文須先識字」，「蒙養之時，識字為先」。識字教學實為語文教學之基本。近年來國內推行集中識字教學實驗 (《集中識字教學經驗選》 1980)，效果甚佳。教師利用以字帶字、突出字形、字上注音、字後帶詞等教學法，務使學生在始初兩年集中學會二千五百常用字，然後才進行閱讀和寫作訓練，培養學生閱讀和表達能力。調查結果顯示：學生兩年能默寫約 2,100 字，認識約 5,500 詞匯，能造 300—400 個常用句子。台灣方面亦大力鼓吹固定字形、規範讀音、學好基本字等運動。利用漢字形聲特性、構詞常規，將三千常用字編在課本中教授，但不是用集中識字方法，而是從注音、辨字、析義、點寫等循序完成各個認字教學階段。

高樓華廈，需有堅實地基。優良語文能力，亦需有堅固的語文基礎。推行識字教學是為牢固語文基礎的必需步驟，是刻不容緩的。要推行識字教學計劃，首先要確定識字量和常用

字來源。大陸有新華出版社印行的漢字綜合頻度表。從二千多萬字的書刊中劃出六千三百常用字的統計量。二千五百字的認字量是綜合《毛澤東選集》用字統計和北京、廣東各省出版的常用字資料整編而成。台灣方面則於一九六七年由國立編譯館發表了《國民學校常用字彙研究》。一九八二年由國立台灣師範大學國文研究所所公佈的《國民常用字表初稿》，其中包括四千七百字的統計量。一九八三年則有一份《兒童常用詞彙研究報告》發表，這報告主要是以國小低年級常用詞為統計單位完成的。新加坡則於一九七六年由華語研究中心印行一份《華語常用字匯研究》，分別以拼音、筆劃、部首列出二千常用字的統計量。香港則有侯炳有於一九七八年完成的《中文字彙研究》。他從常用字彙表（台灣國立編譯館）、小學課本、兒童讀物中選取三千餘字，給予高小學生默寫，從而根據部首、筆劃列出這些字的難度。由此可知，大規模語文改進計劃皆從基層做起。大陸、台灣均有計劃地和積極地推行識字教學，成效顯著。香港本有改進中文教育之心，但礙於理據缺乏，不能訂出一個有效的整體改革計劃。只求舊瓶換新酒，革面不洗心，未能觸及語文教學的核心問題。對淨化書面語、增加閱讀量等問題固然未能正視，對中文字詞的特有屬性、學童的識字心理與及語文發展情況亦缺乏認真了解。於是，無論在教材、教學、考評的製訂均缺乏有效的論據。這方面的遺漏亟待填補。本研究計劃可說是迎合這方面的需求，希望對小學生在認字能力發展方面提供一些有用的研究資料，進而推動香港中文基層教育的改進。

本計劃本質上是一個調查分析研究，主要目的有三：

- (一)調查三個地區小學各級課本用詞及各種屬性(包括出現率、結構式、筆劃、詞性等)。
- (二)研究詞的屬性與學生詞彙發展的關係。
- (三)研究影響各級學生對詞的認識、記憶、運用的各項變因。

三 研究變項的說明

詞彙統計 詞是意義跟一組語音約定俗成的結合體，也是句子中最小的意義單位。換言之，詞是語音和語義的結合物，在語法規則支配下拼成句子。從句子的層次來說，詞是基本的語義單位和語法單位。就單音詞而言，字就是詞；就複音詞而言，字就成為語素。詞和字的關係頗為複雜。在現代漢語中，有些字只能為語素，不能單獨出現（如館、所、慮），有些字則只能配合成單純詞（如葡萄、傀儡、逍遙）。當語素跟語素結合而成複合詞，它可能是兩個字面意義的結合，亦可能有獨立的意義。例如「紅花」一詞，當指紅色的花，就是字面意義的結合而成為詞組；當指一中藥名，就不是字面結合而另有意義，這叫詞匯意義。「穿梭」、「樽頸」、「宏觀」、「鐵飯碗」、「紙老虎」等皆漸漸失去了詞組的意義而存留了詞匯的意義。梁厚甫（1981）曾提出「詞盲」之說。他指出「中國人但求識字而不求識詞，結果會引起政治上的十年大動亂」。他的結論實在過甚其詞，但他所陳述的前提仍是頗有見地的。識字固然可加強了解詞組意義，但學詞而只掌握字面意義而不推敲詞匯的意義，還不算充份掌握詞義。甚且，複合詞往往用以表達精分的概念，因而「光」有「光亮」、「光芒」、「光彩」，「射」有「鐳射」、「折射」、「透射」等，對相近詞的辨異尤須深入推敲。隨着時代的演進，雙字詞的出現已成壟斷性的大多數（約佔字詞統計 65 %，劉英茂、莊仲仁、王守珍 1975）。詞往往代表一獨特概念，反映個別事物意念的本質特性。對詞的認知、聯想、學習，亦比對字的認知需要較為複雜的過程（Tseng & Wang 1983，黃榮村 1979，王秀樹 1980）。雖然詞的項目比字的多出不知多少倍，但代表事物觀念的往往是詞，以詞語（包括詞和詞組）為統計單位就更能真實地、準確地劃分語文資料。

字詞結構 許慎說：「依類象形謂之文，形聲相益謂之字」。於是，象形指事造「文」，會

意形聲造「字」，此乃「文」「字」之濫觴。文乃成字的構成份子，而字乃成詞的構成份子。從字的部件（部首或單體字）看，則組成部件越少，對字的重認和重組越有利；構形越熟悉，即字形出現率越高，對字詞重認越有幫助。這規律在字詞重組試驗中獲得證明（劉英茂、張碧環、楊漪婷 1979）。分辨擬字（如「孺」、「駟」）與正字「嗎」的實驗中，學生發現字的構成部件互相倒置比錯配部件容易，但字的筆劃數亦影響其辨認的正確率；而分辨詞與非詞時，錯字在第一位置（如「爆裂」、「圖裂」）則辨認率較高。該實驗作者更強調：在閱讀漢字時，必須經過「字」、「詞」的屬性分析、部件分析，才能使字詞意義轉錄（鄭昭明 1981）。無論字的構形，若將字的右上角象限掩蓋則較難再認，將右下角象限掩蓋則較易再認，這說明了漢字左上角所蘊藏的訊息高而右下角則低。以四千常用字計，左上角和左下角形成的子模式約有一百五十種，而其中廿二種（全在左上角，多是部首式）出現頻率高，由其所組成的字佔統計用的總字數一半以上（彭瑞祥 1982），這說明了漢字左上角構形的重要。漢字的另一特性是字的構件分佈殊異，因而冗餘訊息高，若將一段文字其中部份配件省去，有一半以上的受試者能把省略 55% 文字完全復完（曾性初 1983）。可見漢字與詞的結構給予學習者不少訊息。教學時使學生辨認生詞形聲特徵、構詞線索、分辨意義近似的詞，均可提高教學效果（劉英茂 1978，王樹秀 1980，楊樹 1980）。如何更有利地運用字詞結構屬性幫助學生認字識詞學習，藉以加速兒童語文發展，還有待研究提供實證。

字筆劃數 筆劃數少的漢字易學易寫是漢字簡化的主要論據。這個論據在兩個比較繁簡體字的默寫研究中獲得驗證（何志方、蕭炳基 1973，佟樂泉、李文馥、馮申禁、宋鈞 1979）。

兩個研究均在結論中強調：除了繁簡因素，字的結構部份和構形亦影響學生默寫成績。上述一個辨識擬字非詞的研究中，亦指出筆劃少的字詞易於辨正。近人對這個論據亦不無異議者。梁子勤（1970）指出筆劃少的字近似字多、線索亦少，不一定易學。杜學知（1980）提出資料，說明字形、字音、字義的學習，以十四劃到十九劃一組字比十三劃以下的字較易掌握，但他所提出的論據亦遭人質疑（黃中 1980）。因此，字的筆劃屬性究竟對兒童（尤其初學兒童）識字學習和字詞掌握有何影響，實需有進一步研究以澄清這一問題。

字詞詞性 一般而言，兒童先有事物的意象然後學習事物的名稱和屬性，再而演變成概念，因而認識具體的名詞、動詞比其他的詞類較易，這與兒童心智發展階段有關。在上述的繁簡字比較研究中，亦發覺名詞默寫所得分數比動詞形容詞高出一半。西方學者亦肯定了字的詞性和聯想意義很有關係（Brown & Bellugi 1964，Deese 1965）。兒童學習不同詞性的詞是否有一定規律？掌握不同詞性的詞是否可豐富個人的認知內容或有助於複雜句式的理解呢？詞性的掌握與認知發展的關係實不失為識字教學研究的好題材。

詞的學習 詞的學習包括對詞的音、形、義的認識、記憶和運用。對一個詞作出意義相關的聯想，聯想多寡可作為反映對該詞意義熟悉程度（意義度）。一個研究發現：詞的出現率與意義度有關而與心像值（詞的抽象程度）無關（黃榮村、劉英茂 1978）。實驗研究亦發現將詞放在文句脈絡中學習，有助於學習該詞的文意和用法（劉英茂 1978）。詞的聯想是隨年齡增長而越趨明朗。五歲兒童對詞聯想較為凌亂、隨意，而六歲的聯想則意義漸明朗，界限漸廓清（蕭炳基、劉誠 1982）。另一研究發現兒童對字詞概念分類能力有明顯的年齡特點，兒童說明分類根據的能力遠落後於分類能力，而分類材料、個體經驗等對分類成績有一定影響，換言之，對詞語概念分類能力是與所選的詞及個人語文經驗有關（朱智賢、錢曼君、吳風崗、林崇德 1982）。有一個研究探討影響名字記憶弱化的因素並發現受試者的既有經驗和名字間的互擾成份與弱化記憶有關，同時，受試者會運用表像、名字意義、字形特點、和已有資料來記憶名字（李令節 1982）。事實上，很多研究結果顯示加強字詞線索、聯想，

有利於學生收錄和辨識過程，從而有助於憶取及運用該字詞。詞的運用可從多方面表現出來，砌詞、造句、填空等皆可作為考查詞語運用工具，但亦有要求學生在有同類性詞語的句子，用概類性詞語概括這些句組，作為用語能力的考查（馮申禁、宋鈞、佟樂泉 1980）。上述資料指出年齡、經驗、句子脈絡、詞的性質、詞的歸類等皆與詞的掌握有關。但是，對分析詞的學習因素的研究還很貧乏，在這方面的研究還須多費心思。

四 研究設計

本研究計劃分兩階段執行。第一階段是統計小學用詞的出現率及確定常用詞的來源。比較香港、大陸、台灣三個地區小學詞語及其屬性的統計資料，從而歸納出一套在詞語各項屬性上有循序漸進規律的、在兒童識詞心理上有增益功能的常用詞，以備香港各級小學生學習。第二階段是在詞語統計中按出現率選取常用詞、次常用詞、稀用詞樣本，製成五套測驗，測驗學生識詞、用詞能力。在香港小學中以分層隨機抽樣方法，以學校類型、學生能力、地區作為分層標準，從全體小學中選取四十所小學，分為五組（每組八間），每組學校均具同樣代表性。五套測驗分別給予五組學校各級學生測試，每級中只選一班學生作為受試者。所得成績，按照學生年齡、學習形式（背誦學習或分配練習等）、提示形式（句子脈絡或同義聯想）、與及詞的各項屬性作各種分析比較。

簡言之，第一階段的設計是以不同地區課本中用詞為自變數，以詞的各項屬性（出現率、結構、筆劃、詞性）為隨變數，比較各地區小學詞語屬性的統計量。

第二階段設計是以學生年齡、學習形式、提示形式、與及詞的各項屬性為自變數，以學生識詞、用詞成績為隨變數，分析各種學習過程與及詞語屬性對學生識詞發展的影響。

五 研究程序與進度

根據本研究設計，必先完成第一階段的程序才可進行第二階段的計劃。

研究的第一階段是做詞語統計，程序如下：

一、製訂劃詞總則 既然以詞為收錄單位，就必須界定詞語的意義和範疇。所謂詞語，是包括詞和詞組，倘若詞組在意義單位上代表一個完整的觀念，在習慣用法上很少分離，則列為一詞語單位收錄。收錄每一條詞語時，一併將有關屬性記錄。詞的屬性主要為下列四項：

①出現率 主要是指一個詞在一套課本中每一級課程內的出現次數。然後又可以計算該詞在整課本中出現次數。因此，一個詞可因整體計算不同而分別有幾種出現率。

②結構 指字詞的構成部件，而構成部件有部首和字素。分析兒童默書作業、認字經驗，可知兒童覺知字內的部件並不一定等同字典內所劃分的部件。例如，對兒童而言，「結」字只有「糸」和「吉」兩部件而不是「糸」、「士」、「口」三部份。字詞結構是以兒童覺知習慣來作劃分標準，將字素和部首作為主要結構部件。例如「漸」則有三部件，而「展」則有二部件。

③筆劃 複字詞則以第一位置的字計算筆劃，計算方法以《新編新華字典》為準。

④詞性 指該詞在課文中作何詞用，如名、動、介、量等。有關詞性分法則參考《語言

學導論》(李兆同、徐恩益 1981 人民出版社)。

開始劃詞之前，於一九八二年九月中組成一小組，成員包括兩位中大中文系講師及五位研究員(中文系二年級學生)，討論劃分詞語要則，經過多次討論及預試，粗定下一劃詞原則，後來再經多次修改，終於製定一劃詞總則(附錄一)，將詞語定義界定及劃分範疇，作為劃詞標準。

二、選取中文課本 本研究以香港中文讀本為主要分析對象，但因為本港小學課本選字取詞原則不明，對於詞語出現的漸進性、累積性、反覆性亦缺乏可循的準則，於是，就有參考其他地區中文課本的必要，以作效準、以作比較。本研究的詞語收錄來源主要是大陸、台灣、香港的現用語文讀本。從這幾套讀本所收錄的資料，就可作縱線和橫線的比較研究。

課本的應用率就是讀本選錄的最好標準。應用率高本身就具備較大的代表性，而代表性則為選樣的基礎。基於此，下列四套語文讀本就成為本研究的分析對象：

《現代中國語文》——香港出版，一套共十二本。每級兩本。全部字數約 45,000 — 50,000。各冊全部課文均為收錄樣本。

《大雅中國語文》——香港出版，一套共十二冊。每級兩本。字數約為 50,000。全部課文均為收錄樣本。

新編讀本《語文》——大陸出版，一套共十本，每級兩本。字數約為 125,000，除頭三冊全錄外，後七冊只以隨機抽樣方法選取三份之一課文作樣本收錄。

《標準國語讀本》——台灣出版，一套共十二本，每級兩本。字數約 126,000，除頭二冊全錄外，後十冊以隨機抽樣方法選取三份之一課文作樣本收錄。

為了平均每套課本所錄取詞語數目，大陸和台灣出版的課本部份冊數只能錄取三份一課文。因為所取樣本數目相仿，所得各個詞語的統計量就可作實質比較。但從大陸和台灣課本中所錄取的詞語，其實際出現率則需倍其值計算。

三、詞語收錄和統計 詞語收錄分為四個步驟。第一個步驟是劃詞。五位中大學生根據配備的劃詞總則和劃詞須知，在課文中將詞語勾劃。第二個步驟是記詞。由八位中六、中七學生擔任。他們根據記詞須知把勾劃了的詞語逐個記在一特定紙上並記錄每個詞語的出現頻率。第三個步驟是記錄詞語屬性。五位中大學生把收錄在紙上的詞語重審，並根據課文脈絡將每個詞語的結構、筆劃、詞性標列。第四個步驟是條列詞語。由兩位研究助理將已收錄詞語整理排列。根據詞語筆劃序分開單詞複詞排列，每條詞語記錄其出現次數、結構部份、詞性(附錄二)。從詞語筆劃序表就可分別各詞的屬性和作出不同的比較分析了。

四、詞語統計進度 詞語收錄每個階段均頗費時，尤其是從劃詞到排列均以人手處理。自去年十月開始工作，現在只完成了兩套課本的詞語筆劃序表。預計於明年一月間才可全部完成四套課本的詞語筆劃序表。

研究的第二階段是有關識詞過程的研究，現時正在進行中。現時着手於編製一套識詞、用詞能力測驗，取材於業已完成的香港兩套課本詞語筆劃序表，從中選取各級的常用詞、次用詞和稀用詞樣本。這階段的工作希望在八四年二月間可完成。

同時現已商請教育研究署協助，從八百所小學中抽取四十間有代表性樣本，俾能儘快聯絡樣本學校，了解學生學習中文形式，以便於八四年三月間進行一個龐大測驗計劃。然後收集有關資料。預計整個研究計劃可於一九八四年底完成。

附錄一 劃詞總則

「詞」是一個句子中最小的意義單位，包括單字、複詞、成語等。

- (一) 凡不可分開的複詞應視爲一詞：彷彿、東西、骨肉、條件、想像等。
 - (二) 凡習慣上相連應用亦視爲一詞：終於、對於、應該、當然、而已等。
 - (三) 凡成語均視爲一詞：舉一反三、有志竟成、嬉笑怒罵等。
 - (四) 凡專門名詞包括人名、地名、機構名均視爲一詞：食指、羅馬數字、唐詩等。
 - (五) 凡疊詞均視爲一詞：懶洋洋、商商量量、酸酸痛、想想看。
 - (六) 凡略詞／簡稱視爲一詞：美國、五四、太亞區、文娛等。
 - (七) 凡外來語及音譯視爲一詞：公共汽車、摩登、超級市場等。
 - (八) 凡疑歎詞均視爲一詞：嗯嗯、喂、天啊、哎咿等。
 - (九) 數詞分開計算，但概數詞則視爲一詞：一切、一概、二三、千萬等。
 - (十) 趨向詞處理較複雜，先連同動詞計算然後更獨立計算：
 (跑回來) 先計 跑 (後計)、回來 (後計)
 (爬下去) 先計 爬 (後計)、下去 (後計)
 - (十一) 方位詞自成一詞：在樓上、在這些人中間、上山去。
 - (十二) 動詞補詞當與動詞連成一詞：說得、說着、就會、之「得」、「着」、「會」、「到」等。
 - (十三) 動態詞自成一詞：跳起來、唱起歌來、建起一座房子來了。
 - (十四) 動詞語態詞：吃過飯了，吃飯 (先計) 吃過飯 (後計)。
 - (十五) 集體詞視作一詞：大家、小朋友、他們、羊群。
 - (十六) 動詞後的「有」字合併計算：派有、附有、屬有。
 - (十七) 詞語不能被擴展者視爲一詞：環境、顧客、月台、背影、說話。
 - (十八) 詞語雖被擴展而習慣合用者，視爲一詞：鞠……躬、結……婚、吃……驚。
 - (十九) 習慣上合併用的詞，視爲一詞：反過來說、一方面、總言之、換言之。
 - (二十) 亞拉伯數字或英文字，不收錄亦不計算。
- ※注意：如有疑問，不知應合或應分的詞，一律先合起來收錄，然後另作定奪，唯需標示符號。

附錄二 詞語出現次數、結構部份、詞性記錄例子 (取自大雅中國語文第一、二冊)

詞語	出現率	結構	詞性
怎能	2	2	E
時間	1	2	N
閃個不停	1	2	V
連接	1	2	V
造成	1	2	V
荔枝	1	1	N
高興	1	2	A
怒氣	1	2	D
逛逛	1	2	V
翅膀	1	2	N
送來	1	2	V
草原	1	2	N
桃花	1	2	N
書房	1	2	N
草色	1	2	N
討論	1	2	V/N
起來	3	2	V
能夠	1	3	V
時候	10	2	N
連忙	1	2	D
帶着	3	2	V
笑臉	1	2	N
家光	4	5	N
校園	1	2	N
站在	1	2	V
氣走	1	2	V
要是	5	2	C
害怕	3	2	V
笑着	1	2	V
哥哥	5	2	N

E	歎詞
N	名詞
V	動詞
A	形容詞
D	副詞
C	連詞

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RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Communicative Language Teaching

Singapore, 23-27 April 1984

THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN MINISTERS OF EDUCATION ORGANIZATION (SEAMEO) REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE (RELC) WILL HOLD ITS 19TH REGIONAL SEMINAR, 23 - 27 APRIL 1984 IN SINGAPORE. THE THEME OF THE SEMINAR IS "COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING".

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SEMINAR ARE:

- * TO CONSIDER THE APPLICABILITY OF THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH TO LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA;
- * TO REVIEW THE THEORETICAL CONCEPTS THAT ARE RELEVANT TO COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING;
- * TO DISCUSS HOW THESE CONCEPTS RELATE TO SYLLABUS DESIGN, MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT, TEACHING METHODOLOGY AND EVALUATION;
- * TO EXPLORE SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS OF THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH IN THE CLASSROOM, INCLUDING THE APPROPRIATE USE OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY;
- * TO EXAMINE THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND ELSEWHERE.

FURTHER INFORMATION AND INVITATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SEMINAR CAN BE OBTAINED FROM THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS:

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