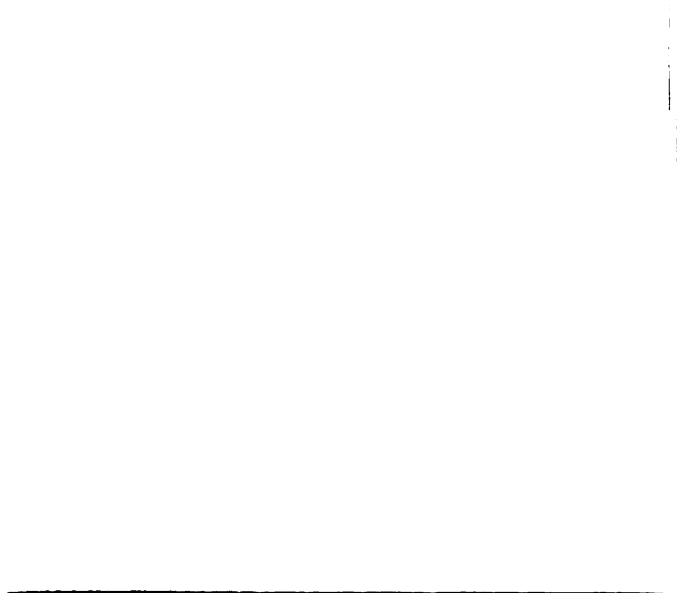
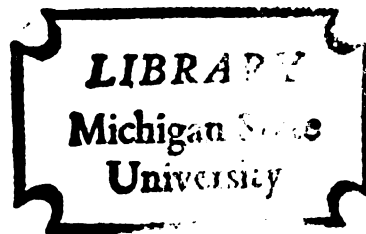


ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH SYNTAX
OF CHICANO SCHOOL CHILDREN

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
BARBARA MAY HORVATH
1971

1-12-51





3 1293 00010 0168

~~FEB 21 1972~~ 55

~~60R 8 1972~~ 095

~~2 MAY 30 1972~~ 165

a 51

R-263

~~JUN 11 1972~~ 55

~~W~~ 189

~~12573~~ 10

000 114

ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH SYNTAX
OF CHICANO SCHOOL CHILDREN

By
Barbara May Horvath

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Linguistics and Oriental
and African Languages

1971

Contents

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	1.0 The Chicano Situation	1
	2.0 Overview of the Present Study	4
II	APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CHILD LANGUAGE	8
	1.0 Introduction	8
	2.0 Theoretical Vs. Applied Approaches to the Study of Child Language	8
	2.1 Goals of the Research	8
	2.2 Competence Vs. Performance	9
	2.3 The Concept of Maturity	12
	2.4 Statistical Studies	15
	2.5 Data Collection	17
	3.0 The Approach Taken in the Present Study	19
	4.0 Summary and Evaluation of the O'Donnell Study	20
	4.1 Objectives	20
	4.2 Theoretical Background	21
	4.3 The Use of the T-Unit	23
	4.4 Data Collection Techniques	24
	4.5 Inadequacies of Structural Analyses	25
	4.6 Results of the O'Donnell Study	28
III	A STUDY OF CHICANO ENGLISH	34
	1.0 Introduction	34
	2.0 Background to the Present Study	36
	2.1 The Children	36
	2.2 The Types of Data Collected	36
	3.0 A Comparison of the Syntactic Structures Used by CE and MCE Speakers	39
	3.1 Overall Results of the Study	39
	3.2 Results of the Study of Specific Construction Types	50
	3.2.1 Nominal Constructions	52
	3.2.2 Adverbial Constructions	58
	3.2.3 Coordinate Constructions	61
	3.3 Structural Patterns of Main Clauses	62
	3.4 Predictive Ability of the Number of Words per T-Unit Measure	65
	3.5 Conclusions	68

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
III (Con'd)		
	4.0 Further Investigation of CE	72
	4.1 Introduction	72
	4.2 Results of the Sentence Repetition Exercise	74
	4.3 Conclusions	80
	4.4 Critique of the Sentence Repetition Exercise	81
IV	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	84
	1.0 Summary	84
	2.0 Conclusions	87
	3.0 The Role of the Applied Linguist	89
Bibliography		91
Appendices		
	A. Chicano English Data	94
	B. Chicano English Worksheet	96
	C. A List of Nonstandard Grammatical Forms	97
	C. Results of the Sentence Repetition Exercise Given to Three Anglo Children	103

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Background Information on the Children in the Study Group	37
2	Length of Responses	40
3	Mean Number of Words per T-Unit by Grade	41
4	Number of Words per T-Unit: A Comparison	44
5	Percentage of T-Units Having Less Than Nine Words	46
6	Mean Number of Sentence-Combining Transformations per T-Unit	48
7	Percentage of T-Units Having No Sentence-Combining Transformations (CE Only)	49
8	Types of Constructions Formed by Sentence-Combining Transformations	51
9	Headed Nominal Constructions Formed by Sentence-Combining Transformations	53
10	Non-Headed Nominal Constructions Formed by Sentence-Combining Transformations	57
11	Grammatical Functions of Nominal Constructions	59
12	Adverbial Structures Formed by Sentence-Combining Transformations	60
13	Coordinate Structures Formed by Sentence-Combining Transformations	63
14	Structural Patterns of Main Clauses	64
15	Individual Rank (Speech)	67
16	Individual Rank (Writing)	69

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to the following people.

The members of my committee, Dr. Meyer Wolf, Dr. Ruth Brend,
and Dr. Julia Falk, for assisting me in the preparation of
this thesis.

Ms. Toni Sims for her enthusiastic cooperation with this
project.

Eddie, Robert, Laura, Ana, Ceferino, David, Rene, Kathy, and
Becky, members of Ms. Sims' class, for making the data
collection a joy.

Chapter I.

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Chicano Situation

Within the last decade educators have become interested in the educational and social development of the so-called 'disadvantaged' child, and they often include Chicano children in this category. Like Black Americans, Mexican Americans are separated from the mainstream of American society; about three-quarters of all Chicanos live in barrios, i.e., in neighborhoods where the residents are predominantly Chicanos (Heller: p. 21). The 1960 United States Census revealed that in the five states of the Southwest where the majority of Chicanos live (Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, and California), 36% of adult Mexican Americans were either illiterate or functionally illiterate, that is, had only one to four years of schooling, as compared to only 5% of the Anglo Americans in these states (Heller: p. 15).

Chicanos have a high drop-out rate (or perhaps more accurately stated, a high push-out rate) from schools. In 1960 the median number of school years completed by Chicano males in urban areas was 8.4 years as compared with 11.0 years for the total U.S. male urban population (Heller: pp. 14-15). One of the reasons given for the high drop-out

rate is that the difficulties these students have with English prevent them from doing well in other subjects (Manuel: p. 115; Heller: p. 14 ff). One educator, W. H. Sinninger, has observed that the Chicano student begins to drop below norms in the fourth grade and continues to drop in each succeeding grade (Manuel: p. 115). In addition little or no instruction is given Chicanos in their native language, Spanish, until they reach high school, and then it is often taught as though it were a foreign language for them. As a result, some educators assert that most Chicano children know neither Spanish nor English well (Manuel: p. 117). These assertions by educators reveal a lack of understanding of the nature of language; they are doubtless referring to the fact that the Chicanos are not taught to read and write in Spanish and also, perhaps, that they speak nonstandard dialects of both Spanish and English. Nevertheless, they do point out that the needs of the Chicano community are not being met by the educational system. The general lack of interest in the bilingual child is reflected in the paucity of published material available on the languages spoken by Chicanos. What is published often deals with the 'problem' of language, but actual grammatical analyses of English or Spanish as spoken by Chicanos have not yet been published.

When the Chicano child comes to kindergarten, he speaks either Spanish only or Spanish and, to a limited extent, English (Manuel: p. 123). He is expected generally to pick up English on his own; often there are no specific classes organized for teaching him English. The language spoken in the home, on the playground, and elsewhere in the community is normally Spanish and the majority of the children's practice in English comes in the classroom (Manuel: p. 123; Heller: pp. 29-30). With

classes of thirty-five children, where the teacher does most of the talking, it is not strange that these children will not develop a native facility for English. The difficulties resulting from not being able to use English effectively are cumulative, so that Chicano students begin to fall back in all school subjects and eventually are pushed out of the educational system.

Within the past few years there has been increased interest in these children, as evidenced by an increase in federally aided programs and in publications on topics related to Mexican Americans.* A great deal of discussion is given to language difficulties and to possible solutions. Although these programs vary from one school district to another, there seem to be two basic approaches now being considered: the Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) approach and the bilingual approach. In the bilingual program, instruction is generally given in Spanish for the first three or four years and then English is used, whereas in the TESL approach, English is the medium of instruction from the start (Del Buono: personal communication). Some communities are also emphasizing the need for bicultural programs to be included in their bilingual programs, recognizing that different languages reflect more than just different grammars.

*Several recently published bibliographies reflect this increased interest in the Chicano community. Among them the following seem to be the most general and complete: University of California at Los Angeles. Mexican-American Study Project Revised Bibliography, Advance Report No. 3, Los Angeles: 1967; Stanford University, Center for Latin American Studies. The Mexican-American: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography. Stanford, California: 1969.

No matter which approach is taken, however, it seems fairly obvious that there must be some analysis of the English and Spanish grammar of Chicano children. Yet in recent years no systematic studies have been made of the languages used by these children (Heller: p. 30). Courses designed to help them learn either language must take into account what they know about that language and what aspects of that language they are likely to have difficulty with.

2.0 Overview of the Present Study

This thesis is a comparative study of the grammar of English used by middle-class Anglo children and Chicano children, most of whom are approximately ten years old and in the fifth grade of school. The middle-class Anglo children were chosen as a comparative base because it was assumed that curriculum design and textbooks were aimed at this particular group. Given the fact of the high school drop-out rate and the observation by many educators that one of the problems which Chicanos have in school stems from their lack of facility with English, it may prove interesting to describe the grammatical structures used by Chicanos and compare them with the structures used by Anglos.

How one goes about describing the language use of children becomes a central problem in this thesis. Theoretical grammarians, particularly transformational grammarians, focus their attention on competence, that is, what a speaker knows about his language. The study of language use is often left to researchers whose primary goals are not the theoretical explication of grammar per se. The people who study language use often have more practical aims in describing the grammar of children and usually

expect to see the results of their research reflected in direct changes within the educational structure. Chapter II of this thesis discusses in detail some theoretical and applied approaches to the study of child language.

A study of the syntax of middle-class Anglo children by O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris entitled Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children: A Transformational Analysis was chosen as a model for collecting data and describing the syntax used by the Chicano children, as well as providing the comparative data. A summary and critical evaluation of the O'Donnell study is given in Chapter II.

The data collection techniques, some general background of the Chicano children used in the study, and results of the comparative analysis form the major part of Chapter III. Appendix A is a tabulation of the statistical information obtained in the analysis; Appendix B is a sample data sheet.

Because it was not the purpose of the O'Donnell study to analyze nonstandard grammatical structures, using this study as a model did not allow such structures to be isolated in the Chicano data. In the O'Donnell study, nonstandard utterances were either classified within the categories set up or were not included as part of the data. Obviously, this situation is not satisfactory, particularly in the study of English as spoken by Chicanos where nonstandard forms may prove interesting and provide some answers as to how to design courses for these children. It also may be that there exists a Chicano dialect of English, analogous to Black English. The Chicanos' isolation in barrios would provide similar conditions for the possible development of such a dialect. The implications for teaching

then would be profound: not only would the children be required by the schools to be bilingual, but bidialectal in English as well.

In an attempt to investigate the possibility of such a dialect, a sentence repetition exercise was given to the Chicano children based on observed use of nonstandard grammatical structures. Since the examination of Chicano English as a separate dialect was not one of the major goals of this thesis, only tentative and speculative results are given in Chapter III. Appendix C gives in tabular form all of the observed nonstandard forms used by the Chicano children along with a tentative explanation for such nonstandardisms, i.e., whether it may be the result of interference from Spanish, or whether it is probably a widely-used nonstandard form, or whether it is a nonstandard form typically used by all children in the acquisition of English.

The sentence repetition exercise was given to three Anglo children in an attempt to evaluate the validity of the test. The results are given in Appendix D.

Very little analysis was done in this thesis on problems related to interference from Spanish; however, this is an area which must also be taken into account when looking for solutions to the problems of Chicano school children. Meaningful English courses must take into account those areas of English which would predictably be difficult for Spanish-speakers learning English. Some work has been done in phonology (Olguin), but very little has been done with aspects of syntax (however, see Stockwell, Bowen, and Martin), especially the particular problems that children have in acquiring a second language.

Conclusions to the comparative study and the sentence repetition exercise are given in Chapter III. Chapter IV contains a summary and conclusions concerning the type of study done, that is, an applied linguistic study of the use of language. The role of the applied linguist and his relationship to the field of linguistics as a whole is also discussed.

Chapter II.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF CHILDREN

1.0 Introduction

The language of children has been studied by both educators and linguists for many years. The approaches taken to these studies have differed widely based primarily on the goals of the researchers. It will be useful for the purposes of this thesis to identify two major approaches to research on child language, hereafter referred to as the applied and the theoretical approaches. By contrasting the goals and methodologies of these two approaches, a better understanding can be obtained of the place of this thesis within the larger framework of research on child language.

2.0 Theoretical Vs. Applied Approaches to the Study of Child Language

2.1 Goals of the Research - The differences between the theoretical and applied approaches become apparent upon examining the respective goals. The applied approach is most often taken by researchers whose educational backgrounds are either in the fields of education or English. Their goals, which are often not explicitly stated, appear to be to describe the language of older children ranging from kindergarten through

high school. The object of research can be to find means of measuring the linguistic capabilities of the children, or to design curriculum to suit various levels of linguistic maturity, or to develop teaching techniques for improving language-related skills such as reading and writing.

The goals of the theoretical researcher are quite different. He is most often a linguist interested in advancing the development of a theory of grammar, often transformational grammar. The goals of his research are to provide evidence for claims made by the theory such as the innate capacity of human beings to acquire language, the universal nature of language, or the creative aspect of language. He is also interested in what children learn about their native language as well as how they learn it. The children studied are usually young, that is, below five years of age, because the focus is on the acquisition of language rather than on the use of language.

The place of theory in relation to the goals of research is also an important difference. As the name implies, the development of theory plays a central role in research using the theoretical approach. However, in the applied studies, grammatical theories may or may not be a part of the research. Where theory is brought in, it often plays a peripheral role used when convenient to provide an explanation or to provide a very general framework for the study.

2.2 Competence Vs. Performance - Chomsky has established a dichotomy which is useful in contrasting these two approaches to child language research. This dichotomy, competence and performance, fairly well sums up the differences in focus between theoretical and applied research.

According to Chomsky's definitions, competence is the speaker-hearer's primarily subconscious knowledge of his language and performance is the actual use of language in concrete situations (Chomsky: 1965, p. 4).

Applied research focuses on performance and is often characterized by data collection techniques which record all utterances made by the children, including garbles such as false starts, repetitions, etc. Given the emphasis on school language, much of the data used in the studies come from the written work of children. The analysis of the data is often statistical in nature, either in terms of counting words, e.g., the number of words in a sentence, in a written composition, or in a story told by the child, or in tabulating the frequency of occurrence of various grammatical structures.

One basic criticism of the emphasis of applied research on performance is that there is little explicit discussion of the underlying assumptions upon which the studies are based, particularly regarding the difficulties in studying performance and its relation to competence. In fact, some of the conclusions which have been arrived at in these studies make it apparent that there is very little understanding on the part of the applied researchers of the differences between competence and performance and the relationship of their studies to studies of competence.

Theoretical researchers, on the other hand, are quite explicit about the differences between competence and performance and emphasize the study of competence as the primary goal of their studies. McNeill points out quite clearly that, particularly in the study of child language, the distinction between competence and performance must be maintained. The object of the study of child language, as he sees it, is to account for

the emergence of competence itself and eventually to be able to account for performance, and this cannot be accomplished, he feels, by confusing competence and performance (McNeill: p. 17).

Chomsky has noted that the description of competence has the greatest psychological relevance because it is concerned with the kinds of structures which are internalized, whether or not they are used. To illustrate the notion that failure to use particular grammatical features does not necessarily indicate that the structure is not a part of the speaker's internalized grammar, Chomsky cites a phonological example. In acquiring the sound patterns of his language, a child will immediately put in a newly acquired sound all across the board, i.e., with the acquisition of the initial sound /s/, /ku^wl/ becomes /sku^wl/, /pu^wn/ becomes /spu^wn/, etc., indicating that there was internalized knowledge of the occurrence of such sounds before the child was able to pronounce them. Competence, he claims, exceeds performance (Chomsky: 1970, p. 43).

The emphasis on performance and the failure to examine the underlying assumptions of their research have led the applied researchers to describe child language in terms which would be inappropriate in a theoretical study of language based on transformational grammar. Such terms as 'manipulation' and 'control' of syntax reflect an underlying difference in the view of what language is. The use of these terms implies, at least to a linguist, the psychological reality of rules and perhaps even conscious control in the generation of grammatical structures. No such claim is made by theoretical grammarians.

2.3 The Concept of Maturity - One of the aims of applied research is to devise means of measuring the linguistic maturity of children. Statistical measures are sought in terms of the frequency of occurrence of certain grammatical structures in the spoken and written work of children of various age/grade levels. The increase in the frequency of occurrence over time (or in some cases to be mentioned below - the decrease in frequency) is used as a measure of growth, maturity, or control.

The emphasis on maturity, in particular the measurement of maturity in children, is one which seems peculiar to the applied researchers. But in examining the studies by Hunt, Loban, O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris, and Mellon, who attempt to measure maturity, we find they do not seem to have a firm notion about what maturity is. Frequently in the literature of the applied researchers, maturity is referred to as an increased 'control' in the use of language. As previously mentioned, this term is a difficult one for linguists to accept. O'Donnell, Griffin and Norris attempt to deal with the problem of what 'control' means. They say that they do not claim that the increased use of any particular syntactic structure is indicative of maturity and they recognize that circumstances affect the appropriateness of the structures used. However, they say, if statistics show that older children, under similar circumstances, make use of certain syntactic features more frequently than younger children, then they assume that the use of such features demonstrates firmer command of the resources of the language (O'Donnell et al: pp. 93-94).

In reviewing some of the ideas which have been put forth regarding maturity, one finds what seems to be a search for one aspect of language

which will serve as an indicator of maturity. Riling focused on the decrease in frequency of garbles, that is false starts, abnormal redundancies, or word tangles (O'Donnell et al: p. 39), but found this to be an unreliable index of growth, a conclusion which was further confirmed in a study by O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris (O'Donnell et al: p. 40).

Gross word count has also been examined as a measure of maturity. Gross word count generally refers to the number of words in a written composition. It can also, however, refer to the number of words used in a spoken monologue. McCarthy has reviewed studies which indicated that gross word count might be a fair measure of maturity, but then observation and common sense indicate that this is no measure of the adult model and supposedly the adult is the ideal mature language user. Once again, the O'Donnell study does not show a significant correlation between gross word count and increased use of various complex syntactic structures (O'Donnell et al: p. 97).

The subordination ratio index, which calculates the relative frequency of the use of subordinate clauses, has also been used as a measure of maturity (Hunt: 1970, p. 189), but again the reliability of this index was not confirmed by the O'Donnell study. O'Donnell's children show that kindergarten children use nominal, adjectival, and adverbial clauses quite often and no significant increase from grade level to grade level in the use of subordinate clauses was shown (O'Donnell et al: p. 98). Finally, Loban has come to believe that it is not pattern, that is main clause structure, but a demonstration of flexibility with patterns which indicates control in the use of language (Loban: 1963, p. 84). Hunt and O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris further refine Loban's notion by pointing out that it

is not the appearance of certain syntactic structures that marks maturity, since all the syntactic structures they counted in their data were used by the youngest children in the groups studied. However, the most important mark of maturity is frequency of occurrence of these structures, particularly those structures produced by sentence-combining transformations (Hunt: 1970, p. 189; O'Donnell et al: p. 89).

Another feature of maturity pointed by O'Donnell et al is the decreased use of certain structures such as coordination of main clauses with 'and' and the use of the sentence pattern Subject-Verb-Predicate Nominative. First graders reduced by about forty percent, i.e., used fewer such patterns than did kindergarteners, their use of main clause patterns in which these predicate nominals follow linking verbs. The authors argue that this fact reflects growth toward maturity, for the simple pattern serves the very elementary purposes of indicating identification or equation. They give such examples as 'It was an ant.'; 'He was a hunter.'; and 'It was a rainy day.' (O'Donnell et al: p. 94). Presumably, adult speakers indicate identification or equation by using other, more complex, grammatical structures.

That introduces the problem, obviously, of describing the adult model of language use so that we can know when a child is approaching maturity. If we are to use frequency of occurrence as a measure of maturity, we should have some idea of how frequently various structures are used by adults. O'Donnell et al admit that they are making assumptions based on a loosely defined notion of what adult performance would be and this influences their notion of what constitutes development (O'Donnell et al: pp. 26-27). In fact, they note that "restraint in the use of some syntactic possibilities

is a demonstration of control" (O'Donnell et al: p. 94). There must be a limit to the number of times one can use, say, embedding, because too much embedding will result in a lack of communication and will not be regarded as mastery or control of language.

The frequency of occurrence of particular grammatical structures, then, appears to define the notion of maturity for applied researchers such as O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris. But just what does the notion of frequency of occurrence mean when applied to the concept of maturity? And how does frequency of occurrence fit into Chomsky's division of grammar into competence and performance? If the youngest child of all those studied used a particular syntactic structure with a certain degree of frequency and if the child uses this syntactic structure creatively, that is, in ways which he could not have heard before, thereby ruling out the possibility of direct imitation, do we not have to say that the child knows the rules needed to generate such a structure? In other words, there is a difference between maturity in the context of a theory of competence and maturity in relation to a theory of performance. This distinction is a necessary one and one which the applied researchers have failed to take into account.

2.4 Statistical Studies - That frequency of occurrence should come to define the concept of maturity is the obvious outcome of the methods used by the applied researchers. Earlier it was noted that statistical studies were used frequently by the applied researchers whose interests are in performance, whereas this is not the case with theoretical researchers, who focus their studies on competence.

The glorification of statistics is part of the myth of 'objective scientific' studies. Lees has noted that what is thought to be scientific is marked by precise measurement, resulting in statistical analyses of masses of data (Lees: p. 375); however, as he goes on to point out, precise measurement is not nearly so characteristic of the scientific method as is theory construction and validation. There is a basic misunderstanding, he feels, ". . . that statistical methods, that is, elaborate counting techniques, will not only reveal the correct analysis but even explicate linguistic behavior" (Lees: p. 379). Statistics are mechanical and are good for computers but they do not explain anything (Lees: pp. 379-380). More recently, Chomsky has observed that some linguists and psychologists see the relationship between competence and performance to be a probabilistic one and, he asserts, this is not the case (Chomsky: 1970, p. 44).

Among current applied researchers, Hunt talks about having certain intuitive feelings about maturity which he hopes to be able to measure quantitatively (Hunt: 1970, p. 189). O'Donnell et al and Loban are examples of other applied researchers doing statistical studies. A more mature - though doubtless just as ill-conceived - attitude toward statistical studies is represented by another applied researcher, Ohmann, who attempts to study literary style. He notes that while statistical counts of grammatical features seem pertinent, significant results are highly elusive. But he places the blame for this on the crudeness of the categories made available by traditional grammarians. These categories, he says, are numerous and lack a system which relates them in meaningful, formally motivated ways. A count is nothing more than that without a theory

and he contends that transformational theory can be used as the basis for another statistical approach to a corpus of data, in this case, the works of several novelists (Ohmann: p. 425).

Despite the fact that statistics have not been able to lead us to an understanding of the competence of the native speaker, Hunt's concern with intuitive feelings about the nature of maturity cannot be easily brushed aside. The fact of the matter is that applied research has shown that older children do use more complex grammatical constructions more often than younger children (O'Donnell et al; Hunt). It is this finding which necessitates defining the concept of maturity within the context of a theory of performance.

2.5 Data Collection - There is a significant difference in data collection techniques among applied and theoretical researchers. These differences are, once again, related to the focus on the study of performance by the applied researchers as opposed to competence.

The data upon which applied research is based is usually the written compositions or the spoken monologues of great numbers of children. The attempt is made to obtain natural use of language without interference on the part of the investigator. The kinds of information which such techniques yield have been questioned by transformational grammarians who emphasize the primacy of developing a theory of competence upon which a theory of performance must be based (Chomsky: 1965, p. 10-15).

Chomsky has made it quite clear that this amassing of data will not in his opinion yield the kind of results necessary to develop a theory of grammar. The direct record of speech, he contends, leads only to superficial

linguistic analysis (Chomsky: 1970, p. 44) and more exact description of recorded speech will not lead to further explanation of the underlying ability of a speaker to use and understand his language (Chomsky: 1965, pp. 20-21). Although some people assume that the underlying knowledge of the speaker can be derived from a corpus of data by well-developed data processing techniques (Chomsky: 1970, p. 47), in actual fact, Chomsky claims, no adequate, formalizable techniques are known for obtaining reliable information concerning the facts of linguistic structure (Chomsky: 1965, p. 19).

New experimental methods must be developed, Chomsky feels, which go beyond mere observation of speech in normal situations. In order to get at competence, we need to study the ability of the speaker to understand and interpret sentences as well as actual output. But it must always be remembered that data serve only as a ground for inference (Chomsky: 1970, p. 45). Since the study of actual output - or performance - is the only way to study a speaker's competence, that is, to get at his subconscious knowledge of his language, and direct record is unsatisfactory as a data collection technique, Chomsky suggests that we carry out the study of performance in "devious and clever ways" if we want to obtain serious results (Chomsky: 1970, pp. 43-44). Particularly with regard to child language acquisition, he suggests four specific areas in which tests can be devised to determine the underlying ability of children to

- 1) use and comprehend sentences; 2) detect deviance and compensate for it;
- 3) apply rules in new situations; and 4) form highly specific concepts from scattered bits of information (Chomsky: 1970, p. 47).

3.0 The Approach Taken in the Present Study

The applied researcher who is aware of the theoretical advancements made by the proponents of transformational grammar is faced with a dilemma. If the theory of performance must, in fact, be based on the theory of competence, should he wait until the theory of competence is better understood before proceeding with his research? It seems obvious to this writer that the answer to this question must be a resounding no. The studies done by these applied researchers are in response to needs expressed by the educational community to which they can at least provide partial solutions, although these solutions will need to be reevaluated from time to time. The criticism of the applied researcher must not be that he should forsake his research and do more theoretical studies, but rather that he heed the advances that have been made in grammatical theory when doing his studies.

The present study of the use of English by Chicano children is an applied study which uses as a model the work of O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris entitled Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children: A Transformational Analysis. These investigators take the approach of the applied researchers who attempt to place their work within the framework of a grammatical theory, in this case, transformational grammar.

This study was used as a model in order to be able to compare the Chicano children with native speakers of English. It seemed fruitless to describe Chicano English in a vacuum, i.e., it would have helped little more than previous studies of Chicano children which have noted that these children have special problems with English. The important thing to

understand is how these children's problems differ from the problems of other children of the same age. In order to have some comparative base, then, the O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris study was chosen. In this study the authors measured the linguistic development of middle class Anglo children from kindergarten through grade 7.

4.0 Summary and Evaluation of the O'Donnell Study

4.1 Objectives - The objectives of the study, essentially statistical in nature, are given as follows (O'Donnell et al: p. 1).

1. To find ways of quantifying differences in grammatical structures used by children in various age/grade levels.
- 2.. To discover, if possible, the sequential acquisition of syntactic structures.
3. To determine the pattern of growth, i.e., are there gradual and consistent trends or periodic spurts.
4. To look for differences in the use of syntactic structures in written and oral expression.
5. To note sex differences in the use of syntactic structures.
6. To discover a simple measure to use as an indicator of syntactic control.

All of these objectives are easily understood except for the last one. As was noted earlier in this chapter, the concept of 'syntactic control' is not one readily acceptable to transformational linguists because it implies some kind of psychological reality of rules or conscious control in the generation of syntactic structures. In speaking of the development of

'syntactic control', it should be understood that the authors are referring to the increased use from one age level to the next of complex syntactic structures. A more specific definition of these complex syntactic structures is given below.

4.2 Theoretical Background - The tenets of transformational grammar are claimed as the theoretical underpinnings of this study. The authors distinguish three types of transformational rules. The first type are those which operate on elements within the sentence, e.g., those which transform PAST TENSE + VERB into VERB + PAST TENSE. The second type are optional rules which transform a simple, active, declarative, affirmative sentence into a different sentence type. The third type of transformation works on two underlying strings so as to join or embed one in the other. These they refer to as sentence-combining transformations and it is this third type of transformational rule which is investigated to meet the stated objectives of their study (O'Donnell et al: p. 15).

According to the authors, sentence-combining transformational rules make use of three types of operations: deletions, substitutions, and expansions. The authors do not discuss these operations in detail and give only example sentences showing the use of these subtypes in combining two so-called kernel sentences such as 'The man was poor.' and 'The man bought an automobile.' into single sentences. According to their analysis, an example of the use of the deletion operation would be: 'The poor man bought an automobile.' Substitution would yield the sentence 'The man who was poor bought an automobile.' Finally, an example of the expansion operation would be 'The man bought an automobile though he was poor.' (O'Donnell et al: p. 16). These subtypes become important divisions in the

study when the authors attempt to show that the use of the deletion operation marks mature use of language.

It must be pointed out here that this summary of transformational grammar presented by O'Donnell et al is an outdated version of the theory. Since Chomsky's publication of Syntactic Structures in 1957, various scholars have applied transformational theory to devising curricula for teaching high school English grammar (Roberts), or improving the ability of school children to use complex syntactic structures in their writing (Mellon), or measuring the ability of children to use syntax (Hunt; O'Donnell et al). One of the obvious drawbacks of attempts to apply the findings of transformational theory has been that the theory itself has undergone basic revision since its inception, leaving many of the applied researchers without firm theoretical support.

There are two major deficiencies in the O'Donnell study, however, which cannot be easily excused on the basis that the theory changed while these authors were in the middle of their study. First of all, despite the fact that the O'Donnell study was published in 1967, they used Syntactic Structures for the theoretical background to their work although they recognized that the theory had been revised in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax published in 1965 (O'Donnell et al: pp. 15-16). Even this version of the theory has, of course, been subjected to revision.

The second deficiency in the overall approach used by O'Donnell et al is that they tended to overlook many of the points that Chomsky and other transformationalists have made about the nature of language and, in particular, the nature of linguistics, including criticism of taxonomic linguistics. Instead, they selected some parts of the theory which lent

some degree of explanation to their findings, ignoring such basic notions as the distinction between competence and performance. The result is that transformational grammar is used as a kind of veneer overlaid on a basically structuralist or taxonomic study.

4.3 The Use of the T-Unit - One of the first problems which many applied researchers encounter is determining what the boundary of a sentence is. Most studies of child language, particularly those of school age children, have noted that these children use an inordinate number of coordinate sentences, usually with 'and' as the conjunction. Since many of the studies were attempting to prove that sentence length was an indicator of linguistic growth, this naturally led to problems. One obvious problem is that sentences used by younger children were longer in terms of word count than those used by older children but were not as complex in grammatical structure. In other words, the younger children would often string together short, simple sentences connected by 'and', whereas older children used transformations to combine these sentences (O'Donnell et al: pp. 21-22).

In order to solve this problem, Kellogg Hunt in his study of the written work of school children introduced what he called the T-unit, the minimal terminal syntactic unit. Hunt defined the T-unit as "one main clause with all the subordinate clauses attached to it." (Hunt: 1965, p. 201). In other words, simple and complex sentences can be T-units, but compound sentences would be divided into two or more T-units. The T-unit was considered an objective measure because there was a steady, significant increase in the mean length of T-units from grade to grade

and the individual ranges showed less overlapping when compared either to other indicators of maturity such as the subordination ratio used by Loban (1963), that is the number of subordinate clauses used, or the length of sentences previously used by Hunt (1964) (O'Donnell et al: p. 23).

Although part of the increase in length of T-units could be explained by an increase in the use of dependent clauses, Hunt also found that the length of these clauses themselves increased as did the length of T-units containing no dependent clauses. The cause of this increase, he hypothesized, was the more frequent use of sentence-combining transformations (O'Donnell et al: pp. 23-24). It is with this information as a starting point that O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris begin their study of sentence-combining transformations, expecting to be able to further refine the notion of linguistic maturity.

4.4 Data Collection Techniques - The data used in the O'Donnell investigation were based on interviews of 180 white middle-class children living in Murfreesboro, Tennessee; thirty children each in kindergarten and in Grades 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. The children were shown two short films in which the sound was cut off to prevent bias. They were then asked to relate the plot of the films to an interviewer and their speech was transcribed. In addition, children in Grades 3, 5, and 7 were asked to write compositions about the films. The transcriptions and compositions were then divided into T-units and each T-unit was analyzed by assigning a sentence pattern type to the main clause and then counting the number of nominal, adverbial, and coordinate structures used in forming the

T-unit. Each of these three structural types was subdivided into a number of subtypes. (See Appendix B for a sample worksheet which lists all the categories counted.) A computer was then used to calculate a series of statistics based on the analyzed data. (O'Donnell et al: pp. 29-36).

The data collection techniques, the grammatical analysis, and finally the statistical analysis used in the O'Donnell study once again clearly show how few of the tenets of transformational grammar actually were used as basis for this study. The pitfalls of the data collection method and of statistical studies have been discussed earlier in this chapter, but the grammatical analysis, which is essentially structural in nature, has not been discussed.

4.5 The Inadequacies of Structural Analyses - Applied researchers are often structuralists in disguise, often disregarding the methods and goals of transformational grammar. In the O'Donnell report, the analysis of the data uses the methods of structural grammar and transformational grammar is brought in only in an attempt to interpret the results of the analysis.

A point at which transformational interpretations of structural analysis led to misunderstandings was in the noun adjunct classification. The authors contend that compound nouns are treated as structures produced by sentence-combining transformations (O'Donnell et al: p. 35). They give as an example 'North Wind', one of the characters in the film story they used in the interviews. To treat all compound nouns as though they were produced transformationally is to misunderstand the theory. Some, perhaps many, that were included in their data are to be considered as single lexical

items. This particular misunderstanding caused a number of problems in an attempt to compare the results of their study and the Chicano English study.

Another goal of transformational grammar which seems to have been overlooked is the attempt to show the relationship among syntactic structures which may look very different in their surface structures but which are in fact related at a deeper level. The authors, as we can see in examining their structural classification scheme shown on the worksheet in Appendix B, have looked only at the surface structures of the T-units. They come up with such conclusions as: nouns modified by prepositional phrases, participles, and participial phrases increase in usage with age/grade level. In the light of two other conclusions, 1) that the use of relative clauses decreases with age/grade level and 2) that the use of deletion rules seems to indicate maturity, there seems to be some generalization which could be made but which is not being made. If the authors were concerned about showing the relationship among these various structures, they might have had more evidence for the conclusion that the use of deletion rules was a mark of maturity.

In addition to looking only at the surface structure of the data, it appears that the authors also looked only at the "surface structure" of the theory. They seem to be primarily interested in the three general types of rules outlined: substitution, expansion, and deletion. They recognize that some sentence-combining transformations are more complex than others (O'Donnell et al: p. 50), but this does not seem to play an important part either in the analysis of the data or in the interpretation

of the results. To state simply that deletion rules are used more often by more mature speakers of the language is so general that it does not really tell us very much. Chomsky has also pointed out this general tendency to oversimplify the facts of linguistic structure (Chomsky: 1970, p. 47). These three types of rules are used in generating almost all sentences and are present in very early stages in the development of grammar (Menyuk: p. 107), so that the kinds of statements made about them are not very useful. Besides, if the authors were attempting to arrive at such conclusions, one would have expected them to design their study in such a way as to count the types of rules used in generating various structures and to report their findings in this manner. Instead they designed a structural study and appended the transformational analysis.

The futility of applying the methods of structural grammar in the description, let alone its explanation, of grammar has been pointed out in the past by such men as Chomsky and Lees. The infinitely creative aspect of language provides evidence that the taxonomic views of linguistic structure are inadequate to explain the knowledge a child has about his language. Such knowledge cannot arise by application of step-by-step inductive operations such as segmentation, classification, etc. (Chomsky: 1965, p. 57).

Classifying grammatical constructions does not necessarily lead to a deeper understanding of that category. Transformationalists believe that a study of the underlying transformational history of a grammatical construction is more likely to yield a correct grammatical statement than is classifying such a construction according to some arbitrarily chosen differentia (Lees: p. 392).

The failure of O'Donnell et al to examine the transformational history and thereby to show the interrelatedness of the grammatical categories chosen has been pointed out as well as the pitfalls of examining only surface structure. Lees notes that using the techniques of structuralism, two or more analyses can be made from a single unambiguous construction such as:

The dog is barking.

This sentence may be analyzed either as NP AUX VP or NP COPULA ADJ since the sentence patterns like

The dog is a friendly animal.

The latter is counter-intuitive, he points out, but still is possible using these techniques (Lees: p. 386).

Chomsky's example sentences

I persuaded John to leave.

I expected John to leave.

rather clearly show how unrevealing structural analyses of surface structure can be as to underlying deep structure (Chomsky: 1965, pp. 23-24).

4.6 Results of the O'Donnell Study - The authors make an initial disclaimer about the results of their data, saying that the language used by this particular set of children may not reflect the language used by children elsewhere and that the special conditions under which data were collected may in some way bias the type of data collected. Nevertheless, the results do seem to agree favorably, they say, with published results of other investigations of children's use of language (O'Donnell et al: p. 87). The results of their study are given here in terms of the six objectives noted above (p. 20).

Three basic observations were made by the authors regarding the question of discovering measurable differences in the use of grammatical structures by children of various age/grade levels.

1. Little diversity was found in basic structure patterns of main clauses. The use of the patterns Subject-Verb-Object and Subject-Verb were most common; Subject-Verb-Object-Object Complement and Adverbial-Verb-Subject were rare (O'Donnell et al: p. 88). (A list of all the types of main clause patterns counted is given in Appendix B.)
2. There was significant increase in the use of whole classes of transformation-produced nominals and adverbials in both speech and writing and in the use of coordination within T-units in speech (O'Donnell et al: p. 89).
3. The greatest overall increases occurred in the use of adverbial infinitives, sentence adverbials, coordinations within T-units, and modifications of nouns by adjectives, participles, and prepositional phrases. All of these structures involve the application of deletion rules (O'Donnell et al: p. 90).

Because no instances were found in which a particular structure was absent in the speech of kindergarten children and present in the speech of older children taken as groups, any findings about the sequence of the acquisition of syntactic structures are inconclusive. However, certain structures (nouns modified by a participle or participial phrase, the gerund phrase, adverbial infinitives, sentence adverbials, coordinate

predicates and transformally-produced nominals functioning as objects of prepositions) appeared only rarely among kindergarteners' speech but were used from three to ten times more frequently by the oldest children in the sample (O'Donnell et al: pp. 91-92).

Linguistic control, by which the authors mean the increased use of complex syntactic structures, seems to be characterized by rapid growth at particular stages rather than by gradual development. In speech, the time between kindergarten and the end of the first grade and that between the end of fifth grade and the end of the seventh grade were observed to be stages of rapid development in syntactic control (O'Donnell et al: p. 93).

The children in grades 5 and 7 advanced in their control of syntax in writing far beyond that reflected in their speech (O'Donnell et al: p. 95).

Generally there were no differences in syntactic control which could be attributed to sex (O'Donnell et al: p. 96).

In looking for a simple, objective measure of the development of syntactic control in children, the authors note that the best measure is to calculate, as they did in this study, the relative frequency of all sentence-combining transformations, especially those involving deletion transformations. An objection, however, can be made that this task is far from a simple one. A more readily performed calculation is to determine the mean length of T-units. This figure gives a close approximation to the results of the more complicated accounting of sentence-combining transformations. Increases in the length of T-units is reflective of the varying degrees of expansions in the use of syntactic resources (O'Donnell et al : pp. 97-99).

An interesting further observation made by the authors is that the variety of sentence patterns and the variety of constructions filling the pattern slots were fairly restricted at all grade levels (O'Donnell et al: p. 100).

Assuming for the present that the goals of the investigators are consistent with the goals of transformational grammar as the title of the study would lead us to believe, the authors want to study the underlying knowledge a speaker has of his language. Theoretical grammarians who are studying child language acquisition, like Menyuk and McNeill, argue that we must write grammars which are descriptive of what children know about their language. If we were to do this for the children studied by O'Donnell et al, we would very likely find that the grammar written for the children in kindergarten was not too different from the one written for seventh graders - that is, given the analysis provided by the study. Using statistical methods, these investigators were not able to show that any grammatical structures were absent in the youngest speaker and present in the oldest (O'Donnell et al: p. 21). Their research results, which are questionable given the criticisms made here, indicate that the competence of the children does not change after they reach kindergarten age.

The results of the O'Donnell study can also be evaluated from a different set of goals. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the goals of the applied researchers are often not clearly formulated; one obvious difference, however, is that the applied researchers are far more interested than are theoretical grammarians in actual use of language - both spoken and written - and the ways in which the use of

language changes as the child matures. By putting aside for the moment Chomsky's argument that we cannot arrive at meaningful conclusions about a theory of performance until there is a fairly well-formed theory of competence, the more limited goals of determining in which ways language use changes with age can be evaluated. Whether these goals were attained will be examined by looking more closely at the results of the comparison of the written and spoken data.

Throughout the study the authors point out that the children exhibit more control of syntax, that is, use more complex syntactic structures, in written work than they do in speech (O'Donnell et al: p. 53). Other investigators have also noticed that children have greater control of syntax in writing than in speech (Harrell: p. 70). In fact, O'Donnell et al state that "mastery of syntax in writing developed so rapidly in upper grades that by the end of Grade 7 it outran the acquisition of such control in speech" (O'Donnell et al: p. 57). They note the less frequent use in written work of garbles (p. 40), sentence adverbials (p. 69), the Subject-Verb-Predicate Nominative clause type (p. 75), and the Subject-Verb clause type (p. 74) as indicating more mature control of language. Once more we have to consider what maturity means. If maturity is a feature of competence, that is, what the child knows about his language, the fact that he uses a particular structure at all, whether in speech or written work, would indicate that the rules for generating that structure are in fact part of his grammar. If a child is counted linguistically mature only when he uses them in certain contexts, then it is the contextual use of a language that is being measured and not knowledge of a language.

It seems apparent that O'Donnell et al confused what may be stylistic devices used in writing and those used in speech and because of the assumptions they had made about what constituted maturity, i.e., the more frequent use of complex grammatical structures, were forced to say that the children controlled syntax more in writing than in speech. The conclusion which should have been reached is simply that certain syntactic structures are used more often in writing than in speech, that is, that they represent differences in styles but do not necessarily represent differences in ability to control syntax, except in some limited sense of the term 'control'. The child can have more 'control' in the sense that he can spend time contemplating about exactly how he wants to say something when writing a composition, which is not usually the case with speech.

If we take this argument one step further, we may find some reasons to conclude that the differences between the use of spoken language by kindergarteners and seventh graders may also be viewed as a difference in style. The argument here would be that as the child becomes more familiar with adult style - through reading as well as having adults talk to him in a more adult fashion - he changes his own style so that it becomes more like the adults. The conclusion would be that competence does not change much after a child reaches school age but his use - or style - does change. Essentially the child has within his grammar a variety of optional transformations and he learns to choose certain options as preferable.

Chapter III.

A STUDY OF CHICANO ENGLISH

1.0 Introduction

The major portion of this thesis is concerned with investigating the English syntactic structures used by a particular group of Chicano school children. The O'Donnell study was used as a model for both data collection and analysis and the figures from this study have been adopted as a base for comparing the Chicano children with Anglo children. Whether the two sets of data are really comparable is difficult to ascertain. In the first place, the size of the samples differs: O'Donnell et al used 30 fifth grade children, 16 boys and 14 girls ranging in age from 10:2 to 11:8. The sample of Chicano children used nine children, five boys and four girls with ages ranging from 9 - 12, most of whom were fifth graders, but one was in the fourth grade and one was in the sixth grade. Another problem of comparability might be that the film used to stimulate discussion was different for this study. Yet another difficulty comes from the fact that in attempting to analyze the data following O'Donnell et al, there may have been instances where the interpretation of the Chicano data differed from what theirs would have been because the grammatical analysis they used - basically a structural analysis - often allows for more than one

interpretation of the surface structure of a sentence. (cf. discussion of the criticism of this kind of analysis by Lees and Chomsky, Chapter II, pp. 25-28.)

The theoretical weaknesses of the O'Donnell study have been pointed out in Chapter II; the present study is obviously inadequate in the same way. The import of these weaknesses became increasingly apparent as the analysis of the data progressed. Although the value of the present study is limited by the theoretical shortcomings, it can at least give some idea of where Chicano children stand relative to middle class Anglo children and it can also point out those areas of widely divergent uses of various English syntactic structures.

In order to get closer to an understanding of the competence of the Chicano children than the methods of the O'Donnell model allowed, a sentence repetition exercise was devised. Throughout the data collection phase of the study, certain nonstandard grammatical structures were observed. (A list of these nonstandard structures is given in Appendix C.) The sentence repetition exercise was designed to test whether these fairly common nonstandard structures were systematic and possibly might form a dialect of English which could be described as Chicano English.

This chapter describes the background of the children used in this study, the results of the comparative study of the Chicano and Anglo children, and the results of the sentence repetition exercise. Throughout this chapter, CE will be used to refer to the English used by the Chicano children; MCE refers to the English used by the middle class Anglo children from the O'Donnell study.

2.0 Background to the Present Study

2.1 The Children - The children used in the sample were all students in the four-week summer session of the Nottingham School in the La Mirada School District in Norwalk, California. The school is in a Chicano neighborhood and the student body is largely Chicano. Nottingham School is one of two Norwalk schools chosen to participate in a federally sponsored program relating specifically to Mexican Americans.

Table 1 gives some information about the children. Spanish is the home language of all the children in the sample except for one, Ceferino. The table also shows that all except one student, Laura, claimed to use English in speaking to their friends. This is perhaps not a realistic picture; during the course of this study these children were often observed speaking to each other in Spanish. It seems likely that they speak Spanish more often than they are aware of. However, while the boys played team sports, they were observed using English which may indicate that in groups larger than one or two intimate friends, English is the language most generally used.

2.2 The Types of Data Collected - Several types of data were collected during the four-week summer term. Much of the time was spent in getting the children to feel comfortable in the interview situation, that is in talking with the interviewer and in using the tape recorder. As Labov points out in his article "The Logic of Nonstandard English", many mistaken notions have been made about the linguistic ability of Black children who were placed in threatening interview situations because

Table 1.

Background Information on the
Children in the Study Group

Name	Age/ Grade	Birthplace	Time of Arrival in U.S.	Home Language	Playground Language
Ana	9/4th	Mexico	Kindergarten	Spanish	English
Kathy	9/4th	California		Spanish	English
Becky	10/5th	California		Spanish	English
Robert	10/5th	U.S.		Spanish	English
Eddie	10/5th	Cuba	3rd Grade	Spanish	English
David	10/5th	Texas		Spanish	English
Rene	11/6th	Mexico	Kindergarten	Spanish	English
Laura	12/5th	Mexico	3rd Grade	Spanish	Spanish
Ceferino	10/5th	U.S.		English	English

the speech samples collected did not reflect reasonable normal speech habits (Labov: 1970: pp. 157-163). To avoid this, the interviewer made it a habit, during the four-week session, to arrive on the school ground during recess time to talk informally with the children. The interviews were conducted outside sitting under a tree with groups of four or five children. Some time was spent playing with the tape recorder and listening to the playback. It was not until the fourth week that the major sources of data for this study were collected and at that time the interviewer worked only with individuals. *

Conversations and folk tales as told by the children were recorded and the nonstandard utterances used formed the base for the sentence repetition exercise.

Another source of data, and the one used in comparing these students with O'Donnell's students, was the retelling of the plot of a film, The Little Mariner, which was shown to the children. The film, which lasted about twenty minutes, had only musical background. There was no narrative to influence the children's retelling. In addition, the children were asked to write a paragraph retelling the plot of the film.

The data from the film accounts were transcribed, divided into T-units, and analyzed according to O'Donnell's fairly detailed techniques. Appendix A contains the individual and group figures resulting from this analysis. O'Donnell et al report their statistics according to sex as well as giving the combined statistics. They found little evidence of significant differences in linguistic development based on sex and neither did this investigator in the Chicano data; therefore, the figures reported will include both boys and girls.

3.0 A Comparison of the Syntactic Structures Used by CE and MCE Speakers

3.1 Overall Results of the Study - Table 2 shows the means and individual ranges in word length of the total response in both speech and writing. The length of response here, which shows a much lower rate for Chicanos, is probably not indicative of a lack of verbal response on the part of the Chicanos but more likely is situational. The O'Donnell children had viewed two films and probably had more to talk about. It is given here only to compare the amount of data analyzed.

It should be pointed out that since all statistics were calculated on the base of rate per hundred T-units, the figures for both groups should be roughly comparable.

As was noted earlier in the summary of the conclusions drawn from the O'Donnell study, and as had previously been reported by Hunt in his studies of the written work of school children, a simple, objective measure of linguistic maturity is thought to be the number of words per T-unit. Hunt found positive correlations between the increase in the number of words in a T-unit and the advancing age of the child (Hunt: 1965, p. 141). Loban (p. 64) has also observed that the average number of words in a communication unit, a base, comparable to the T-unit, which he uses, is a significant measure of maturity. He noted that a high average words-per-unit figure correlated highly with increased complexity of sentence structure.

All of the O'Donnell data are reproduced here in Table 3 in order to show how the Chicano children compare. If we can use this figure as a measure of syntactic control, as O'Donnell et al suggest, then we can say

Table 2.
Length of Responses

	CE		MCE (p. 43)	
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range
Speech	357.5	271-449	656.0	254-1160
Writing	123.6	76-152	387.5	237-861

Table 3. Mean Number of Words per T-Unit by Grade

MCE										
	K		1		2		3		5	
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range
Speech	7.07	4.0-9.5	7.97	5.2-10.1	8.33	6.3-9.8	8.73	7.4-10.8	8.9	7.6-11.5
Writing							7.67	5.7-11.6	9.34	7.1-11.9
									9.99	7.8-13.8

CE

	Mean	Range
Speech	7.8	6.5-9.5
Writing	8.4	7.2-9.9

that the Chicano children are not nearly as mature in their control of English syntax as are the middle class children whose native language is English. The CE mean coincides with the MCE mean number reported for children in Grade 1 and the individual range of the CE mean numbers indicates that even the most mature of the Chicano children does not equal the most mature first grader.

The figure for the written data shows the Chicano children to be closer to their middle class counterparts in that the CE mean falls somewhere between the MCE third and fifth grades. Again the most mature Chicano does not equal the most mature informant in O'Donnell's group. It is not unexpected that the syntactic control exercised in written work is greater than that in speech. O'Donnell et al also noted that, other than third grade where the children are just learning to write, children in the upper grades "control their writing more strictly than their speech" (O'Donnell et al: p. 46). An interesting point made by O'Donnell is that the writing ability of third graders shows less syntactic control than first grade speech. The Chicano evidence shows that although their spoken ability falls within the first grade range, their written ability is much closer to their middle class peers.

The Chicano evidence lends weight to the argument presented in Chapter II concerning written vs. spoken 'control' of language. If by 'control' we mean, as O'Donnell et al did, the increased use of complex syntactic structures, then it seems reasonable to assume that the kind of conscious generation of sentences, which may include editing and revision, will allow for the use of more complex structures. However, it must

also be remembered that the differences that one intuitively knows exist between written and spoken language may also be a difference in the kind of syntactic structures appropriate to either written or spoken language. This study - and the O'Donnell one - indicate that a greater number of complex structures are used in writing, but do not provide clear evidence for an adequate description of these differences.

Additional data are given in Table 4 on the comparison of T-unit length reported by other researchers. Loban's data were collected in Oakland, California, from the speech of Black children and White children. He divided his data among four groups: a high and low group of Caucasians (based on performance), a low Negro group, and a random group selected from among the three other groups. Hunt's data were collected from the written work of middle class children in Tallahassee, Florida. Loban studied the same children over a number of years whereas Hunt, like O'Donnell et al, studied different children from various grades.

In comparing Loban's high Caucasian group with the Chicanos, the results agree fairly well with O'Donnell's, i.e., the Chicanos on this scale fall somewhere between the second and third grade. Interestingly, by comparing the Chicano children with the children used in the Loban study, the Chicano children would be considered linguistically more mature in their use of English syntax than either the low Caucasian or the Negro group. The fourth group, the one chosen randomly, shows that the Chicanos are not on the same level as their peers, though not quite as far behind as they are when compared to O'Donnell's middle class group. It must be remembered that Loban's figure included many so-called 'disadvantaged' children.

Table 4. Number of Words per T-Unit: A Comparison

Grade	SPEECH				WRITING	
	Loban (p. 65)				Hunt (1965, p. 22)	CE
	High Cauc	Low Cauc	Low Negro	Random Group		
K	5.86	4.93	4.28	5.31		
1	7.01	5.53	4.88	6.02		
2	7.04	6.02	5.54	6.54		
3	8.05	6.70	5.80	6.93		
4	8.79	7.45	6.44	7.83	8.6	
5	8.84	7.29	6.89	8.10		8.4
6	9.70	7.62	7.58	8.49		
7	10.55	8.80	8.01	9.35		
8					11.5	

Again the comparison with Hunt's data indicates that the Chicano children are closer to their middle class peers in writing than they are in speech.

Another measure of linguistic maturity used by O'Donnell and Hunt is the percentage of T-units containing less than nine words. They found that this percentage decreases with advance in age/grade. Table 5 compares the O'Donnell and the Chicano data. The comparison further confirms the notion that in speech the Chicanos fall within the first grade range, but that they are much closer to their middle-class peers in their ability to manipulate English syntax in writing, where they fall somewhere between the third and fifth grade levels.

Counting the number of words per T-unit is obviously only looking at the very surface of the data. As Loban and O'Donnell point out, this figure is significant as an indicator of linguistic maturity only because it correlates highly with more interesting features of maturity, i.e., the increased use of syntactic structures of greater complexity (Loban, p. 64; O'Donnell et al: p- 44, 46).

O'Donnell et al correlated the word-count per T-unit figure with a series of other statistics in an effort to delve more deeply into the syntactic structure of the T-units. Their purpose was to understand more objectively just what linguistic maturity involved. First of all they reported the mean number and individual range in the mean number of transformations per T-unit, which was determined by counting the number of structures in the T-unit which were formed by what O'Donnell et al call sentence-combining transformations (cf. Chapter II, pp. 21-22, for

Table 5. Percentage of T-Units Having Less Than Nine Words

		MCE (p. 48)						CE
	K	1	2	3	5	7		
Speech	75.17	67.36	64.22	60.31	60.78	54.22	68.65	
Writing				69.67	51.75	47.50	58.3	

further discussion). For example, the T-unit:

'He got in the big boat and sailed to the beach and told the man something.'

contains three sentence-combining transformations: a nominal structure (N Adj), 'the big boat', and two coordinate verb structures, 'sailed to the beach' and 'told the man something'.

Table 6 illustrates the first occurrence of a discrepancy in the CE data. The CE speakers are clearly at the same level of maturity as their peers in speech and in writing using the figure for mean number of sentence-combining transformations per T-unit. It is interesting to note that the highest individual mean number of sentence-combining transformations in written work among the Chicanos would indicate that this individual is at a higher level of maturity than any of his MCE peers and even higher than any individual in Grade 7 as reported by O'Donnell (2.7, O'Donnell et al: p. 51). This fact would certainly not be expected if we assume the number of words-per-T-unit figure to be a valid and objective measure of maturity. We would expect to find the CE speakers falling somewhere between the first and second grade MCE level.

A perhaps more revealing figure might be to determine the percentage of the total number of T-units which contained no sentence-combining transformations. Unfortunately, O'Donnell et al did not give this figure for their data, but the evidence taken from comparing individuals within the Chicano group indicates that this figure may be useful. These percentages are shown in Table 7. Once again the greater degree of

Table 6. Mean Number of Sentence-Combining Transformations per T-Unit

CE			MCE (p. 51) *	
	Mean	Individual Range	Mean	Individual Range
Speech	1.08	.7 - 1.7	1.05	.6 - 1.7
Writing	1.6	.8 - 3.0	1.41	.7 - 2.5

* Unless otherwise indicated, all figures are based on rate per 100 T-units; the MCE figures are those for the fifth grade.

Table 7. Percentage of T-Units Having No
Sentence-Combining Transformations
(CE Only)

Name	Speech	Writing
Ceferino	28%	33%
Eddie	31	13
Ana	32	30
Laura	34.3	-
Robert	41.6	-
Becky	45.7	28
Kathy	54.5	60
Rene	54.8	35
David	56	-
Mean :	42	33
Range in Mean :	28-56	13-60

written maturity over spoken maturity can be seen. Also the individual range supports both subjective judgements made by this investigator and other objective data, e.g., Ceferino and Eddie are more mature than David, Rene, and Kathy by other measures. (See pp. 66-69 for more discussion of individual differences within the group. Appendix A gives a detailed accounting of these variations.)

3.2 Results of the Study of Specific Construction Types - In further breaking the sentence-combining transformation category down into sub-categories, that is, into nominal, adverbial, and coordinate structures which result from these kinds of transformations, the CE speakers are shown to be more advanced in their use of written and spoken use of nominal constructions than the MCE group and again more mature than even the oldest Grade 6 informant. (See Table 8.) This discrepancy will be discussed further when the topic of nominal structures is presented. In the use of adverbial constructions in speech, the CE speakers fall at about an MCE Grade 2 level (11.77; O'Donnell et al: p. 56), while in written work, they fall below the MCE Grade 3 level (13.01; O'Donnell et al: p. 56), the lowest grade at which written work was analyzed. The use of coordinate constructions shows an even wider gap between CE and MCE speakers. Here the speech of the Chicano group falls below the MCE kindergarten group (14.67; O'Donnell et al: p. 56) and the writing once again falls below the MCE Grade 3 level (20.35; O'Donnell et al: p. 56). In all cases except one, the use of adverbial constructions, the written skills appear to be more developed than speech.

Table 8. Types of Constructions Formed by
Sentence-Combining Transformations

Type of Construction	CE	MCE (p. 56)
NOMINAL		
Speech	80.2	62.27
Writing	85.4	76.43
ADVERBIAL		
Speech	12.8	14.39
Writing	9.0	19.03
COORDINATE		
Speech	12.8	28.03
Writing	17	44.61

3.2.1 Nominal Constructions - Table 9 lists the headed subtypes of nominal constructions formed by sentence-combining transformations. Whether the nominal constructions counted by O'Donnell would be considered to be produced by transformations by current transformationalists is open to question. In order to obtain comparative results, however, they were counted in the CE data as though they were. But, it is at this point in the analysis that gross inconsistencies appear. The figures show the CE speakers to be far more mature in almost all categories than the more general statistics which have been presented. When the simple, objective measure proposed by O'Donnell et al was used, that is, the mean number of words per T-unit, CE speakers were judged to be at the first grade level. How then can we explain the difference between the high degree of correlation between this simple measure and the more complex analysis of syntactic structures reported by O'Donnell (and previously reported by Loban and Hunt) and the fact that this correlation, at least in nominal structures, does not exist in the Chicano English data?

One reason is that there were differences in the way the data were analyzed and this becomes increasingly apparent as the study becomes more detailed. The reasons for the possibility of arriving at different analyses of identical structures has been discussed in Chapter II (cf. Lees' and Chomsky's discussion of the deficiencies of structural analyses, pp. 27-28).

Other factors may also have contributed to the discrepancies: it may be that the data-collecting situations were sufficiently different to

Table 9. Headed Nominal Constructions Formed by
Sentence-Combining Transformations

NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS	EXAMPLES (From CL)	CE		MCE (p. 59)	
		Speech	Writing	Speech	Writing
N + N	A big <u>sailboat</u> came along.	16.5	48.8	9.77	13.59
N + Adjective	He had <u>two big fish</u> . (counted as 2)	19.7	26.1	8.25	10.45
N + Genitive	He went running to <u>his boat</u> .	13.6	13.6	18.49	21.71
N + Relative Clause	He went to this <u>man who was renting boats</u> .	4.6	4.5	3.26	3.37
N + Prepositional Phrase	He put it on <u>top of the desk</u> .	4.3	9	5.25	5.90
N + Infinitive Phrase	He didn't want the <u>man to catch him</u> .	0.7	1.1	0.63	0.17
N + Participle/ Participial Phrase	Then he seen this big <u>boat coming toward him</u> .	1.9	1.1	1.85	2.51

call forth more of certain subtypes of constructions in the Chicano English case than in the MCE case. Again, it may be that the high correlation found between the mean number of words per T-unit and specific syntactic structures as reported by O'Donnell et al was a random feature of their study which is not applicable to other studies.

The first explanation would help in understanding the discrepancies apparent between the figures obtained for the N + N and the N + Adjective subtypes. The figure would lead one to assume that the CE speakers were far more mature than the MCE speakers. But the example given by O'Donnell for N + N constructions was 'North Wind', one of the characters in the film they used entitled "The North Wind and the Sun". Furthermore, words were counted according to the number of bases involved, e.g., 'snowball' was counted as two words in the O'Donnell data. That 'North Wind' or 'snowball' is derived from a sentence-combining transformation is not at all clear. The N + Adjective example given by O'Donnell, 'cold rain', is more clearly acceptable as having been derived by such transformations. There is every reason, however, to regard words such as 'popcorn', 'hot dog', and 'North Wind' as being single lexical items (cf. Chapter II, pp. 25-26).

If the analysis implicit in these examples was to be followed, it seemed obligatory to include such expressions from the Chicano English data as 'hot dog', 'popcorn', and 'Long Beach' in either one of these two categories in order to arrive at comparable figures. It may be that the authors would not have analyzed them in this way, but the single example 'North Wind' given by them does not seem to allow any other interpretation for these items.

The second explanation, that the situation called for the use of more N + N or N + Adjective units and that it is not at all a measure of maturity but a situational feature, might then explain the higher figures obtained for the Chicano data. It may be that expressions such as 'hot dog' or 'popcorn' were used more because they were part of the plot of the film and the films used by O'Donnell et al simply did not have as objects as many expressions which might be classified as nominal constructions formed by sentence-combining transformations but simply as single word lexical items.

The fact that the figures for the two subtypes discussed are inordinately high has a cumulative effect on the rest of the figures. That is, it causes the figure for the number of sentence-combining transformations in nominal constructions to be much higher than would be expected. Additionally, it affects the mean number of sentence-combining transformations per T-unit which indicated that the Chicano children were at about the same level of maturity as Anglo children. As has been noted, this would not be expected to be the case given the mean words per T-unit figure.

Interesting too are the figures in Table 9 for the subtypes N + Participle or Participial Phrase and N + Prepositional Phrase. O'Donnell et al concluded that these subtypes of nominal constructions, along with N + Adjective, showed the greatest overall increase with age/grade. In truth there is a great deal of fluctuation in the spoken data given for the N + Prepositional Phrase subtype. (O'Donnell et al, p. 59, report the following figures for this subtype: K: 3.90,

Grade 1: 2.97; 2: 4.33; 3: 3.57; 5: 5.27; 7: 7.31.) A comparison of the kindergarten and grade 7 figures does show increase in frequency of use. However, the variations for the other grades reported does not allow the Chicano English data to be assigned a level. The subtype N + Participle or Participial Phrase shows the CE speakers to be at the 5th grade level in speech but falling below even the third grade level in writing.

The fact that the CE figure for the use of relative clauses is higher than the Anglo figure is consistent with the findings of the O'Donnell study. They found a higher incidence of the use of relative clauses among kindergarten children than among children in all the other grades studied.

The non-headed nominal constructions in the O'Donnell data show little overall increase in frequency of usage with age/grade in speech. As can be seen in Table 10, the figures for the CE speakers once again do not show what would have been predicted given the mean words per T-unit measure. Again the reasons may well be inconsistencies in the analysis. The use of gerund phrases, for instance, is so much higher than any of the figures reported by O'Donnell for any grade level that one can only suspect a difference in the criteria used to determine gerund phrases.

The one consistency which does come out in comparing both sets of data is that all of the children exhibit more mature syntactic control in their writing than in their speech. Disregarding the actual figures for the moment, this trend becomes apparent when the figures for speech and those for writing are compared and the increase in the mean number of

Table 10. Non-Headed Nominal Constructions Formed by
Sentence-Combining Transformations

NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS	EXAMPLES (From CE)	CE		MCE	
		Speech	Writing	Speech (p.61)	Writing (p.62)
Noun Clause	He wondered <u>who it was</u> .	4.8	7.9	5.81	7.50
Infinitive Phrase	He tried to get it back.	7.7	13.6	2.85	2.85
Infinitive With Subject	. . . the camera didn't want the <u>boy to peek</u>	0.2	-	4.07	6.61
Gerund Phrase	The pigeons started <u>eating it</u> .	2.4	4.5	.87	1.31

times a particular nominal construction is used per one hundred T-units is noted. For further discussion of the differences between the results of the written and spoken data, see Chapter II, pp. 32-33.

Table 11 displays the grammatical functions of those nominal constructions which have been reported as being produced by sentence-combining transformations. The figures for the Chicano children are higher, which is to be expected because they are based on information given in Tables 9 and 10. O'Donnell et al point out that the most important feature observed here is the prominence of nominal constructions used as direct objects (O'Donnell et al: p. 66). This is certainly clear in the Chicano data as well. The only other feature which showed steady growth was the use of nominal constructions as objects of prepositions. Again, the trend in the Chicano data, if not actual numbers, coincides with the O'Donnell data.

3.2.2 Adverbial Constructions - Three subcategories of adverbial constructions are distinguished by O'Donnell et al. Table 12 shows the figures for these categories.

Sentence adverbials are of two types: 1) interjected clauses such as 'I think' or 'you know' and 2) absolute constructions as in the sentence 'The rain over, we went outdoors'. As might intuitively be expected, the interjected clause is used more often in speech than in writing; in the case of the Chicano group, it was used only in speech. There were no cases of absolute constructions in the Chicano data in either speech or writing.

Table 11. Grammatical Functions of Nominal Constructions

GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION	EXAMPLES (From CE)	CE		MCE	
		Speech	Writing	Speech (p.64)	Writing (p.65)
Subject	Once there was a <u>little boy that was coming down where the big boats were.</u> (N + Adjective and N + Relative Clause as subject)	10.2	21.5	8.51	11.81
Direct Object	He got <u>his little boat.</u> (N + Genitive and N + Adjective)	30.4	25.0	34.81	41.61
Subjective Complement	The film was <u>about a boy.</u> (Nonheaded prepositional phrase)	0.4	-	1.39	.63
Objective Complement	The man saw him <u>crying to tell him to get down.</u> (gerund phrase)	0.7	1.1	.04	.08
Appositive	Did that boat, <u>the big boat,</u> run over him? (N + Adjective)	3.1	2.2	.22	.24
Object of Preposition	He sailed in <u>his boat</u> again. (N + Genitive)	22.1	40.9*	15.26	19.25
Adverbial Nominative	He went <u>to play with his boat.</u> (infinitive phrase)	2.1	11.3	1.39	2.22

*Without Eddie, this figure would read 24.5

Table 12. Adverbial Structures Formed by
Sentence-Combining Transformations

ADVERBIAL STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES (From CE)	CE		MCE	
		Speech	Writing	Speech (p.68)	Writing (p.68)
Adverbial Clauses	Then when <u>they looked inside the picture, it was of the boy right there.</u>	8.5	6.8	10.05	15.65
Sentence Adverbials	This sailor, <u>you know</u> , was walking.	2.4	-	2.69	1.41
Adverbial Infinitives	And then he stopped <u>to get some hamburger and popcorn.</u>	1.9	-	1.97	1.87

Adverbial infinitives, as in the sentence 'To drive well, you must be alert', were used infrequently by the Chicano children in speech and not at all in writing. Nevertheless, the frequency of use is comparable to the MCE fifth grade figure. This particular grammatical item, along with sentence adverbials, is not used frequently in either speech or writing and shows little increase in frequency with age/grade level (O'Donnell et al: p. 68). Neither category would seem to be useful, then, in determining maturity in the use of language.

The study of the use of adverbial clauses, on the other hand, shows that MCE seventh graders use these grammatical structures almost twice as often as kindergarten children, as reported by O'Donnell (p. 68). Adverbial clauses, then would seem to be a good syntactic construction to use to compare the development of control evidenced by Chicano and Anglo children. The Chicanos fall between the second and third grade level in comparison to the Anglo children in speech (2: 7.85; 7: 10.12; p. 68) and below the MCE third grade level in writing (3: 8.93; p. 68). It is also noteworthy that the trend which has been observed with most of the data reported, that is, the more frequent use of the constructions formed by sentence-combining transformations in writing than in speech, does not hold true for the Chicano children in this case.

3.2.3 Coordinate Constructions - The coordination accounted for here involves only that between nominals, modifiers, and predicates, i.e., only coordination within T-units. These structures are particularly interesting to use as a basis of comparing the performance of the Chicano and Anglo children. First of all there is very little possibility

of inconsistencies between investigators' analyses because the coordinate surface structures are easily identifiable. Secondly, there was a significant increase in the use of these structures in speech from kindergarten to seventh grade as reported in O'Donnell et al. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, Hunt (1964, p. 81) has noted that the use of coordination within T-units requires considerable ability to control syntactic structure. If this is so, then a comparison of the use of these structures might better show the level of maturity of the speaker.

Table 13 shows the rates of occurrence for both groups. The Chicano children fall below the MCE kindergarten level for both coordinate nominals and modifiers in speech and at the kindergarten level in their use of coordinate predicates. In writing, the Chicano children's performance falls below the third grade in their use of coordinate nominals and at about the third grade level when comparing the figure obtained for coordinate predicates (O'Donnell et al: p. 70). There were no instances of coordinate modifiers in the written Chicano data.

3.3 Structural Patterns of Main Clauses - Several interesting observations result from a statistical count of the frequency pattern of the structure of main clauses. O'Donnell reported that Subject-Verb and Subject-Verb-Object patterns appeared in 80% of the T-units used by kindergarten, first, and second graders and in 85% of the T-units of the third, fifth, and seventh graders in both speech and writing (p. 74). Table 14 gives a comparison of these figures, including example sentences, indicating that these two patterns account for about 83% of the main clause types used by the Chicano children.

Table 13. Coordinate Structures Formed by
Sentence-Combining Transformations

COORDINATE STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES (From CE)	CE		MCE	
		Speech	Writing	Speech (p.70)	Writing (p.70)
Nominals	He saw these <u>big ships and small boats.</u>	3.8	2.2	6.83	7.75
Modifiers	He went <u>all down the ladders and out through the corners of the ship.</u>	0.7	-	3.07	3.35
Predicates	He <u>got on the boat and was sailing to the ocean.</u>	8.0	14.7	17.81	33.43

Table 14. Structural Patterns of Main Clauses

STRUCTURAL PATTERN	EXAMPLE (From CE)	CE		MCE	
		Speech	Writing	Speech (p.72)	Writing (p.73)
Subject-Verb	A mysterious boat came out of nowhere.	49.6	57.9	45.89	39.37
Subject-Verb- Object	A boy had a little boat.	32.8	29.5	42.20	49.06
Subject-Verb- Predicate Nominal	My name is Rene.	2.9	3	1.91	.84
Subject-Verb- Predicate Adjective	Then after when he saw he was a captain, he got scared.	4.3	3.4	3.39	3.71
There-Verb- Subject	There were many men fishing.	2.1	5.6	2.03	1.49

One of the more interesting clause types for purposes of assessing maturity in the use of syntactic structures may be the Subject-Verb-Predicate Nominal type. O'Donnell et al noted that it was used more frequently by kindergarten children and its use decreased with age in both speech and writing. They also observed that this type is used less frequently in writing than in speech, thereby confirming their hypothesis that children mature more rapidly in writing than in speech (O'Donnell et al: p. 75). The Chicano children use this type of main clause structure somewhat less often than kindergarteners but more than the second graders in the O'Donnell sample of speech patterns (K: 5.07; 2: 2.19; p. 72).

The main clause pattern 'There-Verb-Subject' shows that the Chicano children use this structure as often as their Anglo peers in speech, but use it much more frequently in writing. O'Donnell et al, as well as other investigators, such as Loban and Strickland, noted that this pattern was used infrequently by most children at all grade levels. Riling, however, observed it fairly often and suggested that regional language habits might account for the discrepancies (O'Donnell et al: p. 95). While this might account for the Chicano data as well, little can be concluded on the basis of such scanty evidence.

3.4 Predictive Ability of the Number of Words per T-Unit Measure - O'Donnell et al claim that they have discovered a simple, objective measurement of linguistic maturity: the mean number of words per T-unit. This figure "reflects the varying degrees of expansions in the exploitation of syntactic resources" (O'Donnell et al: p. 98). Presumably this

measure could be used to determine the standing of a particular individual within a group. Let us examine the predictive capability of this measure by looking at the performance in speech and writing of the nine children studied in the Chicano group.

Table 15 ranks the children according to the mean words per T-unit score in spoken English. The children are then divided into three groups: the first is a grouping of children scoring 9 words per T-unit or above, the second 7 to 9, and the third 6 to 7. Five other variables were then correlated with this figure by ranking the student's performance relative to each other. The variables were: (1), the mean number of sentence-combining transformations per T-unit; (2), the number of sentences containing no sentence-combining transformations; (3), (4), and (5), the mean number of nominal, adverbial, and coordinate structures produced by sentence-combining transformations per T-unit. Within the rankings, the first two students were said to be in the first class, the next five in the second class, and the last two in the third class. A figure was then obtained as to whether the children fell above (A), below (B), or within (=) the same class as that determined by the mean words per T-unit score. As the table shows, only in the case of Becky was the measure possibly predictive; it might even be considered somewhat predictive for Eddie and Ana, but in three cases it definitely did not predict rank within the other variables (Laura, Ceferino, and Rene), and in the remaining three cases there seems to be a random correlation between the measure and the other variables. Therefore, we can conclude that the measure does not predict for speech how the individuals within

Table 15. Individual Rank (Speech)

Name	Mean Number of Words / T-Unit	Mean Number of S-C Transformations/T-Unit	T-Units With No S-C Transformations	Nominals	Adverbials	Coordinates
CLASS I						
Eddie	9.5	=	=	=	B	=
Laura	9.3	B	B	B	B	B
CLASS II						
Becky	7.5	=	=	=	=	=
Robert	7.5	A	=	=	=	A
Rene	7.4	B	B	B	B	=
Ana	7.3	=	=	=	A	=
David	7.1	B	B	B	=	=
CLASS III						
Kathy	6.8	A	A	A	=	=
Ceferino	6.5	$\frac{A}{3} =$ 3B 3A	$\frac{A}{4} =$ 3B 2A	$\frac{A}{4} =$ 3B 2A	$\frac{A}{4} =$ 3B 2A	$\frac{=}{7} =$ 1B 1A

the group will be ranked compared to one another on the other measures of syntactic control. It is interesting to note the high correlation between the maturity measure and the frequency of the use of coordinate structures. Hunt and others have pointed out that the more frequent use of coordinate structures is apparently a feature of maturity. Further investigation in this area will be necessary before any conclusions can be made.

The written data were analyzed in the same way (see Table 16). In this case two of the six were possibly predictive (Becky and Kathy), but the other four showed a random correlation. Once again we must conclude that the maturity measure did not predict for this particular study group the comparative rank within specific syntactic categories. Also, the high correlation found in the spoken data between the maturity measure and the use of coordinate structures is not found in the written data; in fact, it shows the least amount of correlation. Instead, a high correlation here exists between the maturity measure and the percentage of T-units having no sentence-combining transformations.

3.5 Conclusions - The following conclusions can be drawn from comparing the linguistic data collected from Chicano children and middle-class Anglo children.

1. Using the objective measure suggested by O'Donnell ★
et al, i.e., the mean number of words per T-unit,
the Chicano children are less mature in their use of
syntactic structures than are their middle-class peers.

Table 16. Individual Rank (Writing)

Name	Mean Number of Words/ T-Unit	Mean Number of S-C Transformations/T-Unit	T-Units With No S-C Transformations	Nominals	Adverbials	Coordinates
CLASS I						
Eddie	9.9	=	=	=	B	B
CLASS II						
Ana	8.7	B	=	B	A	B
Becky	8.4	=	=	=	=	A
CLASS III						
Ceferino	7.9	A	=	A	=	=
Kathy	7.6	=	=	=	=	A
Rene	7.2	$\frac{=}{4=}$ 1B 1A	$\frac{A}{5=}$ 1A	$\frac{=}{4=}$ 1B 1A	$\frac{=}{4=}$ 1B 1A	$\frac{A}{1=}$ 2B 3A

According to this statistic, the ability of the Chicano group to speak English is comparable to the middle class first grader. The written ability of the Chicano children studied lies somewhere between the third and fifth grade ability of the middle class child.

2. In almost all cases the Chicano children studied evidenced a greater degree of syntactic control in writing than in speech. This fact concurs with the findings for the Anglo children. It has been argued here and in Chapter II, however, that this is probably reflective of the fact that style or the use of language in a particular context was measured.
3. Inconclusive results must be reported on the finding regarding nominal constructions formed by sentence-combining transformations. The finding, which showed the Chicano group as having more mature control over syntax than their middle class peers, is not supported by any other finding in the study. The unexpectedly high number of nominal constructions may have resulted from a lack of consistency between the O'Donnell grammatical analysis and this investigator's analysis. On the other hand, it is possible that situational features biased the data so that more nominal constructions were produced in the Chicano study than in the O'Donnell study.

4. Because the figure for the mean number of sentence-combining transformations includes the figure for nominal constructions, this finding, which showed the Chicano group at the same level of maturity as the O'Donnell group, must also be considered inconclusive.
5. In their use of adverbial constructions, the Chicano children studied were between the second and third grade level in speech and below the third grade level in writing as compared to the O'Donnell group. In this instance adverbial constructions were used less often in writing than speech, with no occurrences of two of the three subtypes, i.e., sentence adverbials or adverbial infinitives. These subtypes, it must be noted, occurred infrequently in the O'Donnell data.
6. That Chicano children studied exhibit less control in syntax becomes most apparent in their use of coordinate structures. In speech they fall below the kindergarten level in their use of coordinate nominals and modifiers and at the kindergarten level in their use of coordinate predicates. In writing they are below the third grade level in their use of coordinate nominals and at the third grade level in frequency of coordinate predicates. There were no instances of coordinate modifiers in the written data for the Chicano group.

7. The overall patterns or trends displayed by the Chicano English data concur with the trends seen in the O'Donnell data. That is, the proportional rates of occurrence per hundred T-units among subtypes of the nominal, adverbial, and coordinate constructions were similar. For example, within coordinate structures, the O'Donnell findings show that coordinate modifiers are used less frequently than coordinate nominals, which occur nearly twice as often as modifiers. There is considerable fluctuation in the frequency of occurrence of coordinate predicates. This same general trend is apparent in the Chicano data.
8. The maturity measure proposed by O'Donnell et al, i.e., the mean number of words per-T-unit, was not predictive within the Chicano group of their ranking relative to one another on specific syntactic operations. In other words, the maturity measure was not reflective of an individual's ability to control syntax.

4.0 Further Investigation of CE

4.1 Introduction - In Chapter II of this thesis criticism was made of the use of spontaneous speech as primary data in linguistic research. It was shown that the competence a child has may often exceed his spontaneous performance (cf. Chomsky's phonological example, p. 11). A study of child language acquisition by Shipley, Smith, and Gleitman

has also noted that ". . . a description of the child's spontaneous utterances does not do justice to his linguistic organization" (p. 336).

In order to investigate further the competence of the CE speakers, a sentence repetition exercise was devised to test whether certain nonstandard forms which had been spontaneously produced would be repeated by the children when given the standard version of that form. Many of the people who investigate the acquisition of language by children obtain the data used in their analysis through the sentence repetition technique.

Paula Menyuk asserts that the child's reproduction of structures is limited by the rules that are part of his internalized grammar, i.e., that he will not repeat certain grammatical structures if the rules required to generate these structures have not been internalized. However, given the memory aid of a sentence to repeat, children may exceed the level of competence determined from spontaneous speech which may be indicative of rules which they are acquiring at that particular stage. She concludes that structural descriptions of spontaneously-produced sentences may lag behind the level of competence of the child in understanding syntactic structures, i.e., encoding lags behind decoding, but the lag is not too great (Menyuk: p. 154).

Joan Baratz has also made use of sentence repetition in a study of the speech of both Black children and White children and has found that the children tended to give back their own dialect (pp. 18-19). Others have also found the sentence repetition technique useful in studying dialectal differences (Labov and Cohen: 1967; Jensen: 1970).

The sentence repetition exercise was the last task the children were asked to perform. Because the entire time of the study was limited to four weeks (the duration of the summer school session), only a preliminary and cursory examination of the data could be made prior to the construction of this exercise and, hence, only the more obvious nonstandard forms used by the children were examined in this test procedure. The children were asked to repeat twenty-six sentences given by the investigator; eleven of the sentences were standard English and fifteen were nonstandard forms, which the children had been observed using. Nine nonstandard grammatical structures were selected to be tested. Various numbers of sentences were devised to test each of the nine structures and these were then randomly arranged within the whole exercise of twenty-six sentences. In reporting the results here, the number of the sentence will be given (indicating its place within the exercise), followed by N or S, that is, whether the sentence was given in nonstandard or standard form. In parentheses following, the response of the children is given, indicating how many repeated the sentences using standard or nonstandard forms. Occasionally, there were no repetitions made by the students for various reasons; this will be indicated by showing how many failed to repeat.

4.2 Results of the Sentence Repetition Exercise

4.2.1 Warm-up and Copula Deletion

✓ #1 S (11S) Robert is going to day camp tomorrow.

#2 S (11S) The girl's making a dress to wear to the party.

4.2.2 Warm-up and Subject-Predicate Agreement

#3 S (11S) When his father gives him money, he goes to the
movies and buys some candy.

The first three sentences in the exercise were devised as warm-up sentences to get the children used to the form of the test. Secondly, the children were tested to see whether any features commonly described as being part of the dialect of Black English (see Jensen) were also used by Chicano children. Sentences 1 and 2, then, tested for copula deletion and sentence 3 examined subject-predicate agreement. All of the children repeated these three sentences as they were given, i.e., using standard English. Sentence 2 proved rather effectively that copula deletion is not a feature of Chicano English. Several children interpreted the subject as a plural noun rather than a contraction and inserted 'are' appropriately.

4.2.3 Topicalization

#6 N (6S,5N) The boy he wanted to be the captain of a big ship.

#11 N (5S,6N) The boy who found the boat he had many
exciting adventures.

#15 N (9S,2N) After feeding the seals, the boy he went back
to the boat and sailed away.

#19 N (8S,2N,10) Maria and Carmen they are going to be in
the fifth grade next year.

#25 S (10S,10) Mary went to the store for her mother and
bought some food for supper.

The results of this set of sentences show that there seems to be no decided preference for repeating subjects; no one child used the nonstandard form exclusively, and only Eddie, who has been shown previously to be close to middle class Anglo children in his use of English, consistently used the standard form.

An interesting intonation curve patterned frequently though not invariably with occurrences of topicalization. The pattern was such that the final syllable of the subject noun phrase ended on a rising intonation followed by a pause and then the anaphoric pronoun. Some examples from the data include:

The warlord's brother: he pushed him in the water

Don Coyote: he saw this other rabbit.

It is as though the subject noun phrase is separated from the sentence with the intonational features calling attention to it as the topic of the sentence and then followed by a comment on that topic, the comment itself having its own subject noun phrase.

Jensen in her work on Black English has pointed out that this type of nonstandard utterance is common also in that dialect. She also cites other works which discuss topicalization in such languages as Arabic, Spanish, and French. It has also been seen as a common feature of the language of children during the acquisition period. These facts lead Jensen to conclude that this type of sentence seems to be fundamental and perhaps even innate (Jensen: pp. 25-32).

4.2.4 Embedded WH Statements

#5 N (2S,9N) The boy saw some people and asked them whose boat was it.

#10 N (2S,9N) I saw a strange animal and I didn't know what was it.

#13 N (11N) The boy who took the boat wanted to know whose was it.

#18 N (1S,9N,10) We learned something about Jalisco but I don't remember where is it.

#21 S (7S,3N,10) I can go to the movies alone because I know where it is.

#24 S (8S,2N,10) I found a jacket in the room and asked the teacher whose it was.

Here an attempt was made to test whether, in generating embedded WH statements, particularly following the lexical items 'ask and 'know', the WH form was consistently followed by the copula and noun phrase in the English used by children in this group. There is more consistency here than could be shown for the topicalization test when given a nonstandard form to repeat. On the other hand, when given a standard form, most of the children repeated the standard form.

Jensen, in examining similar constructions in Black English, has suggested that this type of construction be considered as two separate sentences simply joined together into a single sentence with no adaptation taking place in the conjoined sentences (p. 19). Further investigation involving more complex constructions, i.e., expansions of the verb

phrase and/or the noun phrase, and related constructions appear to be needed in order to determine whether Jensen's explanation would hold for this case.

4.2.5 Deletion of the Past Tense Morpheme

#7 S (10S,1N) The boy sat down at the table and dropped his popcorn on the ground.

#26 S (8S,1N,20) The boat floated toward the boy and stopped right in front of him.

The test here was to see whether the children deleted the past tense morpheme particularly following verbs having a final voiceless stop. Both sentences were given in standard English and repeated by the majority of the group as given. The two instances of nonstandard reproduction were by two different children. Clearly, then, although examples of this type of nonstandard formation were found in the spontaneous speech of these children, it would not seem to be a consistent feature of their internalized grammar.

4.2.6 Negative Formation

#9 N (4S,7N) When there isn't no wind, sailboats can't move very fast.

#16 S (10S,1N) If there aren't any pencils left, we can't finish writing our stories.

Once again the pattern seems to indicate a lack of consistency and a tendency to repeat what is given as it is given. When a nonstandard form was given, most of the children gave it back; when the standard form

was given, then it was given back. Some importance might be given to the fact that so many children repeated the standard form, perhaps indicating that that form is dominant.

The sentences chosen were poorly designed to test the use of double negatives and are not typical of the ones produced in spontaneous speech, e.g., 'A boat was coming without nobody,' or 'We don't have nothing to eat.' Spanish allows double negatives in these situations and their use in English by Chicano children is probably a reflection of interference from Spanish, whereas in the sentences chosen for the exercise, double negatives would not be allowed in Spanish.

4.2.7 Omission of Relative Pronoun

#4 N (8S,3N) In the film there was this man caught some fish and had his picture taken.

#12 S (8S,1N,20) In the film there was this boy who sailed in a boat and had many adventures.

The only time the omission of the relative pronoun was found in the data was when it occurred in the sentence pattern type shown, i.e., there-be-subject. The results fairly clearly indicate that this is not a consistent feature in the speech of these children.

4.2.8 Idiomatic Expressions

#8 N (5S,6N) The cameraman set his camera so that he could take a picture to the man.

#17 N (4S,6N,10) The man sat down so that the cameraman could take him a picture.

#22 S (9S,1N,10) Ana took a picture of the man while he was working.

In their retelling of the plot of the film, several children exhibited difficulty in forming the expression 'to take a picture of someone'. In comparing the results of these sentences, once again the conclusion must be drawn that when given the standard form, it is likely to be repeated as such by the children.

4.2.9 Pronunciation of 'his' as /hiyz/

#14 N (10S,1N) In the end the boy was happy because he got /hiyz/ boat back.

#20 N (8S,2N,10) The boy ate his hot dog but the pidgeons ate all of /hiyz/ popcorn.

#23 N (9S,1N,10) Manual said he's going to take /hiyz/ bike to the shop to get it fixed.

This last item indicates that there is little difficulty with this particular feature. The investigator was motivated to test the pronunciation feature when it appeared in the written work of one of the students spelled 'he's'; in this exercise, this particular student consistently used the /hiyz/ pronunciation. This type of nonstandard pronunciation would be expected of native Spanish speakers because in Spanish there is no /i:/I/ contrast.

4.3 Conclusions - The results of the sentence repetition exercise are difficult to assess, but some tentative speculations can be made. Of the nine grammatical items tested, two, copula deletion and subject-predicate agreement, are definitely not problem areas for the Chicanos in the study group. Two other areas might, upon further investigation,

prove to be candidates for dialectal differences, that is, topicalization and nonstandard embedded WH statements. However, even with these two items, the response seemed to be dictated more by the form in which a sentence was given, i.e., either standard or nonstandard, than by any internalized set of rules.

The results of the other five items tested show only that there is no consistent pattern in the repetition of these forms, either standard or nonstandard.

4.4 Critique of the Sentence Repetition Technique - One of the specific techniques Chomsky mentions as a good method of getting at the underlying system of a child's language is to test his ability to repeat sentences and nonsentences (Chomsky: 1970, p. 47). He makes no mention of the limitations of such a technique with regard to age, degree of well-formedness of the nonsentences, etc. It does, however, seem important to ascertain the limitations of the sentence repetition technique since the use of sentence repetition, at least the one designed for this study, was not considered to be fruitful.

In the study of Chicano children, the interpretation of the results was fairly unclear. The only result which can be stated is that when the children were given a standard sentence to repeat, there was a decided tendency to repeat the standard form. On the other hand, a nonstandard form would most likely elicit a nonstandard repetition on the part of the informant. One reason for this might be that neither the standard nor nonstandard form was dominant in their individual grammars and, hence, they were bidialectal and were able to repeat either naturally.

In order to investigate this problem further, the sentence repetition exercise used in this study was given to three more children, none of whom used in spontaneous speech the nonstandard forms used by the Chicano children in the main study. The subjects included a ten-year-old boy, and two girls, aged ten and six. They were middle class Anglo children. The boy repeated every sentence, except those involving nonstandard pronunciations typical of native Spanish-speakers, exactly as they were given, that is standard forms were repeated when standard forms were given and nonstandard forms were repeated when they were given. At the completion of the exercise, he volunteered information about the 'bad' grammar in many of the sentences. The ten-year-old girl responded quite differently. By and large, she changed the nonstandard forms into her own, standard version. She too, however, pointed out that some of the sentences given her were incorrect. The six-year-old girl responded by giving her own, most often standard, version of the sentences. She did on occasion repeat a nonstandard form that was probably not part of her grammar. (The data for this exercise are given in Appendix D.)

The kinds of conclusions that one can draw from such a small sample are doubtless tentative. It may be that there is an age limit in using this kind of test and ten years may be too old. That is, the children may have had so much practice in repeating what the teacher says in a classroom situation that the sentence repetition test is not as spontaneous an exercise for them as it is with younger children. It also seems to be the case that certain subjects are more aware of the intricacies of language, as in the case of the ten-year-old boy, and hence, are not good

subjects for this kind of exercise. The question of when one can begin to ask children direct questions about language has been investigated by Russian linguists. In his review of Russian studies of child language, Slobin cited a study by L. E. Zhurova, which indicated that school age children (he mentions only one specific case of an eight-year-old) can make words the object of their attention and begin to make initial generalizations about linguistic material (Slobin: p. 384).

It must be pointed out that the technique used here and the ones used in the studies mentioned are not good examples of what Chomsky suggested. In our study we used standard and nonstandard (although generally presumed acceptable within the limitations of the grammars of the subjects) versions of sentences. Once again, if we want to get at what the child knows about his language, his performance in tests involving the repetition of nonsentences, as opposed to simply nonstandard sentences, may be more revealing.

Chapter IV.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1.0 Summary

Claims are often made by nonlinguists - usually educators - that the Chicano child drops out of school because he fails to master English. Yet very little linguistic investigation has been done of the English used by Chicano children either to support or refute this claim.

The goal of this thesis was to compare the English used by ten Chicano children who were approximately ten years old and in the fifth grade with that used by middle class Anglo children of the same age/grade level. A study by O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris provided a model for both data collection and analysis as well as the comparative figures for the fifth grade Anglo children.

The study is basically statistical in nature, using the T-unit identified by Hunt as a basic unit. Figures were calculated and compared for all nominal, adverbial, and coordinate constructions produced by sentence-combining transformations for both spoken and written data. By and large the results were that the Chicano children did about as well as first grade Anglo children in spoken language and fell at the third grade level or below in written work.

It was interesting to note that using O'Donnell's definition of linguistic maturity, i.e., the increased use of complex syntactic structures, the children, both Anglo and Chicano, were shown to be more mature in written rather than in spoken language. A number of explanations were put forth in this thesis for this phenomenon. One possibility is that there are certain complex syntactic structures which are more appropriate to writing than to speaking. If this is so, then it does not necessarily reflect more mature use of language, but simply differences in style. The point was also made here that, in terms of the child's competence or internalized knowledge of his grammar, whether he uses the grammatical structures in writing or speech does not affect this competence. That is, if the child can generate the structure creatively - whether in writing or speech - then it is a part of his competence and it is the definition of linguistic maturity which is weak.

Another consideration in comparing written and spoken results, is that the idea of 'control' of language is given some meaning, at least within a theory of performance. That is, given time, explicit instruction in writing techniques, and a conscious awareness of sentence generation, it is not unreasonable to expect that the syntactic structures used in writing would be more complex than those generated in spontaneous speech. In this instance then, 'control' or 'manipulation' become meaningful.

O'Donnell, Griffin, and Norris proposed a simple, objective measure of linguistic maturity which they claimed reflected increased use of complex syntactic structures. That measure was to count the mean number of words in a T-unit: the higher the number, the more linguistically

mature the speaker. The Chicano children were rated using this measure as well as other measures such as mean number of nominal, adverbial, and coordinate structures produced by sentence-combining transformations per hundred T-units. It was found that the simple, objective measure was not predictive for the Chicano children.

A sentence repetition exercise was given to the Chicano children to test whether nonstandard forms which they had spontaneously produced might be part of a Chicano dialect. The sentences in the exercise contained both standard and nonstandard versions of nine grammatical items that had been selected to be tested. The children's repetition tended to follow the version that was given to them. The results of this exercise are difficult to assess; however, it may be that the children are bidialectal and that neither the standard nor the non-standard form is dominant in their grammar. Although no clearcut evidence of the development of a separate dialect of English by Chicanos was given, a more intensive study along these lines might prove worthwhile.

A further investigation into the particular sentence repetition exercise given to the Chicano children was made to determine the validity of using such a technique. Three middle class Anglo children were chosen for the study - a ten-year-old boy and two girls, aged ten and six. The boy repeated the sentences as they were given, but the girls generally changed the nonstandard to standard. Both ten-year-olds, however, volunteered information about the 'bad' grammar in some of the sentences. It was concluded that it may be that the sentence repetition

technique is not fruitful to use with children over a particular age and it seems that ten is too old for such a test. Further investigation of the use of sentence repetition as a tool for investigation of the acquisition of language by children seems called for, particularly to determine the age at which such tests are no longer fruitful.

The study done of the Chicano children, as well as like studies of the child's use of language by O'Donnell et al, Hunt, Loban and others, calls for serious reconsideration of the goals and methodologies of such studies. Too often not enough thought is given to the concept of linguistic maturity and what it means within the framework of grammatical theory. It was suggested here that there is a difference between linguistic maturity in the context of a theory of performance and maturity in the context of a theory of competence. Too often these investigators do not seem to be aware of the differences between competence and performance and their studies suffer from such an oversight. They must ask themselves what the concept of the frequency of occurrence of complex syntactic structures has to do with the development of the child's competence. Further, they must consider what underlying assumptions are involved in such concepts as the 'use of language', 'control of language', and 'manipulation of language'.

2.0 Conclusions

If our interest in the study of the language of children is to reveal the development of the knowledge the child has of the grammar of his language, then studies of this type will not lead to any theoretical developments in this area. Statistical counts, such as were

done in this study, which show only that the child increases the number of times he generates a syntactic structure but not that he adds any new ones to his grammar from the age of five to twelve, tell us little about the development of competence during this time. And yet we know from Carol Chomsky's work on children from ages five to ten that competence is not fully developed at age five.

This study confirms the need expressed by Noam Chomsky for linguists to develop new techniques for studying the competence of children. The use of spontaneous speech has been shown by Shipley, Smith, and Gleitman not to be a good reflection of competence. However, the use of direct recording of spontaneous speech should not be ruled out entirely in linguistic research. In preliminary studies, such as the one done here on the use of English by Chicano children where no published linguistic material was available, such data can be useful. However, it must be remembered that such information is limited in its usefulness. It is not interesting of itself, but should be used in designing procedures to investigate the linguistic competence of these children and to provide the investigator with insights into their competence.

Much more research needs to be done with Chicano children. We need to study the development of their competence in Spanish as well as in English and to determine if possible the interrelation, particularly during the time of acquisition, of these two languages.

3.0 The Role of the Applied Linguist

Only negative criticism has been given of the type of study exemplified by the O'Donnell one. We have seen that their attempt to develop an index of maturity was not satisfactory. Although their reasons for searching for such an index are not stated explicitly, it seems to be the case that such an index is thought to be useful to educators in their attempt to measure the capabilities of the children under their care in order to aid in the design of curriculum. And so the need arises for a measure. O'Donnell et al show how, by using an IBM computer and many professional staff people, such a measure may be arrived at. But this is obviously much too complex and costly an operation for most school districts to perform, so they devise what they call a simple, objective measure: the number of words per T-unit. Once again we are back to word counting - perhaps more refined than simple gross word counts - but word counting nonetheless. They claim to have shown that the word count per T-unit correlates highly with the increased use of other syntactic structures. However, the correlation did not show, in the study of the Chicano children, that there was anything but a random association between the measure and these structures.

Just what the implications of such an index of maturity might be has received too little attention on the part of most applied linguists. Presumably curriculum would be designed so that a child might be explicitly taught to use more complex grammatical structures in his speech and in his written work. Hunt and Mellon have both suggested such classroom

techniques (Hunt: 1970, p. 191; Mellon). But to what avail? If maturity is seen as a natural growth process, at least for native speakers of a language, what is the need for this kind of explicit instruction? As far back as 1836, Humboldt concluded that one cannot teach language but can only present conditions under which it will develop spontaneously in the mind in its own way. Experience sets the language-forming process into operation (cited in Chomsky: 1965, p. 51).

The work of applied linguists suffers from a lack of theoretical perspective and its usefulness at the present time is difficult to assess. Certainly no clear-cut use can be shown for the studies which have been discussed in this thesis. Perhaps the most effective thing linguists can do which would have immediate, practical value is to try to educate the educators on what we know about the development of language as a natural growth process, about dialectal differences being simply differences and not defective attempts to speak correctly - more in the style of Labov than has been done here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baratz, Joan. 1970. 'Teaching Reading in an Urban Negro School System', in Williams, 1970, pp. 11-24.
- Chomsky, Carol. 1969. The Acquisition of Syntax in Children From 5 to 10, Research Monograph No. 57, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1957. Syntactic Structures, Mouton & Co., The Hague.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. 'Formal Discussion of "The Development of Grammar in Child Language" by Wick Miller and Susan Ervin', in Lester, 1970, pp. 41-50.
- Harrell, Lester E., Jr. 1957. 'A Comparison of Oral and Written Language in School-Age Children', Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 22:3.
- Heller, Celia S. 1966. Mexican American Youth, Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads, Random House, New York.
- Hunt, Kellogg W. 1964. Differences in Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels, the Structures to be Analyzed by Transformational Methods, Report to U.S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 1998, Tallahassee, Florida.
- Hunt, Kellogg W. 1965. Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels, Research Report No. 3, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
- Hunt, Kellogg W. 1970. 'Recent Measures in Syntactic Development', in Lester, 1970, pp. 187-200.
- Jensen, Louise. 1970. An Investigation of Four Aspects of Black English Within a Transformational Framework, unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Linguistics and Oriental and African Languages, Michigan State University, East Lansing.
- Labov, Wm. 1970. 'The Logic of Nonstandard English', in Williams, 1970, pp. 153-189.
- Labov, Wm., and Paul Cohen. 1967. 'Systematic Relations of Standard and Nonstandard Rules in the Grammars of Negro Speakers', from Project Literacy Reports No. 8, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

- Lees, Robert B. 1957. 'Review of Chomsky's Syntactic Structures', Language, 33:375-408.
- Lester, Mark, (ed.). 1970. Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., New York.
- Loban, Walter D. 1963. The Language of Elementary School Children, Research Report No. 1, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
- Manuel, Herschel T. 1965. Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest, University of Texas, Austin.
- McCarthy, Dorothea A. 1954. 'Language Development in Children', in Manual of Child Psychology, ed. by Leonard Carmichael, John Wiley & Sons, New York, pp. 492-630.
- McNeill, David. 1966. 'Developmental Psycholinguistics', in Smith and Miller, 1966, pp.15-84.
- Mellon, John C. 1969. Transformational Sentence Combining, Research Report No. 10, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
- Menyuk, Paula. 1969. Sentences Children Use, Research Monograph No. 52, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- O'Donnell, Roy C., William J. Griffin, and Raymond C. Norris. 1967. Syntax of Kindergarten and Elementary School Children: A Transformational Analysis, Research Report No. 8, National Council of Teachers of English, Champaign, Ill.
- Ohmann, Richard. 1970. 'Generative Grammars and the Concept of Literary Style', in Lester, 1970, pp. 117-136.
- Olguin, Leonard. 1968. Shuck Loves Chirley, Golden West Publishing House, Huntington Beach, Calif.
- Roberts, Paul. 1964. English Syntax, Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York.
- Shipley, Elizabeth, Carlota Smith, and Lila Gleitman. 1969. 'A Study in the Acquisition of Language', Language, 45:322-342.
- Slobin, Dan I. 1966. 'Abstracts of Soviet Studies of Child Language', in Smith and Miller, 1966, pp. 363-386.
- Smith, Franklyn L., and George A. Miller. 1966. The Genesis of Language, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Stanford University, Center for Latin American Studies. 1969. The Mexican-American: A selected and Annotated Bibliography, Palo Alto, California.

Stockwell, Robert B., J. Donald Bowen, and John W. Martin. 1965. The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

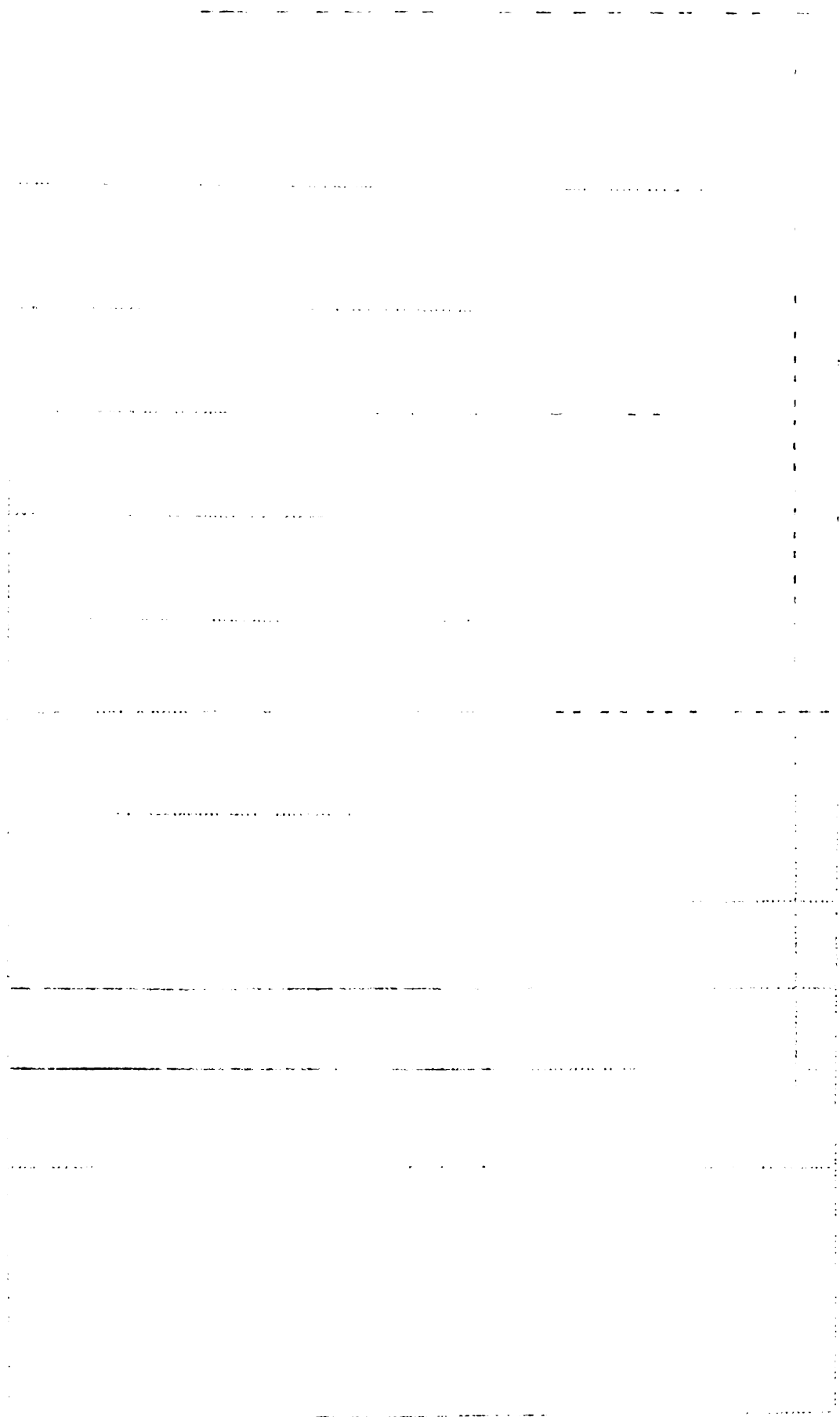
Strickland, Ruth G. 1962. 'The Language of Elementary School Children: Its Relationship to the Language of Reading Textbooks and the Quality of Reading of Selected Children', Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, 38:4.

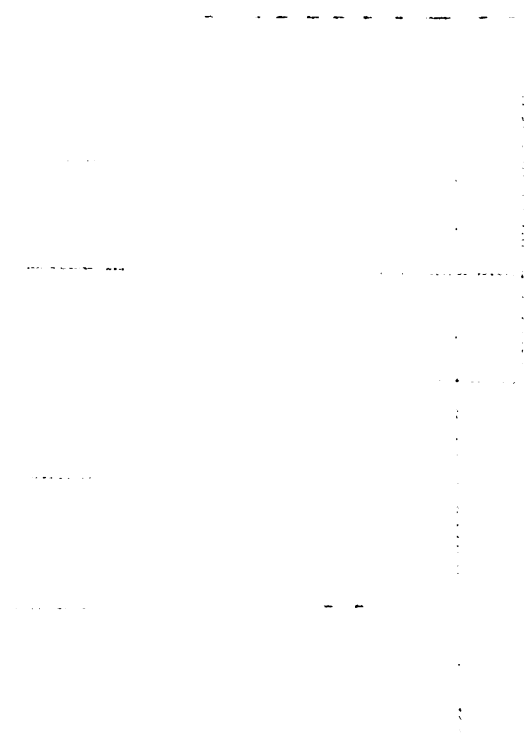
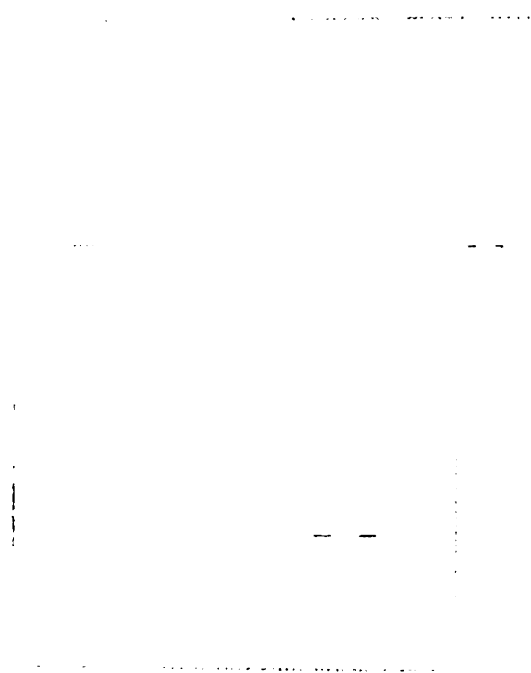
University of California at Los Angeles. 1967. Mexican-American Study Project Revised Bibliography, Advance Report No. 3, Los Angeles, Calif.

Williams, Frederick, (ed.). 1970. Language and Poverty, Markham Publishing Co., Chicago.

APPENDICES

[illegible]





Appendix B. Chicano English Worksheet

Name Ana Oral X Standard X
Written _____ Nonstandard _____

T-UNIT: (27) the man looked up and stopped the 'uh' ride

Words in T-Unit 8

Sentence Patterns:

S V	S V O Cn	No Vp
S V O	S V O Ca	Ni Vp
S V Cn	Adv V S	Question
S V Ca	There V S	Request, Command
S V I O	It V S	Partial

SENTENCE COMBINING TRANSFORMATIONS 1

Nominal Structures _____

Headed

N + N
N + Adjective
N + Possessive
N + Relative Clause
N + Ø Rel Clause
N + Prep Phrase
N + Infin Phrase
N + Part. Phrase
N + Adverbial
Other

Non-Headed

Noun Clause
Prep Phrase
Infin Phrase
Infin with S
Gerund Phrase
Other

Function

Subject
Object
Indirect Object
Subject Compl.
Object Compl.
Appositive
Object of Prep
Adverbial Noun
Other

Adverbial Structures _____

Adverbial Clause _____

Time	Reduced Comp
Place	The More the
Manner	Merrier
Cause	Adj Compl
Condition	Other
Comparison	

Sentence Adverbial _____

Absolute Construction
Interjected Clause
Other

Adverbial Infin _____

Coordinate Structures 1

Modifiers

Adjectival
Adverbial

Nominals

Predicates

V	V I O
V O	V O Cn
V Cn	V O Ca
V Ca	Other

Appendix C.

A List of Nonstandard Grammatical Forms

1.0 Introduction

The fact that there might exist a Chicano dialect of English has been mentioned in this thesis, although proof of such a dialect was not given. It was pointed out that the social conditions, at least, were amenable to the development of such a dialect.

In order to provide evidence, one will have to provide a description of grammatical, that is, phonological and syntactic, features which are not part of standard English and which are used systematically by a number of Chicanos, adults and children. As a first step in this direction, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the nonstandard forms used. Thereafter, investigations will have to be made to see how widespread these nonstandard forms are, that is, how many people in the speech community use them and how consistently they are used. In the case of Chicano English, it will be interesting to know which nonstandard forms result from interference from Spanish.

As an initial step in the investigation of Chicano English, then, a list of the nonstandard syntactic structures included in the data collected for this thesis is presented here. The data were taken from twelve children, three more than were included in the major portion of this thesis. The data come from many sources, but only spoken language is used.

The data used here came from taped conversations with groups of four and five children, from their retelling of folk tales, from their summaries of paragraphs read to them by the investigator, and from their retelling of the plot of the film, The Little Mariner.

It is the intention here to point out those areas in which the students produced sentences unacceptable to speakers of standard English. Little can be said about the frequency of occurrence of these nonstandard forms, except to give some notion of relative frequency within the group. Those nonstandard forms which were used most frequently will be listed first, followed successively by the less frequently used nonstandard forms.

An attempt is made to provide some degree of explanation for these forms by suggesting whether the form might be caused by interference from Spanish (indicated on the table by an 'S'), or whether it might be a feature used by all children in the acquisition of English (C), or whether it is a form which can be singled out as a possible feature of a nonstandard dialect of English (N). This last category may contain nonstandard forms which are not necessarily peculiar to Chicanos, but may be a part of the speech of Black or working class Americans as well.

2.0 Types of Nonstandard Forms

<u>Type of Nonstandard Form</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Possible Explanation</u>
1. Topicalization		
a. Subject noun with anaphoric pronoun following immediately	1. . . . and then the coyote he chased the rabbit. 2. The boy he wanted to read.	S, C, N
b. Hesitation (often verbalized by 'um') between subject noun and anaphoric pronoun	1. The man - um - he caught two fish 2. The man - um - he had that stick with fire.	S, C, N
c. The demonstrative 'this' with the subject noun	1. There was this man he caught some fish. 2. One day this little boy he had this toy sailboat.	S, C, N
d. Intervening phrase between the subject noun and the anaphoric pronoun	1. And then the man that was in that - on the warlord's side he got that man by the shirt. 2. A man in a big motorboat he went by him.	S, C, N
2. Embedded WH Questions (particularly following 'ask' and 'know')	1. He asked her what was her name. 2. He went to ask some people whose was it and they said they didn't know whose was it. 3. Do you know where's the sea? 4. He wanted to know whose was it. 5. This man he told where was Frankenstein.	S, N, C

Type of Nonstandard Form	Examples	Possible Explanations
3. Incorrect Verb Tense		
a. Correct tense, nonstandard form	1. He brung him back.	C, N
b. Incorrect form of irregular verbs	1. She take it and then she bring it back. 2. She saw the bears and she run. 3. I seen the film.	C, N
c. Incorrect form of regular verbs	1. So he float off. 2. He start running. 1. That prince appear again. 2. Then Cinderella came out and she show it to him. 1. He stop in a place where they fish. 2. They wanted to buy something for her and work hard.	S, C S, C S, C
d. Occasional nonstandard use of more complex tenses	1. Somebody been sleeping in my bed. 2. He was going to be real scared.	C, N
4. Use of Wrong Preposition	1. He got down of the tree. 2. He picked him up from the shirt. 3. He made a decision to attack in June 6. 4. They were going to get married with her.	S

<u>Type of Nonstandard Form</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Possible Explanation</u>
5. Double Negation	1. . . . a boat was coming without nobody. 2. We don't have nothing to eat. 3. He didn't want him no more.	S, C, N
6. Nonstandard use of the Article	1. He wanted to go rest room on that big boat. 2. And he found dog. 3. He bought a hot dog and a popcorn.	S, C
7. Lexical Items and Idiomatic Expressions		
a. Misuse of word 'put'	1. Scarf, put all the food. 2. He put the car shut the garage.	S
b. 'how' substituted for 'what'	1. One of those big things I don't know how they are. 2. How do you call that big thing?	S
c. 'it' substituted for 'there'	1. Then he stop in a place where it was a fair.	S
d. Wrong word or not part of lexicon	1. They did the running 2. 'isolated' meaning 'frozen' 3. 'ceramics' meaning something used to paint your face	S, C
e. Incorrect plural formation	1. 'mans' for 'men'	S, C

<u>Type of Nonstandard Form</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Possible Explanation</u>
f. Incorrect idiomatic expressions	1. We're half an Indian. 2. They were going to take him a picture. 3. Ana's dreaming on her mind.	S
8. Miscellaneous Nonstandard Syntactic Formations		
a. Ordering of syntactic units	1. Then they found on the way a cat. 2. Then the bears climb a little bit more down. 3. Near the shore he sailed his boat there. 4. I'll help you the way - I'll help you to your house - the way to find your house.	S
b. Deletion problems	1. One of those big long things - I don't know how they are. 2. He's taller than six seven feet tall.	S, C
c. Adjective placement problems	1. They got enough money to buy a red pair of shoes. 2. There was a bull old.	S
d. Question formation	1. Grandmother, why you have big eyes?	S, C
e. Coordination problems	1. And then one time he went to work he went to store buy a newspaper. 2. He put the car shut the garage.	C

Appendix D.

Results of the Sentence Repetition Exercise Given to Three Anglo Children

Item Tested (No. of Sentences Given/ Standard or Nonstandard)	Responses		
	Dirk	Jenny	Jane
1. Warm-up and Copula Deletion (2S)	2S	2S	2S
2. Warm-up and Subject Predicate Agreement (1S)	1S	1S	1S
3. Topicalization (4N,1S)	4N,1S	1N,4S	1N,4S
4. Embedded WH Questions (4N,2S)	4N,2S	6S	2N,4S
5. Past Tense Formation (2S)	2S	2S	2S
6. Negative Formation (1N,1S)	1N,1S	1N,1S	1N,1S
7. Omission of Relative Pronoun (1N,1S)	2S	2S	2S
8. Idiomatic Expressions (2N,1S)	2N,1S	1N,2S	2S,10
9. Pronunciation (3N)	3S	3S	3S

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293000100168