The Texture of Essays Written by Basic Writers:

Diné and Anglo

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This dissertation is dedicated to the loyalty of my two sons

Matthew and James

whose indefatigable good humor and belief got us through

and to the Diné

whose indomitable spirit has gotten them through

Ya'á'tééh

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While many have helped me through this incredible journey, I would especially like to thank the following people.

Abstract

This exploratory study comprises a statistical analysis of style factors discriminating between compositions written by basic writers from two different language groups: Anglo (a reference to the language and European American English speakers) and Diné (Navajo-English bilinguals). The current study included 62 essays and was limited to non-introspective topics. A multi-variate statistical approach revealed three underlying textual factors that discriminate between these compositions. While using a limited sample, the findings indicate that the texture of compositions by Diné is dominated by attributes of traditional Dinébizaad rhetoric, or the rhetoric of the Navajo language. On the other hand, the texture of compositions written by Anglos is dominated by generic written elaboration. These findings correspond with previous impressionistic teacher observations and analysis of compositions of these two groups.

That the study found significant differences in the texture of the compositions written by these two groups is less surprising than the fact that compositions written by Diné were in some respects more rhetorically appropriate for academic prose than those of their Anglo counterparts. These findings raise some interesting questions, especially in light of the failure rate of Diné students in basic writing classes. Since most of the samples for Diné came from rural community college compuses set up expressly to serve these populations, one issue for further consideration is how to design more community-based literacy programs. Another, perhaps, larger issue is how to preserve personal voice in academia.

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Introduction

This study explores quantifiable differences in the *texture* of essays written by *basic writers* from two different linguistic/ethnic groups: European American, monolingual English speakers, referred to as Anglo in this study, and Navajo-English bilinguals, referred to as Diné in this study. It describes the texture of essays written by basic writers participating in this study as well as how the texture of these two groups differs. The term texture is used here to describe the relationships of specific linguistic items within discourse. The basic assumption is that certain linguistic items co-occur in the same rhetorical environments (Grabe, 1987; Biber, 1988). Basic writers are those college students assumed to share common characteristics in their writing: For instance, their compositions tend to be error-laden and incoherent (Shaughnessy, 1977; Troyka, 1982). This study, then, attempts to describe and compare the co-occurence of linguistic terms in compositions written by two groups of basic writers.

Selection of papers for this study was dictated by evidence that expository prose is a "major text genre (Grabe, 1987, p. 135) and that topic variation within *genre* does not produce significant differences in style (Reid, 1990). In order to accurately describe any results, the term genre wants a workable definition. While the term genre has been used generally to mean some category of written language use, Saville-Troike (1989, p. 1410) suggested that, for linguistic purposes, genre might be better defined as a "type of event," thus allowing it to include non-written uses of language and focusing more on the interaction of purpose, audience, and shared knowledge. Continuing in this vein, Swales (1990) offered a more expanded definition.

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, that members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This

rationale shapes the schematics structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style (p. 59).

Swales' definition appears to describe many of the underlying assumptions in the usage of terms and, therefore, will be adopted for purposes of this study. This definition has the added benefit of encompassing the idea of communicative competence (Gumperz, 1982), i.e. the expected shared linguistic, rhetorical, and content knowledge, on the part of the participants. Previous descriptions of basic writers, however, suggest that their language and content choice does not match the expectations of the genre commonly called academic discourse. Diné basic writers, coming from a different parent discourse community with perhaps different purpose and rationales, for instance, may produce a different schematic structure from their Anglo counterparts, thereby adding another dimension to the question of what constitutes communicative competence. Consequently, communicative competence for this form of language use, while implied by the definition of genre, cannot be assumed for the participants of this study.

Rationale for a study

Interest in doing this study began with the shared discovery that those of us who had taught writing to Diné were able "blindly" to identify essays written by them. To further demonstrate and test this knowledge, a fellow student of rhetoric shared compositions written by 4 ESL students, two of which were written by Diné students. None of the samples had either names or language group identification on them, and the readers had not previously viewed any of the samples. Those of us who were at the time working with Diné at either the secondary or

post-secondary level were able correctly to identify two of the compositions as having been written by Diné, thus suggesting that there was something unique about the texture of essays written by Diné.

While qualitative rhetorical analysis of compositions written by and public testimony given by Native Americans (the term Native is used throughout this paper for Native American) has been analyzed (Bartelt, 1980; Hadley, 1987; Chambers, 1989; Dyc, 1989), to date no studies have attempted to quantify rhetorical differences in compositions written by Diné and Anglo. In order to quantify differences, this study uses a multi-variate statististical approach to discourse analysis because it allows the discovery of co-occurrence of groupings of linguistic items, such as *first* and *second person pronouns, tense,* and *aspect.* Furthermore, this approach allows sufficient flexibility for it to be used in a variety of ways, such as defining linguistic characteristics of specific genre or identifying differences in genre among various linguistic/ethnic groups (Biber, 1988): This study attempts the latter. As such, it is a *contrastive rhetoric* study: The writing analyzed has been produced by two groups that have brought their respective language traditions to the classroom.

In order to properly evaluate results of this study, there must be some understanding of language traditions involved. School writing itself, for example, has developed from traditions with roots in Ancient Greece and Rome. Indeed, prevailing methods of teaching literacy, while couched in psychological terminology, differ little from those initiated in Athens during fifth century BC. Despite, however, the explosion of language use created by technology, literacy for academic purposes has become increasingly narrowly defined to become literacy for specialized uses, such as business literacy, engineering literacy, medical literacy, legal literacy, literary literacy, and so forth. These narrowly defined and specific uses have in actuality become

*literacies (*Biber, 1990; Russell, 1991), each with its own standards. Literacy pedagogy invented by the Greeks and Romans, while working well for their needs, has proven woefully inadequate for current academic demands (Berlin, 1984, 1987; Russell, 1991).

The Development of the Rhetoric of Western Thought

While the Greeks did not invent the alphabet, they greatly expanded the concept of writing and consequently were the first to use it to its fullest potential of recording ideas and data. Despite its beginnings in literacy, Greek society of the time still was oriented primarily to spoken word. Ancient Greece may be best characterized by the ideals set forth in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* documents exemplifying the glory of Greek oral tradition, each one representing part history, party mythology, part oratory, and part patriotism (Golden, Berquist & Colemen, 1989). These texts were to serve as some of the first readers for Greek boys (Matthews, 1968). As written uses of language expanded so did the need for rhetoric. As a consequence, the growth of rhetoric complemented the growth of literacy.

The first written rhetoric was composed as early as 456 BC at the Greek colony of Syracuse in Sicily at the time when that area was moving from tyranny to democracy. Greek democracy thrived on the debating of ideas, or the art of argumentation. Naturally, early rhetoric focused primarily on this art: The rhetoric of Cortax was no exception. Concurrently, new discoveries in a number of fields took place in Ionia and islands off the coast of Turkey. The Athenians, imbued with this explosion of new information, soon established schools for the dissemination of new ideas: Athens became the seat of higher learning in Ancient Greece (Golden, Berquist & Coleman, 1989).

Because of the nature of democracy in Athens, free male citizens were trained to be generalist: Each individual male could be expected to be asked at any time to judge a murder trail, oversee the strengthening of a city fortification, embark on an embassy abroad, or participate as a member of the executive council of the city government. Additionally, he was expected to join in debates in the Assembly on a wide range of topics, including war, peace, finance, legislation, national defense, and trade. Hence, free male citizens were expected to be not only well-versed in the art of persuasion but also have a broad knowledge base (Golden, Berquist & Coleman, 1989). Education for free males, then, focused primarily on preparing them for different rhetorical duties.

Plato was one of the first to establish a school to train students in ethical uses of rhetoric. Aristotle, one of his students, took Plato's ideas on rhetoric and expanded them into a full treatise on the topic. Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* while born during a time of emergent literacy, was employed primarily as a tool of oral discourse. Whereas his *Poetics* was intended to serve as a handbook for the writing of Greek poetry, his *Rhetoric* was intended to be a description of persuasive uses of language of the time. As such, it represents one of the earliest descriptions of language used in Western tradition. Additionally, the treatise still offers "the only complete system of rhetoric available to us today" (D'Angelo, 1975, p. 45) and has served as the basis for all subsequent rhetorics.

Like his mentor Plato, Aristotle saw rhetoric, or the art of persuasion, as a way to discover truth. Aristotle began with the premise that persuasion is universal to all people and an inherent part of language use. As a system, he felt that rhetoric should not only be a means for discovering truth but also provide ways for discovering all possible means of persuasion. For instance, if an audience was ill-informed on a matter, the speaker was expected to provide any

information necessary to persuade the audience. Consequently, speaker knowledge on a topic became an element of persuasion. Moreover, knowledge of intended audience dictated both the content and style of the speech; both arrangement and style (grammar) aided the speaker in helping his audience arrive at the truth.

In this system elucidated by Aristotle, the character or *ethos* of the speaker played an important role so that persuasion could be accomplished by a combination of quality of the ideas presented, quality of language used, effective presentation of ideas through proper arrangement, and impact of character of the speaker. All aspects of persuasion known at the time were included in this description. Aristotle, while describing various aspects of persuasion, viewed it as one coherent system of language use with the relationship between speaker and audience at its center. He stated four purposes for rhetoric: (1) to maintain truth and justice; (2) to promote discussion; (3) to encourage the habit of seeing both sides, thereby exposing faulty reasoning; and (4) as a means of self-defense (Baldwin, 1924).

After consolidation of Greek city-states into an empire by Philip of Macedon and subsequent absorption into the Roman Empire, the demands on rhetoric changed. The Roman contribution to rhetoric consisted of codifying Greek thought. Whereas Plato viewed rhetoric as a source of truth and Aristotle viewed it as a subject worthy of study, Cicero and Quintilian viewed it as practical training essential for every free male citizen (Golden, Berquist & Coleman, 1989, p. 14). The ability to speak well was highly valued in Roman culture; hence, rhetorical study became central to the education of free Roman citizens, and Quintilian redefined rhetoric as "the science of speaking well" (Kennedy, 1969, p. 58).

One major Roman contribution consisted of the five great canons of classical rhetoric: *inventio* (invention)*, dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (memory), and

pronuntiatio (delivery). Additionally, Roman rhetoric reemphasized the impact of the speaker's prior reputation, adjustment of material by speaker to suit the audience, focusing on the key issue of an argument, the importance of a conclusion that made an emotional appeal to the audience, the need to debate, not just the specific question at hand, but the underlying principle as well, and the importance of quoting authority. In light of the fact that Quintilian's *Institute of Oratory* served as a model for much of later medieval education throughout Europe, the Roman contribution takes on even greater significance.

Between the fall of the Roman Empire and the Medieval period, a new element, Christianity, influenced the growth of rhetoric. While most of the early church fathers were themselves schooled in rhetoric and the classics, the use of rhetoric was viewed with suspicion because of its pagan association. The task of defining appropriate models for educating ministers presented a very real dilemma for early Christians as virtually all existent literature was either Greek or Roman with numerous references to their gods. Finally, using Aristotle as a model, Augustine reconciled pagan rhetoric to Christianity, thus giving birth to a new Christianized rhetoric and rhetorical training for church ministers.

The period between the end of the Ancient World and the transition to the modern world saw great definition and codification of rhetoric to reflect current cultural thinking and uses. The Middle Ages saw the expansion of rhetoric into new areas, including more written ones. Two new areas of language use primary to Medieval European culture were the art of letter writing and the art of preaching. Rhetorical activities of the Middle Ages included (1) methods of speaking and writing, (2) composition of letters, sermons, prayers, legal documents and briefs, and poetry and prose, (3) canons of interpreting laws and scripture, (4) dialectal devices of discovery and proof, and (5) establishment of scholastic method, culminating in the formulation

of the scientific inquiry. The rhetoric of Cicero and Quintilian, both Romans, seem to have been the primary source of classical rhetoric during the Middle Ages until the reintroduction of Aristotle's works by Arab scholars ((Murphy, 1974).

Due to the advent of the printing press, the Renaissance (1400-1600 AD) saw another information explosion (Eisenstein, 1985). Additionally, Greek, e.g. Aristotle translated from Arabic into Latin, and Roman texts were rediscovered so that speakers and writers of the Renaissance had access not only to treatises on rhetoric but also to actual speeches. Subsequently, several new rhetorics were produced, and the discipline of rhetoric dominated the curriculum of grammar schools and universities of Tudor England. While previously all texts had been in Latin, there was increasing interest in producing literatures in the vernacular. Thus, rhetoric, during the Renaissance, took on more local cultural flavorings and a host of vernacular rhetorics were produced (Corbett, 1965). Additionally, familiar elements of rhetoric, such as the use of examples, comparisons, similarities, dissimilarities, and opposites as well as emphasis on variation in word form also appeared (Golden, Berquist & Coleman, 1978).

Rejecting much of the imagination and "humanness" of the Renaissance, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized by the growing split between philosophy and science, with science aided by technology emerging the victor. Francis Bacon, for one, encouraged an interested in "scientific" style (Corbett, 1965, p. 553). While Aristotle provide the basic schema and definition, science provided the content. This "new" rhetoric kept Aristotle's communication model, i.e. source, message, and receiver, Cicero and Quintilian's idea of rhetoric as one based on philosophy and the basic goodness of the orator while not adhering to any one philosophy, and Longinus' value of combining rhetoric and poetics into one single, coherent system, now reflecting the "Art of Literature" (Corbett, 1965, p.560).

To this was added data provided by faculty psychology, such as knowledge of the function of reason in criticism, insights into genius, examples of eloquence depicting potentialities inherent in native idiom or "plain" speech, and the assumption of the stimulus-response nature of people (Golden, Berquist & Coleman, 1978). Standards for good language use were set during this time. Thus, good rhetoric became synonymous with good thinking. Most notable of the eighteenth century rhetoricians were the Scottish ministers, Campbell, Blair, and Rev. Whately from Oxford. From these roots modern rhetoric, as well as modern language instruction in the United States, was born. The eighteenth century represents one of the last serious academic interests in rhetoric.

Development of Writing in American Education

Early American writing and educational systems were the offspring of eighteenth century English rhetorical thinking. Prior to the end of the War Between the States, higher education had been centered in classical rhetoric, and the rhetorics of Campbell, Blair, and Whately were widely used (Corbett, 1965). According to Berlin (1984), a typical curriculum consisted of twice weekly discussions for the freshmen of a classical text, which included student recitations of portions of the text; for sophomores, twice weekly discussions, for the first half of the year, of English texts with mandatory recitations of portions with the second half devoted to student delivery of published, not original, dialogues, speeches, and declamations along with translations and original compositions; for juniors, fortnightly meetings for further instruction in English texts and correction of written composition; and, for seniors, fortnightly meetings for correction of written compositions. Additionally, both teachers and students were expected to give public

speeches and deliver weekly public lectures. This emphasis was strictly oral with the purpose of writing to serve as a means of organizing one's thoughts, to serve as the basis for discussion and interpretations, and to serve as a possible source for public speeches and lectures.

The end of the War Between the States witnessed the accelerated rise of industrialization and a rapidly growing middle class. Not only was the old system of higher education seen as elitist, but it also no longer prepared students for the growth of specialization. Thus, Americans turned to the German model. The new American college was to allow scientific and technological disciplines into the curriculum as well as provide electives. This new curriculum was to abandon mental discipline and training of faculties for the viewpoint that emphasized individual differences and pursuit of each student's natural talents. As such, it was to serve the middle class, become an agent of upward mobility, and commit itself to material success and progress (Berlin, 1984, p. 60). Literacy became central to this new curriculum.

Previously, writing was seen as a means to producing better oral presentations. Suddenly, reading and writing became a focus of teaching: Indeed, by the twentieth century it was to become the primary focus of education. For the first time, courses in composition were required. The results were apparently dismal. In 1891, a committee of Harvard educators convened expressly to investigate the matter, concluded that writing instruction was the business of secondary schools and recommended stiffer entrance requirements. Unfortunately, no one on the committee had any training in composition pedagogy; hence, they focused on what they could recognize as problems: errors in spelling, grammar, usage, and handwriting. As a result, the committee concluded that learning to writer was a matter of learning how to write legibly and grammatically correct sentences. This judgment has prevailed without major challenges until more recent times (Berlin, 1984).

This new curriculum was the triumph of the scientific and technical worldview: It took the most mechanistic aspects of faculty psychology and combined them with the most mechanical features of Campbell, Blair, and Whately. All three had been more concerned with furthering theological beliefs by proving their authenticity than with determining a wise course for future policies. Additionally, their rhetorics had renewed emphasis on structure, style, and delivery. What the new curriculum inherited, therefore, was the rigidness of these collective didactic viewpoints. Mechanics became the sole concern of the writing teacher (Berlin, 1984, 63), and rhetoric's sole appeal became one only to reason, dropping such classical devices as appeals to emotions.

New curriculums gradually assumed an orientation to four forms, or *modes* of discourse: exposition, argumentation, description, and narration (Corbett, 1965). This new system of classification acted as a deterrent to the development of a complete discourse theory (Kinneavy, 1971). Ultimately, exposition, the writing most valued by a technologically oriented business community, became the highest manifestation of appeal to reason. Eventually, argumentation became de-emphasized or dropped altogether in freshman composition, so much so that sometimes Freshman English became a course in technical writing. The emphasis of this new rhetoric dictated that the writer rid her/himself of "trappings of culture that distort his perceptions" and to become objective and detached (Berlin, 1984, p. 63). This model was to reign supreme until challenged during the 1960s.

Further changes in the teaching of composition occurred during the twentieth century: The study of speech or oratory became its own department; logic moved first to philosophy and then to math; and English departments became departments of literature and philology (Kinneavy, 1971). Three major approaches to teaching writing dominated the early part of the

twentieth century: (1) current-traditional rhetoric, used at Harvard, Columbia, and some state universities, e.g. Illinois, Wisconsin, and Texas; (2) rhetoric of liberal culture, used at Yale, Princeton, and University of Kansas; and (3) transactional rhetoric most completely embodied by John Dewey's notion of progressive education that saw writing as the result of the interaction of experiences of external world and the writer's perceptions of that experience. The rhetoric of liberal culture was both aristocratic and humanistic: If writing were to be taught in college, it should be taught to only the gifted and only for the purpose of encouraging the creation of art (Berlin, 1987, p. 35). The current-traditional rhetoric based on the more mechanistic aspects of Campbell, Blair, and Whately followed the dictates of the Harvard report with its emphasis on the mechanical aspects of composition and dominated the teaching of composition until the 1930s.

WWI completed the insertion of English studies, i.e. the study of language and literature, into the core of public school education in the United States. Between the two world wars, current-traditional rhetoric was challenged by a growing emphasis on the social nature of life. In this new emphasis, schools were seen as serving the wellbeing of society. The growing input of psychology and sociology shifted the writing curriculum from being subject-centered to child-centered. Additionally, the application of scientific-empirical approaches to writing demanded grammar-usage and organization tests for purposes of placement in college. According to Berlin (1987), the average freshman composition program during this time consisted of a three-semester sequence: English A—a course in writing about literature with fifteen weekly themes of two pages and a long review of a novel; English B—a course in expository writing that included weekly out-of-class themes with a weekly in-class theme plus a research paper of 2000 words on

a topic selected from a prepared list; and English C—a course consisting of sentence analysis, sentence structure, and spelling with no themes written.

This period of progressive education was marked by the decline of the use of rhetoric and the decline in teaching argumentation and narration. Exposition became the sole occupant of freshman composition classes. Moreover, there was a growing reliance on the use of graduate students to teach freshman composition. Modes of discourse--exposition, argumentation, description, and narration--were replaced by *types*, such as critical essay, feature, article, and editorial. Additionally, there was a growing emphasis on using a skills approach; as a result, objective tests became the norm for placement. As reawakened social sense focused writing instruction on process, experience, and immediate needs of the adult writer, this latter focus was often at direct odds with the more mechanistic approach emphasized by current-traditional rhetoric.

During the period from 1940-1960, writing instruction acquired an increasing emphasis on communication. In response to the depression and fascism abroad and to the large number of returning veterans, the communication course, consisting of combined writing instruction with lessons in speaking, reading, and listening, was created for two-year colleges. This course aligned with the "language arts" curriculum consisting of speaking, listening, writing, and reading adopted by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) during the same period (Kinneavy, 1971). According to Berlin (1987), this shift in emphasis was partly influenced by semanticists, who, like behavioral psychologists, viewed students as stimulus-response social creatures who reacted more to physical stimuli than to deductive reasoning.

Additionally, during this period, composition courses based upon "great literature" were also created. The reasoning was that if English Departments were to be saddled with this service

course in writing, i.e. freshman composition, it should at least organize the course around what it knew best—literature (Berlin, 1987, pp. 107-108). Consequently, freshman composition courses, like other courses offered by English Departments, concerned themselves with the reading and analysis of literary texts and the writing of expository essays about literary texts (Kinneavy, 1971). Further justification for such a course was to preserve the integrity of the individual against the onslaught of communism.

The period after 1960 was characterized by a growing influence of linguistics on writing instruction as well as the revival of rhetoric. Early linguistic efforts stemmed mainly from trying to extend the principles of grammar to the discourse level. Francis Christensen (1965, 1981), for example, claimed that rhetoric, like transformational grammar, was generative. To a certain extent his theory acknowledges one of the original purposes of rhetoric. While Christensen focused on building text through the process of addition, or the *cumulative sentence,* Winterowd (1968) focused on sentence connectors, arguing for a *grammar of coherence.* Like grammar, Winterowd (1968) viewed the coherence of exposition as being governed by known and limited rules of operation.

Other linguistic approaches, however, were somewhat more adventuresome, for example, Pike's *tagnemic grammar.* Borrowing the terminology of physics, it viewed writing as having three perspectives: particle, wave, and field (Young & Becker, 1981). This approach allowed composition to be viewed as something more than simply sentence extension: Linguistics began to view composition as a communicative event, laying the groundwork for later genre studies among linguists. However, these early linguistic contributions tended to view composition, like language, as a static entity. While not continuing to have a dynamic influence on current

composition theories, these linguists helped to reintegrate the study of writing, i.e. syntax within the context of discourse, with rhetoric's purposes and audiences.

Those instrumental in reviving rhetoric as a communicative event include Ken Macrorie (1980), Kenneth Burke (1950), James Murphy (1982), James Kinneavy (1971, 1981), E.P.J. Corbett (1965), and Gary Tate (1987). Burke (1950), a philosopher, argued that rhetoric is an active, living, integral part of life and the human condition. His work helped to reintroduce rhetoric as a field worthy of modern studies. Both Corbett (1965) and Murphy (1982) reintroduced and advocated the use of classical rhetoric for modern literacy instruction. Their rationale was that the elaborate system invented by the Ancients to find something to say and a way to say it effectively could be as useful to the modern students as it was to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. Moreover, given the on-going, worldwide conflict between two ideologies—democracy and communism, there was a real need for the understanding of the art of persuasion.

Kinneavy (1971) updated Aristotle's communication triangle to include a fourth component of language. In his reinterpretation, the three points of the triangle consisted of an *encoder, decoder,* and *reality.* He called the fourth component, represented by language, *symbol.* He further redefined the discourse as composition, thereby separating the study of written language use from spoken. Like his classical predecessors, Macrorie (1980) stressed "telling the truth" in writing and reintroduced "voice" to composition pedagogy. Tate (1987) contributed to a revitalization of rhetoric by combining studies from several disciplines--linguistics, cognitive psychology, and composition theory--to help writing teachers better understand the demands of modern composition.

The revival of rhetoric served to begin to shift the focus of composition instruction from its more mechanical aspects to a fuller view of the activity that included understanding and having purpose, knowing the intended audience, the development of voice—almost entirely lost in technical exposition, and gaining greater knowledge of a topic to write better about it. Linguistic studies and theories added the weight of their more scientific viewpoints to increase the understanding of how language and discourse worked, both separately and together. With contributions from both linguists and revivalists, new literacy pedagogies began to emerge. As a result, current approaches to teaching composition represent a whole continuum from current-traditional to more participator approaches and philosophies. Additionally, while new technological and scientific professions have viewed themselves as divorced from the classical past, Bazerman (1981) argued that persuasion is at the core of scientific writing, implying greater need for instruction in this ancient art among the various academic/scientific disciplines.

Ancient Greeks were expected to be generalists, and the current-traditional pedagogy trains its students to be just that. However, Russell (1991) argued that technological cultures have not literacy but literacies and, therefore, need to provide instruction for each one. This viewpoint is reflected by the research of Grabe and Biber (1989), who have demonstrated that freshman compositions do not match any known academic genre. While some composition programs teach exposition based solely upon research and devoid of personal voice, ethnographers, such as Hymes (1981) and Goody (1982), have argued that even technological cultures exist side-by-side with strong oral traditions, where real voices exist. Current composition pedagogies, based primarily in a classical past when people basically wrote the way they speak, assume a general literacy without acknowledging increasing diversity of both literacy specialization and its student body.

Notions of Literacy

While one of the goals of freshman composition programs is increased academic literacy,
literacy itself remains ill-defined. Thus far, literacy has been defined primarily from the effects it
creates or in contrast to orality. For instance, literacy has been credited as the basic technology
responsible for major achievements of most cultures; conversely, the lack of literacy is cited as a
major stumbling block for struggling countries to enter the technological carousel (Akinnaso,
1981). In anthropology, literacy is often contrasted with *preliteracy* or *illiteracy.* Lord (1960), for
example, defines a literate culture as one where the art of oral narrative has been replaced by
books. Ong (1967) and Goody (1981) view literate societies as those in which books have
become the primary source of knowledge. Other distinguishing features attributed to literacy
include greater ability to store, retrieve, and reuse information; decontextualization of discourse
content being learned consciously; lexical elaboration and syntactic complexity; modality-
specific process of production; and detachment of writer from intended audience (Akinnaso,
1981, 1982). Two other areas that may be affected by the acquisition of literacy are the loss of
traditional religions and the increase of cognitive abilities.

Problems with literacy seem to arise only when literacy is narrowly defined for some
specific purpose. Moreover, the institutionalization of literacy pedagogy with its emphasis on
verbatim memory, repetition, and copying creates even greater decontextualization of text. As
recording has become a primary function of written text (Ong, 1967), one of the results has been
a loss of immediacy of the information being communicated. Stories become read and not told,
for example, so that entire systems of language use along with their contents may disappear.
Another result is the loss of play or celebration generally associated with verbal performances.

Furthermore, Lord (1960) and Goody (1981) have noted the loss of creativity associated with the fixedness of print. This loss of creativity is manifested by narrow restrictions on the definition of literacy.

Religion is another area of cultural loss often associated with the acquisition of literacy. Because of the elevated status associated with print, those religions that rely on books often supersede local or tribal religions (Akinnaso, 1981; Goody, 1981). Protestant groups, in particular, often are the first to bring literacy in indigenous languages, further eroding older oral traditions: Such is the case with Diné (Spolsky, Engelbrich & Ortiz, 1981). The fact that language for a traditional Diné cannot be separated from the universe it represents (Kuckhorn & Leighton, 1974; Witherspoon, 1977)—this separation the by-product of literacy—adds another dimension to acquisition of written language for Diné students. Moreover, this sense of preservation of the wholeness of the universe and the words that represent it may explain why English, and not Dinébizaad, has been the overwhelming choice for literacy among Diné (Spolsky, Engelbrich & Ortiz, 1981). Another dimension represented by the loss of traditional religion for a group is the loss of the linguistic elaboration associated with ceremonial uses of language (Akinnaso, 1982). The implication for bilingual Diné is that they may not have a corresponding level of elaboration in Dinébizaad from which to draw for elaboration in writing.

Additionally, cognitive changes have been attributed to literacy acquisition. Indeed, some have suggested that basic writers as a group lack cognitive development (Lunsford, 1981). Luria (1966), on of the first to test this premise, conducted a series of experiments with Russian peasants to test their respective abilities to successfully handle levels of abstraction, or decontextualized problems. Those who could read, or more accurately had been to school, were better able to handle the abstract problems given to them. However, Scribner and Cole (1981)

challenged that assumption, after a major study of the cognitive effects of literacy, concluding that reading itself does not necessarily bring about definite cognitive changes.

Scribner and Cole (1981), working among the Vai, whose male members may have multi-literacy, concluded that the purpose of reading as well as how literacy is acquired may be truer sources of cognitive changes. Male members of Vai communities have access to literacy in three languages: Arabic, English, and Vai. Since most Vai are Muslim, they attend religious classes in the Quoran. These classes use the oriental approach, which consists of group recitations and memorization of passages. Additionally, most attend public schools that are conducted in English. Each of these literacies uses different pedagogies as well as has different purposes. As the use of English is most associated with the dominant culture and its notions of abstraction, these factors influenced performance on problem-solving tasks, i.e. these participants were already more familiar with these kinds of questions. Thus, Scribner and Cole (1981) discovered that those Vai who were the most acculturated and had greatest contact with majority culture were better able to work abstract word problems, leading them to conclude that acculturation was a more significant factor than literacy itself in creating the cognitive changes measured by such tasks.

In addition to English and Arabic, the Vai have also developed a script for their own language, a script that enjoys almost as much antiquity among the Vai as the other two. In contrast to Arabic and English, literacy in Vai is used primarily for letter writing to other family/clan members. Thus, the language remains highly contextualized. As a result, grammatical structures in letters written in Vai were more similar to conversations in Vai than were those found in either written Arabic or English. Upon further examination, Scribner and Cole concluded that the acquisition of composition skills did increase the user's ability to

abstract. Hence, while reading per se des not create changes in cognition, learning to write, in whatever language, does: Learning to use script for communicative functions does build cognitive skills.

There are several viewpoints regarding elaboration. Bernstein (1961) and Vygotsky (1962) argued that written language has more elaborate lexicon and greater syntactic complexity and that, moreover, such elaboration may create barriers to learning to read and write. However, Akinnaso (1982) demonstrated that similar kinds of linguistic elaboration reside for tribal people within their complex ceremonials. Tannen (1980), in looking at linguistic characteristics of oral vs. written language, suggested that language use can more accurately be described as on an oral-literate continuum, with face-to-face conversation most typical of oral language and written exposition most typical of written language. Recent discourse analysis, using computer corpora and factor analysis, has presented several dimensions of language use, which occur in varying degrees in different verbal acts and genre (Biber, 1988). Moreover, Akinnaso (1981) suggested that, given the wide variety of language use and the differing relationships or oral and literate strategies within any particular society, more accurate discussions of oral and literate strategies should be culture specific.

Heath (1982, 1983) conducted one such study of differing uses of oral and literate strategies among several communities located in the same geographical area. In this particular study, she looked at language use within three South Carolina communities: two working class, one white and one black, and one professional, consisting of school teachers and their children. The black working class community was primarily oral: In it written language was learned for practical purposes, such as to be able to identity a particular brand of product at the grocery store or able to read a letter from the welfare office. Written material, such as letters or notices at the

post office, served as a focus for group discussions regarding its contents. During these discussions, adults related their experiences associated with the contents of the written message, or sometimes associated with the receiving of a similar letter. As the result of this interaction, the meaning of printed text was *negotiated* among the adult members of the community.

In contrast to the black, working class community, members of the white, working class community saw literacy as an important but rarely used form of communication; hence, these families subscribed to magazines but did not read them and read stories to their children. However, by age three, they began to train their children to respond passively to story readings. In this community of language use, meaning was not negotiated but meted out through the authority of adults, such as parents, teachers, and Sunday School teachers. In the third community, children of schoolteachers were initiated early into dialectic methods of inquiry and into a community of literate language uses. For example, by six months these children attended to stories read to them; by age four they used dialogue as a method to relate information in stories to real life. The language traditions of the latter group most closely matched those associated with academic/school uses of language. Most importantly, however, the study verified the various traditions of language use that students bring to American schools.

Scollon and Scollon (1984) maintain that this use of dialectic methods associated with language use in schools is at odds with traditional Athabaskan, and hence possibly Diné as Diné are also Athabaskan, riddling techniques, which previously served as a method of teaching children how to problem-solve. In this system, "the riddler provides an indirect or circuitous phrasing and the answerer provides the normal or expected phrasings" (p. 176). Very often the riddles represent an elaborated metaphor. This riddling technique is seen as a lifelong training for Northern Athabaskans in guessing someone's meaning without having to be told directly what

another person means. Scollon and Scollon (1984) regarded this as "making sense of another's reality in one's own words" (p. 177) and as basic training for use of "high" language. This structure has its counterpart in Northern Athabaskan storytelling techniques in which the storyteller provides the story background and the listener provides the story "foreground."

> In the ideal storytelling, which is in fact often realized, the storyteller provides only the backgrounded information, and from this the listener is able to provide the foregrounded information on his own or her own word. Put another way, the listener tells the story (p. 176).

Both riddling and storytelling in Northern Athabaskan traditions depend on face-to-face interaction and negotiation of meaning.

Scollon and Scollon (1981) were likewise concerned about miscommunication created when two systems for conveying information come in contact with each other. They recognize that language uses may be retained by a group even as fluency in a mother tongue has been lost. In analyzing differences between Athabaskan and English conversations, they noted general differences in four areas: the presentation of self, distribution of talk, information structure, and content organization. For example, to be explicit an English speaker is likely to refer to a favorite aunt by her name, e.g. Aunt Jane. However, to show respect for an elder, an Athabaskan refers to the same person at his mother's sister. The Athabaskan speaker, for her/himself, has been explicit, but an English listener feels the Athabaskan speaker is being vague.

They further conclude that learning to read in "essayist" literacy creates the same kind of inter-ethnic miscommunication created by face-to-face conversations with English speakers (p. 42). To produce an essay, an Athabaskan must produce a display, something that demands that s/he have a position of dominance. However, the fictionalized nature of the audience and the

decontextualization of the event obscure the relationship of the dominance. Moreover, the more decontextualized the text the less likely an Athabaskan is to want to communicate. Like many other people who have experienced literacy as an imposition from the outside, literacy for most Athabaskans is unidirectional, i.e. reading only. Hence, they do not see themselves as producers of literate language.

Further discussions of differences between communication styles of Athabaskans and their Anglo counterparts reveal major differences between the view of individuality. Members of Western cultures define their individuality in differences from others of the same group. Among Athabaskans, individuality is seen as autonomy, maintained through mutual respect. In such a system, the ideas of a speaker belong to that speaker only. Additional conflicts with school expectations are created by the emphasis on recording of data. Athabaskans have cultivated the ability to integrate information into one coherent system. In such a system, knowing how to use a dictionary becomes more valuable than knowing all the words in it. The data from northern Athabaskans suggest that Diné students come to the classroom from a rich oral tradition, which in its own way may be equally complex and rhetorically rich as those traditions represented in a typical classroom, but also possibly in conflict in terms of displaying knowledge and in the lack of contextualization.

Another study by Akinnaso (1982) supports this assumption through his findings that language use among the Yoruba was as complex, both rhetorically and grammatically, as literate uses of language. Earlier, Lord (1960), in his analysis of oral epic poetry composed in Yugoslavia, had argued basically the same: The structure of oral narration is as complex as literary narration but organized along different principles. In his analysis of Native American narratives, Hymes (1981) described their patterning as *a rhetoric of action*, or a schema of the

patterns of Native American life. In principle, these narratives serve much the same function as *The Odyssey* did for Ancient Greece: They embody the history and values of Native cultures. Hymes (1981) further suggested that this narrative patterning emerges in the English of Native Americans. Scollon and Scollon (1984), moreover, suggested that narrative structuring among Northen Athabaskans is audience specific. As evidence for this conclusion, they cited an example of the same story told to the same audience in two different languages. In the Chipewyan version, the audience did not know the language and could not, therefore, interact. In this version, the patterning was governed by the lack of interaction, and the story was told in units of three: The lack of interaction with the audience governed the structure of the story.

While researchers, Hymes (1981) and Scollon and Scollon (1984) have reported observed differences in the discourse patterns of Native students in school settings and subsequently speculated on their sources, little documentation for these observations exists. The lack of empirical studies creates a notable void in the scholarship regarding Native people. Moreover, most attempts serve to demand further inquiry. Lippit (1986) also found Athabaskan (Diné) students to be more than twice as likely as students from any other Native group at Santa Fe Indian School to exhibit "non-standard" coherence patterns in their writing. Hadley (1987), in analyzing a sample of essays produced by Diné students in the ESL Writing Program at the University of New Mexico, found a heavy use of repetition along with a reluctance to develop arguments linear essay fashion. While providing some documentation for assuming differences, none of the studies available represent quantifiable attempts to verify these assumptions.

Two studies, however, have attempted to attribute specific features to rhetorical uses: Bartelt (1980) dealing with narratives written in English and McCreedy (1983) dealing with narratives in Dinébizaad. In an attempt to analyze and interpret reported differences, Bartelt

(1980) analyzed 300 narratives written by Western Apachean speakers, some of who were Diné. He found repetition of key terms as one rhetorical device employed in narratives written in English by these speakers. He attributed this usage to traditional Western Apachean rhetorical devices. This patterning has been confirmed by rhetorical analysis of both ceremonial and traditional storytelling in Dinébizaad (McCreedy, 1983). This repetition is most marked in ceremonial uses, such as the recitation of stories associated with the origins of the Diné.

Further evidence that that Native people also use traditional narratives and narrative patterning in persuasive situations is suggested by analysis and testimony of Dene, a Northern Athabaskan group. In one study, Chambers (1989) concluded that Dene speakers use personal narratives to establish authority to speak and noted that the Athabaskan ideal of seeking consensus on action through discourse is not unlike Aristotle's notion of the purpose of deliberative oratory. Moreover, she found great emphasis on audience interaction, whereby there is more expectation that the audience is to make sense of what is being said. "For the Dene to speak artfully is to be indirect, to offer metaphors and personal experience as expressions of meaning" (Chambers, 1989, p. 115).

Dyc (1989) likewise observed that Lakota traditionalists used narratives, along with affirmations of tradition, to solicit conclusions in a non-coercive manner. She further concluded that in oral traditions, the *ethos* of the speaker determines the validity of the statement. The studies by Scollon and Scollon (1984), Chambers (1989), and Dyc (1989) illustrate the use of some of the same principles as outlined by Aristotle and appear to support his postulate of the universality of persuasion. As further illustration of this possibility, one purpose and use of Diné stories is to illustrate truth, a basic purpose of Aristotle's rhetoric.

The stories describe experience, and in that sense they create it; but the stories are also

contingent on experience. There is no faith here; if one listens to the stories, thinks about

them, and relates them to his own life, he will necessarily perceive that they are true

(Farella, 1980, p.29).

The oral traditions of Native people, including the Diné, offer a variety of rhetorical devices:

Authority to speak is established through the affirmation of tradition and personal narratives;

audience and audience interaction governs structure of presentation of evidence and storytelling.

Language attitudes of Diné students and the perceived purpose of discourse may also

affect linguistic/rhetorical choices in their compositions. An example of this from Diné culture

can be seen in the Diné creation story when both objects and words appeared at the same time:

One comes with the other. Additionally, " to say that one speaks Dinébizaad is to say that one

speaks the language of the Holy People" (Aronith, Jr., 1992). Contrast this idea with the widely

held Western belief, based upon the theory of evolution, that language came much later than the

formation of the physical objects on Earth. Moreover, symbols can be used to impose order and

form into the world, and, therefore, have ceremonial purposes. Because of the co-existence of

words and what they represent along with the power of words, the thinking and singing the world

into existence (Witherspoon, 1977, p. 17), Diné are encouraged to choose both their thoughts and

words carefully. Additionally, for Diné, language does not exist without the reality that it

represents (Kluckhorn & Leighton, 1966); that is, language cannot be decontextuatlized. As

noted before in the discussion of northern Athabaskan storytelling, the grammar of Dinébizaad

contains a great deal of ambiguity, and speakers rely heavily on context to clarify meaning

(Willie, personal communication, July 6-8, 1992). All of these traditions and beliefs seem to be

in conflict of the demands of academic discourse.

Most bilingual Diné fall into the category of basic writers, and basic writers as a group exhibit a wide range of rhetorical strategies, some of which may be more appropriate for oral language uses. Shaughnessy (1977), for instance, described composition of basic writers as those that bear traces of different codes, mixing both variant and standard forms. This is probably due to the fact that basic writers are usually first-generation college enrollees who generally come from minority backgrounds, and often speak other languages or dialects at home (Moore, 1982). Thus, basic writers bring a wide variety of oral and literate strategies with them to the classroom, many of which as noted by Heath (1982, 1983) may not meet classroom expectations. Diné basic writers fall into the same category and bring similar variation. Bartelt's description of tense-shifting in written narratives of Western Apachean speakers matches tense-shifting patterns of oral narratives among English speakers (Biber, 1988). With the exception of their specific language traditions, Diné basic writers appear to fit the general description of any basic writer.

Summary

The two linguistic/ethnic groups represented in this study are European American, dominant English speakers, referred to as Anglo, and Navajo-English bilinguals, referred to as Diné. No previous empirical studies of stylistic differences in exposition have been conducted between these two groups. This study begins with several assumptions:

1. that language use in English is genre specific,

2. that basic writers share certain characteristics,

3. that the two groups involved may bring different language strategies with them to the classroom,

4. that academic literacy represents more than one standard of language use and has become devoid of personal voice,

5. that the analysis of language as written vs. oral oversimplifies language use,

6. that principles of rhetoric are universal, and

7. that multi-variate statistical analysis allows verification of observations.

Chapter One

Review of Literature

The exploratory nature of this research requires a review of a wide variety of studies, including both discourse analysis and contrastive rhetoric studies along with descriptions of the characteristics of freshmen compositions. Since compositions by basic writers have been described as containing mixed codes, studies dealing with differences between speech and writing have been included. Underlying the understanding of differences in code, however, is built upon understanding the basic functions of specific linguistic items. Hence, these studies have been included as well.

Scholarly interest in differences in language use emerged at about the same time as scholarly uses of language itself. One of the first to notice changes wrought by this new technology, Plato (Havelock, 1963), in his famous polemic, refused to include poets in his perfect republic because he saw poetry as crippling the intellect of its listeners by not asking for a thorough analysis of the ideas presented. Plato's thesis assumed the presence of both an emerging literacy and an older oral tradition that he characterized as "rhythmic words organized cunningly in verbal and metrical patterns" (Havelock 1963, p. 42), a language use that he surmised had no place in the new, more analytical order. *The Illiad* and *The Odyssey* exemplified this older, oral use as well as one of the first uses of writing, to record. At the same time, however, Plato warned that dependence on written language would destroy memory, thereby also introducing an on-going and current debate about the appropriateness of older oral tradition in educational settings.

Differences between older oral/poetic traditions and newer language uses associated with written text prompted the writing of codes for the new uses. Aristotle, one of Plato's students, in his *Rhetoric* noted a growing divergence of language use in Ancient Greek culture when he

stated, "the language of prose is distinct from that of poetry" (1954, p.166). In further elaboration he commented that writers' choices of verbs and nouns for rhetorical purposes needed to be "common" and "ordinary," not "adorned" like poetry (167). That, along with judicious use of metaphor, produced "a style that is distinguished without being obtrusive, and is at the same time clear" (p.168). As a matter of fact, one of Aristotle's purposes in writing his *Rhetoric* was to help distinguish it as distinct from other existing forms of language use. In doing so, he established one of the oldest fields of study of language use.

Over the centuries, language use continued to expand to include a greater variety, including more printed texts, but it was the advent of electronic culture (Ong, 1967), the result of rapidly advancing technology and mass media, that created new constraints on literacy, constraints that have demanded new reading skills as well as literacy pedagogy. Whereas literacy was once the province of only an elite few, literacy is now demanded of all adults in technological cultures, including those adults who until recently may have belonged to primarily oral cultures.

Interest in language use has correspondingly mushroomed, particularly since the 1960's, resulting in a cornucopia of studies. There are, for instance, studies, springing from the notion of universal grammar that have identified the function of various linguistic particles. These studies, such as those on *article* usage or *verb* usage, describe the known constraints on the usage of a particular linguistic item among several languages, or sometimes within only one. Other studies, however, have focused on how different groups use language. These studies, often referred to as "ethnographies of communication," urge linguists to look beyond the structure of language to its more communicative function. Studies in this area may include the uses of language between home and school, such as Heath (1982, 1983) or differences between two socio-economic groups, such as Bernstein (1961). Related to these have been studies into differences between spoken and written English.

As the result of a more communicative focus in language studies, two new fields of study have emerged: *discourse analysis* and contrastive rhetoric. The field of discourse analysis primarily has reported differences between spoken and written language, described the grammatical characteristics of a particular genre, and investigated discourse function, distribution, and purpose of various grammatical units. Contrastive rhetoric, on the other hand, primarily has described differences in the structure of written expositions among various linguistic groups, or the rhetorical influences of a person's first language on the production of exposition in a second language. Such a comparison seems warranted for a number of reasons. One, Aristotle, himself, assumed the universality of the principles of rhetoric and, thus, laid the groundwork for such contrastive studies. Two, linguists such as Hymes (1981), Christensen (1965), and Winterowd (1981) have urged a shift in focus beyond grammar. Three, the practicalities of working with diverse linguistic populations in school settings has demanded a greater understanding of the rhetorical traditions of the student populations served.

Early discourse studies focused on differences between social groups (Bernstein 1961, 1972; Poole & Field, l976) or differences between oral and written discourse (Blankenship, 1972; DeVito, 1966; O'Donnell, 1974; Poole & Field, 1976; Chafe l985; Tannen, 1985; Chafe & Danielwicz, 1987). While interesting, these initial studies were narrowly focused, used mostly male subjects, or limited language samples. Additionally, findings of such qualitative studies often appeared to be contradictory: Some researchers claimed more elaboration for speech while others claimed the same for writing. However, despite their shortcomings, such studies have served as a basis for continuing research.

In order to clarify some of the contradictions produced by earlier studies, Tannen (1980) suggested that rather than an oral and literate dichotomy, language uses exist on a continuum

with writing as "focused" discourse and speech "unfocused." According to Tannen (1980), differences in focus result from the ability of the speaker/writer to directly interact with an audience. In exploring possible differences, Akinnaso (1985) noted that "written discourse is no more homogeneous than spoken discourse" (p. 324) and that such differences are generated by various communicative goals and functions. Moreover, he observed that the relationships among various uses of oral and literate schemas within any given culture are more complex than can be represented by a linear model. Hence, earlier conclusions of dichotomous differences may have been overly simplistic. Recently, the use of multi-variate statistics and computer corpora has shed new light on such relationships (Biber, 1988) and provided needed empirical verification for contrastive rhetoric studies.

Early contrastive rhetoric studies discussed and framed conclusions in terms of overall patterning of exposition. Kaplan (1966) first proposed the theory that cultural thought patterns manifested themselves in expository patterning. By way of example, he examined the structures of essays written in English by students who spoke Arabic and French. Later, Halliday and Hasan (1976) provided a system for analyzing such patterning or cohesion. They used the term texture to describe how a text functioned as a meaning unit "with respect to its environment" (p. 2). Cohesion is system of interdependent elements that creates meaning within text. The exploration of cohesion for them was an investigation of "the resources English has for creating texture" (p. 2).

Using the model provided by Halliday and Hasan (1976), Bartelt (1980) reported frequent repetition of key terms, used for rhetorical emphasis, in narratives written in English by Western Apache speakers. While this study and others like it have been provocative, little quantitative data about exactly what structures non-native speakers of English were using to

create a different effect has been collected or analyzed. Discourse analysis by using a multi-variate approach that allows sufficient flexibility to extract co-occurring relationships among known linguistic items has filled this void.

 Early Studies

Among the first linguists to quantify language differences, Bernstein (1961) was concerned with the relationship between language and culture in children's language acquisition and studied the language of two groups of boys: one middle-class and the other working-class. Based upon his findings, he claimed two distinct varieties of language use in British society: He called these *elaborated* code and *restricted* code. Elaborated code included these characteristics: complex sentences employing a range of devices for *conjunction* and *subordination*, extensive *prepositional* relationships of both a logical and temporal nature, frequent use of pronoun *I* and a wide range of *adjectives* and *adverbs*. Restricted code, on the other hand, was characterized by short, grammatically simple, and often unfinished *sentences* of poor syntactic form, using few *conjunctions*, little *subordination*, limited and rigidly used *adjectives* and *adverbs,* and few *personal pronouns*. He posited that these dimensions of language were governed by the interaction among content, context, and linguistic form with the elaborated code granting its users greater linguistic flexibility and causality (Bernstein, 1972, p. 475). These conclusions, while controversial, do provide evidence for the restrictiveness of current academic language use (Ong, 1967; Olson, 1977, 1980; Akinnaso, 1981).

At about the same time that Bernstein (1961) was trying to describe differences between language used by boys from distinct classes in Britain, Hunt (1965) attempted to describe differences in written text produced by three different grade levels. In this attempt to analyze his samples, he discovered that sentence length was inadequate for measuring syntactic maturity. He called this the problem of "too many and's and not enough periods" (p.15). He also found

clause length an inadequate measure because the length of certain kinds of clauses actually decreased with maturity. His final solution he called a *T-unit*: A T-unit consists of the "shortest segments which would be grammatically allowable to write with a capital letter at one end and a period or question mark at the other, leaving no fragment as a residue" (p. 27). The T-unit has since become a standard measure for linguistic studies.

In another early study, Blankenship (1962) attempted to quantify linguistic differences between speech and writing by analyzing four speeches and four essays written respectively by Allan Nevins, Margaret Mead, Frances Perkins, and Adlai E. Stevenson. She found little variation in *sentence length* between oral and written pieces. However, more *nominalization* and the use of *present tense* occurred in writing than in speech. Moreover, *passive* voice occurred 10.1% more in writing than in speech (pp. 421-22). As a result, she concluded that individual style, rather than simple differences between oral and written discourse, created the existing variations in her samples.

DeVito (1966), in a further attempt to discover linguistic variables between speech and writing, analyzed written samples published by ten male members of the Department of Speech and Theatre at the University of Illinois along with their recorded oral discussions of their respective works. His study found that the discussions contained more self-reference words, e.g. *I*, than their written discourse. While no statistical difference in the use of quantifying terms, such as precise numerical words, was found, oral discourse samples contained greater use of pseudo-quantifying terms such as *much*, *many*, and *a lot*. Furthermore, due to its planned nature, written discourse contained more qualification terms such as *if*, *however*, *but*, and *except*. These findings support the notion of greater elaboration in writing.

Later studies exploring differences between speech and writing followed along similar lines. O'Donnell (1974), using Hunt's (l965) T-units as a minimal syntactic unit, analyzed samples of spoken and written discourse produced by a single adult male, a college graduate who also was established as a published author and television host. In this study, T-units in written samples averaged longer than those in spoken discourse samples with a mean difference greater

than seven words. Furthermore, speech and writing differed in kinds of syntactic units used: Spoken samples contained a proportionately greater number of short syntactic units than writing while written samples contained a proportionately greater number of long units. Spoken discourse samples contained fewer *dependent clauses* as well as fewer *adjectival, adverbial,* and *interjected clauses* than did the written samples. These findings provide further support for Bernstein's claims for elaborated and restrictive codes.

Using Bernstein's concepts of language elaboration associated with class differences, Poole and Field (1976) attempted to verify Bernstein's findings. From 80 undergraduates selected randomly from the University of New England, two groups were formed: one working class with 16 females and 24 males, the other middle class with 20 females and 20 males. Both oral and written language samples were obtained: The oral samples consisted of interviews and the written samples consisted of one personal narrative per participant. Using such indices as *mean sentence length,* the ratio of *subordinate clauses* to *finite verbs,* and the ratio of *adjective clauses* to *finite verbs,* they found the written language samples to contain somewhat longer sentences, a greater ratio of *adjectives* to *finite verbs* but less subordination and less syntactic elaboration than the oral discourse samples (p. 308).

Contrary, therefore, to previous studies, this study suggested that oral language contains more syntactical complexity. Moreover, Poole and Field (1976) concluded that this seemingly contradictory finding reflected the temporal advantage provided by the greater opportunity to plan in writing, thereby resulting in increased sentence length but also more structural simplicity (p. 309). Additionally, they found no significant differences between working-class and middle-class participants. Such a contraction to Bernstein's findings, however, might be explained by differences in the age and overall educational level between the two study groups.

All of these early studies assume literate, schooled uses of language as a basis for comparison with more conversational uses of language. Indeed, Bernstein's (1961) study was motivated by a desire to understand how the spoken language of British school boys may differ from the code associated with education. His study likewise assumed that schooled, literate uses

of language were more elaborate and complex. In fact, further studies between speech and writing have for the most part assumed exposition, the language use most representative of school language uses, as being the most indicative of written, or elaborated, code and conversation as most indicative of oral or restricted code. This bias colored most of the early studies and, hence, oversimplified the results. What followed these early studies was a whole flood of research that attempted to document differences between speech and writing as exemplified by conversation at one end and exposition at the other.

Differences between Speech and Writing

To avoid the obvious dichotomy represented by earlier models, Ochs (1979) looked at a variety of discourse including informal conversations among both native and non-native English speakers and personal narratives written without preparation in a classroom situation and then written as an assignment. Consequently, he viewed differences between speech and writing as differences between discourse being *planned* and *unplanned*. Planned discourse is any discourse that has been thought out and designed prior to production, whereas unplanned discourse lacks forethought and organizational preparation (p. 55). Moreover, reliance on syntax to create meaning falls toward the planned pole, with conversations relying heavily on immediate contexts for complete meaning to occur (p. 62). As a result, planned narratives had almost three times as many *subordinate clauses* and seven times as much use of *passive*. Typically, *past tense* was used in narratives and more repetition of lexical items occurred in conversations.

Following the earlier models, Tannen (1980) used face-to-face conversation as typical of oral language and written exposition as typical of written language. To explain the why for the differences between the two, she described speech as being highly *contextualized;* that is, the meaning is bound up within the immediacy of the discourse event itself while writing was described as *decontextualized*, whereby meaning is conveyed through the language itself. How information was organized also differed. For example, cohesion in written discourse was

maintained through explicit statement of intent, careful choice of words and complex syntactic constructions with transitional phrases. One difference in strategies, therefore, between conversations and essays is dictated by the immediacy of the audience for the one discourse event and the lack, thereof, for the other. Ong (1967) called this lack of immediacy a fictionalized audience.

Additionally, Tannen (1980) found differences in conversational style among the participants. For instance, speakers who she characterized as having *involvement* focus told more stories in general as well as more personal stories. Moreover, the point of the story was more likely to concern feelings about those experiences. More importantly, the point of the story was dramatized, not told; in other words, the point of the story was not made explicit, a trait also ascribed to testimony of Athabaskan speakers (Chambers, 1989). Differences between conversation and written exposition were found to be created by the degree of "relative focus of interpersonal involvement" (p. 124). Tannen (1980) concluded by emphasizing that, while spoken and written discourse share similar strategies, the "involvement of focus" differs between the two (p. 124). Hence, among those Tannen (1980) studied, stories served the purpose of illustrating a point without the point having to be made explicit.

Building from previous studies and using Bernstein's (1961) labels of elaborative and restricted codes, Chafe (1985) attempted to further qualify differences between oral and written discourse, ascribing an *integrated* quality to writing and *fragmented* quality to speech. The integrated quality of written language is based upon the notions that writing is slow, deliberate, and editable; because it is done in isolation, the activity itself produces a kind of detachment. To reach these conclusions, Chafe (1985) used a wider discourse sampling, including dinner conversations, lectures, letters, and academic prose from twenty participants. Like some previous studies, Chafe found idea units of spoken language to be shorter, by four words, and more independent of each other than those of written language. Additionally, the written language samples used a number of devices to expand idea units: *nominalizations*, *attributive adjectives*, *present* and *past participles*, greater *prepositional phrases*, *conjoined constituents*, *complement*

and *restrictive relative clauses*, *adverbial phrases*, and indirect questions and quotations (pp. 109-10). Moreover, the sampled speech was deemed more grammatically innovative, using trailing *conjunctions*, indefinite *this*, clause final *preposition*, and *contractions* (p. 115). Whereas the speech samples contained more examples of involvement among speaker, listener, and topic, writing was deemed more detached.

There are two basic approaches to analyzing text: *macroscopic* and *microscopic*. Macroscopic analysis attempts to define dimensions of variation within a language whereas microscopic analysis describes the communicative functions of particular linguistic features such as *first person pronouns* being markers of involvement of addresser (Biber 1988). Most of the research done to date, and reviewed thus far, has been of a microscopic nature. While such studies are needed to lay the groundwork for understanding various uses of language, by pinpointing the exact communicative functions of specific linguistic features, macroscopic studies add needed understanding of the relationships of specific linguistic features both across language as well as within genres themselves.

Microscopic Studies

While 67 different linguistic features have been previously identified in literature as being relevant in defining form-function relationships of discourse (Biber, 1988), this study, however, only considers nineteen categories. As a consequence, only these nineteen are reviewed here. These linguistic features deemed to be the most definitive of compositions by basic writers include the following:

- *pronouns,* such as *first*, *second*, and *third*;
- *verb tense* and *aspect*;
- *negation* including both *analytic* and *synthetic*;
- elaboration created by *nominalization, prepositions*, *word* and *sentence length*;
- specialized *verbs*, including those reporting speech and those indicating opinion;

- *coordination* and *subordination*;

- reduced forms such as *contractions*; and

- finally words and phrases used as *hedges*, *amplifiers*, *discourse particles*, and *demonstratives*.

Pronouns

As noted previously (Ochs 1979; Tannen 1980; Chafe & Danielwicz 1985), the involvement and focus of face-to-face conversation produces characteristic linguistic constraints such as the more frequent use of self-reference words, e.g. I, and words that show interaction with an immediate audience, e.g. you. Laberfe and Sankoff (1979) in studying the use of tu and vous in French suggested that the use of you has drifted from the definite, i.e. reference to the person spoken to, to the indefinite, i.e. audience in writing. This finding suggests that the use of you may have more than one function, one for conversations that differs from its usage in writing. Hu (1984) interpreted the usage of you somewhat differently, however. He found the referent of you in conversations to be much more context bound than its usage in writing. In the immediacy of a conversation when there are more than two people present, the referent for respective uses of you can be indicated by such periphrastic gestures as eye movement, thereby eliminating the use of the actual word itself. Chafe (1985) from his discourse sampling concluded that the use of *second person pronoun* indicated a high degree of involvement with the addressee. While the research findings have not been completely contradictory, the understanding of the communicative function of you continues to evolve.

Numerous studies have used the use of I as an indicator of ego-involvement. For example, DeVito (1966) found a greater use of self-reference words, particularly I, in oral discourse. From her study, Blankenship (1974) concluded that the use of more self-reference words was the result of "stalling time, used in such phrases as I think or as I said before. *Third person personal pronouns, i*.e. he, she, and they, which mark inexact reference to someone not in

the immediate interaction, have been used as markers of differences in register (Poole and Field 1976; Hu 1984). It and *demonstrative pronouns*, i.e. that, this, these, those, have been found in greater frequency in spoken discourse and in this context can often be used to refer to entire discourse passages instead of a specific referent (Hu 1984; Chafe 1985; Chafe & Danielwicz 1986). *Demonstrative pronouns* occur in context-bound discourse, and their usage creates a sense of vagueness in less context-bound environments, such as exposition.

Tense and Aspect

Schiffrin (1981) examined tense variation in narratives, finding that the *historical present* (the use of *present tense* to relate history) alternates with the *past tense*. Narratives here are defined as "oral versions of experience in which events are relayed in the order in which they presumably occurred" (p. 47). Schiffrin (1981) found *past tense* used 80% of the time with *historical present* used primarily to represent a range of reference times including habitual occurrences, general truths, the time of speaking as well as complicating action clauses, i.e. the section that relays the experience (p. 51). Bartelt (1982) found similar tense-switching patterns in narratives written by Western Apachean speakers. Tense-shifting is associated generally with oral narratives while *past tense* is associated with literary narratives. Thus, tense-shifting is often a marker of oral story-telling traditions.

Earlier studies supply a confusing array of findings regarding the communicative functions of tense and aspect. Blankenship (1962), in her study of stylistic differences, found greater use of *past tense* in her oral discourse samples but a greater use of *present perfect* aspect in written discourse. Unlike Blankenship (1962), Golub (1969) found a slightly greater use of *present tense* in oral compositions. Ochs (1979), on the other hand, found increased use of *present tense* in all narrative samples, both planned and unplanned, even in relating past events. Finally, Chafe (1985) associated *past perfect* with written language (p. 116). *Past tense*, then, is

most closely associated with literary narratives, tense-shifting may indicate oral narrative traditions, and *perfect aspect* occurs more frequently in written texts.

Passives have been used as a comparison of register differences (Blankenship 1962; Poole and Field 1976; O'Donnell 1974; Ochs 1979; Chafe 1985; Chafe and Danielwicz 1987) with the greater use of *passives* generally associated with decontextualized discourse and greater abstraction of writing. For instance, Finegan (1982) found the language of wills to contain frequent use of *passives.* Redeker (1984) found somewhat greater frequency of *passive* usage in explanatory writing assignments than in narrative assignments. Generally, *passives* have been associated with written language uses.

While few studies have included stative forms, e.g. be and there + BE, these forms can be considered to represent static informational style. Janda (1985) found stative forms, albeit often deleted, used frequently in note-taking, an abbreviated form of language use. Additionally, be as a main verb has been used for register comparisons by Carroll (1960), who evaluated its usage with characterizing "entities"(p. 291). BE as a main verb, for instance, serves to modify a noun with a predictive expression, e.g. The dog is fuzzy, so that the information is not integrated into the noun phrase itself.

Negation

The primary purpose of *negation* is to deny contextually given propositions. While there are many inherently negative parts of speech, only two kinds of *negation* are considered here: *analytic*, i.e. not and n't, and *synthetic,* i.e. no. Tottie (1982) found twice the frequency of negative expressions in spoken texts as written ones. Gee (1985) further noted that *analytic negatives* were often used in oral situations when people were imposing themselves on others. While Golub (1969) found slightly greater use of *negation* in oral compositions, Chafe (1985) associated *synthetic negation,* i.e. no used as an adjective, with written language. In a study that focused exclusively on differences between *synthetic* and *analytic negation*, Tottie (1983, 1984)

concluded that sentences with *analytic negation* have greater vagueness than their counterparts with *synthetic negation*. Hence, *negation* in general is context-bound: however, *synthetic negation* appears more frequently in written expressions and is considered more explicit.

Subordination and Coordination

Until recently, subordination has been considered a marker of syntactic maturity (Hunt 1965); however, recent studies have challenged this assumption. For example, depending on the register/genre, specific *subordinators*, such as <u>because</u> or <u>if,</u> function differently (Thompson 1984). Beaman (1984) found that purpose dictated certain subordination choices. In her samples, there was a greater use of both *conditional* and *causal subordination* in spoken language to justify speaker's production of current utterance but more <u>as</u> and <u>since</u> in written language. In actuality, subordination occurs frequently in both speech and writing, but specific subordinators may occur more frequently in one environment over the other.

Most studies on subordination have not been this specific. For example, O'Donnell (1974,) found more *adverbial clauses* generally in written language. Altenberg (1984) found a great use of <u>because</u> in both spoken and written language along with overall greater occurrence of *subordination* in the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English). Chafe (1985) associated all *subordination* with written language, i.e. academic prose. Ford and Thompson (1986) concurred with Chafe's conclusions while also noting that the use of *conditional*, e.g. <u>if</u>, serves to indicate shared knowledge. *Subordination*, therefore, does not share a common communicative purpose.

Unlike subordination, the use of *coordination* is often found in children's writing, where children have strung large amounts of information together with <u>and's</u> (Hunt 1965). In looking at genre differences, Redeker (1984) found a greater frequency of <u>and</u> clauses in narrative writing assignments than in explanatory ones. In looking at conversations, Beaman (1984) commented that the use of <u>and</u> as a filler in speech contributes to its fragmented quality. Later researchers

(Chafe 1985; Chafe and Danielwicz 1987) have concluded that the two types of *coordination--phrasal* and *clausal*--have complimentary functions. For instance, <u>and</u> as a *clausal coordinator* has a fragmented function whereas <u>and</u> as a *phrasal coordinator* has an integrative function. Additionally, the frequency of the use of <u>and</u> has created a more generalized meaning, thereby contributing to lessened explicitness.

<div align="center">Elaboration</div>

Elaboration can be marked by a variety of linguistic units, such as *nominalization* and *prepositional phrases*. Greater *nominalization* has generally been associated with writing. However, research findings do not consistently support this conclusion. O'Donnell (1960, p. 217) noted that nominal style created impersonality so that it was more appropriate for exposition, e.g. "scientific writing, including philosophy, artistic, and literary writing." Blankenship (1974) found a greater use of *nouns* in essays than in formal speeches. Additionally, Redeker (1984) found greater use of *nominalization* in explanatory vs. narrative writing assignments. Chafe (1985) viewed *nominalizations* as devices for the expansion of an idea whereas Janda (1985) found *nominalizations* of *verb phrases* as a feature of note-taking, as a way of condensing ideas. What both uses have in common is the explicitness of an idea.

Nominalization has also been associated with longer sentences generally found in written discourse (Wells, 1960). In her study, however, Blankenship (1964) found little variation in *sentence length* between her spoken and written discourse. This may have been because there was little difference in the communication function of the discourse samples: essays vs. formal speeches. Additionally, the use of longer words has been generally associated with precise and exact presentation of information (Osgood, 1960; Drieman, 1962; Blankenship, 1974) whereas words become shorter as they are more frequently used and become more general in meaning (Zipf, 1949).

In addition to *nominalization*, *sentence* and *word length*, other linguistic devices are associated with the elaboration of writing. *Prepositions*, for example, also play an important role in the elaboration of *nominalization*. Chafe (1985) and Chafe and Danielwicz (1987) described *prepositional* usage as a device for integrating and expanding idea units. A*dverbs* represent (Drieman 1962; Poole & Field 1976; Blankenship 19?4; O'Donnell 1974; & Tottie 1986) different kinds of elaboration in different genres. Other kinds of elaboration associated with writing include *infinitives*, *participle clauses* (Beaman, 1984), *conjuncts*, e.g. <u>furthermore</u> and <u>moreover</u>, (Ochs, 1979; Altenberg, 1986; Tottie, 1986), and *downtoners*, e.g. <u>almost</u>, <u>barely</u> (Chafe & Danielwicz, 1986; Chafe, 1985).

<div align="center">Verbs with Specific Functions</div>

There are three categories of verbs considered in this study: *speech act verbs, private verbs,* and *cognitive verbs. Speech act verbs*, such as <u>say</u>, <u>state</u>, <u>report</u>, are generally used to report speech. Goosens (1987), using the theatre corpus of the section of applied linguistics of the Catholic University of Leuven, associated the usage of <u>say</u> with spoken rather than written language. According to Collins (1987), in Diné stories *speech act verbs* are often used to de-involve the speaker from the narrative. Another category of verbs, called *private verbs* in this study, has been included in a few studies. These verbs include such self-reflective words as <u>think</u>, <u>believe</u>, and <u>realize</u>. In his study of English prose style, Carroll (1960) used a category called *cognitive verbs*, e.g. <u>think</u>, that showed a positive correlation on a factor he named "Reliability." Additionally, Redeker (1984) found three times the frequency of these in written narrative assignments than in explanatory ones. According to Blankenship (1972), these words may co-occur with the self-reference of <u>I</u>.

<div align="center">Reduced Forms</div>

The category of reduced forms include *contractions, that-deletion*, *stranded prepositions*, and *split auxiliaries*. All of these forms are generally associated with informal spoken language uses: Chafe (1985), for instance, associated the use of *contractions* with spoken language and noted its usage was not acceptable in written language (pp. 114-15). Several studies have dealt with *that-deletion*: Stauble (1978) found that in both published writing and first draft writing of American graduate students, the deletion of the *relative pronoun* was more frequent when the head noun was nonhuman [unpublished paper quoted in Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983, *The Grammar Book*]. Beaman (1984) noted the more informal nature of the *zero that clause* (p. 62), e.g. He told her [that] he wanted to go home. Finnegan (1987) tallied differences in linguistic variables between two different groups: show hosts and studio guests as representative of Standard English speakers and callers as representative of speakers of less standard English. Callers, representing the non-standard English speakers, produced both of these forms more often than the talk show hosts. *That-deletion* and *stranded prepositions*, e.g. Where are you going *to*?, were two variables counted in this study.

Another feature of spoken language, e.g. conversation, is *hedges*, such as kind of and sort of. *Hedges* most frequently occur in the fragmentation of speech (Aijmer 1984; Schroup 1985; Chafe 1985; Chafe and Danielwicz 1986). Other features commonly found in spoken discourse include *amplifiers*, such as absolutely, used to signal solidarity with the listener (Holmes 1984); *emphatics*, such as a lot used to mark involvement with the topic (Chafe 1985; Aijmer 1985; Stenstrom 1986); *discourse particles* such as well and anyways used to maintain conversational coherence (Schiffrin 1985); and *demonstratives* used to mark referential cohesion in text (Halliday and Hasan 1978) and are preferred to *articles* in unplanned discourse (Ochs 1979).

Macroscopic Studies

In addition to those studies mentioned earlier in this chapter, macroscopic studies include the use of factor analysis to define underlying patterns or relationships among various features.

These studies complement microscopic studies because they focus on the interrelationships among linguistic features in genre. Both are needed, however, to completely understand how language is used. One of the first to use this approach was Carroll (1960). Using a sample of "150 passages from various sources and styles of English prose" (p. 285), two classes of measures were used: subjective and objective. Some objective measures used included *sentence length*, *cognitive verbs* such as think, *copulative verbs*, *infinitives, participles*, various categories of *nouns*, and various categories of *pronouns*. Using factor analysis, Marckworth and Baker (1974) discovered three dimensions of style in five genres of non-fiction, which they primarily attributed to the respective communicative purpose of each of the genres included in the study.

Poole (1983), using nineteen linguistic variables, described four common dimensions of restricted and elaborated code among freshmen at the University of England. He concluded that the use of personal pronouns imposed "simple structural patterns on sentence planning" (p. 99); hence, these did not usually co-occur with passive constructions. Moreover, the co-occurrence of syntactic structure elaboration, the proportion of coordination to subordination, subordinate clauses and mean sentence length accounted for most of the variation and was most characteristic of written samples. Socio-economic differences, however, did not prove significant. Finegan and Biber (1986) looked at linguistic complexities among sixteen types of text, using 22 linguistic variables. Their study identified two dimensions of language use, contrasting oral and written uses of language, and suggested a third, which the researchers were unable to characterize. They assume that linguistic choices are dictated by the communicative constraints of the various types of text selected. For example, academic prose, in contrast to face-to-face conversation, allows a more careful word choice because the planned nature of the task offers sufficient opportunity and "motivation for careful attention to form" (p. 15).

Macroscopic approaches have also been used to explore relationships between British and American written genres by Biber (1987), who demonstrated that systematic differences occur between British and American writing along two dimensions: (1) *Interactive vs. Edited* and (2) *Abstract vs. Situated Content*. Noting the contradictory findings in previous studies of

differences between speech and writing, Biber (1987) analyzed 41 lexical and syntactic features from 16 text types. Using factor analysis to group the linguistic features that co-occur with high frequency in texts, the study identified three separate distinct functions describing similarities and differences among spoken/written genres. Text samples came from two computerized corpora: Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British Written English drawn exclusively from printed sources published in 1971 and the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English, a collection of 87 spoken British English texts of about 5,000 words each. Represented text types included press reports of political, sports, society, spot news, financial, and cultural, e.g. popular lore; texts from popular magazines and books; official documents--governmental, foundation reports, industry reports, and sections from a university catalog; academic prose, including natural sciences, medicine, mathematics, social and behavioral sciences, humanities, and technology/engineering; fiction, general and romantic; professional letters; spontaneous speeches taken from unprepared public monologues; prepared speeches, i.e. rehearsed but without written texts; broadcasts of sports and commentary on non-sporting events; telephone and face-to-face conversations; interviews; hobbies; and belles-lettres.

In 1988, Biber expanded his study to include 67 linguistic features and the addition of a collection of professional and private letters. Seven dimensions of language use were identified. The mean scores for each text-type were then plotted for each dimension, giving a more complete picture of the interrelationship of particular linguistic items and the complexity of modern language use itself. The primary purpose of this study was to propose the underlying dimensions of English language use itself. As such, it represents the most extensive research of this type done to date.

Contrastive Rhetoric, Native Americans, and Composition Studies

Studies of essays written by Diné fall into the category of contrastive rhetoric. Contrastive rhetoric studies cultural thought patterns evidenced through rhetorical patterning

(Kaplan 1966, 1967). Contrastive rhetoric, thus, is primarily concerned with different rhetorical "conventions exhibited in the construction of complex texts in two different languages," focusing on the coherence and construction of text (Grabe & Kaplan 1988, p. 266). Using passages written by Arabic and French-speaking students, Kaplan (1966) demonstrated the evidence of rhetorical patterning from the student's native language: Using Biblical quotations as examples of Semitic parallelism, Kaplan showed how the paper written by an Arabic student followed the same basic form, using parallelism of structure for emphasis.

Bartelt (1980), who worked with writing samples by Western Apachean speakers, ascribed the repetition of key terms often found in writing by these speakers to rhetorical redundancy from native rhetorical patterns. He proposed three purposes for this redundancy: the emphasis of emotional concerns, clarification, and conventions of courtesy. Hadley (1987), in analyzing essays written by Diné for Freshman Composition classes at the University of New Mexico, found a reluctance to focus on a clear thesis in over half of the samples she looked at. She also found use of repeated key words or phrases in essays as well as a spiral or circular development of a topic. This repetition of key terms throughout an essay forms a kind of lexical cohesion (Halliday & Hassan 1976; McCreedy 1983).

In other essays, Hadley (1987) found students moving from editorial statements into personal narratives, and this insertion of personal narratives, as illustration, appears to be part of the writer/audience relationship in Athabaskan traditions (Toelkin, 1969; Scollon & Scollon, 1984). Chambers (1989) described the public testimony of Dene as focused on the Athabaskan ideal of seeking harmony and avoiding offense. In this rhetorical setting, a speaker uses personal narrative because authority lies within personal experiences and the story of their lives. Dyc (1989) also found that traditional Lakota speakers use personal narratives along with the call to tradition to persuade their audiences.

Only a few attempts to quantify linguistic variables in the compositions written by Native people have been undertaken. Kwachka and Basham (1990), in their analysis of essays written by Alaskan natives, found that the overriding characteristic of compositions by this population

was one of personal orientation. The second major characteristic was the lack of framing devices that provided rhetorical elaborations, e.g. introductions and definitions. The third characteristic was the persistent usage of *hedges*, e.g. usually, maybe, probably, about., all of which serve to downplay direct assertion. Gregory (1988), in looking at the mean factor scores for 100 essays written by Dine, found a tendency for these compositions to be *interactive*, have *situated content*, and *immediate styles* (c.f. Biber, 1986); that is generally speaking, there was a strong oral quality to their writing. Gilbert and Grabe (1991), in a study of the writing of children in Arizona, have found some marked differences among three groups included in the study: Hispanic, Anglo, and Diné. In this study, Diné children produced somewhat longer sentences than their Anglo counterparts.

Only a few studies of Diné discourse itself have been attempted. Toelkin (1983), for one, analyzed the storytelling of Yellowman, a Diné. Toelkin (1983) noted that a significant part of coyote stories lies in the texture of the Dinébizaad itself. For instance, Dinébizaad has no indirect discourse structure such as is found in this English sentence: He said that he would call; hence, such meanings occur as reported speech. Additionally, the Diné storytelling serves a greater rhetorical purpose than merely entertainment. "If my children hear the stories, they will grow up to be good people; if they don't hear them, they will turn out to be bad" (p. 221). This statement reinforces the importance of narrative for illustrating truth for Diné. Diné children are given the stories to analyze and interpret, i.e. discover the truth, for themselves.

In a study of Diné discourse in three genres of ritual chants, coyote tales, and personal narratives, McCreedy (1983) found that cohesion and discourse structure were found to interrelate among all three genres, with prayers representing the most planned discourse and personal stories the most unplanned. Additionally, discourse topic was mentioned initially and then referred to through the use of *pronoun* prefixes. Thereafter, cohesion and focus was maintained in all three genres through the use of parallel constructions of near-synonyms or repetition of key terms along with chains of *pronoun* prefixes. More evidence for how Dinébizaad and English differs in inherent language usage at the microscopic level is provided

by a study done by Midgette (1987), who attempted to describe the use of the Dinébizaad *progressive* in discourse. She discovered, for instance, that progressive in Dinébizaad often co-occurs with *adverbials of duration* and is rarely present in narration. However, *imperfectives* such as the *progressive* are used to provide elaboration. Rather than *subordinate*, Diné will move between different *verb modes* to show relationships.

Freshmen Composition and Basic Writers

While compositions by basic writers have been characterized by mixed codes (Shaughnessy, 1977), few studies exist documenting this mixture. In a study, however, of basic writers, grades 8-12, Collins and Williamson (1984) used three writing tasks: (1) description of a place for a peer audience, (2) a persuasive letter to parents, and (3) a persuasive letter to the editor of *TV Guide*. After analyzing 120 samples, these researchers concluded that weaker writers relied more on conversational usages of language than the stronger writers did. This was the only study of this kind of basic writers per se.

Studies of freshmen writers have generally focused on comparisons to professional or more proficient writers, such as graduate students. Generally speaking, freshmen do use language differently than their professional or post-graduate counterparts. For instance, in a study of 400 freshmen, Cooper, Cherry, Copley, Pollard, and Sartisky (1984) found a greater frequency of *coordinating conjunctions* and shorter *mean sentence length* among freshmen compositions than those written by professionals or Ph.D. candidates. In another study comparing similar groups, Sloan (1990) found that student writers used more *pronoun* reference, fewer words, and fewer *prepositional phrases* than their professional counterparts. Not too surprising, Grabe and Biber (1989) in a study of the texture of 40 freshmen compositions concluded that the texture of these compositions did not match the texture of any known genre, raising the question-- "who are we [freshmen] really writing for?"

Summary

Because of the nature of the study, a wide variety of studies needed to be reviewed, including microscopic studies on the function of specific linguistic forms; macroscopic studies that have looked at the interrelationships of linguistic forms; contrastive rhetoric studies, including those focusing on Native American vs. Anglo discourse; Dinébizaad discourse studies, and freshmen composition and basic writers studies. All these studies contribute to the understanding of the discourse style of basic writers, including those who are Diné. Early understandings of language use have been greatly expanded from such labels as elaborated vs. restricted and oral vs. literate. Microscopic studies of the nineteen variables used in this study contributed to the understanding of their basic functions while macroscopic studies were used to show how these variables may co-occur to create dimensions of language use. These studies have included a variety of approaches including defining genre, dimensions within a genre, and comparing differences in dialects within dimensions. The use of multi-variate statistics, therefore, allows for greater understanding of how language is used.

Moreover, the field of contrastive rhetoric allows studies to focus on differences within exposition, the genre most related to college-level writing. Contrastive rhetoric studies specific to Native Americans have been primarily impressionistic without much supporting evidence from discourse analysis of Native rhetorics or without the benefit of quantifying differences in the language samples analyzed. Additionally, studies of compositions written by basic writers have primarily focused on error patterns, not rhetorical patterns. Consequently, little is known about the underlying rhetorical structures present in compositions written by any group of basic writers. The current factor analysis opens the door to exploring the textual dimensions of compositions written by this group.

Chapter Two

Description of the Study

The purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to describe the texture of essays written by basic writers, using factor analysis, and (2) to see what quantifiable differences, if any, could be found between essays written by Anglos and Diné. While many research endeavors are to test a hypothesis, the purpose of the present study is strictly descriptive. An underlying premise to this study is the idea that texture of discourse can be defined by discovering the relationship of known linguistic items-- such as first and second person pronoun use, tense, and aspect--within it. This requires the use of multi-variate statistics, such as factor analysis. The purpose of using a factor analysis in this particular study is to group linguistics items that co-occur with high frequency within the essays of basic writers. Moreover, the use of factor analysis in an exploratory setting, such as this one, promotes the search for both qualitative and quantitative distinctions, which could then serve as a basis for further hypothesis and theory.

The decision to narrow the study to just basic writers, or those enrolled in so-called remedial-level composition classes was prompted by intuition: My experience led me to believe that the writing of proficient Diné writers, like their Anglo counterparts, would show less variation from genre expectations. This assumption was made in part because of stated observations of other teachers as well as the assumption that a pass from a freshman composition course represented some uniformity of rhetorical performance.

Mina Shaughnessy (1977) was one of the first to describe basic writers. Historically, these students first entered colleges and universities under the open-admission policies of the sixties and seventies. For the most part, students classified as basic writers are first generation college enrollees and are from minority groups (Moore, 1976). Moreover, many tend to be older (25+), working, parents, women, and have finished a GED program, and many speak other languages or dialects at home (Troyka, 1982). Compositions produced by basic writers are error-laden and bear the traces of different codes and confusions--"at times variant and standard forms mix" (Shaughnessy, 1977, p. 10). Finally, basic writers see academic writing as a trap, "not a way of saying something to someone" (Shaughnessy, 1977, p. 7). The basic writers who produced the samples in this study share these same characteristics.

Data Collection

This study began with collecting student essays: I already had a collection of several hundred student writings, dating from 1984. The Diné samples were selected primarily from this collection. Additionally, 55 essays were collected from students attending English 100 classes, remedial level, at Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute, better known as T-VI. Initial screening of papers began with eliminating essays from T-VI written by students with Spanish surnames. This was done because of the possible influence of Spanish on written English. One essay was eliminated because it had been written by an Iranian student. After further reading, one more was eliminated because it "read" like it had been written by a Diné student. Subsequently, papers written as first person narrative were also eliminated, thereby essentially eliminating one whole topic: "Have you ever been the victim of a crime?" This left 26 papers representing two topics: (1) "Describe the problems of attending school during the summer" and (2) "Describe the problems of the elderly.

Additional Anglo-English samples came from non-Indian students attending the University of New Mexico-Gallup and Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota. Three Anglo student samples from Oglala Lakota College were used, all on the topic: "Define a student." Two from the University of New Mexico-Gallup were used; both were self-selected topics: "Hunger in the United States" and "Child Abuse." Thus, 31 student samples written by Anglo students were chosen, representing three programs, three instructors, and five topics.

Selection of student essays written by Diné speakers was then made to match the Anglo samples. Many papers were eliminated because the topics given, such as "Today's the first day of the rest of my life" and "Above all else know yourself," elicited first person responses. Final selections were made from essays that were clearly expository and dealt with topics, which did not necessarily demand a first person response. Thus, forty essays written by Diné students were originally included in the study.

In order to obtain equivalent sets for comparison, 25 more essays written by students beyond the remedial level were added to those previously selected. These additional 25 essays were written by Anglo, Zuni, and EFL students. This total set of 96 essays, i.e. the 31 Anglo samples, the 40 Diné samples, and the 25 English 101 samples, was then holistically scored by a group of four readers, all of whom had taught Freshman Composition recently and had done holistic scoring before. Three of the readers had never read any essays written by Diné students previously. The scoring began with a norming session with a group of ten essays. A scale of 1, representing poorest, to 4, representing best, was used. Criteria for each level, i.e. what constituted a 1, a,2, and so forth., was then agreed upon and written down for future reference. Since this study focused on rhetoric, criteria dealt primarily on rhetorical issues such as

coherency, organization, communication, and expansion of content. Usage errors only mattered to the extent that they may have diminished the writer's overall meaning.

The purpose of this step was to ensure some equivalency in the sets of essays to be compared in this study. The next step was for each essay to be scored by two readers. If the scores were more than 1 point apart, a third reader also read and scored it. Upon completion of the scoring session, the additional 25, which were not to be part of the study, were eliminated. In order to have two matched sets of 31, nine additional essays written by Diné were eliminated because their scores fell outside the acceptable range or matching criteria. This left two sets of 31 papers for each group. The mean holistic score for the Anglo group was 2.5 whereas the mean for the Dine group was 2.3. The two sets of papers can, therefore, be considered roughly equivalent. Having a variety of topics is justified as genre, not topic, dictates texture, so the greater number of topics the more representative of exposition at this level.

Of the 31 Diné samples included in this study, the majority selected were from samples written by students at the University of New Mexico-Gallup: 22 essays representing eleven topics. (The asterisk indicates teacher assigned topics.)

Table 3.1 Topics from UNM-Gallup

Adoption VS. abortion	
Stress	
Life is like a play	

Seven essays, representing three topics, were written by Diné students from the Alamo community.

Table 3.2 Topics from the Alamo Community

Topic	Number
*Something that should be changed	5
*Define a "common" word	1
*How should students spend spring break	1

 Finally, two essays written by Diné students attending the University of New Mexico represented two topics: "Causes of high dropout rate among Native Americans" and "Defining a good breakfast."

All of the institutions represented in this study had made provisions for basic writers by providing remedial English. While placement devices, i.e. placement tests, varied among the five program, all the papers used in this study were written by basic writers enrolled in remedial-level Freshman composition classes at one of the following institutions: (1) the University of New Mexico on-campus at Albuquerque and on-site at Alamo, NM; (2) the University of New Mexico-Gallup; (3) Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute; and (4) Oglala Lakota College. Additionally, student samples were produced as the result of a variety of approaches. Student samples, therefore, represent a variety of programs, approaches, and geographical locations. Selection of essays was based upon the primary assumptions that text-type or genre dictates language use and that all the samples were written by basic writers.

Description of Writing Programs

Alamo Navajo

From February to May, 1984, I flew down once a week to the Alamo Navajo Reservation to teach English 100 for the University of New Mexico Educational Foundations Special Projects: The class met for 2.5 hours. The Alamo Navajo Reservation is located in Socorro County, New Mexico, about 70 miles southwest of Albuquerque. It is situated in an area that has one of the oldest recorded Athabaskan inhabitation, possibly as early as 1583 by Gila Apaches (Haskell, 1987). Indeed, current Alamo culture shows many Apache influences (Lujan, 1986). Moreover, according to Alamo tradition, the people have always occupied that area (Horr, 1974). This community is additionally located close to two Pueblos: Acoma and Laguna. In Socorro County 64% of those 25 or older have a high school education. Additionally, 30% have attended college. The mean family income is less than $13,000. The population by ethnicity is 47% Hispanic and 10% Native American. Due to the isolation of communities in this area from medical facilities, Socorro County has a high neonatal death rate (Williams, 1986).

Participants in this class were primarily teacher aids in a K-8 BIA contract community school, who needed to up-grade their academic credentials. Other students consisted of one Bilingual Head Start aid, one cafeteria cook, and two people not associated with the school but from the Alamo community. There were 24 students enrolled in the class. Due to attrition and absenteeism, class size averaged about 18 for most meetings. Members of the class represented a wide range of competencies in both oral and literate English. Placement was primarily voluntary: Some students had already attempted English 100 on the Albuquerque campus and failed; others had never had any college level classes. Additionally, this was the first college level composition class taught by this instructor.

Classroom instruction focused primarily on building experiences with composition, but some lessons were devoted entirely to mechanical concerns, such as subject-verb agreement and punctuation. Students were asked to do two compositions per week with one composition done in class: One composition assignment was based upon writing assignments from Moffett's *Active Voice* (1981), and the other was of a more school nature. Moffett's book works from the premise that all writing expresses ideas and that higher thinking processes derive from thinking processes formulated though personal narratives and the retelling of other first-hand experiences. The assignments in the book fall into three categories: (1) pre-composition writing such as note-taking of *inner speech* that can be developed into finished products, (2) dialogues to develop more than one point of view and sustained monologues on the same topic, and (3) narratives designed to increase the distance between author and subject, thereby leading to essays and arguments.

Table 3.3 Examples of Assignments used from Moffett

Stream of Consciousness

Composed Observation

Spontaneous Memory Monologue

Composed Memory

Duologue (invented or recorded conversation between two people)

Autobiography Incident

Directions

Table 3.4 Examples of School Writing Assignments

How to do something (process)

Butchering sheep

Caring for horses

Changing oil

Things that need to be changed at Alamo (argument)

School board

Telephone service

Be a good neighbor

Reduce gasoline prices

Programming at Alamo KABR

Make an argument for or against something

Foreign language instruction for children

Legalization of marijuana

Cut-back on coffee and sugar

In addition, verb and punctuation exercises from *Writing: A College Handbook* (Hefferman & Lincoln, 1986) were used.

ESL Writing Program

From Fall 1984 through Summer 1985, I taught with the ESL Writing Program at the University of New Mexico, located in Albuquerque, the largest metropolitan area in New Mexico. As in any metropolitan area, there are many health facilities available, opportunities for

employment, and the educational level is relatively high. Albuquerque is located in Bernalillo Country, where the mean family income is almost $20,000, one of the highest in the state, and 77% of those 25 and older have completed high school. The University of New Mexico is the largest four year institution in the state, offering a full range of programs and degrees, including Ph.D., M.D., and Law. The University of New Mexico has one of the largest enrollments of Native Americans in the United States: 3.6% of the total student population or about 900 students. Native American students attend classes with non-Indian students.

The ESL Writing Program is designed to deliver Freshman Composition from English 100 (remedial-level) to English 101 (first semester) for credit to foreign, immigrant, and indigenous ESL speakers, including Diné and Vietnamese. Students are placed into appropriate levels based upon a Composition Correctness Score, which is a measure of usage correctness within expository form (Brodkey & Young, 1981). The student is given a choice of topics and asked to write a 250-word essay in an hour. Only the first 250 words of the essay are scored. The essay is then read by a native speaker of English who underlined anything that interfered with the writer's meaning. The error is weighted according to the amount of confusion it causes the reader, with a 3 creating the greatest confusion and a 1 creating only minor annoyance. This impressionistic process is carried out entirely during the reader's first reading while s/he is reading the essay. There is no standardized weighting of errors inasmuch as the same type of error can create different amounts of confusion depending on its environment.

Table 3.5 Texts used for English 100

Understanding & Using English Grammar (Azar, 1981): an ESL grammar for Advanced ESL students.

Sentence Combining & Paragraph Building (Strong, 1981): a sentence-combining text for college level, native English speakers.

Writing: A College Handbook (Hefferman & Lincoln, 1986): designed for native English speakers, it served as a source for punctuation rules and research paper guidelines.

Telling Writing (Macrorie, 1980): a composition text designed to develop *voice* and awareness of a variety of audiences; like Moffett, Macrorie draws heavily on personal experience.

During these four years, I used a variety of texts, types of assignments, and combinations of approaches (ct. Table 3.5). Class schedules during the four years varied: M-F for 50 minutes each; two times a week for an hour and forty-five minutes; M-F for two hours for eight weeks (summer session). However, the primary focus in all classes was on writing itself, as opposed to teaching grammar. Toward this end, many combinations of approaches were employed (cf. Table 3.6). Students at this level were asked to write essays of at least 250-word length. Total number of compositions varied from fifteen to twelve with a short research paper. Class size was limited to a maximum of fifteen.

Table 3.6 Approaches for ESL Writing

(1) Writing process, journal writing, conferencing, and ESL grammar exercises;

(2) Writing process, journal writing, peer-editing groups, and ESL grammar exercises;

(3) Writing process, summaries of readings, conferencing, ESL grammar exercises, and sentence-combining;

(4) Rhetorical modes, peer-editing, sentence combining, summaries of readings; and

(5) Rhetorical modes with essays written from readings-sometimes with a research paper, peer-editing, and sentence-combining.

UNM-Gallup

Additional Diné samples for this study came from students attending classes in the College Learning Center at the University of New Mexico-Gallup during Fall 1989. The University of New Mexico-Gallup (1991) is a community college serving the Gallup area, including these reservation areas: Window Rock, AZ, Thoreau-Crownpoint, NM, and Zuni Pueblo, NM. Much of the land surrounding Gallup belongs either to the Navajo or the Zuni. Basically, the University of New Mexico-Gallup (1991) provides higher education for McKinley and part of Cibola Counties. In McKinley County, 50% of residents have a high school education. The mean family income for McKinley County is less than $13,000 with an annual unemployment rate of 32%. It has the highest post neonatal mortality in the state of New Mexico, this attributed to poor living conditions, such as lack of good water supply and adequate heating during the winter. The population of McKinley County is 66% Native American (Williams, 1986). Students at the branch are predominantly Diné (70%). Other ethnic groups represented are Anglo (16%), Hispanic (8%), Zuni (1 %), and other (5%).

The majority of students taking courses through the UNM-Gallup Learning Center were Diné. Students were placed into these classes based upon Reading and Language Arts scores from the TABE (Test of Adult Basic Education). Classes met twice a week for an hour and fifteen minutes. Class size ranged from twelve to twenty. I used a Participatory Approach along

with peer-editing groups, instruction in sentence-combining and mechanics, and conferencing. Emphasis was on getting meaning from readings and creating meaning in compositions. Students wrote eight essays and revised four. Most topics were student selected (Crowl & Gregory, 1990). In addition to the Diné samples from this program, two Anglo samples from this program were also chosen for this study.

<div align="center">Albuquerque T-VI</div>

The majority of the Anglo samples came from Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute. Albuquerque Technical Vocational Institute, located in Albuquerque, has recently initiated a community college program. With two campuses in the city, Albuquerque T-VI offers a wide-range of community college services, including adult basic education, developmental studies, certificate programs, associate degrees and college credits equivalent for freshman and sophomore transfer credits. Unlike the other three institutions, T-VI is on a trimester system: each semester being 15-16 weeks. Total enrollment exceeds 17,000 (T-VI, 1991), with 48% White, 32% Hispanic, 7% Native American, and 23% Black, Asian, and other (Kernberger-personal communication, November 22, 1991). Student samples were obtained from the second trimester of 1989. Papers were collected from students from two different instructors.

The basic English 100 program at TVI consisted of eight graded assignments, four of which might be paragraphs. Course content consisted of grammar, syntax, punctuation, and usage. Emphasis on specific areas naturally varied among instructors. In contrast to the ESL Writing program, length of essays was not specified. Placement of students was determined by a reading test and an English Placement Test. Texts used were *Steps in Composition*, 4th ed. (Troyka & Nudelman, 1986) and *Writing: A College Handbook* (Hefferman & Lincoln, 1986).

The Troyka and Nudelman text is eclectic, containing readings, writing assignments, and spelling, vocabulary, and grammar exercises in each chapter. The writing process was presented as moving from paragraph to completed essay by the end of the text. Middle chapters were devoted to editing guides for sentence structure, subject-verb agreement, and pronoun-reference agreement. The current English director characterized the programs as a "refresher course for students who have been out of college for a while (Randolph, personal communication, March 18, 1993).

Classroom instruction consisted of a combination of instruction in the writing process as well as grammar. In some respects this program is similar to that employed at Alamo. Actual writing was not begun until the fourth week. Students were assigned paragraphs until the ninth week when they began essay writing (Doviak, personal communication, October 17, 1991). As a consequence, students in this program may have done considerably less writing than those in the other four programs. Additionally, class sizes at T-VI tended to be somewhat larger than class sizes in the other programs, with the average about 25. Twenty-eight samples were used from this institution.

<div align="center">Oglala Lakota College</div>

Additional Anglo samples came from remedial level composition classes at Oglala Lakota College, located on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation, Shannon County, South Dakota. Ninety-four percent of the population of this county is Native American. The mean household income is less than $10,000: 45% of the population lives below the poverty level. Infant mortality rate is 2.3% (Bureau of the Census, 1988). Oglala Lakota College, founded in 1971 by the Oglala Lakota Nation, has an enrollment of 800 students, 95% of which are Lakota (The

College Board, 1992). While it offers associate and bachelor degrees, the majority graduate with associate degrees: it is, therefore, basically a community college.

While originally tribally chartered, enrollment is open to all South Dakota residents, and growing numbers of non-Lakota are now taking classes. Placement into composition classes was based upon a holistically scored essay. Length was not specified. Classes met once a week for three hours. Class size ranged from nine to sixteen. Students were assigned at least two writings a week. Instruction was based upon a process approach with additional exercises from *Sentence-Combining and Paragraph Building* (Strong, 1981). Students wrote one essay a week as well as doing several assignments from *Telling Writing* (Macrorie, 1980). I often wrote with students, and peer-editing was encouraged.

Samples included in this study represent a variety of topics within exposition, a variety of instructional approaches, and different geographical locations and campuses. The variety is considered a plus point for the study inasmuch as the greater the variety the more accurate the results. Sample papers were primarily based upon the criteria of being exposition that did not demand a first person response. Selection of Diné samples was based upon the criteria of self-identified bilingualism; Selection of Anglo samples was based upon criteria of mother tongue speakers of English. All selected samples came from students place in remedial-level freshmen composition and were classified as basic writers.

Table 3.7 Summary of Demographic Data

Pgm Location	% of HS Grads	Mean Income	Rural	% of Samples
Socorro Co.	64%	< $13,000	+	11%
Bernalillo Co.	77%	< $20,000		46%

| McKinley Co. | 50% | < $13,000 | + | 36% |
| Shannon Co. | no data | < $10,000 | + | 5% |

Research Methods

This study used a multi-variate approach: The primary method used was factor analysis. The use of factor analysis allows for the reduction of a larger number of variables to a smaller set of derived variables, or factors. The purpose of this reduction is to discover possible generalizations about discourse so that the focus is on major variations. In other words, a factor is basically an area represented by linguistic items that co-occur in high frequency. The size of the correlation between variables indicates to what degree the two linguistic items vary. For instance, if the linguistic features being analyzed were *third person pronouns*, *contractions*, *modals*, and *negation*, a possible correlation matrix might look like this (ct. Table 3.8). A high negative correlation indicates that these *covary* in a systematic but complimentary way, that is *third person pronouns* are not likely to be found in the same area as *negatives*. On the other hand, a high positive correlation, such as between *contractions* and *third person pronouns,* indicates that these two items tend to co-occur in the same environment. The numbers that represent the correlation are called *correlation coefficients*.

Table 3.8 Sample Correlation Matrix

	Third pers. pro.	Contractions	Modals	Negation
Third pers. pro.	1.00			

Contractions	.94	1.00		
Modals	-.03	.12	1.00	
Negation	-.32	.17	.76	1.00

R-Squared, the squaring of the correlation coefficient, measures the importance of the

correlation. For example, in the above hypothetical illustration, correlations occur for *third*

person pronouns and *contractions* and for *negation* and *modals.* All other correlations are low.

Therefore, two factors can be derived from this data.

Table 3.9 Sample Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor 1	Factor 2
third person pronouns	negation
contractions	modals

Additionally, the matrix indicates that these two factors are relatively independent since

linguistic items of Factor 1 show low correlation with linguistic items of Factor 2.

A factor analysis of the above correlation matrix might yield the following two factors.

Table 3.10 Sample Factors

Factor 1 = .89 (third person pronouns) + .89 (contractions) - .23 (negation) - .07
(modals).

Factor 2 = .63 (negation) + .63 (modals) + .17 (contractions) -. 08 (third person
pronouns).

The numbers in front of each linguistic item represent factor *loadings* or *weights*. While there is

no one-to-one correspondence between these loadings and correlation coefficients, they represent

the same pattern. The factor loading actually measures the degree of generalization found

between each variable, or linguistic item. Moreover, these represent quantitative differences.

Consequently, the farther the factor loading is from zero, the more of a generalization it represents. Therefore, in interpreting a factor the largest loadings are given priority. For example, in the above Factors, *third person pronouns* and *contractions* are the important loadings on **Factor 1** while *negation* and *modals* are important **Factor 2.**

This is, of course, a simplistic look at how factor analysis works. In actuality, factor analysis involves the use of matrix algebra and can be realistically only done with a computer. There are several computer packages available, including SAS and SPSS. The factor analysis used in this study was computed through the use of SAS. While factor analysis engages complex mathematical models, the logical processes utilized often have an intuitive basis.

Because the purpose of the present study is exploratory, a common factor analysis was used. This procedure distills the maximum shared variance that can be extracted by a given number of factors. In doing so, the first factor determines the maximum amount of shared variance, or grouping of co-occurences in the data. The second factor, therefore, determines shared variance among the data left after the first factor has been extracted. This process maximizes the amount of shared variance after the first factor had been removed. Any additional factors are determined in a like manner. Thus, each factor is determined so that it is uncorrelated with any other factor.

The current study is based upon the research of Biber (1988), who pioneered using factor analysis for quantifying the textual dimensions of speech and writing. After reviewing microscopic studies that had identified communicative functions of specific linguistic items, Biber (1988) identified 67 possible significant linguistic features.

Table 3.11 Linguistic Features (Biber. 1988. pp. 73-75)

1. past tense
2. perfect aspect
3. present tense
4. place adverbials
5. time adverbials
6. first person pronouns
7. second person pronouns
8. third person personal pronouns (excluding it)
9. pronoun it
10. demonstrative pronouns
11. indefinite pronouns (e.g. anvbody)
12. pro-verb do
13. direct Wh-questions
14. nominalizations (-tion, -me nt, -ness, .-ity
15. gerunds
16. total other nouns
17. agentless passives
18. by-passives
19. be as main verb
20. existential there
21. that verb complements (e.g. 1 think that you. are a fooL)
22. that adjective complements (e.g.I'm happy that you're happy.)
23. WH clauses (e.g.I think what I please.)
24. infinitives
25. present participial clauses (e.g. Filling the stockings with candv, Santa turned to go back.down the chimney.)
26. past participial clauses (e.g. Destroyed by the barbarian hoards Rome never regained its glory.)
27. past participial WHIZ deletion relatives (e.g. the house built ~ Jack)
28. present participial WHIZ deletion relatives (e.g. the chemical reaction causing acid rain)
29. that relative clauses on subject position (e g. the car that hit her)
30. that relative clauses on object position (e.g. the monster that he created)
31. WH relatives on subject position (e.g. President Kennedy. who was assassinated)
32. WH relatives on object position (e.g. the woman who is loved by millions)
33. pied-piping relative clauses (e.g.1.b.g manner in which they were trained)
34. sentence relatives (e.g. The infant mortality
35. causative adverbial subordinators (because)
36. concessive adverbial subordinators (although, though)
37. conditional adverbial subordinators (jf, unless)
38. other adverbial subordinators (e.g. since, while, whereas)
39. total prepositional phrases
40. attributive adjectives (e.g. the fussy baby)
41. predicative adjectives (e.g. the baby .is. fussv)
42. total adverbs

43. type/token ration
44. mean word length
45. conjuncts (e.g. consequently, furthermore)
46. downtoners (e.g. barely, nearlv, slightly)
47. hedges (e.g. at about, something like, almost)
48. amplifiers (e.g. absolutelv, extremely)
49. emphatics (e.g .a lot, for sure, reallv)
50. discourse particles (e.g. sentence initial well, now, anyway)
51. demonstratives
52. possibility modals (can, may, might, could)
53. necessity modals (could, should, must)
54. predicative modals (will, would, shall)
55. public verbs (e.g. assert, W, declare)
56. private verbs (e.g. assume, know, believe)
57. suasive verbs (e.g. command, insist, propose)
58. seem and appear
59. contractions
60. subordinator 1h.ill deletion (e.g. 1 believe [that] he does.)
61. stranded prepositions (e.g. the limb that he was hanging onto)
62. split infinitives
63. split auxiliaries
64. phrasal coordination (e.g. NOUN and NOUN, ADJ and ADJ)
65. independent clause coordination (clause initial and)
66. synthetic negation (e.g. no dress is to ugly for her to wear)
67. analytic negation (e.g. it is not my fault)

Additionally, Biber's (1988) study analyzed two computer corpora, consisting of 587 text samples and about one and a half million words and used a computer program for analyzing the entered text.

The present study is considerably smaller, consisting of 62 texts and about 16,000 words. Since the database for factor analysis should include five times the number of texts as factors analyzed, for purposes of this study the original 67 features listed needed to be reduced. In order to do this, however, some idea of factors present in the student samples needed to be determined. The first item to be eliminated was *type/token ratio* because in Biber's (1988) study this required text of a minimum of 400 words, and the majority of the students' samples failed to meet this

criterion. Each paper was then analyzed for the remaining 66 features. These items were hand-counted with each paper being analyzed at least twice on two separate occasions. If a discrepancy was found between the two counts, then a third analysis was initiated. Finally, certain specific items, such as *place and time adverbials*, *modals*, and *hedges,* were checked independently. Counting sentences also presented a particular problem since basic students tend to use non-conventional punctuation. Therefore, in this study, sentences are actually T-units. Finally, all counts were standardized to a text of 1000 words.

To meet the criteria imposed by using a factor analysis, the remaining list of 66 linguistic features still needed to be reduced to about 25. In order to do this some categories were combined. For example, features in the same category or which served the same communicative function were then combined. Some features were eliminated because of low occurrence: (12) *pro-verb do*, (13) *direct WH questions, subordination features* 21-23 (t*hat verb complements, that adjective complements*, and *WH clauses*), (33) *pied-piping relative clauses*, (34) *sentence relatives*, (36) *concessive adverbial subordinators*, (37) other *adverbial subordinators*, (57) *sausive verbs*, and (58) seem and appear. Additionally, the category of *words/sentence* was added (Grabe & Biber, 1987), leaving a total of 27 items to be considered.

Table 3.12 Linguistics Features Used

1. past tense/perfect aspect
2. present tense
3. first & second person pronouns
4. third person pronouns
5. 11, demonstrative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns
6. all nominalizations
7. all passives
8. statives
9. infinitives
10. all relatives-subject and object positions

11. participles
12. causative subordination
13. conditional subordination
14. prepositions
15. all adverbs
16. mean word length
17. conjuncts and downtoners
18. hedges, amplifiers, discourse particles, demonstratives
19. modals
20. public verbs
21. private verbs
22. contractions, that deletion
23. phrasal coordination
24. independent clause coordination
25. synthetic negation
26. analytic negation
27. words/sentence

As previously stated, a factor analysis using a SAS package was run. The scree plot of the initial factor analysis indicated a possible resolution of 3, 6, or 7 factors. The computer was then asked to provide these solutions. It was then decided to ask the program for only three factors with the elimination of eight more features because they had *std reg coefs* (R-squares) less than .33. Those features eliminated were *third person pronouns*, *infinitives*, *relatives*, *participles*, *adverbs*, *conjuncts* and *downtoners*, *phrasal coordination*, and *independent clause coordination*. This left 19 features in the final analysis. Finally, a two-way ANOV A was done to determine significance between the two language groups.

An additional study consisted of "testing" teacher identification of compositions written by Diné. To test teacher sense of texture, seven secondary and post-secondary teachers, familiar with compositions written by Diné, read and evaluated--from a set of 81 papers that included the 62 samples from this study--which essays appeared to have been written by Dine. The group of evaluators consisted of two college composition instructors who were also trained linguists, three Anglo high school instructors (two of whom were English teachers), and two Diné who worked

as aids in high school literacy programs for Diné. The set of papers included essays written by Anglos, Diné, Lakota, Zuni, and EFL students. Each paper had been typewritten with original student wording, spellings, and punctuation but with names deleted. While one topic was specific to Native Americans, i.e. "English is the greatest weapon the Whiteman had against the Indian," readers still had to distinguish among the various groups represented. Evaluators were asked to impressionistically read and mark those essays they thought had been written by Diné. They were specifically asked not to analyze any essay. Percentage of correctly identified papers was calculated for each reader.

Summary

A factor analysis of 62 student essays written by basic writers was undertaken to discover co-variance of linguistic features. Additionally, a comparison of two groups was done to see if significant difference existed in the texture of their compositions. From an original count of 66 linguistic features, 27 were chosen as to be the most representative of the samples chosen. The choice of linguistic items was impressionistic: that is, not the result of actual counts but rather the result of the reading, counting, re-reading, and re-counting process. After running an initial factor analysis, there were breaks after three factors, six factors, and seven factors. Solutions for each of these were run. Based upon the results of these runs, only nineteen items and three factors proved to be significant. Hence, in the final analysis, only 19 features carried loadings significant enough to be considered. These nineteen items were then considered for a three-factor

analysis. Additionally, seven teachers evaluated essays to determine of they could identify those written by Diné.

The samples chosen were representative of a variety of topics, programs, approaches, and geographical locations. Holistic scoring indicates that the two sets of papers, Anglo and Diné, are roughly equivalent in overall rhetorical development. Samples for Anglos represented five topics and three programs, including both rural and urban settings. Both rural settings, McKinley and Shannon Counties, represent comparable socio-economic conditions. Additionally, Diné samples were representative of possible linguistic/cultural variation among this population inasmuch as they were taken from a variety of communities and programs. Self-identified bilingualism further insured the representation of variation. Moreover, as genre is texture-specific, the variety of topics included in the entire study further assures the representation of basic writing.

Chapter Three

Results of Study

Since the purpose of this study is exploratory, the set of 62 papers was originally

analyzed for 66 linguistic items. With the exception of *mean word length*, all frequency counts

were standardized to a text of 1000 words. The category of *type/token ratio* was dropped

because most of the samples did not meet the minimum criteria of 400 words set by Biber in his

study. Moreover, it was apparent from doing the counting that some items occurred either not at

all or too infrequently to be included. Additionally, for such a small study some of the

differentiations made within each category, e.g. two kinds of *passives*, were deemed not

necessary. However, the final decision for categories was made impressionistically, based upon

numerous readings and many computations, rather than actual counts or comparison of counts.

Because ideally the database should include a ratio of five times the number of texts to

linguistic features being analyzed, the total number of linguistic features needed to be reduced

downwards toward this ratio. The original factor analysis was done on 27, a reduction by more

than half of the original 66. Categories with similar functions or that had been reported to

represent similar form-functions were combined. *Past tense* (#1) and *perfect aspect* (#2), for

instance, were combined because they both describe past events. *First* (# 6) and *second person*

pronouns (#7) were combined because they both show a high degree of interaction between

addresser and addressee. Additionally, all *adverbials* (# 4 and #5) and *adverbs* (#42) were

combined into one category as were all *relative clauses* (#29-#34) and all *participle clauses*

(#25-28). All *nominal* forms (# 14-#16) became one category; all *passives* (#17 and #18) were

combined into one as were all *stative* forms (#19-#20). *Conjuncts* (# 44) and *downtoners* (#45)
were combined into one category; *hedges* (#46), *amplifiers* (#47), *emphatics* (#48), *discourse*
particles (#49), and *demonstratives* (#50) formed another. Other combined categories included
modals (#52-#54), the pronoun it (#9) with *demonstrative* (#10) and *indefinite pronouns*(#11),
and *contractions* (# 59) with *that* -*deletion* (#60). Categories that were deleted include *pro-verb*
do (#12), *direct WH-questions* (#13), *that* verb and *adjective complements,* (#21 and 22), *WH*
clauses (#23), *concessive* and *other adverbial subordinators, adjectives* (#40 and #41), *suasive*
verbs (#56) and seem and appear (#57), *stranded prepositions* (#60) and *split auxiliaries* and
infinitives (#61 and #62). These categories were deleted either because there were too few
usages to retain or, particularly in the case of *adjectives*, because their retention would not
enhance the overall understanding of the texture (See Table 4.13).

Consequently, an iterated principal factor analysis, using a Promax rotation was run on
27 linguistic items. A Promax rotation allows for the maximum amount of co-variance among
linguistic features. The first iterated factor analysis grouped the data into 10 factors. While there
is no exact method for determining number of factors to be considered, one way is to examine a
scree plot of *eigenvalues*. Eigenvalues indicate the amount of shared variance accounted for by
each factor. A scree plot is a plot of these values, and it generally shows a break where
additional factors fail to contribute greatly to the analysis (See Table 4.14). A scree plot of
eigenvalues showed a break between Factor 3 and Factor 4, a break between Factor 6 and Factor
7, and a break between Factor 7 and Factor 8. (See Table 4. 14.) As the scree plot shows, the
largest break is between Factor 3 and Factor 4; this break indicates the most probable solution.
However, in order to determine the best possible solution, several combinations were attempted:

a three-factor solution; a six-factor solution; and a seven-factor solution. Additionally, for

purposes of this study, a loading of .35 or greater was considered salient.

Table 4.13 Scree Plot of Eigenvalues
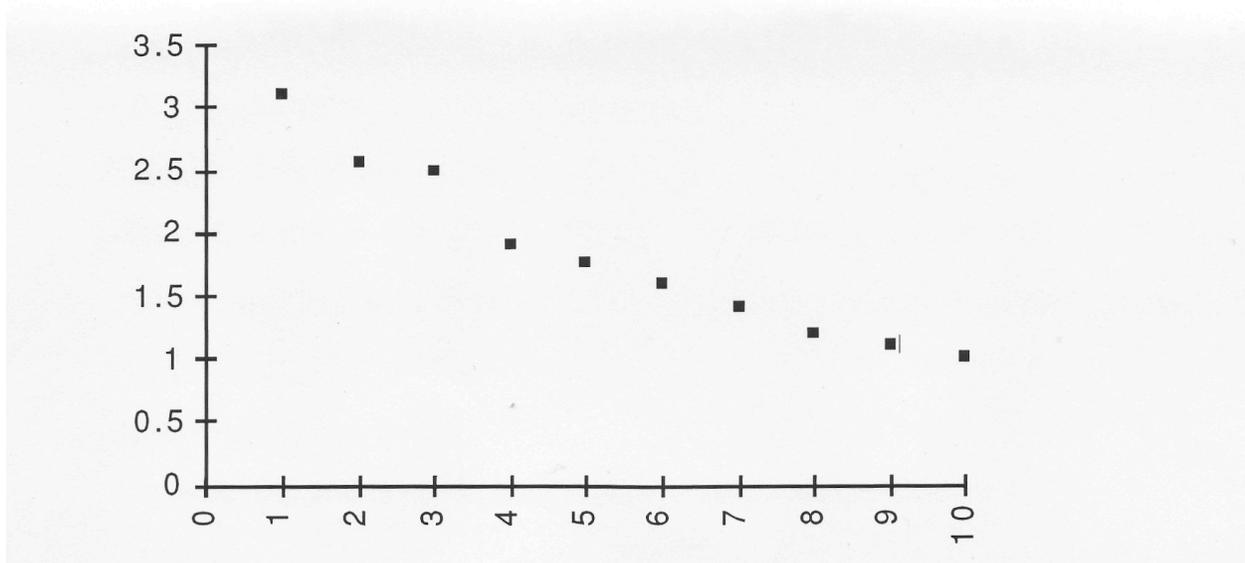
Table 4.14 Percentages of Features Present in Each Paper

Features	% used	Features	% used	Features	% used
1. past tense	40%	24. infinitives	94%	47. amplifiers	32%
2. perfect aspect	50%	25. pres part cl	10%	48. emphatics	60%
3. present tense	100%	26. past part cl	0%	49. disc part	16%
4. place adv	13%	27. pst prt WHIZ dl	23%	50. demonstrative	61%
5. time adv	53%	28. prs prt WHIZ dl	35%	51. possib modal	74%
6. 1st per pro	71%	29. THAT rel cl-s	48%	52. nec modals	40%
7. 2nd per pro	37%	30. THAT rel cl-o	23%	53. predic modals	76%
8. 3rd per pro	90%	31. Sbj WH rel	42%	54. pub verbs	37%
9. pro IT	82%	32. Obj WH rel	8%	55. priv verbs	79%
10. demon pro	63%	33. pied-pipe rel	0%	56. sausive vbs	3%
11. indef pro	53%	34. sent rel	3%	57. seem & appear	8%
12. pro-vb DO	16%	35. caus subjnt	45%	58. contractions	61%
13. dir WH-quest	10%	36. concess subjnt	3%	59. sub THAT del	53%
14. nominal	92%	37. condit subjnt	44%	60. stranded prep	19%
15. gerunds	87%	38. other subjnt	34%	61. split inf	3%
16. other nouns	100%	39. total prep	100%	62. split aux	34%
17. agentless pass	68%	40. attrib adj	97%	63. phr coord	100%
18. by-pass	23%	41. pred adj	89%	64. ind cl coord	44%
19. main vb BE	97%	42. total adv	100%	65. synthetic neg	16%
20. exist THERE	42%	43. mn wd length	100%	66. analytic neg	74%
21. THAT vb comp	29%	44. conjuncts	50%		
22. THAT adj comp	13%	45. downtoners	12%		
23. WH clause	23%	46. hedges	19%		

Table 4.15 Seven Factor Solution

Feature	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
past tnse	0.11609	*0.63499*	-0.17662	-0.00412	-0.14271	-0.11076	0.12233
pres tense	0.07156	*-0.67203*	-0.06818	0.05950	-0.04743	0.12056	0.03471
1st per pr	*0.57748*	0.04282	*0.34658*	0.06135	0.08566	-0.27865	-0.10945
3rd per pr	-0.03501	-0.05958	-0.01009	0.32127	0.06659	*0.75361*	0.02142
pro IT	0.14332	-0.23682	-0.17704	0.16009	0.18041	-0.08488	0.15985
nominal	*-0.41837*	-0.19547	-0.04576	-0.24149	-0.20688	0.00987	-0.11774
passive	0.02047	0.26401	-0.27150	-0.11905	0.03827	0.16044	*0.42227*
statives	-0.07261	-0.26208	-0.00293	0.13677	-0.33206	-0.23812	*0.46805*
infinitives	0.04856	0.08334	0.03824	0.10022	0.12241	-0.32386	0.02938
relatives	-0.02758	-0.06019	-0.11487	-0.10064	*0.51148*	-0.03084	0.11711
participle	0.30703	0.19773	-0.33960	-0.16354	-0.21968	-0.03556	-0.13753
cause sub	0.14957	0.04191	0.06434	0.59255	-0.02592	-0.01074	0.34016
cond sub	0.15317	0.06039	*0.75755*	0.02241	-0.03536	-0.00312	0.19770
prep	-0.31622	-0.14512	-0.21319	0.21580	-0.31294	-0.08632	-0.05021
adv	0.03412	-0.02160	0.07459	0.04208	*-0.42490*	0.10416	0.06333
wd length	*-0.49809*	-0.00557	-0.04804	-0.08935	0.07582	-0.19072	-0.21918
conjuncts	0.00485	-0.00458	-0.02307	-0.20544	0.05225	0.24101	-0.06115
hedges	0.02761	-0.12126	*0.61496*	0.07021	-0.18526	-0.07959	-0.12727
modals	-0.03550	-0.06955	*0.35342*	-0.11446	*0.50919*	0.15721	-0.01199
public vb	*0.40920*	0.19504	-0.11690	0.28996	-0.14794	-0.06703	-0.06373
private vb	*0.57946*	-0.20248	-0.07675	-0.00059	0.21585	-0.24431	0.09588
contract	*0.55480*	-0.14173	0.07873	-0.01493	-0.29668	0.21737	-0.15752
phr coord	-0.04877	-0.00628	-0.13251	-0.00987	-0.05885	0.04943	*-0.51501*
clse coord	0.20190	-0.36688	-0.28622	0.14557	0.30899	-0.02069	-0.20593
syn neg	0.02201	-0.01865	0.07742	*0.77321*	-0.19625	0.05657	-0.14480
anal neg	*0.53019*	-0.12266	-0.04862	-0.12738	-0.10041	*0.52582*	0.01413
wd/sent	-0.05138	*0.55964*	-0.11795	0.30882	0.205596	0.01736	-0.09126

A six factor solution yielded similar results with seven significant loadings on Factor 1; three on Factors 2, 3, 4, and 5; and two on Factor 6.

Table 4.16 Six Factor Solution

Features	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
past tense	0.12295	*0.67670*	-0.01291	-0.08864	-0.13749	-0.11241
pres tense	0.03501	*-0.60016*	0.18083	-0.10889	-0.06652	0.11758
1st/2nd pr	*0.61837*	-0.06681	0.01438	0.29446	0.09414	-0.26772
3rd pers	-0.02725	0.01906	0.18259	-0.01028	0.06788	*0.76741*
pro IT	0.12316	-0.13672	0.28550	-0.17687	0.16511	-0.07006
nominals	*-0.43600*	-0.23522	-0.25405	-0.06415	-0.20677	-0.01316
passives	-0.06518	*0.42238*	0.10576	-0.11459	0.01021	0.13706
statives	-0.13067	-0.14791	*0.47218*	0.04719	-0.34395	-0.21021
infinitives	0.06990	0.06339	0.14399	0.02812	0.12197	-0.31194
relatives	-0.06186	0.03842	-0.00716	-0.08690	*0.48772*	-0.02621
participles	0.31592	0.20041	-0.25744	-0.32945	-0.20366	-0.04933
cause sub	0.15980	0.13200	*0.76504*	0.10116	-0.04279	0.04027
cond sub	0.14142	-0.03655	0.12740	*0.78230*	-0.05542	-0.01020
prep	-0.28573	-0.14066	0.19212	-0.25870	-0.30189	-0.07034
adverbs	0.02490	-0.03834	0.07458	0.09177	*-0.43247*	0.10113
wd length	*-0.45597*	-0.08206	-0.18885	-0.09847	0.08696	-0.18664
conjuncts	-0.01927	0.00872	-0.25038	-0.00563	0.05098	0.22093
hedges	0.07279	-0.29492	-0.00178	*0.52395*	0.17171	-0.08194
modals	-0.04845	-0.09836	-0.13683	0.34393	*0.50870*	0.15499
public vbs	*0.45423*	0.18092	0.19637	-0.13217	-0.12728	-0.04292
private vb	*0.54683*	-0.14048	0.13348	-0.07734	0.19311	-0.22742
contraction	*0.57187*	-0.19023	-0.11535	0.04121	-0.29230	0.21296
phr coord	0.02657	-0.12541	-0.31893	-0.21369	-0.01476	0.04143
ind cl cord	0.23435	-0.33681	0.05855	-0.37326	0.32374	-0.00338
synth neg	0.13243	-0.08041	*0.48825*	-0.02703	-0.14115	0.08706
anal neg	*0.47278*	-0.05407	-0.14414	-0.01284	-0.10233	*0.48764*
wds/sent	0.02190	*0.51985*	0.10130	-0.10692	0.21983	0.04488

Again only factor one has enough salient loadings to be considered stable. A three-factor solution yielded results with nine salient loadings on Factor 1 and five salient loadings on both Factors 2 and 3.

Table 4.17 Three Factor Solution

Features	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
past tense	0.09605	0.08181	_0.58548_
present tense	0.01411	0.21958	_-0.54103_
1st/2nd pers pro	_0.59568_	0.14969	-0.08050
3rd pers pro	0.19309	0.02238	0.01321
pronoun IT	0.01675	0.33472	-0.00907
nominals	_-0.44366_	-0.30681	-0.29966
passives	-0.11737	0.06256	_0.42422_
statives	-0.32385	_0.42801_	-0.24349
infinitives	0.00183	0.13993	0.10684
relatives	0.07965	-0.09403	0.20041
participles	0.02586	0.07672	0.19430
cause sub	0.09290	_0.59548_	0.09925
cond sub	_0.48290_	-0.10731	-0.22162
prepositionals	_-0.56124_	0.24608	-0.17461
adverbs	-0.06900	0.11591	-0.19115
word length	_-0.43351_	-0.29115	-0.02969
conjunct/downtoner	0.10777	-0.26096	0.00950
hedges	0.20769	-0.11039	_-0.45110_
modals	_0.41782_	_-0.36372_	-0.02533
public verbs	0.18818	_0.41913_	0.18121
private verbs	_0.37859_	0.33425	-0.02106
contractions/del	_0.43885_	0.14320	-0.25883
phrasal coord	-0.05024	-0.16304	-0.06803
ind clause coord	0.10930	0.20870	-0.08643
synthetic neg	0.01644	_0.49677_	-0.10076
analytic neg	_0.47862_	0.02995	-0.08105
words/sentence	0.00224	0.06078	_0.60234_

.

While these factors are now stable, there is the additional problem of too many features. With 62 samples and 27 linguistic features the ratio between items and samples is about 2 to 1. The ideal is 5 to 1; hence, some features were dropped from the study to enhance the ratio and thereby improve reliability. Additionally, it appeared from the various possibilities that a three-factor solution offered the greatest potential for describing the texture of these compositions.

For the final analysis, eight items without salient loadings on any of the three factors were dropped. These included *third person pronoun*, *infinitives, relative clauses*, *participles*, *adverbs*, *conjuncts*, and *coordination*-both *phrasal* and *clausal*. This left nineteen linguistic features for the final analysis, or a ratio of 3.2 to 1. While this is still less than ideal, it does offer a better ratio. In order to maximize the co-occurrences, these nineteen features were then used for a three-factor solution. The final factor solution yielded eight salient loadings on **Factor 1**, four salient loadings on **Factor 2**, and three salient loadings on **Factor 3** (See Table 4.18). While as a rule of thumb five salient loadings are indicated for stability, the current sample size prohibited this. However, in the final analysis these three factors accounted for all of the variance of the linguistic features included in the analysis: **Factor 1** = 49.80%; **Factor 2** = 34.96%; and **Factor 3** = 15.27%. Hence, for this particular sample, these factors can be considered meaningful. (See Table 4. 18.) **Factor 1** is clearly the dominating feature of the writing samples involved in this study as it accounts for almost half of the variance (49.80%). **Factor 2** accounts for a large percentage of the variance as well (34.96%) and, therefore, can also be considered a significant feature. **Factor 3**, then, remains a somewhat minor feature accounting for only 15.27% of the variance. Additionally, a factor-by-factor correlation indicated a small negative correlation between Factor 1 and Factor 3. However, there is no reason to assume that language factors as underlying texture do not have some correlation.

Table 4.18 Final Factor Solution with Reduced Features

Features	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
past tense	0.06574	0.06186	-0.25229
present tense	*-0.42582*	-0.26014	0.25821
1st person pro	0.15157	-0.03656	*0.58444*
pronoun IT	-0.12421	0.04300	0.07019
nominalizations	*-0.48384*	-0.30382	0.18422
passives	*0.41698*	0.07202	0.32138
statives	-0.25637	-0.23835	-0.12815
causative sub	0.07480	*0.68775*	-0.00266
conditional sub	*0.94949*	-0.00240	0.00365
prepositions	*-0.38804*	-0.29314	0.21222
word length	*0.99840*	-0.04892	-0.21537
hedges	*0.91032*	-0.13779	0.01331
modals	-0.07413	-0.09064	0.19200
public verbs	-0.00499	*0.94788*	0.04112
private verbs	*0.53202*	-0.08300	*0.35509*
contractions	-0.20849	0.04973	*0.63465*
synthetic neg	0.07642	*0.90117*	-0.04121
analytic neg	0.14111	0.07618	*0.44876*
words/sentence	-0.25248	*0.64734*	-0.16206

In order to do an ANOVA (Analysis of Variance), all the factor scores for salient features were standardized. Without this standardization, there is no way to do a comparison.   Factor scores for each paper were computed and then standardized. Consequently, the mean score for each factor became 0.

Table 4.19   Final Three Factor Solution

Factor 1		**Factor 2**		**Factor 3**	
Diné topic-centered discourse vs. English text-type discourse		**Establishment of pedagogical authority through presentation of evidence**		**Establishment of personal authority**	
word length	1.00	public verbs	.95	contractions	.63
conditional sub	.95	synthetic neg	.90	1st per pro	.58
hedges	.91	causative sub	.69	analytic neg	.45
private verbs	.53	words/sentence	.65		
passives	.42				
nominal	-.48				
present tense	-.43				
preposition	-.39				

and the standard deviation became 1.0. Standardized factor scores for each paper were computed with a mean and standard deviation for each factor. A two-way ANOVA was computed to see if differences between the groups account for a significant proportion of the observed variability among the factor scores.

Table 4.20 Analysis of Variance

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	
factors	2	0.78	0.39	**F**= 9.07
groups	1	61.20	61.20	t = 3.01
ERROR	182	1229.09	6.75	
TOTAL	185	1291.06		

The ratios $\underline{\textbf{MS factors}} = .058$ and $\underline{\textbf{MS groups}} = 9.067$ are referenced
$\hspace{3.2cm}$ **MS error** $\hspace{3.4cm}$ **MS error**

against an $\underline{\textbf{F}}$ distribution with degrees of freedom corresponding to the numerator and denominator of the above ratio. For the problem at hand, the ratio 9.067 is compared against an $\underline{\textbf{F}}$ (1, 182) distribution to see if differences between the groups are statistically significant.

$\hspace{1cm}$ Statistically, an $\underline{\textbf{F}}$(1,K) distribution equals the square of a T(k) distribution. For computational accuracy, it is better to compare the square root of 9.067, or 3.01 against a t(182) distribution. Since the 99% critical value for t(182) dist^n of 2.347 is less than 3.01, the differences between the groups are statistically significant at the .01 level, i.e. there is less than a 1% chance that the observed differences in factor scores between the groups would randomly occur without any real difference existing. Hence, the ANOVA indicates that there was significant difference between the two groups at a 99% level of confidentiality.

Table 4.21 Comparisons of Means

Groups	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Diné	0.41	0.91	0.38
Anglo	-0.82	-0.53	-0.47

(See Appendix A for factor scores for individual papers)

Interpretation of Factors

$\hspace{1cm}$ Diné basic writers and Anglo basic writers in this study are clearly doing something differently. Basically, the positive loadings on this factor represent the textuality of essays written by Diné basic writers while the negative loadings represent the textuality of those written

by Anglo basic writers. Moreover, **Factor 1: Diné topic-centered discourse vs. English text-typed discourse** (See Table 4.19) accounts for almost half the variability represented by the linguistic features considered in this study and, hence, dominates the textuality of the papers in this study. (See Appendix B for sample papers representative of this factor.) At first glance, the combination of positive loadings seems incongruent with previous conclusions drawn regarding form-function relationships for these linguistic features. For instance, the categories of *hedges* and *private verbs*, generally associated with oral discourse, seem at odds with *word length* and *passive*, associated with planned, or written discourse.

However, these combinations make more sense if viewed from the perspective of a speaker of Dinébizaad. While research on current English language uses indicates that linguistic choices are genre specific as opposed to topic specific, no such definitive research exists for Dinébizaad. The only source of understanding is from the Diné themselves. Willie, a Diné and a linguist, (personal communication, July 2, 1992) shared that, for her, *passive*, *private verbs*, and *conditional subordination* all relate to the humanness of the topic. This observation appears consistent with the choices of topics of the essays written by Diné included in this study.

Example A:

All other unverifiable absence limit should be minimized from school year to school year....If a student has a reason for staying at home the parent should notify the bus driver....

Example B:

I think that what was listed as offensive behavior is true.... I feel that it should not be done....if any person tried to burn the flag....

Example C:

Have you ever seen a movie that made you feel sad....I think we can never....People will continue feel....

These samples show several things, one being the co-occurrence of these items. The use of *private verbs*, such as think and feel, serves the communicative function of overtly expressing

private attitudes, thoughts, and emotions. While most English speakers associate such usage with the intimacy of conversations, Diné and other Native people seem to use these expressions in public forums (Scollon & Scollon, 1981, 1984; Chambers, 1989; Dyc, 1989). I suspect that like the conversational usage it is an attempt to make connections with the intended audience (Scollon & Scollon, 1981, 1984; Chambers, 1989). This usage may also be the result of the writer having a specific audience in mind as is more apparent in later samples. Thus, part of what prompts linguistic choices for Diné is the inability or unwillingness to fictionalize an audience (Ong, 1977).

As Willie (personal communication, July 2, 1992) stated, the humanness of the topic appears to dominate the texture of these essays. Further evidence to support the notion that in Dinébizaad topic dictates language choice comes from the testimony of other speakers and two studies. Midgette (1987) indicates that topic dictates *verb tense* choices in Dinébizaad while McCreedy (1983) indicates that Diné discourse itself is initially topic oriented. Additionally, Kinsell (personal communication, July 24, 1992) acknowledged that topic, along with situation, dictated his language choices when speaking Dinébizaad. Moreover, for Diné topic is imminently grounded in situation and the two cannot be separated, i.e. there is no comparable decontextualization as noted for written English exposition. Tsosie (personal communication, July 28, 1992), recent law graduate of the University of New Mexico and newly elected state senator for District 2 in New Mexico, interpreted language choice in public speaking situations before Diné as being the result of interaction of topic and audience. He noted, however, that the topic, which is initially announced, more heavily dictates further language choices.

Interestingly, the use of *passives* in this context is somewhat consistent with the usage of passives in English, "where the same agent is presupposed across several clauses and the specific agent of the clause is not important to the discourse purpose" (Biber, 1988, p. 112). In the samples presented here, the co-occurrence of the usage of *passives* and *conditional subordination*, if, serves two purposes: first to separate the speaker from the information presented and then to allow the speaker to respond personally to it. A similar movement

between the speaker and the information presented can be seen in Diné stories. The storyteller takes great pains to mark the existence of the story itself from his/her interpretation of it (McCreedy, 1983). In essence, the writer or storyteller takes no credit for the validity of the story or information itself, assuming that the truth of it will be discerned by the audience or listener (Farella, 1980).

Also, descriptions by Kluckhorn and Leighton (1974) and Witherspoon (1977) refer to lack of decontextualization in Dinébizaad. Moreover, *word length*, indicating the use of precise language, may follow the Diné admonition of choosing one's words carefully. *Conditional subordination*, according to Ford and Thompson (1986), indicates shared knowledge. This choice seems consistent with observations made by Scollon and Scollon (1984) of Athabaskan storytelling events, in which Athabaskan storytellers rely heavily on audience knowledge to the degree that they are reluctant to tell stories to someone who does not already know them. The use of *hedges*, according to Kwachka and Basham (1990), by Alaskan Natives indicates detachment from the topic. If this is the case for speakers of Dinébizaad, then the presence of such usages may represent an attempt to *de*-contextualize the writing and *de*-involve the writer. This choice, for a Diné, would be consistent with the demands of the genre and would appropriately be in connection with *passives* and *conditional subordination*, which seem to do the same thing.

For purposes of this study, however, the categories of *hedges*, *amplifiers*, *discourse particles* and *demonstratives* were combined because they serve a similar communicative function. Biber (1986), for example, found *hedges* co-occurring with interactive features, and *amplifiers* and *discourse particles* are often found in conversations. Ochs (1979) found a greater preference for *demonstratives* in unplanned discourse.

Example D:

(hedges)   (1) ....<u>something like</u> this....   (2) ...the first fully developed system of writing appeared <u>only about</u> 5,500 years ago.

Example E:

(amplifiers)   (1) I <u>strongly</u> agree....(2) so the kids are <u>more</u> aware....

Example F:

(discourse particles)   (1) <u>now</u> I'm having problems....(2) <u>Now</u> think about it.

Example G:

(demonstratives)   (1)...and we all know <u>that</u> [everything takes practice] as a fact.   (2)

<u>This</u> [golf] is a small white ball....

In actuality this category, at least in numbers, is dominated by *demonstratives*. This use of *demonstratives* is generally associated with context-bound language uses such as conversations. The insertion of *demonstratives* can also create a sense of vagueness. In the first sample in Example G, for instance, the usage of <u>that,</u> which refers to an entire sentence, clearly relates to more conversational, context-bound language use than the second sample, using <u>this</u>. Moreover, a sense of vagueness is increased by defining <u>this</u> [golf] as a <u>ball</u>. This usage is consistent with McCreedy's (1983) analysis of Dinébizaad discourse: Once the topic is presented, the speaker refers back to it through the use of pronouns. Its co-occurrence, however, with both *passives* and *word length* may speak also to the developmental nature of compositions produced by this group of basic writers.

The use of the *discourse particle* <u>now</u> in sample 2, Example F, is interesting because it seems to serve the function of emphasizing the point the writer is trying to make. However, the use of <u>now</u> illustrated in sample (1) seems to be consistent with conversational uses by other English speakers. The use of *amplifiers* and *hedges* also appears to be consistent with those of English speakers. If the texture of **Factor 1** represented the product of Anglo/English speakers, then it could be interpreted simply as representing the mixture of codes so often attributed to basic writers. Given, however, that the basic writers who produced these essays have inherited codes from two systems, i.e. Dinébizaad and English, then the texture appears to be the result of the intersection of the two separate systems.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Anglo basic writers show elements of general written elaboration, such as *nominalization* and *prepositions*. These choices are consistent with

expectations for written tasks in general. The use of *present tense*, additionally, is associated with planned discourse and is used to express generalities, both functions consistent with expectations of any written language use, whether it be fiction or exposition.

Example H:

(Definition) Student <u>is</u> one who attends a school....I <u>am</u> a student attending college....

Example I:

Child abuse in america <u>is</u> a very sad problem....Many studies show that social isolation <u>of parents of abused children,</u> tend to be a main factor....

Example J:

The <u>millions</u> of <u>Americans</u> trapped in a self-perpetuating <u>state </u>of <u>poverty</u> and <u>malnutrition </u>whose only <u>hope</u> for the <u>future </u>has become tangled in political <u>red tape.</u>

The texture of essays by this group seems to lie flat, particularly in comparison to that of Diné basic writers. The texture seems to level everything. As one Native person put it, it lies "dead" on the page (Connelly, personal communication, February 6, 1993). Moreover, one might observe that the choices represented by *word length* and *passive*, used by Diné, are more consistent with the expectations of the genre commonly called exposition than those produced by their Anglo counterparts. In fact, the code-mixing attributed to basic writers did not dominate the textuality of the essays produced by the Anglo group. According to Troyka (1982) many basic writers speak other languages or dialects at home, so the results of this study raise a question as to possible origins of the code-mixing.

The remaining two factors represent a split between two systems of establishing authority. In one system, represented by the imposition of school structure and that particular kind of language use, authority to speak, or to state one's opinion, is generally established by *what* one knows, that is through the presentation of data or evidence. I call this *pedagogical* because for most Diné this system only occurs within a school setting (Scollon & Scollon, 1984). In the other system, represented by traditional language uses among Native American communities, authority to speak lies within the person him/herself so that *who* out-weighs what

(Chambers, 1989; Dyc, 1989). The Diné writers included in this study attempt to incorporate the two systems within their essays (See Appendices for examples of entire essays).

Factor 2: Establishment of pedagogical authority through presentation of evidence accounts for 35% of the variance. (See Appendix C for sample papers representative of this factor.) **Factor 2**, like **Factor 1**, seems to represent a mixture of forms: *Public verbs* and *causative subordination* appear to belong to one category while *synthetic negation* and *sentence length* belong to another. In English, Goosens (1987) associated *public verbs* with spoken language uses, generally perceived as evidence of high involvement. However, Collins (1987) interpreted this category as a way for Dinébizaad speakers to de-involve themselves from the narrative. According to Toelkin (1983) this is the only device Dinébizaad contains for reporting speech and is, therefore, a common element of Diné narratives. Thus, storytellers detach themselves somewhat from the story they are telling by *reporting* what others say. In the following examples the presence of *public verbs* appears to set the stage for the student's own ideas and opinions.

Example K:

Some people may <u>say </u>that the mother has the right....This may seem like an easy solution....(an argument against abortion)

Example L:

When it came time for morning recess I didn't feel hungry or tired where some other children would <u>say.</u>...(an argument for eating a "nutritious" breakfast)

Example M:

It [<u>Macbeth</u>] <u>states </u>that tomorrow comes fast....I strongly agree....

More often than not, the reported speech of others served to frame the student's own argument: In these examples the student uses the information of others to reinforce the student's own ideas, either through illustration or through contrast. While such usage appears to be appropriate for the expectations of school writing, this co-occurrence of *public verbs* and *synthetic negation*, found on Dimension 2 of Biber's study (1988), was more indicative of press reporting than it was

of academic prose. Newspaper, then, might possibly be a model for Diné basic writers in creating academic prose.

The use of *causal subordination* presents another kind of paradox. Beaman (1984), for example, found a greater use of <u>because</u> occurring within spoken language samples. However, Diné students, according to Willie (personal communication, June 29, 1992), use more *causative* constructions in their written Dinébizaad, when asked to describe a picture, than their Anglo counterparts. Willie (personal communication, June 29, 1992) speculated that Diné students want to explain why something has occurred rather than just report what they see. Other studies on *causal subordination* have generally associated its usage with written language so that the usage of *causal subordination* appears to be appropriate for both systems of language use.

Example N:

English is the greatest weapon the white man has against the Indians, <u>because</u> the english language is of selected vocabulary with no ways of asking for directions, <u>because</u> the white man might not know how to understand navajo.

Example O:

Education is important <u>because</u> it helps people get more out of life....

In these examples, the data in the <u>because</u> clause supports the claim made in the main clause and strengthens the student's argument and, hence, lends authority to it.

The *longer sentences* found in Factor 2 can be interpreted as a kind of elaboration generally associated with written discourse. Moreover, these findings appear consistent with the findings of Gilbert and Grabe (1991): Diné children wrote longer sentences than their Anglo counterparts. The use of synthetic *negation,* usually associated with literary narration*,* appears consistent with the presence of *longer sentences* and the demands of a school-oriented writing task.

Example P:

We have to learn it or we will get lost with <u>no</u> ways of asking for directions....

Example Q:

...because they had <u>no</u> systems of writing and <u>no</u> school.

In comparison, these features are not representative of the texture of compositions written by Anglos in this study. As there are no significant negative features, little can be said regarding this factor for that group. However, *synthetic negation* does represent a kind of written elaboration that is not a significant feature of the texture of compositions written by the Anglo basic writers.

Factor 3: Establishment of authority accounts for 15% of the variance and contains the most oral or conversational elements. (See Appendix D for samples representative of this factor.) All three of these features are associated with face-to face conversations. In some ways, this factor appears somewhat incongruent with the other two, in which there are attempts by both groups at some level to produce the expectations of the genre. In general, it seems that Diné students want to maintain interaction with their audience to a greater degree than their Anglo counterparts. This is consistent with observations made by Scollon and Scollon (1984) regarding Athabaskan storytelling as well as Tsosie's (personal communication, July 28, 1992) observation of the impact of audience on language choice. According to Willie (personal communication, July 2-4, 1992), Diné rely heavily on interaction with others to maintain clarity in communication.

Example R:

Education is more important than ever before. <u>I</u> guess that's why <u>we</u> have schools. School is a place where <u>we</u> learn to read and write and to learn the skills that <u>we</u> need to get educated.

In the above example, the writer gently invites the reader to join him/her in his opinion.

Example S:

<u>We</u> must learn English so that <u>we</u> could read and hopeful write well....

Example S appears to be a direct admonition to the assumed audience, other Diné.

Example T:

In addition customs of certain ethnic groups also offend society. For instance, <u>I</u> read an article a few months ago about some Cambodian refugees eating cats and dogs in

California....<u>I</u> find it offensive when <u>I</u> hear and see news on television about black people being discriminated and murdered....

In this case, the writer speaks for herself, thereby lending her own authority to the argument. Directly addressing the audience occurred infrequently but usually served the function of expressing a generality.

Example U:

It hard to travel if <u>you</u> don't have any money.

Example V:

The Navajo's believe that if <u>you</u> have a home <u>you</u> learn to love it....

In one instance, however, the writer directly admonishes to reader to change his/her behavior, the result of having a very specific audience in mind.

Example W:

When <u>you</u> see a person mistreating an animal...tell that person to quite it or set the animal free.

Since it appears that in some instances, the use of *first* and *second person pronouns* does represent a desire to directly address the reader, these usages raise the question of audience sense among Diné writers. It also appears that in many instances, the writer has a specific audience in mind when using these pronouns. Finally, in other instances, the *second person pronoun* has been used the express a commonly held belief.

 Both Dyc (1989) and Chambers (1989) have noted that authority for Native people lies within the ethos of the speaker him/herself. Additionally, Diné may find it difficult to separate themselves from the topic at several different levels. One is the humanness of the topic itself, which may dictate their human presence. Because Diné philosophy dictates an interrelationship among all things, including the speaker/writer, he presence of the author in these samples may indicate how important and, thereby, valuable the topic is to him/herself. Nevertheless, for an English speaker, no doubt, this factor has a strong, conversational tone. Certainly the presence

of *contractions* adds a conversational flavor. The other category combined with contractions was <u>that</u>-deletion.

Example X:

I think [that] it would be better if we reelect another president

Example Y:

Everyday, people get offended from the things [that] they hear and see and read from newspapers and televisions.

Additionally, the use of *analytic negation* in this factor gives it a quality of vagueness (Tottie, 1983, 1984).

Example Z:

Christians do<u>n't</u> like people to [take] the Lord's name in vain....There are certain people who are offend to certain ideas and other are <u>not</u>.

Example a:

A black man from South Africa wanted the blacks the right to vote but the whites di<u>dn't</u> want them to vote....

In two of the above examples, the second idea negates the original statement, leaving the reader uncertain to the writer's stance on the topic. Kwachka and Basham (1991) also report a similar quality of vagueness in essays written by Alaskan Natives.

In as much as these three factors describe the textuality of compositions by basic writers considered in this study, the three factors together do indicate, as described by Shaughnessy (1977) and others, a mixture of oral and literate strategies. The only indication of mixture of codes, however, for Anglo students come from the presence of *present tense* (-.25) and *past tense* (-.25) in Factor 3. Since these have loadings less than .35, they were not considered in this study. Additionally, *present tense* has a more salient loading on Factor 1. For the most part, then, the results of this study have focused primarily on the textuality of compositions by Diné.

Diné students, like their Anglo counterparts, have chosen, from their respective competencies, their strategies based upon their understanding of the expectations of the writing

task. Some of these strategies match expectations for expository prose while others do not. For instance, the use of *passive,* precise language, represented by *word length*, and *longer sentences* are all consistent with expectations of exposition. Indeed, many aspects of the textuality of compositions written by Diné students lends an air of sophistication and eloquence missing from those written by Anglo basic writers. The greater use of *negation* among Diné writers may simply indicate greater disagreement with statements made by others, but one Diné (Shaw, personal communication, July 28, 1992) has suggested that he presents negative aspects of an argument first to balance the positive ones.

The interrelatedness of ideas, representative of Diné philosophy, seems to prevail in linguistic choices by Diné wrtires. The fact that Diné basic writers place themselves in the center of their arguments follows the admonishment of many composition teachers (Murray, 1968 ; Macrorie, 1980) for students to invest themselves in their writings. This admonition is present in Aristotle's description of classical argument and also present in some academic prose as indicated by Bazerman's research (1981). In contrast, textuality for Anglo basic writers appears to be dominated by the usage of three features: *nominalizations*, *present tense,* and *prepositions*. While all three indicate some relationship to written elaboration, they are not necessarily essay specific. This finding tends to agree with Grabe and Biber (1989) and denotes the generality of focus in Freshmen Composition programs. The lack of uniqueness of the textuality of papers written by Anglo basic writers raises questions regarding the overall expectations and products of basic writing programs.

Teacher Observations

In a separate part of this study, seven teachers and teacher aids read a group of essays and made judgments regarding which ones were written by Diné writers. This group of readers consisted of two college-level composition instructors who have done discourse analysis of essays written by Native people, are linguists, and have worked with Diné as well as other Native

groups; three high school teachers currently working with Diné; and two Diné secondary teacher aids, who were described as having a high level of English literacy. The group of essays contained those included in this study as well as some written by EFL, Lakota, and Zuni speakers. Those instructors with the most training, i.e. the linguists, had the greatest success in correctly identifying those written by Diné. However, all observers had a greater than random success in identifying essays written by Diné.

Table 4.22 Teacher Observations

Observer	% Correct	Avg by Gp
Linguist #1	95%	
Linguist # 2	69%	82%
HS Teacher #1	75%	
HS Teacher #2	68%	
HS Teacher #3	65%	69%
Diné #1	85%	
Diné #2	64%	75%
Average	**74%**	

The judgment of HS teachers, i.e. their lower performance with being able to judged correctly those written by Diné, is consistent with the findings of Lippitt (1986), who found high school teachers to be a poor judge of the quality of writing by Indian students. However, this survey confirms that those familiar with compositions written by Diné do find elements distinct to this group. The fact that Anglo writers also produce similar elements again points to an overlap of two systems. The results of both studies, however, indicate that Diné basic writers are more likely to produce a distinctive textuality than Anglo writers are.

Summary

      An iterated principal factor analysis was run on 27 linguistic categories that had

previously been identified has being definitive of form-function relationships. After several trial

runs, a three-factor solution was decided upon. Consequently, eight linguistic categories were

eliminated because they lacked salient loadings on a three-factor solution. This left nineteen

linguistic categories to be considered in the final analysis. The final three factor solution

accounted for 100% of the variance with eight salient loadings on Factor 1, four salient loadings

on Factor 2, and three salient loadings on Factor 3. A two-way ANOVA showed a significant

difference between the two groups at a 99% confidentiality level.

      Interpretation of the factors was complicated by the possible sources for choices,

particularly among Dinébizaad speakers. However, to an English speaker well-versed in the

genre of exposition, choices made by Diné students might appear to represent a mixture of oral

and literate strategies. Factor 3, while only accounting for 15% of the variance, gives these

compositions a disconcerting conversational tone. Overall, the textuality of compositions written

by Diné seems to represent the intersection of two rhetorics whereas the textuality of

compositions written by Anglo basic writers is primarily dominated by elements of written

elaboration, such as *nominalization* and *prepositions*. In a separate part of the study, teacher

observations appear to confirm the uniqueness of the texture of compositions written by Diné.

Conclusions

There are several problems inherent in drawing conclusions from this study. There is always an inherent danger in generalizing whenever a sample does not include a full spectrum of possibilities; in this case, the study only considered freshmen compositions written by basic writers. Due to the small sample, the results must remain study specific. Despite this fact, the findings appear to be consistent with observations made by previous researchers, such as Hymes (1981), Scollon and Scollon (1984), Chambers (1989), Dye (1989), Kwachka and Basham (1990). Hence, this study provides empirical evidence for previous intuitive observations, and the results remain tantalizing and warrant further discussion as well as exploration.

Another kind of problem lies within the thrust, force, and expectations of freshmen composition programs, and its recent off-spring--basic or remedial writing programs. It seems that despite the input of composition specialists (Macrorie, 1980; Murphy, 1982; Tate, 1987) and rhetoric revivalists (Kinneavy, 1971, 1981; Corbett, 1965) the prevailing teaching approach remains current-traditional with its heavy emphasis on correctness of grammar and mechanics, appeal to reason and not emotion, and focus on general written elaboration. The one-size-fits-all attitude of current composition programs stands at direct odds with the evidence of the diversity of academic discourse and the university populations and harkens back to an era during which colleges and universities could boast of a homogeneous population, i.e. pre-Civil War (Berlin, 1984, 1987; Russell, 1991) This is, of course, no longer the case for two reasons: the first being the increased specialized uses of language and the second being the increasing numbers of students from culturally and socio-economically diverse backgrounds. Not only have electronic media and new technologies help create new curricular departments of study but they have also made the achievement of literacy crucial to economic survival (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981). The second movement that has occurred to change college and university populations has been the increased number of first-generation college and university enrollees. Today a college population may consist of people from working-class backgrounds, older people, and people

from different ethnic/linguistic groups within the United States as well as from foreign countries.

Another problematic area lies within the genre known as academic prose. Russell (1991), for one, contends that academic writing has become discipline specific enough so that the term literacy is actually a misnomer and that *literacies* would be more accurate. Biber (1988) validated this conclusion when he found that the mean scores for various kinds of academic prose differed along each language dimension, usually with the greatest disparity between humanities and technological/engineering academic prose. For example, natural science academic prose has a greater informational focus than humanities academic prose or mathematics academic prose, which has less than humanities. Technological/engineering academic prose has less narrative attributes than humanities whereas both humanities and technological/engineering academic prose have almost equivalent explicitness (Biber, 1988, pp. 185-187).

Grabe and Biber (1987) in their examination of 40 freshmen essays along with a computer corpus of current language use concluded that essays produced by freshmen did not match any known genre and asked this question: "Who are we really writing for?" In their study, the mean scores for the student essays for Dimension 1: Involved vs. Informational Production was about zero, or about the same for general fiction. This essentially means that there was a mixture of both oral and written strategies in their essays (p. 13). Moreover, general fiction might be considered representative of general written elaboration. Previous research that compared freshmen compositions to the writing of those of graduate students or professional writers implied such a difference.

Another avenue for explaining differences between basic writers and other writers has been the exploration of cognitive differences: Some researchers have tried to suggest that basic writers as a group are cognitively less developed than other college students (Luria, 1976; Lunsford, 1981; Lunsford & Sullivan, 1990). However, there is no real evidence to support this premise. On the contrary, the evidence from studies done by Vygotsky (1962), Heath (1982a, 1982b, 1983), and Scribner and Cole (1981) have indicated that it is the specialized uses of

language associated with school that brings about the cognitive development observed by Luria (1976) and others. In fact, the research done by Scribner and Cole (1981) among the Vai suggests that any kind of writing brings about cognitive development although the language of some written tasks remains more like conversations than they do those of school exposition. Consequently, the notion of lack of cognitive ability to account for any differences can be dismissed.

Another factor to take into consideration is the lack of homogeneity among the population itself. While sharing certain common characteristics, by definition basic writers come from a variety of backgrounds: socio-political, or⁻ "first generation college enrollees, ... from minority groups, ... working, ... finished a GED program" (Moore, 1976; Troyka, 1982). Additionally, many come from communities that use language for communicative purposes almost at odds with school uses (Bernstein, 1961; Hymes, 1981; Heath, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1984), or "speak other languages or dialects at home" (Troyka, 1982). Ironically, membership into this particular set presupposes previous exclusion from its parent set, academic prose. In actuality, basic writers are applying for a membership. Moreover, basic writers can be assumed to come from parent communities that have no "expert members" (Swales, 1990) in the communicative event called exposition.

Since great care was made to select non-introspective topics or assignments that allowed for some objectivity in exposition, there can be little doubt that the student writers were attempting to produce exposition. It might be argued that approaches might have influenced the product. However, all the approaches represented in this study were essentially eclectic, and there is little to indicate that any of the instructors tutored students to make these specific linguistic choices. Whatever, the specific instructions, the samples indicate that students interpreted the task individually (see Appendix for samples). Moreover, the samples included for both groups represented the same range of writing abilities (see Appendix A for Holistically Scored Samples).

The one possible area where Diné basic writers might be said to differ from their Anglo

counterparts may be in not having any expert members from their parent discourse communities. This assumes, of course, that all monolingual, Anglo students come from the same discourse community. At least, theoretically, they might be assumed to have access to the full range of rhetorical strategies. However, the sample by Diné writers were chosen because these writers spoke two languages. If Dinébizaad is assumed as their parent discourse community, then there exists no possibility of expert members. Even if English is assumed, there are no published Diné essayists. Literacy as a communicative event is too new for Diné to have produced these (Spolsky, Engelbrich, & Ortiz, 1981).

Diné students who speak two languages have more choices: They can follow their own Diné traditions or they can follow the traditions of a system imposed upon them by an outside culture. In the ways of the Diné, they are admonished to choose their words carefully (Witherspoon, 1977), to illustrate the truth (Farella, 1980), and to keep the universe and the language that represents it whole (Kluckhorn & Leighton, 1966). The definition of genre proposed by Swales (1990) assumed shared competencies, and, hence, shared rhetorical strategies. However, participants in this study come from separate parent discourse communities. As a result, differences in strategies might be expected. One primary difference in strategy between these two groups of essays exists in the cohesion patterns: The writing done by Anglo students glides flat across the page whereas Diné writing attempts to connect and weave everything together. Thus, essays by Diné reflect the wholeness of the universe, or the way Diné students understand the rhetorical demands of essays.

Additionally, as linguistic choices in English appear to be governed by genre (Grabe, 1987; Reid, 1990), then monolingual English speakers could be expected to produce genre specific exposition. They, in fact, did not. In contrast to the expectations of genre dictating

linguistics choices, some evidence exists to support the notion that linguistic choices in Diné

discourse may be governed by topic selection. What governs Diné choices in writing essays,

given the number of choices that appear to be correct for both Dinébizaad and English, may be

the universality of persuasion and rhetoric being an inherent property of language itself; Aristotle

and D'Angelo (1975) believed the universality of rhetoric to be true. Biber's (1988) research

attempted to document dimensions of language use for English, but there is no reason to believe

that these dimensions might not be universal as well. Also, the results of this study further

validate the appropriateness of using a multi-variate approach to discourse analysis for revealing

different aspects of rhetoric.

Figure 5.1 Overlapping Strategies

Conjunction of
two rhetorics
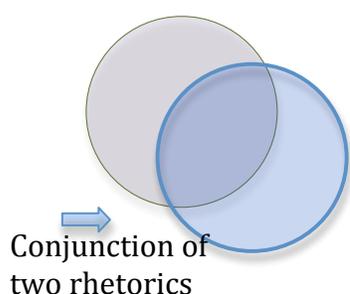
While rhetoric may be universal, the combination of linguistic items used to express the

rhetoric appears to vary among languages and cultures. Figure 5.1 illustrates one possible

explanation for what governs Diné choices when writing: Diné essays represent the subset of the

conjunction of the two rhetorical systems. Other studies into how various Native people use

English hint that they often choose English linguistic structures that best suit the meanings they

are trying to express (Leap, 1977). For example, most Diné women will say that they "had a

baby for" the father. The use of for instead of by or with is deliberately selected to convey the

baby's relationship to his father's clan: In the way of the people, the baby is born <u>to</u> his mother's clan but <u>for</u> his father's clan (see analysis in Gregory, 1990). Also, Kaplan (1966, 1967) has suggested that students writing essays in a second language choose rhetorical strategies from their mother tongues. This would seem to be the case here.

As with Aristotle's rhetoric, the "I" was central to the argument for Diné. Among Athabaskan people, one shows respect by maintaining individuality and acknowledging the individuality of others. The Diné student's use of <u>because</u> shows awareness of audience. The writer gives the reader the same evidence s/he has and invites the reader to judge for him/herself. This shows respect for the reader. For Diné, audience is immediate and intimately tied to the communicative event. The writing by Anglo students, on the other hand, shows no awareness of audience at all. Their essays also lack any personal involvement with the topic. In some ways, the texture of essays written by Diné students shows a greater understanding of the rhetorical purpose than those written by Anglos.

Perhaps one of the most perplexing aspects of the results of this study is that essays written by Diné are seen as markedly distinctive as well as inferior. The teacher observations included in this study indicate that instructors who work with Diné students see their writing as distinctly different. Lippitt (1986) documented the assumption that writing by Indian students is poorer than that done by mainstream students. Virtually all the teachers at the Santa Fe Indian School believed their students to be writing substantially poorer than non-Indians. However, when student samples were sent to a national testing firm, the mean for the entire school was slightly higher than average. Since both groups in this study were rated holistically, there seems to be little basis for assuming that those written by Diné are inherently inferior. However, Diné students bring a system of language use with them to the classroom that stands in contrast with

what is expected: The higher failure rate and the teacher observations help to verify this assumption. With renewed interest in the use of rhetoric to teach composition, essays by Diné seem to have many rhetorical strengths that the ones written by Anglos do not.

Just as seventeenth century Western Europe grappled with how to reconcile ancient wisdom with modern scientific discoveries (Gould, 1991), institutions of higher learner and Native people must now attempt a similar reconciliation. Access to greater information has increased the awareness of the value of the accumulated wisdoms of older and predominantly oral cultures. Nineteenth century technology so devalued this knowledge, however, that much of it has already been lost, hence the urgency to find a solution that allows the existence of more than one kind of knowledge. This must include linguistic knowledge as well.

A greater acknowledgment of the lack of homogeneity among current college populations in curriculum planning is one place to start. This implies re-thinking approaches to teaching academic literacy. There are two parts to this re-thinking: one, the acknowledgment of specialized literacies among academic disciplines, and, two, respect for the language uses and traditions of all students. Curriculums and individual instructors must become more open to learning from their students: Institutions of higher education must allow students to contribute to their pool of knowledge, thereby contributing to continued growth of the institution. For Native people, this knowledge is held not just individually but communally: "We must return to our communities to renew what we know" (L.C. Begaye, personal communication, February 5, 1993).

Language use is a mighty river: It has many currents and often changes course. Entry level composition courses, in order to serve the cultural/linguistic variety of its students and the increasing specialization of academic disciplines, must serve as avenues of transitions and show

students ways to gain respect within their respective disciplines by becoming proficient at a specialized literacy. For Native people, this can best be accomplished by showing respect for their rhetorical and linguistic expertise (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1981; Cummins, 1992; Reyhner, 1992).

Summary

Current academic literacies, about a hundred years old, have grown from previous several thousands of years of Western literate traditions. Diné have no such history: The use of English has supplanted many traditional uses of Diné (Spolsky, Engelbrich & Ortiz, 1981; McLaughlin, 1987). Hence, Diné students employ the traditions of their language in English. Their linguistic choices, however, still indicate a basic understanding of the rhetorical expectations of exposition. There appears to be an inherent conflict between the two systems: In Dinébizaad, linguistic choices are governed by topic whereas in English linguistic choices are governed by genre. Because many choices made by Diné are consistent with expectations of this genre, the texture of essays written by them can be conceived as an intersection of Diné rhetoric and American English rhetoric. It remains, however, for further research to clarify this issue.

Appendix A

Samples of Holistically Scored Essays

<u>Anglo Samples</u>

Score: 4/4

I was a student in summer school. I noticed a few barriers in the way of the summer term, that weren't there with fall/winter term. I had to learn to live with longer class time. Another thing I had to cope with was the temperature. These are all distractions for me during my time of going to summer school.

First, my English class was an hour and fifteen minutes long. The teacher would take roll for fifteen minutes, then spend forty-five minutes going over last nights homework. The last fifteen minutes were spent going over new material and getting new homework assigned. Geometry was four hours long. The teacher would just assign pages in the book to be done, corrected, and handed in by the end of the day. Basically all these long hours of class time succeeded in was, no teaching and very little learning.

Secondly, the temperature during the summer school was erratic. The one-hundred degree weather driving to school made me nauseous, grouchy, and gave me a headache. When you entered you were either roasted by the hear or chilled into a popsicle.

This is why I have learned to try and keep good grades, so as not to go to summer school. If not just take the new car with air conditioning to summer school. After all, being a summer school student you can get hindered by obstacles or turn it around to your benefit.

Score: 3/4

Attending school during the summer months, in my opinion, is more difficult than attending the rest of the year. Numerous distractions, warm, weather and longer days make summer school a real struggle for many students.

Summer brings, to mind many things, warm temperatures, clear, blue skys, swimming pools, and travel are some common answers. Few people, if any, will answer, "summer: school" if asked what they thought of summer.

Summer school is difficult, and becomes more difficult when coupling it with work and play. Summer classes are shorter and intencified, so the work load requires more time. Students that work longer hours during the summer most better to balance their schedule. Time for relaxing is tough to come by, but it's necessary to avoid burning out from the work load.

Longer days tend to help students get through summer session. They can complete their work and usually have some daylight left to enjoy late afternoon activities.

Regardless of what time of the year students attend school, or how many distractions they face, the commitment to an education is till the most important. factor. Attending school during the summer will test that commitment.

Score: 2/4

The summer term is full of distractions, and temptation. These are a few of them; the weather, good, or bad, summertime activities, and the friendly spirit of the people in school.

The weather influences peoples moods. Good weather can give a person the temptation too miss school. Its very tempting to go swimming, or go to the mountains, instead of school.

Bad weather has a different effect. If a class room is hot, and balmy, a person tends to regret he/she even cam to class.

Summertime activities tend to be a great temptation to people. Most people take their vacations during the summer. Most people won't sacrifice their vacation over their school work.

The friendly spirit of the people in school is distracting. People tend to be more friendly in the summer months. This will explain why people take longer lunch breks, and why ther is more tardiness in class. People are more open, and more talkative. They would rather sit outside & chat, than go to class.

The summer term is full of distractions, and temptations. Either the weather, or summertime activities, or the the friendly, joyful spirit of the people on campus, makes studying school work all most impossible.

Score: 1/4

The summer is the worst time, I think to go to school. All summer long is not the best thing. Study time is maybe one or two hours a week. Maybe half of the summer, but not all of it. A lot of people go on trips and need rest. I personally need the summer to my self. A fure classes and a good tuter is best.

Some times going to the library is good. Espcly if you can't study at home. Many students can do this and have a good summer.

Some summer students should get out and get rest go on vacation and have fun. Summer comes but once a year. You should have fun well maybe just a little.

Like I said taking some classes and going to school half of the summer is the best thing.

<u>Diné Samples</u>

Score: 4/4

The right to be offensive is on trial across the United States. The recent Supreme Court decision upholding flag burning as a constitutionally protected form of free speech has forced all Americans to deal with the often unpopular implications of the First Amendment. There is a battle going on in the United States. Some people think that they can burn the flag and it was also prohibited to burn trash a long time ago but today we burn trash. So why can't they burn the flag. The Americans many different point of views. For those that think they shouldn't burn the flag, it is there showing our freedom and pride.

You can get offended in many ways like for instance, swearing, emotional (crying), violent, getting even, walking away without saying a word. The first paragraph is just an example of offensive behavior. Speech can't be prohibited because it's offensive to people; and that there must be the wildest possible freedom for the dissemination of ideas on university campuses, (that is) the Supreme Court has said that the university is the place for the dissemination of ideas.

There are certain issues around which people can't say things that endanger other people. For instance some people you can't really joke with because they get offensive. To me I think you have to watch your figure of speech and know your limit to joking or even laughing about other people.

Should we curb the first amendment because of offensive behavior? From my point of view I think it should stay the same. Because it was meant to be implemented by the U.S.

citizens or any other country. In the U.S. the first amendment was devised by the first president and other associates. I'm sure they had different views. They came up with a good reason and that is why it is still here today. If they start revising the constitution they might as well change the whole constitution.

Score: 3/4

Sex education does seem to prevent teen pregnancy, but it helps if the education is started at an early age for it to work. I has been proven in worldwide studies that have shown that United States has the highest rate of teen births, eventhough the teenagers in the nations, such as Canada, France, and England, began participating in sex at a younger age than in the United States, so the kids are more aware of the use of contraceptives.

Some other studies have also shown that the pregnancy rate among teenagers, which rose sharply in the 1970's, has leveled off and teen births have dropped. The reason for this decrease is the increased use of contraceptives. The credit for the increased use of contraceptives goes to the pregancy-prevention courses offered and the sex education classes given in schools. Even with these classes and courses being offered, sometimes they still do not work.

Some of the teenagers seem to want children at an early age so they have something of their own or for the attention they get while they are pregant. But then others do not take the time to consider the consequences of their actions and do not listen to what has to be said in sex education classes. So sometimes sex education does not work.

I guess it mainly depends on the individual involved and their feeling about sex and its consequences.

Score: 2/4

Education is important because it helps people get more out of life; it also helps people adjust to changes that takes place in the world.

Back in 3000 B.C. man communicate by language more than signs, because they had not systems of writing and no school. The Sumarian, who live in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley invented a system of writing, also a method of writing numbers as well as language.

Education is more important today than ever before. I guess that's why we have schools. School is a place where we learn how to read and write and to learn the skills that we need to get educated.

There is different types of school, theres General Education, Vocational, Special, Adult, Elementary and so on.

So going to school is important, because you get more out of life this way. Learning how to read and write is very important because that is how we all communicate with each other in this world of ours. This is why, we all have to go to school. To make life much easyer and enjoyable, because we learn the skills that we need to participate in a sport, paint a picture or play musical instruments.

Education is fun and very important in our lives.

Score: 1/4

The definition of offensive behavior is behavior which is rude because some people strip in front of the crowd. Some people do similar things in from of everybody too.

Today, offensive behavior is around some universities since some people are discriminated because of race, color, and sex. The discriminating includes the handicaps too.

Examples of offensive behavior are stripping in front of everybody and other similar doings.

I think that what was listed as offensive behavior is true because some people just do stuff even if the streets are busy in big cities.

For the burning of the flag, I feel that it should not be done because many people have fought in dangerous wars to save the symbol of our country. To save our flag, we must fight and support our leaders to have freedom for as long as we shall live.

For if any person tries to burn the flag of the United States, they should be punished for as long as they shall live.

Appendix B

Standardized Factor Scores

<u>Factor 1</u>

Anglo   Diné

Paper #	Factor score	Mean	SD	Range	Paper #	Factor Score	Mean	SD	Range
1	-.03	-.53	2.61	9.99	32	3.54	.41	3.43	15.52
2	2.89				33	-4.75			
3	1.78				34	4.63			
4	2.80				35	-4.07			
5	-.60				36	3.26			
6	-4.96				37	-2.57			
7	.09				38	3.22			
8	1.48				39	.17			
9	-4.19				40	-.29			
10	5.03				41	1.15			
11	3.32				42	2.68			
12	-2.19				43	-1.13			
13	.29				44	-1.66			
14	1.92				45	-.89			
15	-2.23				46	.76			
16	-1.63				47	-1.17			
17	-3.82				48	-1.93			
18	2.02				49	-2.50			
19	-.95				50	8.90			
20	1.60				51	-1.39			
21	1.41				52	2.07			
22	-3.50				53	5.99			
23	1.04				54	-4.45			
24	-4.89				55	.95			
25	-1.61				56	-1.00			
26	-3.85				57	-6.62			
27	-.46				58	2.63			
28	-1.49				59	1.34			
29	-1.64				60	1.00			
30	-3.61				61	5.81			
31	-.42				62	-.88			

Factor 2

| Anglo | | | | Diné | | | | |
Paper	Score	Mean	SD	Range	Paper	Score	Mean	SD	Range
1	-1.04	-.82	1.89	9.46	32	-.92	.91	3.02	13.55
2	-.72				33	-2.37			
3	-.12				34	1.10			
4	-1.62				35	-1.00			
5	-.42				36	-1.67			
6	-1.27				37	1.36			
7	-2.66				38	-.36			
8	-2.05				39	.89			
9	-3.38				40	2.60			
10	1.00				41	-.33			
11	-1.28				42	2.33			
12	-.70				43	1.76			
13	-1.33				44	11.18			
14	3.00				45	-1.05			
15	-.95				46	7.97			
16	-1.72				47	-1.72			
17	-.08				48	.18			
18	-.23				49	-1.38			
19	-2.58				50	-1.23			
20	-2.63				51	2.68			
21	-.51				52	-2.36			
22	.19				53	1.23			
23	.44				54	3.65			
24	-2.31				55	-1.72			
25	-1.79				56	-2.24			
26	-1.35				57	.98			
27	-2.66				58	-.59			
28	-.93				59	3.35			
29	6.08				60	.01			
30	-3.23				61	4.86			
31	1.29				62	.99			

Factor 3

Anglo   **Diné**

Paper	Score	Mean	SD	Range	Paper	Score	Mean	SD	Range
1	-1.45	-.47	2.02	6.88	32	-1.56	.38	.42	11.66
2	.56				33	.45			
3	3.02				34	-1.75			
4	-2.86				35	2.62			
5	3.23				36	0.0			
6	-1.25				37	2.87			
7	2.37				38	2.18			
8	1.37				39	-.60			
9	-.59				40	-.46			
10	-1.69				41	-.07			
11	3.48				42	.42			
12	1.33				43	2.95			
13	-1.37				44	-1.16			
14	-.05				45	-.47			
15	-.04				46	.39			
16	-1.13				47	-2.50			
17	3.84				48	1.22			
18	-.82				49	-3.04			
19	-1.51				50	8.62			
20	-1.32				51	-.89			
21	-1.22				52	-.18			
22	-1.56				53	1.94			
23	-3.04				54	-1.6			
24	.38				55	2.7			
25	-3.04				56	-2.58			
26	-3.04				57	.29			
27	-2.44				58	-.01			
28	-3.04				59	3.68			
29	-.59				60	.30			
30	-1.36				61	-1.38			
31	-.82				62	-.68			

Appendix C

Factor 1 Composition Samples

Composition Sample 1: Anglo Factor 1 Score of -.46

Students notice they have more difficulty in the summer term. A problems can occur in many situations to a student in their summer term.

One distraction can lead that person is their friends. Their friends may want to stay out late or do an exciting get together. The Second, a student could be lazy in the hot summer and sleep in late. The summer could bring in and encourage friends to spend a day with them.

Third, students may want to relax and take a vacation. Vacation are enjoyed during the summer months expecially if they enjoy going driving around, going swimming, and staying out late.

A second distraction is the hot summer. Some people get really lazy and tired. This could lead to staying in bed late and watching television.

Third, people like to take their vacations during the summer to the beach.

I assume that they reasons can lead a person or student to have more difficulty in the summer term.

Composition Sample 2: Dine Factor 1 Score of .17

Adoption vs. Abortion

When a woman finds herself unexpectedly pregnant, she has some major decisions to make. She owes it to herself to take the time to explore her options and decide what is best for her and the tiny growing person inside of her.

Some people may say that the mother has a right to have control of her own body and that abortion is an alternative to an unwanted problem. This may seem like an easy solution to them, but it isn't because the fetus has already been fully developed when it was concieved, or has already begun its human life at the time of conception. Within three weeks of conception the human heart begins to beat. so, see that abortion isn't a matter of controlling one's body, but there are now the two people to consider, the mother and the fetus. Abortion will certainly not help your unborn child and it may have serious, far reaching consequences for you.

Knowing that you ended your Childs life without giving it a chance can be a devastating emotional burden. Also, physical complications from abortion are more common than you think. If you have too many abortion, it could damage your reproductive system by making you become infertile or making it impossible for you to have a normal pregnantcy later in life.

Adoption is also a good alternative to give your baby life and giving it a chance to be a real person. Sometimes babies are put up for adoption because they were abandoned by their mothers and some have been abused by them. Adoption is a permanent and legal procedure which places child with adoptive parents who raise the child as a member of their own family.

There are two parts to adoption. First, the birth mother gives permission for the child to be adopted. In some areas the baby's fathers consent is also necessary. Secondly, a couple wanting to adopt a child must apply and be accepted as prospective adoptive parents by a government approved agent. A through home study is done to ensure that a couple will be able to provide care and love for a child.

Appendix D

Factor 2 Composition Samples

Composition Sample 3: Anglo Factor 2 Score of -.91

Summer School

Students who attend summer school are definitely exposed to more distractions and temptations then students in fall, or winter terms.

Summer is associated with having a good time, relaxing, or vacationing. Throughout the years in school, students were accustomed to attending school in winter, and during the summer they looked forward to summer vacation. So, naturally it would be difficult, but possible, for one to adjust to attending summer school.

Also, it is easy to convince yourself that it is dreadful to have to be in a class room working when you could be outside doing things that as much more pleasant. It is easy to be tempted by friends to do other things, other then go to school.

School is difficult as it is , and having to be there in the summer makes it extremely easy for one to wander off and want to do more exciting things.

Composition Sample 4: Diné Factor 2 Score of .98

"English is the greatest weapon the white man against the Indian"

English is the greatest weapon the white man has against the Indian is because the Anglos people already has the knowledge of English. English are mostly spoken among white people. They are naturally born with languages.

For the Indian people they are also naturally born with languages of their own tribes. Many English words are derived of real Indians, because of little education. Hopefully one day in the modern age they'll have better scholar and difference possession of knowledge gain by study and quality of learning of English.

Appendix E

Factor 3 Composition Samples

Composition Sample 5: Anglo Factor 3 Score of -.59 Age Old Problems

The major problems with retirement is less money, care of the sick, and to much time to waste. Retirement not planned in advance will spell trouble in later years.

Medicare and Social Security cover a small part of the picture. Steady income stops at retirement. Older people often go broke paying for monthly bills. The family often has to help support the older persons needs.

Care of the sick is a major problem. Where does one find good quality care? How much will it cost? All good quality care is expense. Whether a health care agency is contacted or a nursing home is used, they all are very expensive.

Having to much time on the mid is a sin even for a young person. The older person can go crazy thinking of all things that have to be done. For they need to keep busy to keep their minds in fine tune. The older person is often a nosy neighbor.

Good planning helps cover the money loss of retirement. A good health insurance plan. along with money for retirement eases the pain of retirement. Retirement is not a bed of roses.

Composition Sample 6: Anglo Factor 3 Score of -.59

Elderly people have alot of problems with the society today. If they want to work and they are over the age or at the age of retirement the government will refuse them the right to work. A lot of old people I talk to tell me the word "old" mean when a person gets to an age when they have no responsibility and no control over their bodies. These people that I talk are in good health but they are in a nursing hom; because they will have no where else to go or their families just don't want the responsibilities of helping their own parents out when they need it. Another problem the elderly people have is the people who robs them of their social security money they get every month. I hear on the news or read in the newspapers, that some young kids mugged an old lady for some money. That really hurts me to hear something like that because that kid get off his lazy but and go and get a job. That lady can't get a job because the government won't let her, for she needs the money that they are willing to give to her. In the process of the mugging she gets hurt and sometime people in her situation dies because of shock. The government should do something about the elderly in the world. Instead of leaving the problem up to the society, they should get together with the elderly, and maybe they can work something out for the best. Instead of having them in the hands of the wrong doers in the world today.

Composition Sample 7: Diné Factor 3 Score of .39

English is the greatest weapon the white man has against the Indians, because the english language is of selected vocabulary such as, nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectivices and other words which must make sense of our communication with the white man. English is a teaching source to all humans so that we could learn it to communicate effectively. English is becoming an international language, therefore, all Indians who wishes to communicate must learn it.

We must learn the english language in order for the Indians to be accepted into the mainstream of anglo society. We have to learn it or we will get lost with no ways of asking for directions, because the white man might not know how to understand navajo.

We must learn english so that we could read and hopeful write well and that someone else can read and understand what we are saying. English is our only source of understanding each other in society of all humankind.

But this english language which we must learn and to accept as an international way of communication is hard to learn. Because we Navajos, such as I, had to learn navajo first and later was taught english and it is hard to think first in navajo and then english. English was foreign to us until the Anglo came and introduced us to their language.

Our navajo language has few words for sentences when the english has a lot of words before it can make a complete sentence.

The english language has to be written and spoken in sequential and

chronological order, of the events a person is talking about so that it does not cause confusion. English is a hard language to do one's writing because I am having a difficult time right now trying to write an essay on the topic of using the english language.

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