N
2
A628
ANTH

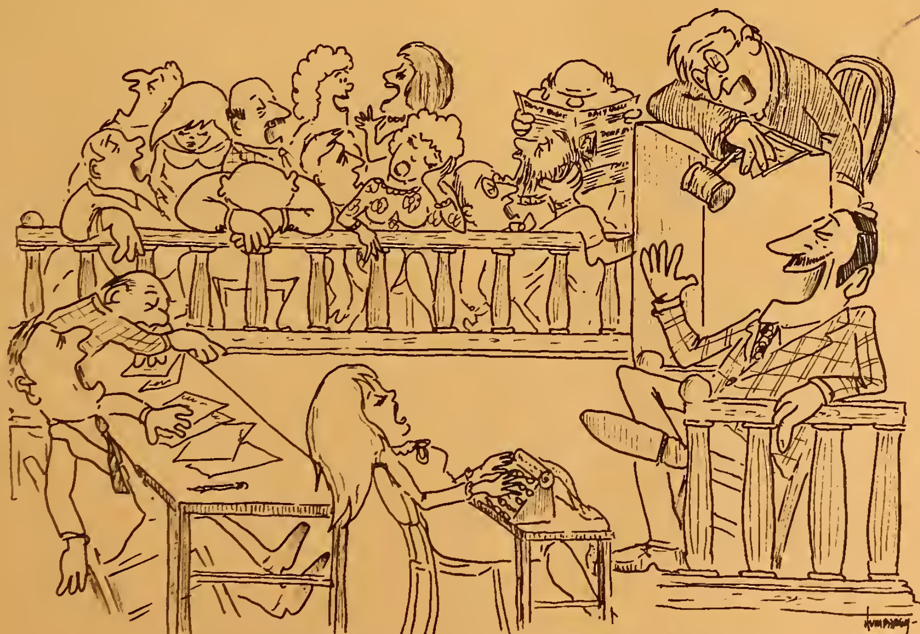
anthro·notes
a newsletter for teachers

vol. 10 no. 2 spring 1988

MEDICINE, LAW, AND EDUCATION: A JOURNEY INTO APPLIED LINGUISTICS

What do medicine, law, and education have in common? Each involves specialized communication between a practitioner and members of the general public, within a distinct social context. Each is, further, the subject of a new area of study--applied linguistic analysis.

In recent years the role of linguistics within the field of anthropology has focused increasingly on the study of communication behavior and its relationship to the culture as a whole. This approach can be used not only to further the research interests of anthropologists but also to address and possibly solve common everyday problems in communication linguistics. New subfields in linguistic behavior have arisen, such as sociolinguistics, the study of structure and use of language as it relates to its social setting; and psycholinguistics, the study of structure and use of language behavior, how it is learned, produced, and understood. The application of studies of linguistics to real life problems is the concern of applied linguistics. Traditionally, applied linguistics has dealt almost exclusively with language learning and teaching. Recently, however, its focus is being expanded to other issues such as the ones described in this Anthro. Notes article, based on published papers of Georgetown University linguistics professor and chairman Roger Shuy. As an educator, a scholar, and a consultant, Shuy reveals some of


WITNESS RESPONDING AT LENGTH WITH "NARRATIVE TESTIMONY"

1995
LIBRARIES

his and other researchers' latest applied psycho- and socio-linguistic communication research in the fields of medicine, law, and education.

Language and Medicine

In his article "Linguistics in Other Professions," Shuy points out that recent linguistic work on medical communication assumes that talk between patients and doctors has "deep clinical significance." The research involves the analysis of "the speech event itself rather than the physician's interpretation of the patient's responses."

The medical profession claims that 95% of treatment success depends on the physician's ability to elicit accurate information from the medical interview. Physicians' use of tenses, hedges, euphemisms, ambiguous adjectives, intensifiers, tag questions (questions that almost invariably influence the respondent to agree with the speaker's proposition, whether or not one wants to agree), and question-answering avoidance techniques influence patient behavior and can lead to misunderstandings between the doctor and patient that grow out of "differences in experience, needs, goals, and world knowledge."

Shuy and his colleagues conducted research on cross-cultural communication problems of black, inner-city patients and their physicians, analyzing their attitudes toward medical delivery service and the communication breakdowns that occurred in the tape recorded interviews. "They discovered that vernacular English speaking patients worked very hard at learning the vocabulary, question-response routines, and perspectives of their physicians during the interview, but that there was little, if any, reciprocal learning attempted or evidenced by their physicians." In addition, the doctors' categories of questions "severely limited the patients' opportunities for providing adequate and even accurate information." From over 100 taped interviews, they concluded that the "tremendous asymmetry in such communication... almost assured misunderstanding and miscommunication."

According to Shuy, the impact of this recent linguistic research on medical communication has been meager. One reason may possibly be that the "field of medicine has not felt a particularly strong need for it." (Shuy, 1984).

LANGUAGE AND THE LAW

Language in the Courtroom

One area of linguistic study focuses on written and spoken language in the courtroom. Such a study "range[s] from the perceptions and evaluations of jurors to the actual language used by witnesses, judges, attorney, and defendants, to the language of question asking, jury instructions, defendant's constitutional rights, and interpreter competence." One example of jurors' perceptions in the courtroom setting is an experiment carried out by a Duke University research team.

> When a witness was permitted to respond at length with considerable freedom, that testimony (called "narrative testimony") elicted more favorable responses from jurors than did the more common courtroom style of highly controlled, brief answer testimony. ...Interestingly male responders believed that the attorneys who [interrupted and talked over the witnesses] the most were the most skillful and competent while the female subjects disagreed, ranking such attorneys as less competent and less likeable. (Shuy, 1986.)

E. Loftus and colleagues conducted work on witnesses' responses to the wording of an attorney's courtroom question. Loftus found that the lawyer's question,

> "About how fast were the cars going when they smashed into each other?" yielded consistent responses of higher speed estimates than the question, "About how fast were the cars going when they hit each other?" Likewise, a week later, the subjects in Loftus's experiment were asked whether or not they had seen any broken glass in the filmed accident used in her experiment. Those who had been asked the question with "smashed" in it responded positively twice as frequently as those who had been asked the question with "hit" in it, even though the film showed no broken glass at all. Other experiments by Loftus included mention, by the experimenter, of objects not in the film. Seventeen percent of the subjects who were asked questions containing mention of that object reported later on that they had seen it. This research by Loftus and others on the psychology of eye witness testimony and memory is of great significance to both linguists and legal practice. It demonstrates, for one thing, how language form and content affect mental processes such as situation and memory of important details, and it strongly suggests that attorneys need to take into account lexicon, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and social context as they pursue their litigation efforts. (Shuy, 1984)

<u>Language as Evidence</u>

Another area of linguistic study concerns the use of language as evidence. Secondary evidence from witnesses becomes less useful as jurors can hear tape recorded, or primary, evidence, which is thought to speak for itself. The applied linguist, however,

> knows that a tape recorded event is not the real event. Audiotape tells a great deal, but it tells little about how far away from each other the speakers were or, in fact, who was actually talking with whom. Although, videotapes may give better evidence of [speakers] and distances, they may also provide misleading appearances.

For example, the many Abscam conversations videotaped in the rooms of the Marriott Hotel in Arlington, Virginia were in black and white, which made the expensive rooms look "grimy, run-down, and dark," supporting the appearance of sleaziness that the FBI hoped to get. (Shuy, 1984.)

Linguists assist attorneys in preparing their cases for trial, and, in some cases, appear as expert witnesses in criminal and civil court cases. For example, a man accused of making a bomb-threat telephone call to an international airlines was acquitted. The linguist had compared the speech on the tape recorded telephone call with that of the defendant and showed it to be a quite different dialect.

With the advent of tape recorded evidence, linguists play an important role in assisting the jury in their understanding of the case. Linguists can provide the jury with a structure to keep the sequence of the taped message straight; to separate "who said what to whom"; to discern speakers' intentions from available clues in the tapes; and to point out the conversational strategies of the speakers. For instance, government "agents have secured what appears to be consent or agreement of the targets of the investigation, but closer analysis

reveals that all they had was an 'uh-huh' or an 'okay' feedback marker that signals no more meaning than 'I hear you, keep talking' or 'I understand what you're saying,' or even 'I don't necessarily understand what you're saying, but I'll hear you out anyway.'" As Shuy explains, "humans tend to edit speech; make it fit their view of the world; make sense out of it from where they are" (Shuy, 1984.).

Language and Education

As a composition teacher for nine years at both the secondary and college levels, Roger Shuy realized that it was easier to edit student papers with such remarks as "monot." or "awk." than to explain to the students why their papers read that way. He points out our educational preoccupation is with language forms (phonology, morphology, vocabulary, syntax) rather than with language functions (using language effectively in life functions such as requesting, denying, asserting). "What we have learned in the past few years is that how people use language to get things done is a higher order skill or competence than is their simple mastery of grammatical forms."

However, as Shuy explains, our tradition of teaching reading, writing, and foreign languages has developed not holistically (which takes into account both linguistic environment and social context) but in the opposite direction, from surface to deep, from form to function, from part to whole. Recent studies on teaching English as a second language (ESL) to adult foreign students demonstrates how learning is improved when form follows function. The experiment consisted of a control class using traditional form-oriented teaching and an experimental class using the functional approach, where students were involved in typical life situations. At the end of the year, the latter group was considerably ahead of the control group "not only on how to use the language to get things done (such as to complain, to request, to deny, to clarify), but also in sheer fluency and, most surprisingly of all, on skill in English forms (past tense, etc.) even though such forms were not directly instructed." (Shuy, 1980.)

Holistic language training also considers social contexts. "Language learning should be seen in relationship to the people with whom the learner will eventually communicate." For instance, the British Council's English for Special Purposes teaches adults by setting the learning in the work context. "Turkish mechanics are taught English through a curriculum which has as its content the topic of mechanics. Such an approach contextualizes the learning into the learner's world and frame of reference" (Shuy, 1980).

Dialogue Journals

Large classes and the traditional values of quietness and of turn taking thwart oral language ability. Classroom talk usually consists of question-answer sequences. Dialogue, on the other hand, is a natural learning device for language acquisition, which begins with the dialogue between parents and child. Efforts are being made to bring dialogue back into the classroom by way of dialogue journals between teacher and student. Dialogue journals "bring back a semblance of the social interaction that natural oral conversation brings," because they are conversational in style and allow teacher and student to discuss important topics. With dialogue journals, the student generates the topics for discussion, unlike in the classroom setting. (Shuy, 1987.)

Results of oral language research in elementary classrooms has shown that teachers talk about 95% of the time; this talk is divided about equally between asking questions, giving directives, and evaluating. In dialogue journal writing, however, Shuy found that these forms of teacher communica-

tion were cut almost in half. "The big difference, though, was in the type of questions asked. In the classroom, teachers ask test-type questions--ones to which the teacher already knows the answer. In their journals, teachers' questions were new, information-type questions, genuine requests for knowledge of something that only the students had."

The following is an example from the dialogue journal of a second grader having difficulty learning to read and to write in the classroom but eager to write to her teacher and to receive her responses:

> Kelly: I have problems some times well I have this problem it is I am not very god on my writeing
>
> Teacher: I think you are a good writer. Keep on trying your best. I like the Little Red Hen, too, Kelly. Keep on writing!
>
> Kelly: Oh kay. Do you have a problem. if you do I will help you and what are going to be for Halloween.
>
> Teacher: I am going to be a farmer. ...Everybody has problems, Kelly. Some problems are big and some are small. One of my small problems is I can't stop eating chocolate when I see it!

Language functions of predicting, evaluating, and complaining, which take more thinking and reasoning skills, increased from 3% in classroom talk to 23% in journal writing. In journal writing, students also increased by 50% the number of information questions they asked of the teacher. [The newsletter Dialogue is available by writing to Dialogue, CAL, 1118 22nd St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037. Published three times a year for $6.00. The April 1988 issue focuses on "Dialogue Journals in an International Setting" (Japan, Germany, South Africa, Zaire, and Mexico).]

Effective Complaints

Another important aspect of dialogue journal writing is the opportunity for the student to complain (Shuy, 1988), an important language function. Student complaining can be instructive for the teacher, providing important information about how students perceive what is going on, which in turn enables the teacher to determine what to reinforce, repeat, stop, supplement or avoid. More importantly, says Shuy, complaining is a thinking process.

Complaints can be true or false. But to be felicitous (or effective), they must be uttered sincerely, or rather the speaker must believe that the complaint is true. According to Shuy, "it would seem logical that complaining is human kind's very first function, manifested by crying at birth." Children acquire this function long before school age and learn to differentiate complaints to peers from those to adults. Children learn that "adults do not like to hear complaints at all...and will frequently tell them to 'stop complaining.' A child might wonder if it could possibly be true that, in the adult world, no complaining takes place."

In the school setting language functions such as complaining, interrupting, and denying are often abolished from speech and writing. However, as Shuy states, "...it is unrealistic to believe that life will treat us in a nonprejudicial way to the extent that no complaining will be necessary."

In examining six, 6th grade student journals consisting of student-teacher exchanges for one school year, Shuy tallied 365 student complaints that

(continued on p.14)

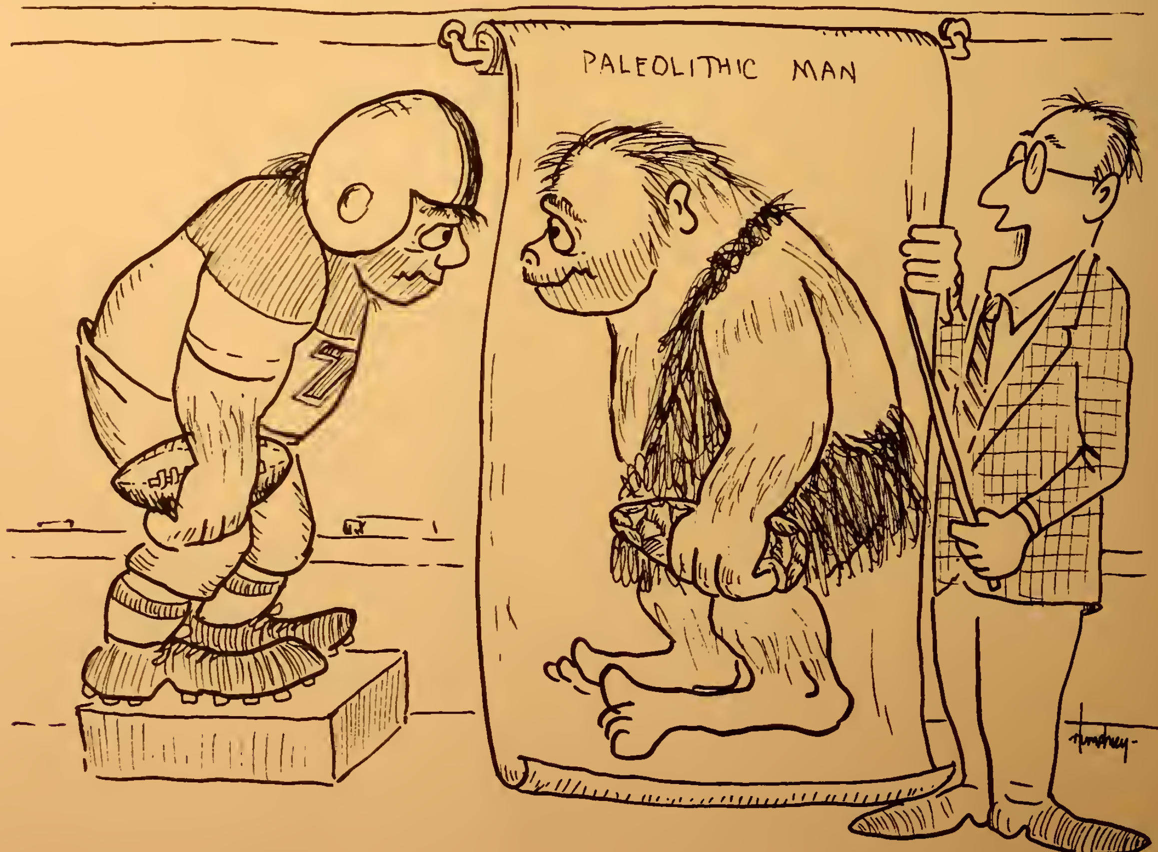
SYMPOSIUM ON ANTHROPOLOGY AND SCHOOLS

The theme of the April Annual Meeting of The Society for Applied Anthropology, held in Tampa, Florida, was "Applied Anthropology in Multidisciplinary Perspective." Several sessions focused on anthropologists and schools. At the suggestion of Benita Howell, editor of Practicing Anthropology, Ruth O. Selig and Patricia J. Higgins organized the symposium, "Anthropologists, Teachers and Schools: Multidisciplinary Anthropology in Action." This symposium grew out of Selig's and Higgins' special issue of Practicing Anthropology (vol. 8, no. 3-4, 1986) devoted to Pre-College Education. (This issue is available, free of charge, from Ruth O. Selig, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Research, SI 120, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560.)

The symposium was designed to illustrate the variety of approaches that can be taken by professional anthropologists to encourage and improve the use of anthropological concepts and data in precollege classrooms. Lawrence Breitborde (Beloit College) and Henry Moy (Logan Museum) described several programs undertaken by a small college anthropology department and museum in cooperation with local elementary schools. The programs included curriculum unit development, an NEH-funded teacher training institute, and a cooperative weekend and summer school program.

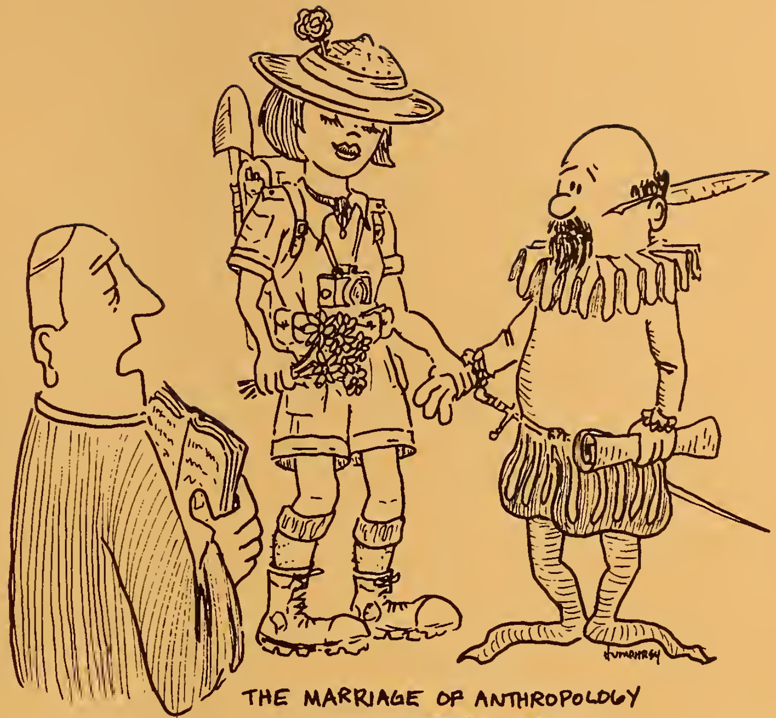
Ted and Charlotte Frisbee (Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville) shared their enthusiasm and experience helping their department develop a curriculum enrichment project for all levels of the Edwardsville public schools. The program has grown each year and includes museum tours and open houses, special workshops and courses for teachers, cooperative courses for elementary education students, and a proposal for a new multi-disciplinary course, "Social Sciences for Educators," that would involve seven university departments.

(continued on p.10)



TEACHER'S CORNER: TEACHING ANTHROPOLOGY THROUGH LITERATURE

Can anthropology and literature be married? As a high school and university teacher who has tried to integrate literature and anthropology along the way, I was intrigued by a graduate seminar, "Latin American Cultures Through Literature," taught in 1984 by Catherine Allen, Associate Professor of Anthropology, George Washington University. In this course selected literary and ethnographic works were examined as cultural documents. During a recent interview, Professor Allen shared her concepts, readings, and activities for this course.



THE MARRIAGE OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND LITERATURE...

Can anthropology and literature be compared at all? Both anthropologists and literary critics employ textual analysis (using "text" broadly). Both share common interests in symbolism, structuralism, and semiotics (the relationship of form and meaning). The goals of literature and anthropology are often similar. Both are means of exploring "the ultimate concerns" of human existence, whether these be the dynamics of social interaction and human relationships, the relationships of "man" and environment, or the problems of meaning--how to comprehend and convey it. Finally, the writing of literature and the writing of anthropology involve translation of various kinds.

Why, then, Latin America? First, Allen's fieldwork has been in Latin America, primarily with the Quechua-speaking peoples in Peru. Second, Latin America has been the scene of both great destruction and of great creativity in the centuries since its first colonization by Europeans. The confrontation of the Old and New Worlds brought alien cultures into contact, such as African, Hispanic, and Native American, producing new cultural syntheses. Out of this process has come some of the greatest literature and the most penetrating social commentary of our time.

How was the course organized? After establishing a theoretical framework derived from Clifford Geertz's The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973) and Rolena Adorno's (ed.) From Oral to Written Tradition, the course focused on how Latin American writers--"El Inca" Garcilaso de la Vega, José María Arguedas, Octavio Paz, Gabriel García Márquez--present their own societies, grappling with their pivotal position as writers between two worlds. Then, the students explored European and North American conceptions of Latin America in works by anthropologists Claude Levi-Strauss and Charles Wagley, and by novelists D. H. Lawrence and Peter Matthiessen.

(continued)

When Allen initially taught the seminar, Geertz was one of the few persons writing about interpretive anthropology. Geertz's technique of "thick" description is central to understanding just how similar a novelist and anthropologist can be. According to Geertz, using Max Weber's definition, "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (chapter 1, p. 5). Those webs constitute culture. Geertz describes an event one night in Morocco in 1912 when French soldiers, a Jewish trader, and Berbers misunderstood each other about a mock sheep raid. The anthropologist would first have to understand three different forms of interpretation in this situation--French, Jewish, and Berber. Then she would try to determine why their presence together produced a situation in which "systematic misunderstanding reduced traditional form to social farce" (p. 9). Yes, the anthropologist would also pursue the orthodox routine of data collection--interview informants, observe rituals, elicit kin terms, and take census of households. But the anthropologist, as in the Morocco situation, is faced with many complex structures or webs of concepts intertwined with each other. The anthropologist decides what is significant and writes her interpretation. What is the meaning of a wink, a mock sheep raid, a cycle of gift giving, a football game, or the pattern of moving a herd of animals from one water hole to the next? As Geertz states:

> What, in a place like Morocco, most prevents those of us who grew up winking other winks or attending other sheep from grasping what people are up to is not ignorance as to how cognition works...but a lack of familiarity with the imaginative universe within which their acts are signs.

Culture is a context, something within which social behaviors, institutions, events, or processes can be "intelligably--that is thickly--described" (p. 14). Once the anthropologist understands those signs, those webs of significance, and writes her interpretation, her descriptions can only be thick, not thin. If an anthropologist can understand the meaning of those human behaviors, she can enlarge "the universe of human discourse" so that people can meet and even understand people who live on the opposite side of the globe (p. 14). That is the primary aim of anthropology for Geertz.

Ethnographies, however, should never be presumed to be the culture. They are the ethnographers' interpretations; hence the term interpretive anthropology. Anthropological writings are fictions in the sense that they are made, and in the sense that they are descriptions from the actors' (or characters') perspectives (p. 15). In the course of doing this, the anthropologist is trying to solve the puzzle--What manner of humans are these?

If ethnographies are interpretations, then meaning becomes a central concern, and an affinity with literature becomes obvious. "Cultural analysis is...guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, or drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape" (p. 20). Meaning, a term so elusive yet so central to philosophy and literary criticism, is, for Geertz, at the heart of the discipline of anthropology (p. 20). Geertz applies these abstract ideas in his concrete field study of the Balinese cockfight. He treats the cockfight as the text to be interpreted, because he considers culture as an assemblage of texts. (See "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," chapter 15.)

Although Geertz provided the main theoretical framework for the seminar,

Adorno's text addressed the Latin American context. It helped students consider the transition from an oral to a written tradition and the attempt of many Latin American novelists to keep the oral tradition alive by writing with many of the same rhythms and stories. The novelist and the anthropologist can chronicle the transition and the preservation.

The rest of Allen's seminar focused on the comparison of anthropology and literature and on the insiders' and outsiders' perspective. The first group of writers speak as Latin Americans. Garcilaso de la Verga, author of The Incas (Commentarios Reales de los Incas), was an early chronicler, who as the son of an Inca noblewoman gives a royal interpretation of Incas. José María Arguedas, an anthropologist and author of Deep Rivers (Los Rios Profundos), describes the problems of the mestizo, whereas Gabriel Garcia Márquez, in One Hundred Years of Solitude (Cien Años Soledad), explores the problems of identity--cultural, national, and personal, and how Latin American cultures are consciously searching for an identity. The themes of solitude and identity echo in Octavio Paz's The Labyrinth of Solitude: Life and Thought in Mexico (El Laberinto de la Soledad).

Unlike these insiders' view of Latin American cultures, the next group of writers provided an outsiders' view of Latin America. Dramatically different from Paz's vision of Mexico, D. H. Lawrence in The Plumed Serpent does not interpret Mexican culture but rather uses it to develop a contrast between the stereotyped earthy, passionate Mexican and the uptight, degenerate English. In Tristes Tropiques on the other hand, Claude Levi-Strauss expresses his philosophical romanticism. He uses Brazil and the destruction of indigenous people as a commentary on the decline of the West. He certainly gives much valid ethnographic detail about Brazil, but the book is also a vehicle for comment on his own culture. At Play in the Fields of the Lord by Peter Matthiesen is set in Peru where in a mestizo town missionaries, North American mercenaries, and an alienated North American Indian dramatically and tragically come together. This outsider novelist bases his research on his travels and other ethnographic monographs. Charles Wagley is a cultural ecologist, and in his straightforward ethnography, Welcome of Tears: The Tapirape Indians of Brazil, he describes an almost decimated group in contemporary Brazil. The students can then compare ethnographers' approaches (Wagely's and Levi-Strauss') with each other as well as with the approaches of non-Latin novelists.

Catherine Allen's course ended with One Hundred Years of Solitude so that students both began and ended with a Latin-American perspective. This book is representative of "magical realism," a writing style that is a product of Latin America. In magical realism, narrative moves in and out of ordinary and non-ordinary experience in a natural matter-of-fact manner. It occurs when different cultures are juxtaposed, and co-existence prospers, by people moving back and forth among different cultures, negotiating multiple cultural realities.

Students presented their own research studies at the end of the course. For example, one student compared Zora Neale Hurston as a novelist and as an anthropologist. Another student compared Arguedas' use of light as a literary motif with the Quechua conceptualization of light.

According to Allen, the novelist and the anthropologist, and even some of the characters, are envoys or cultural mediators who interpret and explain culture to both participants and outsiders. This was a major theme for the course. In addition, the novels were vehicles for examining

anthropological concepts such as myth, incest taboos, or culture change.

When Allen teaches the course again, she will incorporate recent writers who, like Geertz, treat anthropology as an interpretive activity. George E. Marcus and James Clifford recently edited an anthology of articles titled Writing Culture: The Poetics of Ethnography (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1986). Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences, by George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fisher (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), considers ethnography and interpretive anthropology.

Allen intends to emphasize oral traditions more, using her own Quechua narratives; she finds anthropological transcription--the fixing of word to gesture in written form--challenging. For example, Dennis Tedlock emphasizes the dialogue between anthropology and "the native." Translator of Popul Vu in The Spoken Word and the World of Interpretation, he looks at the performance aspects of tradition, using techniques of dramatic script and concrete poetry to convey a sense of the oral performance on the printed page.

Robert Penn Warren once said that fiction allows us to experience lives beyond ourselves, "to live lives of potential or unrealized selves.... Ultimately fiction can satisfy our deepest need--the need of feeling our life to be in itself significant." That certainly echoes the definition of culture--the webs of significance. Ethnography can help us imaginatively live in another culture and understand why such behavior, perhaps vastly different from our own, makes sense and has meaning. Some novelists and anthropologists are able to combine both fiction and ethnography helping to increase both our understanding of ourselves and of our common humanity.

JoAnne Lanouette

("Symposium" from p.6)

Ruth Selig (Smithsonian) followed with an analysis of her own twenty-four year involvement with precollege anthropology. She illustrated diverse ways anthropologists can create impact at more general and more powerful levels of constituents, i.e. secondary school students through individual teachers in classrooms, teachers in university/museum teacher training programs in both large and small communities (Washington, D.C. and Laramie and Cheyenne, Wyoming, respectively), and, finally, lobbying national professional associations (AAA, SFAA) for change, as anthropologists and teachers begin to see the relevance of the discipline to a broader national constituency.

A summer Family History Project for eleven to fourteen year-olds, funded through NEH, was the focus of a paper presented by Patricia Higgins (SUNY-Plattsburgh). She described the project's close cooperation among a university anthropologist, historian, and sociologist, as well as among local educators, communication specialists, and library resource persons. A videotape of the project, created by participating students, was shown.

Jeanne Fulginiti (anthropologist and Assistant Superintendent, Reading School District) showed a videotape, illustrating the Hartford Public Schools' Gifted and Talented Program's involvement with anthropology through the students' re-creation of the Connecticut River Valley culture during Noah Webster's lifetime.

Finally, Eugenie Scott (National Council for Science Education) concluded with an analysis of the positions, tactics, and propaganda of the scientific creationists and with her suggestions for ways teachers can more effectively present evolution in the classroom.

Ruth Selig

NEW ANTHROPOLOGY TEXT: A REVIEW

Michael Alan Park. Anthropology: An Introduction. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1986.

There's hope! High school teachers have been stymied for decades in their search for an engaging, authoritative anthropology textbook. Either they gather and piece together their own materials or else resort to college textbooks. But these are often too technical, too comprehensive, or too exclusive, focusing on either cultural or physical anthropology. One recent college text, however, offers hope for high school teachers. Anthropology: An Introduction, written by Michael Park, an anthropology professor at Central Connecticut State University, describes anthropology as a holistic discipline; provides a sound introduction to the methods, issues, and areas of anthropological study; and appeals to high school students.

Park begins by describing his study of genetic drift among the Hutterites in western Saskatchewan: how he felt driving up to their colony one June day in 1973; how the wife of a local wheat farmer provided an introduction; how the colony minister in black trousers and coat, white shirt and full beard questioned his purpose; and why this group, or any group for that matter, allowed into its midst an anthropologist who traveled 1,300 miles to scrutinize their lives and their culture. What do the fingerprints of these Hutterites, the sex lives of Samoans, the diet of collective farmers in Rumania, and the behavior of wild apes have in common? With that introduction, Michael Park enthusiastically goes on to explore the business of anthropology.

The book has an intentional bias. Park focuses on ethology, the study of humans as biological organisms. Anthropology, then, is human ethology, and culture is a human form of adaptation. Park also sees anthropology as a science and throughout the book encourages students to ask questions, to analyze, and to see the "scientific method" at work. He encourages students to discover the fallacies in positions that seem scientific but are not, such as some studies on race and intelligence, gender differences, and territorial imperatives. Park, however, does not deny that the other kinds of human knowledge are important.

> Such ideas as the existence of a god, the morality of taking a human life, the humane treatment of animals, the number of wives a man may have, and cultural norms regarding proper sexual behavior are ideas that are taken on faith. They hold meaning for a particular group of people at a particular time. They are not statements about the natural world that need to be explained and tested. They are statements about the relationships of human beings. Both scientific and nonscientific knowledge are necessary for a society of people to survive and function. As biologist John Maynard Smith says," Scientific theories tell us what is possible; myths tell us what is desirable. Both are needed to guide proper action" (pp. 66 and 67).

The book's organization follows his ethological orientation. The beginning chapter provides concrete descriptions of various anthropologists' fieldwork, then defines environment and ecology, and concisely explores topics in evolution such as natural selection, mutation, and origin of species. After establishing the importance of anthropology as a science, the text discusses the identity of the human species with a

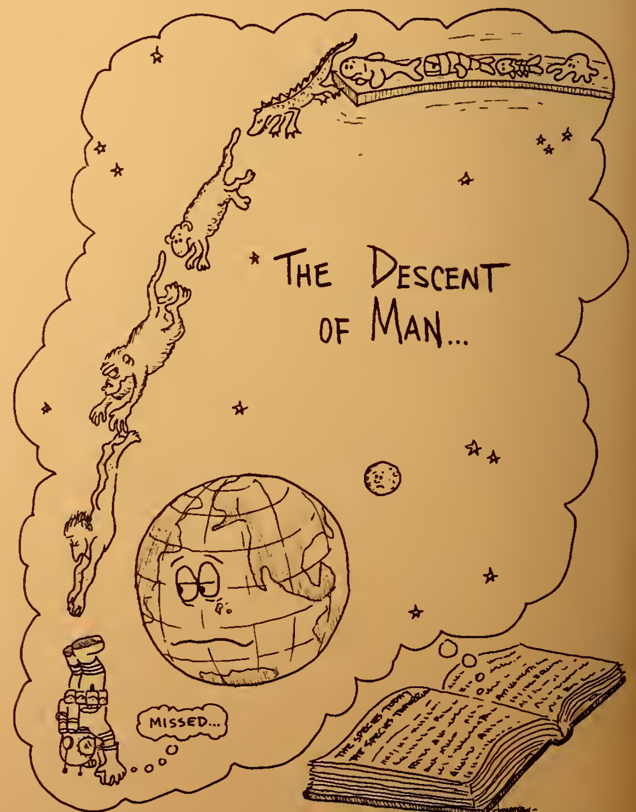
look at the anatomy, reproduction, and possible culture of primates. A concise interpretation of early hominid finds is advanced so that high school students will know, but not drown in, the data and debates about Ramapithecus, Austalopithecus afarensis, Homo habilis, and Homo erectus. (Read about recent finds and interpretations of hominid evolution in Alison Brooks' article "What's New in Human Evolution," Anthro.Notes, Fall 1987).

In the section on the sexual primate, genetics is introduced where it is essential for understanding the role of sex in human evolution. Lovejoy's hypothesis of male-female bonding through bipedalism and sexual consciousness is clearly explained so that students can catch the excitement and the problems in creating scenarios for why early human behavior evolved as it did. Students will wonder, along with Park, what is the value of sexual dimorphism in humans, and what are the functions of marriage?

Part Three, "Our Adaptations," focuses on procuring, eating, and distributing food; arranging families and organizing people; making tools and shelter; rediscovering and interpreting those tools and shelters by archeologists; developing human language and relating languages to culture; and, finally, maintaining order with religion and law. Park notes the problems with the non-human primate language studies, but he also shows their value. Certainly, he asserts, we cannot ignore the finds from Francine Patterson's study of Koko and Michael. The book gives short shrift to psycho- and socio-linguistics. In the course of this section, Park effectively integrates kinship terminology, basic economics, and the theory and methods of archaeology. With such an understanding of the human species, the book considers the tantalizing question, How did our behavior evolve? Obviously, with this ethological orientation, Park leans toward ecological or sociobiological answers. He includes Marvin Harris's well-known analysis of cows, pigs, wars, and witches.

The last part of the book, "The Species Today, the Species Tomorrow?", discusses biological differences and what they mean; gender and health; and culture change for the Hutterites, Dani, and !Kung. He leaves the reader convinced that anthropology is an intellectually exciting and important, relevant discipline.

In 1922, when archaeologist Howard Carter first peered into the tomb of the Pharaoh Tutankhamen ("King Tut"), he was asked if he could see anything. "Yes," he replied, "wonderful things." In fact, all our species' accomplishments should fill us with wonder, from the civilization of ancient Egypt to the first



pebble tools of our ancestors, from the modern computer to the reaping knife.

It would be sad indeed if our hypothetical astronaut anthropologists, returning home from our ruined planet, their ship loaded with remains of our wonderful things, were to shake their heads (or whatever) and wonder what happened to us.

In a modest but real way, all you've just learned about the human species is a first step toward trying to see that that doesn't occur" (pp. 376-377).

Park's book offers the expected supplementary aids: chapter summaries, notes, suggested readings, a glossary, and a bibliography. Books are included that are not only scholarly but also readable, and often popular. Park is a

fan of Stephen J. Gould and Marvin Harris.

Authors of introductory texts struggle with what cultural groups to include. They often either mention as many groups as possible or describe in depth just a few groups. Park's text provides a compromise; he focuses on the Hutterites, Kwakiutl, and Netsilik from North America; the Yanomamo and Jivaro from South America; the Aztecs from Central America; the Kibbutzim from Israel; the Mbuti, Ik, Masai, Nuer, and !Kung from Africa; and the Tasmanians and New Guinea groups giving students a concrete sense of the diversity of human cultures.

What will appeal most to high school students is Park's writing style. Humor, anecdotes, and a conversational tone abound, but without undermining the information, the terms, and the pursuit of understanding the importance of the scientific method. Park's enthusiasm for anthropology and for teaching comes across in a way that should infect most readers. Whether analyzing the social status functions of a necktie, the effect of agriculture on world views, or how a group can have different kinship terms, Park encourages thinking in the holistic way that has long been the trademark of anthropology. He takes students from what they know or are comfortable with--their cultural givens--and introduces them to other cultural views. For example, with kinship terms, Park moves from the bilineal to the unilineal in this way:

> If I were to ask you which descent line you belonged to, your mother's or your father's, you would answer that you belonged to both, equally. True, you probably have your father's last name; there may be some legal matters that emphasize your ties to one side over the other; and you may get along better with the people on one side. But in general your place in your family is as the product of, and as a member of, both sides. We call this setup bilateral (literally, "two sided").
>
> Well, naturally! How else would you do it? We know all about genetics and biological relationships. What other arrangement would make sense? But (I'm sure you see what's coming) not every society knows or cares about genetics. A bilateral system, even if it seems to fit biology, doesn't fill the cultural requirements of every population. Indeed, most societies (again, not most people but more cultures) organized descent lines in very different ways. Most groups (about 60 percent) are unilineal ("of one line") (p. 195).

(continued on p.15)

("Linguistics" continued from p.5)

covered three basic areas, academic concerns (134), student and teacher relationship (198), and personal matters (33). Of the 365 complaints given, 167 were structurally felicitous ("with stated conflict, an account given and new information provided") and were convincing. The most felicitous complaints were those relating to student-teacher relations and personal matters. Although the students were at different stages of developing communicative competence in complaining, over the year they all improved in their ability to produce a felicitous complaint, most even reducing the number of complaints.

Willy is an example of an effective complainer, one who mitigates his directness with positive evaluation. He has learned effectively the social skills of language, using the following strategies: direct discontent, mitigation, indirect discontent, and positive evaluation. An excerpt from his journal reveals some of these characteristics.

> Feb. 29: I hope we don't keep studying about India to the end of the semester because truthfully Im getting tired of studying about India every morning. I like studying about it and all but I think we are spending too much time on India and its getting kind of boring although I like making maps.

Other Studies

Sex differences in classroom response are just beginning to be the subject of analysis. As part of a linguistic study of a high school class, led by Secretary Bennett (U.S. Department of Education), Shuy looked at male-female responses. In short, male students responded more frequently than female students to the teacher's (Bennett's) questions and males in answering the teacher's questions were interrupted less (19%) by the teacher than were the females (27%) (Shuy, 1986.)

Also noted were Bennett's evaluations to the student responses. He gave four types of evaluative responses to their answers: negative, challenge, neutral, and positive. Of particular interest were his neutral and challenge evaluations:

> ...neutral evaluations neither praised nor condemned. They usually took the form of "Okay" or "Alright", spoken with flat intonation. ...Challenge evaluations usually repeated the words of the student in a question intonation indicating that part of the answer was right but not all of it, or he asked the student to say the answer in another way." The fact is that he offered challenges only to male students and neutral evaluations only to females. (Shuy, 1986.)

Although aware that this is a limited study, Shuy, however, asks if teachers do tend to challenge males more than females and if male teachers challenge males, while female teachers challenge females. These are questions that teachers as well as linguists ought to begin to consider.

Conclusion

As Shuy succinctly points out,

> What is glaringly omitted in all three professions [medicine, law, and education] is the use of functional, interactive, self-generated language performance data as the major source of diagnosis and evaluation for medical service, legal evidence, and learning/teaching. ...A major focus and goal of linguists is directed to these omissions.

Some common research methods uniting the recent work of linguists in these areas are: 1) reliance on direct observation of the communicative event, 2) analysis of the interactions themselves, 3) discovery of the structure of the communicative events to obtain a holistic, contextualized perspective, 4) inclusion of the perspective of the patient, defendant, plaintiff, and learner as well, 5) use of technology (audio and video taping for example) to capture and freeze event, 6) construction of meaning, referential and inferential, by the interaction of conversing participants, and so forth. (Shuy, 1984.) If lawyers, doctors, and teachers use these linguistic studies, they can better serve their clients.

References cited: (All articles by Roger Shuy, Professor of Linguistics, Georgetown University)

"Linguistics in Other Professions." Annual Review of Anthropology 13 (1984):419-45.

"Language and the Law." Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 7 (1986):50-63.

"A Holistic View of Language Training." Research in the Teaching of English XV (May 1981):101-111.

"Dialogue as the Heart of Learning." Language Arts 64 (December 1987).

"Discourse Level Language Functions: Complaining," In Dialogue Journal Communication: Classroom, Linguistic, Social, and Cognitive Views by Jana Staton, Roger Shuy, Joy Kreeft-Peyton, and Leslee Reed. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1988, pp. 143-161.

"Secretary Bennett's Teaching: An Argument for Responsive Teaching." Teaching and Teacher Education 2 (1986):315-323.

P. Ann Kaupp

("Anthropology Text" from p.13)

Anthropology: An Introduction is not without its drawbacks. Certainly some information will seem too truncated or too oblivious to the controversies that whirl around, for example, about the !Kung, the potlatch, or the savannah baboons. Only black and white pictures and a few charts serve for graphics, and no groups in Europe, the U.S.S.R., and Asia are discussed. A few oversimplifications, which Park openly acknowledges, will make some anthropologists uncomfortable. However, given the dearth of suitable high school textbooks, these weaknesses are minimal. This book will work well to teach the fundamentals of anthropology, engaging students in the process.

JoAnne Lanouette

Kaupp NHB 363
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20560

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, $300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

FIRST CLASS MAIL

ANTHRO.NOTES, a National Museum of Natural History Newsletter for Teachers, is published free-of-charge three times a year (fall, winter, and spring). Anthro.Notes was originally part of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program funded by the National Science Foundation. To be added to the mailing list, write: P. Ann Kaupp, Public Information Office, Department of Anthropology, Stop 112, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560.

This newsletter may be reproduced and distributed free-of-charge by classroom teachers for educational purposes.

Anthro.Notes Staff: P. Ann Kaupp, JoAnne Lanouette, Ruth O. Selig, Alison S. Brooks, editors; Robert L. Humphrey, artist.
Illustrations © Robert L. Humphrey, 1988-89.