Some Considerations in Teaching

Turkish Women

How to Read and Write

by

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and my friends who prayed that I would "get my sentences turned around the right way."

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INTRODUCTION: WHY READING?

Reading and writing are primarily linguistic activities
which demonstrate man's ability to reflect on and extend
his language. While the first writing systems were ideo-
graphic, the predominant type of writing system over the
past four millenia has been alphabetic. The invention of
an alphabetic system which we now take for granted was a
major linguistic accomplishment: someone went beyond the
meaning of language and segmented speech into sounds and
assigned a symbol to each sound. It was something like
the invention of the wheel -- so obvious once it was there,
but not so obvious that someone didn't invent it earlier.

Through the use of writing man has been able to extend his
memory and preserve his literature and over the centuries
knowledge has accumulated. Today's high school graduate
knows much more about math and science than the university
graduate of a century ago. In the last century espe-
cially, the ability to read and write has become one of
the basic requirements for participation in modern society,
and literacy is now viewed as a basic human right. Devel-
oping countries all over the world are struggling to pro-
vide their citizens with at least minimal literacy skills.

Turkey also is concerned with providing all its citizens
with literacy skills. When Atatürk introduced the Latin

alphabet in 1928, the literacy rate was only 10%. In the
ensuing literacy campaign over a million people learned
to read the new letters. Some of these were undoubtly
new readers, although many others already could read the
old script. Literacy was also extended through primary
schooling, however since it was not possible to provide
all villages, where the bulk of the population lived,
with schools, illiteracy among adults persisted, from 1958
up to the mid 1970's, the army taught all illiterate re-
cruits to read and write. Through a combination of pri-
mary school and adult education efforts, the literacy
rate in the population 6 years old and above rose from
10% in 1928 to 62% in 1975. The actual number of illit-
erates, however, has not decreased: an estimated 13
million illiterates in 1975 is larger than the total pop-
ulation in Atatürk's day. Two thirds of these illit-
erates are women, living mainly in rural areas and in the
"gece kondu" areas of the large cities. Over half of the
illiterate men are engaged in agriculture. Thirty one
provinces, all east of Ankara, had over 50% illiteracy
rates. Only five provinces (Ankara, İstanbul, Kırklareli,
Eskişehir, and İzmir) had illiteracy rates of less than
30%. However, the illiterate 20% of İstanbul's 5 million
population is still numerically larger than the illiterate
70% of Hakkari. (Yaygin Eğitim Enstitüsü, 1978)

A new literacy campaign, therefore was inagurated in 1981
to commemorate Atatürk's 100th birthday. Just how many
have learned through the campaign is not certain. In the
schools I observed, women taking a second course were
being counted as enrollees rather than re-enrollees, and
thus were counted twice in the total enrollment figures.
Also, literacy certificates were awarded to women who,
in my opinion, could not yet read although they had made
a good start. Thus, when the newspaper claims that over
a million have learned to read, the claim may be exag-
gerated. Assuming that these one million really have
learned, there are still 12 million to go -- adequate
scope for literacy efforts.

My observations of the literacy campaign left me with the
impression that the teachers are really trying, but that
they need help in the area of materials and method. The
purpose of this thesis is to suggest ways in which they
could be helped and at least a part of this large number
of illiterates can be taught to read and write. It is
not intended as a criticism of the present program but
as a suggestion for its improvement. The focus of this
paper is teaching Turkish women to read; not because I
am disinterested in men learning to read but because I
am a woman and have access to the larger part of
the problem.

One of the first considerations in teaching Turkish
adults, and women in particular, to read is that of
method. To get at the issue of method it is first neces-
sary to consider what reading is, hence the discussion
based on English reading in chapter one. Once major
parts of the reading process have been defined, methods
for teaching beginning reading are discussed in chapter
two. Since most of the literature available to me is on
teaching children to read English, a conclusion is post-
poned until after an examination of Turkish data in chap-
ter five.

Method is not the only consideration in teaching; the
best method in the world would suffer under materials
which do not appeal to the learner or an approach which
does not take his learning needs into account, (chapter
three). Teaching techniques are also important, and
teaching adults may be different from teaching children,
thus some practical suggestions are found in chapter four.

Some things cannot be learned from books, so I went out
and observed literacy classes and tutored women who were
learning to read and write. The experience is described
in chapter five, and in the conclusion a sample literacy
program designed to meet their learning needs is presented.

WHAT IS READING?

Reading is many things: extracting information from bus
signs and text books, confirming a fact in an encyclo-
pedia, skimming a newspaper, finding entertainment in a
novel, enjoying the subtleties of language in a pun or a
poem, working out detailed instructions for knitting a
sweater or evaluating the author's knowledge of a subject,
for instance mine in this paper.

Reading involves the marks on the paper (or other mater-
ials) and the writer's intent encoded in those marks.
While some languages such as Chinese use logographic
writing systems and others such as Japanese and Cherokee
use syllabic systems, most languages, including English
and Turkish, use alphabetic writing systems, which expressly
link the sounds of spoken words to written marks. Yet,
reading is much more than matching the marks to the sounds.
It is quite possible for a foreigner to "read" the head-
lines in a Turkish newspaper with reasonably accurate
pronunciation, but has he really "read" the newspaper if
he doesn't know any Turkish?

If reading involves decoding, then, it also involves com-
prehension. Comprehension, in turn, involves a knowledge
of the language and a knowledge of the world. While we
normally read to learn something new, we can actually

process only small amounts of totally new information.
Most of us would find a novel easier to read than an
article on nuclear physics because we are familiar with
the kinds of relationships described in a novel. Our
knowledge of language allows us to interpret READ as
/riyd/ or /red/ according to context. In fact, so much
language processing is involved in reading that it has
been called a "psycholinguistic guessing game."

A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game

In a now classic article Goodman (1970) rejects the com-
monly held idea that reading is putting letters together
to form words. Calling reading a "psycholinguistic
guessing game, involving an interaction between thought
and language," he claims that "reading is not precise
identification of all elements but skill in selecting the
fewest, most productive cues to produce guesses which are
right the first time" (p. 108). As the listener anti-
cipates what comes next in speech, so the reader learns
to anticipate what comes next in writing.

To demonstrate linguistic and comprehension processes at
work, he analyses mistakes, or miscues, in oral reading.
Many miscues make syntactic and semantic sense: 'he' for
'I', 'in his face' for 'in the face.' Sometimes whole
phrases are substituted but meaning is preserved, as when

a reader reads 'study what it means' when the text says
'study word meanings first.' Mistakes are often corrected
when the further context doesn't fit, eg. 'hoped' for
'opened' (although both are verbs). Such miscues suggest
that the reader is reading for meaning as opposed to ana-
lyzing every detail on the page.

Goodman does not see readers as "sounding out" words to
see what they are; both he and Smith (1973, 1982) feel that
phonics (sound symbol correspondances) is one of the last
techniquesused in word identification. A word which cannot
be comprehended because it is not in the reader's vocabulary
may never be correctly identified and pronounced. Goodman
gives the illustration of a fourth grader reading a sixth
grade reader which uses the word 'philosophical.' Although
he makes several phonics oriented approaches, he doesn't,
and can't, identify the word because he doesn't know it.

Smith (1982) insists that two kinds of information are
involved in reading: the printed information on the page,
and the non-visual information (syntactic and semantic)
which the reader brings to the page. The latter is the type
of information which explains the kinds of miscues described
by Goodman. Using syntactic and semantic information in
connection with the text already read, the reader makes a
hypothesis about what might come next and "samples" (rather

than reads) the text for featural information to confirm the
hypothesis and identify the meaning. If meaning is sucessfully
identified the process is repeated for the next bit of text.
If not, the reader has to backtrack and sample more features
to identify meaning. According to Smith, the reader regu-
larly identifies features from the highest order unit of
structure available: sentence or phrase meaning, word meaning,
or as a last resort, features of letters.

Hypothesis forming is a major part of Smith's theory. If
any one of the thousands of words in the language can follow
this one, the reader could become very uncertain as to what
it could be. If the reader can eliminate most of the pos-
sibilities by forming a hypothesis that the next word will
be restricted to a small set of words such as active verbs
or animate nouns, he should require less visual information
to identify the word than if he had not eliminated the pos-
sibilities. For example, in the sentence "The dog chased
the ___ ", the context requires a noun. The semantic infor-
mation carried in the word 'chased' suggests that the noun
should be animate or at least moving. Our knowledge of dogs
further restricts the possibilities to a small set of words
like 'cat,' 'mailman,' 'rabbit,' and 'car.' The presence of
a 'c' and a 't' in the text then identify the word as 'cat.'
However, Smith claims that we do not sample the letters as
such but rather the features of the letters. Only if we

cannot directly determine the meaning do we stop to iden-
tify the actual word (for instance if it were 'kitten' in-
stead of 'cat') or the letters themselves (if it were the
less familiar and rather unexpected word 'feline').

Smith bases his theory on the well known findings by
Cattell in 1885 that 4-5 unconnected letters, 2 uncon-
nected short words (about 12 letters) or 4-5 connected
short words (about 25 letters) can be perceived in the
same amount of time when presented on a tachistoscope.
The brain is obviously organizing what the eye sees, and
the organization is on the basis of language. We do not
normally read letter by letter; if we did, it would take
us much longer to read than it does. (Proofreaders,
whose job is to read letter by letter to catch the mis-
takes, have to use various tricks to disassociate them-
selves from the meaning of the text and concentrate on
the letters.) To determine the meaning of a word, says
Smith, the brain is not processing all the information
contained in all the letters. Thus he speculates that
the brain is processing only selected features.

Features, as Smith uses them, are easiest to define on
the lowest level of letter, but even then they are not
easy to define completely due to differences between upper
and lower case letters, various kinds of typeface and
endless varieties of individual handwriting. Neverthe-
less letters can be described as round/non-round,

open/closed or vertical/horizontal or a combination of
these. A Feature 'straight' could limit the choice to
a smaller set of letters without processing all the fea-
tures of the letter involved.

While Smith is uncertain of the exact nature of the fea-
tures which enable instant identification of words, Kolers
(1960, 1973) suggests that the interrelationship of the
letters within a word may be relevant. After experimenting
with reversed letters within words and with upsidedown,
reversed and otherwise distorted texts, he concluded that
'ǝƨɿoʜ'and 'ǝƨɿoʜ'are easier to read than'esroh'because the
interspace relationship between the letters is preserved.

If a word can be identified more quickly in a sentence
than in a disconnected list, the brain must be using less
information than normally needed to identify the word as
such. It is at this point where non-visual information
and the reader's hypotheses are important. If the reader
can predict on the basis of syntactic or semantic infor-
mation what the word might be he may need fewer visual
clues to identify its meaning. At this point Smith pre-
fers to talk about meaning features rather than word
features, as a miscue which preserves the meaning (such
as 'cat' for 'kitten') indicates that the meaning has
been identified even if the word has not. Again, Smith
cannot specify just what these meaning features are.

Presumably they would vary according to text and reader.

Sampling features at the highest possible level is impor-
tant to relieve the load on the brain, which takes one
second to process what the eye sees in a fixation of 200-
250 msc. While the short term memory is limited in the
number of bits of information it can process at one time,
it is not limited by the nature of the bits. The larger
the units being processed, the greater the speed of reading
and the greater the comprehension, since the reader is
seeing larger units in relation to each other for transfer
into the long term memory. When the reader is reduced
to identifying a word sound by sound, the short term
memory is overburdened and the reader may forget the
beginning of a sentence by the time he has reached the end.

Smith and Goodman lay heavy emphasis on the non-visual
aspect of reading. Kolers goes so far as to claim that
"reading is only incidentally visual." (1969) The empha-
sis on non-visual information fills a real place in the
literature and is well documented through Goodman's work
in miscue analysis (1970, 1973, 1976). The claim that
we are perceiving units larger than individual letters
also makes sense. However to suggest that a logographic
writing system like Chinese would not be any more dif-
ficult for the reader than an alphabetic system, or that
an alphabetic system is a "language compromise," convenient

for the writer but not for the reader (1973) is a strong
claim which not everyone could accept.

Somehow or other the claim that we "sample features,"
which admittedly are hard to define, is disquieting.
Just what do people see, or think they see, when they read?
Would a survey indicate that they see "features," perhaps
parts of letters or words, or would they report seeing
whole words in all their detail? Since most readers of
English have been taught spelling even if the reading instruc-
tion was originally on a sight word basis, it is quite pos-
sible that people would think they see all the letters in a
word, even when they do not carefully look at each word or
use only phonics information to identify new words.

Important as non-visual information may be, reading is
still very much tied to what is on the page. We do use
letter information to distinguish 'horse' and 'house;'
word shape is not enough. At the same time letters are
perceived in groups and not strictly in a left to right
fashion; in both words the sound of the 'o' is determined
by the following letter. Context is important, but a dis-
cussion of reading is not the context where either 'horse'
or 'house' would be predicted. Even where meaning is
completely predictable (but if it is, why read something
I know already?) the exact syntactic form (e.g. active/
passive, phrase/clause, etc.) may not coincide with the

predicted form. Thus reading also concerns the eye and
the marks on the page.

The Eye and the Marks on the Page

The eye moves across a line of print (or elsewhere) in
a series of jumps called saccades. Apparently nothing
is seen during the jump itself, but this seems of little
consequence as 90% of the time is spent on fixations, or
pauses, between the saccades. Fixations last an average
of 200-250 msec. for both good and poor readers, so there
seems nothing remarkable about the duration of a fixation,
however the length of the saccade does seem relevant:
children learning to read average two fixations per word,
whereas adult readers average one per two words. Regres-
sive eye movements vary with the skill of the reader and
the difficulty of the text. (Smith, 1982; Foss and Hakes,
1978; Gibson and Levin, 1975)

During a fixation 7-10 letter spaces are in clear focus
on the retina, available for actual word and meaning
identification. Word shape and letter information may
be available as far as 10-12 spaces into peripheral vision,
but 13 spaces seems to be the limit for word length infor-
mation. Experienced readers may be using word length
and interword information to guide the eye to the next
fixation point; for example a function word like 'in,'

noticed in the periphery, may cue the eye to move to the next longer word, which could reasonably be the adjective or noun of a prepositional phrase. (McConkie and Rayner, 1976 a,b)

Wanat's (1976) studies of eye movements suggest that the reader selectively allocates visual attention; regressive eye movements tend to be within phrase boundaries and fixations tend to concentrate on the first half of the phrase. Sentences with less predictable structure require more visual attention, as does oral reading.

The average adult reader reads 200-400 words per minute. While the advertisers of speed reading courses claim that it is possible to read 7000 words per minute, the actual physiological limit seems to be 1200 wpm, (5 saccades x 4 words x 60 sec.), which is still substantially faster than most people actually do read. Since it is physicaly possible to see everything on the page while still read- ing rapidly, McConkie and Rayner (1976a) disagree with the Smith-Goodman position. Instead of only sampling the visual information to confirm hypotheses about what might be there, "the direct hypothesis position assumes that the fixation period is primarily spent determining the nature of the text rather than hypothesizing what is to come" (McConkie and Rayner, 1976a, p. 155). While per- ipheral vision does not provide full detail, it gives

enough information about the redundancy of the text to
determine the length of the next saccade. As the reader
examines the text, he does have access to semantic and
syntactic information in his memory which helps determine
the meaning, thus he makes the kind of miscues described
by Goodman. At the same time he is examining the graphic
information and thus makes miscues based on graphic simi-
larity and has to go back and re-examine the text when
his linguistic sense does not accept the reading.

Both theories, hypothesis and direct perception, admit
the use of both visual and non-visual information; the
difference is one of amount and priority. Smith assumes
that visual processing is a bottleneck which will slow
down reading substantially and gives priority to hypothesis
forming while the text is being "sampled." McConkie and
Rayner claim that the eye and brain are capable of exam-
ining the full visual detail of the text, and non-visual
information is primarily a help in interpreting the vis-
ual information.

Reading and Oral Reading

Reading has often been defined as decoding into sound,
although this particular definition has been debated
hotly, Smith (1982) protesting that it is not, Gibson
(1976b) flatly asserting that it is.

Beginning readers tend to read out loud, partly because
teachers encourage them to do so (It is the easiest way
to monitor progress) and partly because saying the word
seems to help them recognize it. While skilled readers
often read faster silently than it would be possible
reading out loud, even they may stop to subvocalize when
reading a difficult text.

The question is, what relationship does pronouncing a
word have to its recognition? There is evidence that
skilled readers process meaning before they pronounce
words. In English this is sometimes necessary: 'READ'
cannot be pronounced until the reader has determined
whether it is present or past tense. Goodman's miscues
(1970, 1973, 1976) provide numerous examples of processing
for meaning before pronouncing the text. Kolers (1973)
devised an interesting experiment in this regard. Bi-
lingual subjects were asked to read texts with alternating
French and English phrases. That they often read a word
in the wrong language indicates that meaning indentifi-
cation preceeded the oral reading. Eye-voice span studies
also indicate that the eye is often three or four word
ahead of the voice. (The subject finishes saying what
he has seen before the light was turned off.) That the
number of words remembered tends to co-incide with phrase
boundaries also indicates processing for meaning (Wanat,
1976; McConkie and Rayner, 1976). Thus phonological

recoding is not a necessary part of word recognition.
There are times, however, when it is useful for identi-
fying an unfamiliar word, and beginning readers do use
this device. While phonological recoding does not seem
to be a necessary part of reading, it may be a discard-
able stage in learning.

A Theory of Automaticity

There are almost as many models of reading as there are
theorists. Some, like Gough's (1976) are relatively
simple linear models where a bit of information goes down
an assembly line for processing. At one place or another
an item may need the same route from perception to compre-
hension. Other models, like Goodman's (1976) use a com-
plex systems model to describe all the possible and varied
paths a bit of information can take. LaBerge and Samuels'
(1976) model has been selected for review not because it
completely describes all the processes used in reading (it
does not) but because it attempts to explain how and when
the reader decides to use higher and lower order structure.

Dichotic listening experiments indicate that while normally
information is ignored by the unattended ear, certain well
learned significant signals, such as the subjects name, are
processed. This suggests to LaBerge and Samuels that pro-
cessing and attention are different from each other:

while attention may be necessary for some processing, well
learned items may be processed without attention. Further-
more, attention can be switched rapidly from one item to
another when needed for processing, as when a listener seems
to be following two or more conversations simultaneously but
really is switching his attention rapidly back and forth at
appropriate moments. As something significant in a conver-
sation triggers a switch of attention, some unprocessable bit

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LaBerge and Samuel's

Model of Automaticity

1 feature detectors

2. letter codes

3. spelling-pattern codes

4. visual word codes

5. visual word groups

6. phonological spelling patterns

7. phonological words

8 phonological word groups

9. word meanings

10 word group meanings

11 phrase or sentence meanings

Visual Memory (enlarged)

—————— information flow without attention

- - - - - information flow only with attention
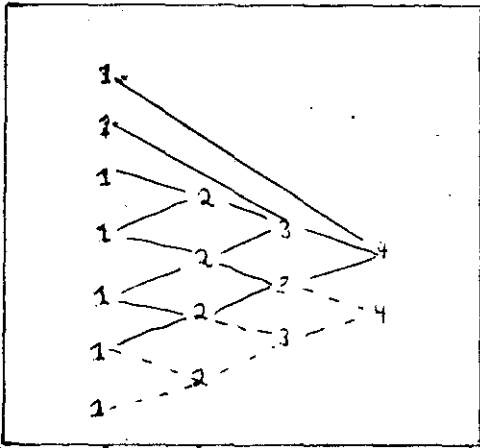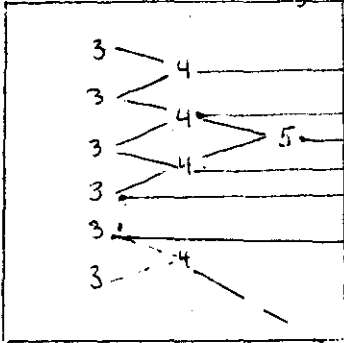
Visual Memory   Phonological Memory   Semantic Memory

Episodic Memory

(adapted from LaBerge an
Samuels, 1976, p. 552 a

of information activates attention in reading. Speed and
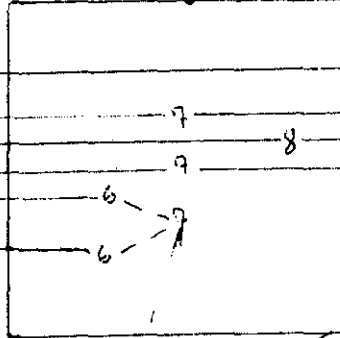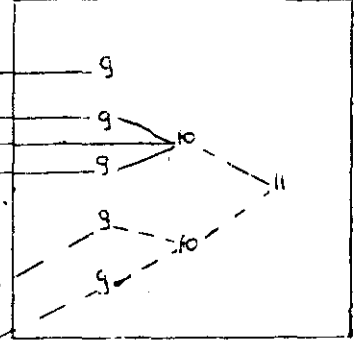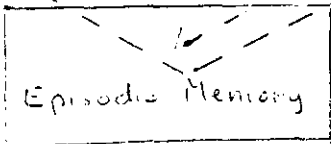efficiency would depend greatly on the number and level
of items needing attention as opposed to items which can
be processed automatically because they have been well-learn

The hierarchy of processing in LaBerge and Samuels model,
from low to high, is letter features, letters, spelling
patterns and visual words in the visual memory, phono-
logical memory, words meaning and word group meanings in
the semantic memory. After further research they hope
to expand the model to include syntax, prediction and
context.

The solid lines in the diagrams represent the flow of
information without attention. It may go directly from
a feature to a visual word which is matched to a word
meaning in the semantic memory. Or it may flow from
feature to spelling pattern to visual word to phono-
logical word to word meaning. The dotted lines repre-
sent information flow which requires attention.

Features may need attention to be realized as letters
(as a beginning reader learning the alphabet or an exper-
ienced reader being confronted with an ornate or unusual
script), letters and spelling patterns may need attention
to be realized as visual words, and visual or phonological
words may need attention and the added input from episodic

memory (events or contexts associated with the word in
the reader's experience) to be comprehended in the semantic
memory and further combined into longer units. The dif-
ference between automatic processing and processing requir-
ing attention is that of learning. In automatic proces-
sing the connections have been learned to the point of
automatic response.

La Berge and Samuels model takes into account the non-
visual information and higher order units described by
Smith. At the same time it demonstrates how the full
visual information can be processed without overlooking
the short term memory, and takes into account optional
phonological recoding. It also hints at how the reader
learned to read.

In the previous section we have noted that the experienced reader uses both visual and non-visual information in reading, and that he does not normally read letter by letter but perceives words and even phrases and sentences as wholes as he processes for meaning. How he comes to this point is the subject of no little controversy, at least in the United States. Since the early part of this century hundreds of studies have demonstrated that "Method A" (the method being used) is better than "Method B" (the one being criticised). This reflects the natural tendancy of researchers to find what they are looking for, and of critics to point out that the variables being studied are not the ones they think are crucial. For instance a study may demonstrate that children taught by a wholistic method are superior in comprehension; critics will point out that the same children cannot read new words whereas their children, taught by a phonics method, can decode almost any new word placed in front of them. Most of the research has been done on primary school children, and few studies are longitudinal even as far as the second or third grade. In her review of the literature, Chall (1967) concludes that no method can be "proved" better than the others; while a method may give an early advantage in one area or another, but the differences even out by the end of the fourth grade. Children have learned well by all methods, and they have failed to learn by all methods.

In this section we will describe various methods of teaching
beginning reading, ask how words are recognized, and
attempt to come to a tentative, theoretical conclusion
as we discuss the issue of "top down" vs. "bottom up."
A more definite, practically based conclusion will be
postponed until after a consideration of Turkish data in
a later section.

Methods for Teaching Beginning Reading

Methods can be classed into two major groupings: wholistic
methods and sound-symbol oriented methods, usually referred
to as "phonics" methods, although this is not the best
descriptor for all the methods in the group.

Sound-Symbol Oriented Methods.

The **synthetic phonics**
method is characterized by an emphasis on decoding by
effective use of sound symbol correspondances. Students
are taught the sounds of the letters and the rules for
putting them together to form words. Letters are intro-
duced in an ordered sequence and vocabulary is limited
to letter combinations already learned until the student
acquires the ability to "sound out" any new word.

The underlying assumption is that the learner is able to
perceive an utterance as a series of sounds and abstract the
sounds from the utterance. The wide spread use of

alphabetic writing systems is a testimony to the existence
of such an ability. As Foss and Hakes (1978) point out,
this is a metalinguistic ability (ability to reflect on
language and treat it as an object) which does not seem
to develop before about age six. In Russia, ability to
segment phonemes is seen as an important part of reading
readiness, and also a skill which can be taught through
games to four-and five-year-olds. In the experiments
described by Zhurova (1973) children were asked to help
toy animals cross a magic bridge which would collapse
unless the child could help the animal say the first or
last sound in its name. Sounds were first intoned in
the word context (l-l-l-isa, 'fox') and later said in
isolation (l-l-l). Stop consonants presented a greater
difficulty than continuants. Intoning the sound in the
context of the word seemed to be a necessary step in
isolating the sound. Since the experiments were done in
the context of teaching a prereading skill and the children
learned through the experiments, we do not know if this
skill develops spontaneously, that is, if non-readers
have it without being taught. It would be interesting
to know if illiterates make slips of the tongue ('the
queer old dean' for 'the dear old queen') or learn langu-
age games like pig latin (kuş dili).

Another assumption underlying a synthetic phonics method
is that sounds are separate entities which can be put

together to form words something like beads on a string.
While we do have the ability to segment a word into pho-
nemes and with alphabetic writing treat them as if they
were separate, it is not strictly speaking physically true
that they are separate. A sound spectograph of a CVC mono-
syllable such as 'bag' reveals that the vowel sound covers
the whole syllable; if the tiny segment which could most
nearly be regarded as "pure" consonant were to be played
back on a tape, the result would be a chirping noise rather
than anything which could be regarded as a speech sound.
Furthermore the /b/ and /g/ segments overlap. At best,
alphabetic writing indicates the relative onset times
of the phonemes.
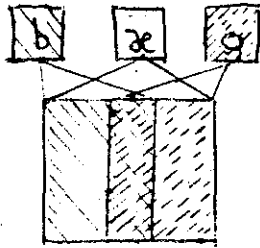
Parallel Transmission of Phonetic Segments
(Liberman 1970)

This explains the difficulty many beginners have when they
try to "sound out" words: because they try to pronounce
the phonemes in isolation they get a nonsense tri-syllable
"kuh-a-tuh" rather than a tri-phonemic monosyllable, 'cat.'
It is not possible to produce stops (/p, b, t, d, k, g/)
or affricates (/č, ǰ/) without the addition of some sort
of reduced vowel. The continuants (/f,v,s,z,ʃ,ʒ,m,n,l,r/)
can be extended or intoned in isolation and could profitably

be introduced before the stops in a synthetic phonics
scheme.

A major criticism of a synthetic phonics method stems from
this difficulty in sounding out words: especially in the
beginning stages, "sounding out" can be so painfully slow
that the beginner loses sight of the meaning of the indi-
vidual word as well as of the larger context of the sen-
tence. Worse still, the learner may develop the habit
of focusing his attention on the sounds rather than the
meaning. Word identification may become an end in itself
and instead of reading he is "word calling" or as
Wardaugh puts it, "barking at print."

The complexities of the English orthography are well known.
English has a morphophonemic spelling system in which the
'i' in 'divine' and 'divinity' represents the underlying
root vowel rather than the actual pronunciation. Homo-
graphs represent two different pronunciations or two dif-
ferent stress patterns ('read':/riyd/ /red/, 'record':
/rekord/ /riykord/), and one pronunciation /miyt/ may
represent the different meanings 'meat,' 'meet' and 'mete.'
In spite of these difficulties there are many well worked
out systems for teaching English reading through phonics.

Turkish is more fortunate than English to have a fairly
straightforward phonemic writing system, but even Turkish

has a few inconsistencies due to language change. For
instance 'ağabey' reflects the etimology of the word and
possibly a historical pronunciation, but today it is
usually pronounced /a:bi/ or /a:bey/, with a lengthened
/a/ but seldom with two pulses let alone two syllables.
Words of Arabic origin such as 'müteahhit' have a doubled
consonant which reflects an Arabic reduplication rule but
not regular Turkish pronunciation.

Turkish, like English, has cases where stress cannot be
assigned until meaning has been determined. An example
is 'çalişma,' which can be /çálişma/, 'don't work', or
/çalişmá/ 'work' (verbal noun). A written accent mark
is not necessary in Turkish orthography as the context
will usually disambiguate the two forms. However these
problems are minor and a synthetic phonics approach to
teaching reading would be able to cope with them.

A more serious problem in a systhetic phonics approach
to teaching Turkish reading is the difference between the
various dialects and standard Turkish. Although phonemic
changes between dialects tend to be systematic and can
be learned, the phonetic differences tend to be pro-
nounced (pun intended), thus a synthetic phonics method
could turn into a pronunciation lesson for standard
Turkish rather than a reading lesson. Other implica-
tions of dialect will be discussed later.

Because of the difficulties with the synthetic phonics method just described, alternate methods which still emphasize the phoneme-grapheme correspondence have been developed. The major ones are analytic phonics, "linguistic" methods, and syllable methods.

Analytic phonics is different from synthetic phonics in that previously learned sight words are analyzed and specific sounds isolated: at first word initial and final sounds and later word internal sounds. This ensures that phoneme-grapheme correspondences are learned in a meaningful context and that pronunciation of the word is not distorted by pronouncing phonemes in isolation. Analytic phonics is easy to combine with other methods and is often used in word and sentence methods, though not necessarily from the beginning.

Linguists such as Bloomfield (1961), Fries (1963), and LeFevre (1964) object to the teaching of sounds in isolation as a distortion of language, and the alternatives proposed by Bloomfield and Fries have become known as the "linguistic" method.

A sample from Bloomfield's first lesson is:

can   Dan   fan   man   Nan   pan   ran   tan   an

Nan can fan Dan.   Can Dan fan Nan?
Dan can fan Nan.   Nan, fan Dan.   Dan, fan Nan.

The second lesson introduces words of the "cat fat
hat   mat   pat   rat   sat   at" variety to make sen-
tences like:

> Nan can pat a cat.
> A fat rat ran.
> A fat cat ran at a fat rat.
> Can Nan fan a fat man?
> Can a fat man pat a cat?

By lesson 16 a number of patterns have been learned,
resulting in stories like:

> Sis had a pin.
> Tad hid it in a rag bag.
> Did it jab Sis?   Did Sis yip?
> Did Tad fib?

(Bloomfield, 1961)

Though often interpreted as a phonics method, Bloomfield's
intention was for words to be learned as wholes and the
pattern recognized. Fries modified the idea to include
contrastive spelling patterns such as 'hat-hate' 'fat-
fate' 'rat-rate' 'mat-mate' etc. Both suggested prac-
ticing the patterns to the point of automatic recognition.

Material produced along these lines ranges from dull (Can
Nan fan Dan?) to really clever, for instance the Dr. Seuss
children's series which features made up words and make
up creatures like "Fox in socks" and stories like:

> Millions of Monkeys!
> Millions of drums!
> Millions of monkeys, drumming on drums!
> Dumditty dumditty dum dum dum! [1]

[1] These books are a rather popular children's series. Unfor-
tunately I do not have access to them to give full refer-
ences, and am quoting from memory.

It would be possible to develop list of word patterns in
Turkish along the lines of:

```
an  kan  san  can  han    or    az  kaz  saz  laz  naz
en  sen  ben  ten                ez  kez  gez  tez
on  son  don  kon                iz  çiz  kiz  biz  siz
ön  dön  sön  yön                --  kız  mızmız
un  sun                          üz  süz  düz
ün  yün  dün                     --  tuz  buz  muz
in bin din cin kin               öz  göz  çöz
```

However, many of these are command forms of verbs not
usually used as affirmative commands (Üz! Kon! Sön!???)
and most of the words do not combine semantically with
the others to make sentences, even if it were possible
to do so without introducing inflectional endings. Once
several patterns have been learned and polysyllabic words
are introduced, the difficulty could be overcome, and
perhaps some really clever materials could be written.
The method as such seems on limited value in Turkish as
a total approach. Combined with other methods, word
pattern drills could be useful, but need to be used with
care as they are not very interesting.

Syllable methods are also designed to overcome the dif-
ficulty of pronouncing consonants in isolation and some
consider the syllable to be the minimal unit of phonic
analysis. If the beginner can be trained to see 'ba' as
a unit, he can read 'baba' without the inevitable reduced
vowel which would occur if he tried to read 'b' and 'a'

in isolation. The best known example of a syllable
approach is that developed by Laubach (in Gray, 1956)
for use in literacy campaigns all over the world. Samples
of lessons in Kiswahili and Spanish are given on the next
page. In the Kiswahili example, a picture is used to
associate a letter with a word beginning with the sound;
in the Spanish example the picture represents the whole
first syllable. In both cases the syllables learned are
chosen for frequency of use and recombined to form new
words. (Gray, 1956)

Another type of syllable method described by Gudschinsky
(1965) has been used successfully in teaching Indian
tribes of Mexico and South America to read their own
languages. In this method a few words which make a
sentence or phrase but which have been selected for high
frequency syllables are taught. Through the use of frame
drills, the words are broken down into syllables and the
vowels isolated. As more words are added, syllables
having the same vowel are contrasted in frame drills.
Illustrations are used to illustrate the meaning of the
sentence rather than as a device to remember the syl-
lables. To facilitate sentence building, an occasional
sight word is used. A story from lesson two a sample
primer in Turkish constructed after this method is:

    Kedi nerede?
    Kedi odada.
    Dede nerede?
    Dede evde.

		a	a	a / a
		baba / ba	ba	ba / a
		dada / da	da	da / ba / a
		fa / fa	fa	fa / da / ba
		gari / ga	ga	ga / fa / da
		haraka / ha	ha	ha / ga / fa

LESSON 1

Figure 6. This is Lesson 1 in a primer. A picture representing a word beginning with the sound of the new letter appears in the column on the far left. In the next column the letter is drawn over the picture in such a way as to show resemblance between the shape of the object and the letter. The third column presents the printed word in which the new letter figures. In the fourth column attention is drawn to the new phonetic element. Vowels are presented alone. Consonants are presented with a previously learned vowel. The fifth column is for practice in combining familiar elements.

a	la	a	a
ha	cha	ha	ha
ma	no	ma	ma
sa	po	sa	sa
za	pato	za	za

Figure 8a. The first page of this primer consists of pictures illustrating the syllables to be learned. On this portion of the second page *a* and several of the consonants are introduced by means of words beginning with those consonants. After the sound of *a* in *ala* has been learned, words accompanied by pictures are presented. The first syllable of each word begins with a new consonant combined with the familiar vowel, *a*.

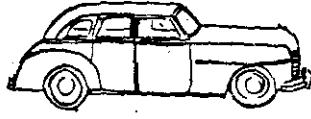| ma ma	va	a	la	ca sa
mama	va	a	la	casa
ma ma	a ma sa	la	ma sa	
mama	amasa	la	masa	
ma ma	lla ma	a	pa pa	
mama	llama	a	papa	

Figure 8b. This is a portion of the third page of a primer. It will be observed that immediately after *a* and various syllables including it have been learned, reading begins. The child is here aided in his recall of the syllables by the recurrence of the pictures with which they were first presented. This use of pictures is discontinued soon after a word has been introduced into reading matter. However, most primers employing the syllabic method do not use pictures as aids to recall in reading.

The frame drill for the Turkish lesson constructed after
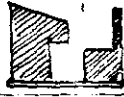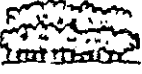the Gudschinsky method is:
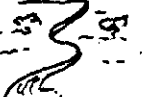
a	e	i	o
da	de	di	
ka	ke	ki	

(Hill, n.d.)

Although not approved by the ministry of National Edu-
cation, syllabaries (hece tablosu) are sometimes used by
teachers in Turkish schools, usually half way through the
school year, as a supplement to regular reading materials,
with both children and adults. Sometimes students are
given the rather difficult task of memorizing the whole
first page, which combines all consonants with all vowels
in a CV pattern, starting with ba, be, bı, bi, bo, bö,
bu, bü and ending with za, ze, zı, zi, zo, zö, zu, zü.
Sometimes the combinations with 'ğ' are listed, although
they are never found in word initial position and cannot
readily be pronounced. The next page features words
formed from these syllables such as masa, para yara, sıra,
etc. Later syllables of the V, VC, CVC and CVCC patterns
are taught. This type of method is open to the criticism
that it is boring, and that it teaches words in isolation
without reference to their meanings. An attempt to over-
come these difficulties is found in books like Hece Metodu
(designed for teaching children at home) which combines
syllables with pictures of familiar objects in a work-
book format. A sample page follows.

ar		**r r r**		sı		ra
er	mut	**R**		be		re
or	man			ko		ro
ör	dek					rö
ur	gan			bo		ru
ür				sü		rü
ır	mak			a		rı
ir				de		ri

_ ro	_ rü	ur_	ar_	ır_	_ ru	_ rı

_ re	_ ra	or_	ör_	_ ri	a ra

(Coşkun, H., 1981)

A major use for linguistic and syllable methods in Turkish
could be for teaching endings, all of which have very
regular patterns. It should be noted however that syllable
and morpheme boundaries do not always coincide: 'okula'
is phonologically 'oku-la' but morphemically 'okul - a'.
Endings would have to be taught on a morphemic level
regardless of the phonological syllable boundaries.

A major drawback of sound-symbol oriented methods is the
lack of emphasis on meaning. Not only can meaning be
lost as the beginner painfully sounds out a word; not
much meaning may be there in the first place. While an
attempt is made to pick letters, spelling patterns or
syllables which can be productive in forming common
words and interesting sentences, the actual number of
meaningful, interesting sentences or stories which can
be formed is by the very nature of the selection process
extremely limited. Thus the beginner does learn how to
decode (which he needs to learn), but he does not learn
from the first lesson that print is meaningful. Wholistic
methods try to fill the gap.

Word, Sentence and Story Methods. If a sentence or story
is not interesting and relevant to the reader, there is
little point in reading for meaning. If words can be
selected for their contribution to the story rather than
their phonological content, it should be easier to con-
struct meaningful and interesting reading material.

Writers of such material do not always succeed, since there is a limit to the number of new words which can be introduced at one time, and these words must be repeated often enough to be learned. Stories of the "Come, Dick, come. See Spot run. Funny, funny Spot." variety are not necessarily more interesting than "A fat cat sat on a mat." or "Tin Can Dan ran." However, the potential is there to select words which will make interesting and relevant stories.

Wholistic methods are based on the principle that wholes should be taught before parts because wholes are more easily perceived than parts. Often quoted is Cattell's finding (cited before) that 4-5 unconnected letters, 2 unconnected words or 4-5 connected words can be perceived in the same ammount of time. Since Cattell used subjects who already knew how to read in his experiments, his results say more about their reading skills than about how they attained them. We do not know whether his subjects perceived words as wholes because they had been taught to do so or not.

Nevertheless, in certain learning situations it is useful to know the whole before learning the parts. For instance, in becoming acquainted with an unfamiliar part of town, we usually try to get an overall impression while trying to note a few details which will help us recognize the place again. As we become familiar with the place we learn enough details to be able to recognize it with a glance, perhaps

only the limited view from a crowded bus. When learning
to read music or play a musical instrument, practice is
greatly facilitated when the song is familiar or the teacher
plays it a few times, as the notes on the paper can be
matched to a model in the head. In learning to read the
letters of a new alphabet, for instance Greek, it may per-
haps be easier to read words which have been loaned into
English: The word is familiar and I have some idea of what
it should be, and I can try to figure out the unknown let-
ters on the basis of the known ones. Thus whether one is
"reading" a street corner, music, or a new alphabet (and
any alphabet is new to the beginner), an overview is valuable
in organizing the new information.

Word, sentence and story methods differ in the nature of
the wholes being presented. A "story" may be only three
or four sentences long, but gives meaningful context for
the sentences. Certainly "Come, Dick, come." is more mean-
ingful in the context of "See Spot run." A sentence in
turn gives meaning to the words which are never found in
isolation such as 'in,' 'of,' or 'the,' and determines the
meaning of ambiguous words such as 'can' (verb or noun).
Kolers (1969, 1973) also found that "reversible" words or
letters such as 'was' and 'saw,' 'much' and 'chum,' 'b' and
'd,' 'p' and 'q,' which are often confused in isolation are
seldom confused in a sentence.

Proponents of a sentence or story method emphasize that
a sentence is more than the sum of its words: it is the
sum of the interrelated meanings. Words can be mechan-
ically repeated without putting them together for meaning.
The criticism is largely theoretical since word methods
typically use words in a sentence as soon as they are
introduced and in actual practice may not be distinguish-
able from a sentence or story method. The "Come, Dick,
come. See Spot run. Funny, funny Spot." sequence cited
earlier fills the requirements of a story method but is
in fact from a primer series which uses a word method.

The theoretical difference is whether words should be
introduced first and built up into sentences, or whether
sentences should be introduced first and broken down
into words. Both have their advantages. Some words,
such as concrete nouns, names and command forms of verbs,
do have meaning in isolation. Since they are short,
discrete units, the reader has a better idea of where to
focus to get information which will help him identify it
later. When a sentence is introduced, he may not know
where to look for identifying cues. Individual words
reoccur more often than sentences, thus the word is a
valuable unit for teaching, allowing more flexibility
than a sentence. On the other hand, function words are
meaningless without a context. Function words in English
are often realized as endings in Turkish. Are 'okul' and
'okula' one word or two different ones? The first can be

taught in isolation but will not fit into all sentences.
The second can be taught only in context: if it does
occasionally occur as a one-word sentence, it appears
only in the context of the question, "Nereye?", and
usually of course it occurs in the context of a longer
sentence. This is a major reason for the adoption of
the sentence method as the official method for teaching
reading in Turkish public schools.

The sentence method as used in Turkey. The sentence
method is the official method prescribed for teaching
reading both in primary school and in adult literacy
classes.

As practiced in primary school, children starting in
September learn sentences as wholes through classroom
discussion and drilling. The sentences are coordinated
with the current unit in Hayat Bilgisi (knowledge for
life), such as our home, our street, our school, Cumhuriyet
Bayramı (Republic Day), etc. and thus reading is an
extension of other classroom activities and gains meaning
as such. Usually sentences are copied into notebooks
dozens of times, and the children are expected to write
them from memory as well as read them. By late November
they are taught to identify the individual words within
sentences. Since the same words have been repeated in
several sentences, this is not difficult. By this time
about 40-50 words have been learned. On this level

'okul' and 'okula' are treated as two different words and
the children have to point to the right one when asked.
By this time the children are used to meaning and it is
no longer a risk to take the word out of the sentence to
look at it separately. In January the words are divided
into syllables and recurring syllables are pointed out.
New words are learned on the basis of known syllables.
The differences between 'okul' and 'okula' can now be
pointed out in terms of syllables. Since all the vowels
occur as syllables, some letters have now been learned
as such. If teachers use a "hece tablosu"(although not
approved by the Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı) it is usually
at this point of instruction in the hope of speeding it
up. The transition to letters takes place in February.
Letters are taught by pointing them out in words and by
comparing syllables. By March, the children are supposed
to be able to read new material fluently and the school
may hold a "reading holiday" to celebrate. While all
children probably do not learn at the same rate, the sys-
tem does seem to work, and one does not hear of reading
problems in Turkey as often as in the United Staes, where
reading failure is almost endemic. The teachers I talked
with were pleased with the sentence method for children
and told me that the worst readers were the ones who knew
the alphabet before they came to school and got hung up
on "sounding out".

The sentence method is also prescribed for use with adults.
In the context of a 45 day course, the official teacher's
guide prescribes the transition from sentence to word on
the 10th day of instruction, from words to syllables on
the 17th day and from syllable to letter on the 27th day
of instruction.

Word Recognition

At some point in reading instruction, words must be recog-
nized as such, as they occur over and over again in novel
situations. While context clues are useful in eliminating
possibilities, they are, except in highly redundant expres-
sions, not enough to predict the actual word which will
be used. What context clues would enable you to predict
that the next word I am going to use is 'rhinocerous?'
Language is redundant, but not so redundant that it elim-
inates the need to encode or decode messages. Furthermore
we need to recognize words we haven't seen before. The
beginner needs tools to identify words which were not in
the primer. Alphabetic writing is such a tool, even more
useful in Turkish than in English. How soon can it be used?

How are words recognized? Wholistic methods generally
present the material to the learner and let him figure
out how to remember it. Smith (1982) contends that the
learner will learn the difference between words

much the way a child learns the difference between cats
and dogs: by being given many opportunities to observe
them. As he is given feedback on his responses ("no,
this one is a dog..."), he gradually abstracts a set of
features to be used in identifying cats and dogs, or in
our case, words.

Chinese is often cited as a language where only a whole
word method of teaching can be used. Instead of a symbol-
to-sound correspondence, Chinese ideographs employ a symbol-
to-idea correspondence which enables speakers of mutually
unintelligable dialects to read the same script regardless
of pronunciation. If it is possible for Chinsse to learn
thousands of words on the basis of sight alone, it is
reasoned, it should be possible to teach any word on a
sight-word basis. Thus one can find articles entitled,
"American Children with Reading Disabilities Can Easily Read
English from Chinese Characters," (Rozin. et al., 1973)
which totally ignore the way Chinese learn to read their
own language.

Historically, characters were a pictoral representation
of an object. Classic Chinese had 214 of these basic
characters, or radicals. A second group of words was
formed by compounding characters, for instance by bringing
a 'pig' under a 'roof' to mean 'house, home, family.'
The third group of characters was formed by borrowing
characters for like sounding words. The ancient word

for 'come' sounded like the word for 'barley,' and since

barley was easier to depict than 'come', the symbol for

barley was borrowed to mean 'come.' If many characters

are borrowed in this way would create confusion as to

whether the word as being used in its concrete or borrowed

sense. Thus a forth group of characters, comprising 90

of all characters, contain two elements: a "radical" to

denote meaning and a "phonetic" for the pronunciation.

For instance, the words for mouth and 'beat' were homo-

phones, so the character for 'beat' is comprised of a

character meaning 'mouth', for the pronunciation, and the

character for 'hand', because beating is done with the hand.

Before the Communist revolution, characters were learned

by rote by tracing and painting them over and over. A

character could have as many as 17 strokes and averaged

over 11. Somewhere between 4-7000 characters were nec-

essary for a basic reading vocabulary. Many teachers,

and therefore their students, were unaware of the etimology

of the characters which otherwise could have served as

an aid to memory. After the revolution the characters

were simplified and the number of strokes reduced. An

alphabetic script called "pinyin" was introduced to popu-

larize the national language and facilitate the learning

of the simplified characters, which are also analysed for

their parts. (Liu, 1978; Leon, 1978) Considering that

the traditional way of learning the characters involved a

detailed analysis of the strokes and the newer way involves

alphabetic mediation, the sight-word argument would seem to be weakened.

What cues are used to recognize words? Word length and word shape (especially with lower case letters) are thought to be important cues for beginning readers. Samuels (1976) disagrees. Citing his own research as well as that of Gibson, he asserts that kindergarden children use first letters, last letters, middle letters and word shape, in that order for word identification. This does not mean that they were using letters to sound the words out, but they were using them to identify words. Disadvantaged children who had not learned the alphabet used none of the above cues, including word shape. Letter cues therefore would seem to be highly salient to children who have been exposed to the alphabet.

Since children tend to use the easiest cue to idenitfy words (be it only an ink blot on the flashcard), and since many words have several letters in common, Samuels (1976) devised an experiment to find out under what conditions children will use one or all letters to discriminate words. An artificial alphabet was used as many of the children would already know the letters. One group of children (the high discriminability group) was given a set of highly discriminable words, DA BE MI SO, in which no two words had the same letter in common. Words could be remembered by the first letter, last letter, or both.

The second group of children (the low discriminability group) was given the words SE SA ME MA, which had letters in common. To learn the words, the children would have to notice both letters. While the high discriminability group tended to learn the words more quickly, the low discriminability group performed better on a transfer task. Both groups were presented with a new word, MO. The high discriminability group tended to say it was MI or SO depending on whether they were using the first or last letter as a cue. The low discriminability group said they had not seen the word before, perhaps noticing the presence of a previously unused letter. Samuels concluded that training which forces attention on all the letters of a word formed a better basis for transfer to new words. Neither group received phonics training; the point of the experiment was visual discrimination.

Matching letters to sounds is of course important in a phonics method. If however one chooses to use a sight-word method instead, it does not follow that the letters are unimportant. The research cited above indicates that the letters are highly salient clues for remembering a word, and the only clues for distinguishing words like 'house' and 'horse,' which have the same shape and length. They also form the foundation for the analytic phonics which is often used after a foundation of sight words is laid.

Top Down or Bottom Up?

Goodman (1970) and Smith (1973, 1982) take a top down or wholistic position in learning to read. For them, meaning is the all important thing. How (or if) a reader learns to use alphabetic information for decoding is of lesser importance. LaBerge and Samuels' model of automaticity (1976) in contrast, assumes more of a bottom up position. While a fluent reader uses higher order units for processing, they argue, he has forgotten that he has acquired them by practicing lower order skills which have become so automatic that he is no longer aware of them.

Beginning readers read slowly and with difficulty. Those trained on a phonics method read slowly because they sound out words. Those trained on sight-words may not be able to read at all when they encounter words which were not in the primer. If the context fails to provide them with a clue, they have no further skills.

Gibson(1976a) also takes a bottom up position when she suggests that learning to read involves three different tasks: learning to differentiate symbols, learning to "map letters into sounds," and learning to use progressively higher order units of structure. On the other hand, in her studies of perception (1976b), the trend towards "optimization of attention" in which the learner becomes increasingly efficient in selecting the features which are relevant to his purpose, could also work in a top down process of

learning. For example a word may initially be recognized by an irrelevant cue such as an inkspot on the flashcard or the word's position on the page. Optimization of attention would involve selecting a more relevant cue, such as the first letter, and eventually a plurality of cues when several words to be learned start with the same letter.

The issue of top down (wholes) vs bottom up (phonics) methods seems to me to be an extension of the ancient debate about universals and particulars, the whole and parts, inductive and deductive reasoning. It is often claimed that children tend to see things as wholes. This may be true, but it is only part of the truth. Samuels (1976), Gibson (1976 a and b) and any kindergarden teacher can testify that children also, at least sometimes, try to remember wholes by a detail, sometimes an irrelevant detail such as an inkspot on a flashcard. This is not surprising in a real world where both wholes and parts really do exist. It would seem that to learn about the world includes learning about wholes and parts, and that learners are aware of this, sometimes using wholes to learn about parts and parts to learn about wholes. I believe that a reasonable teaching strategy should take advantage of both processes, rather than emphasize one at the expense of the other. It would also seem that a adults, who have learned in many other areas that there are wholes and parts, would be in a position to grasp this in reading instruction also. As Wardaugh (1969) puts it,

the learner needs to deal with both the code and the message.

The Code. The code must, at some point, be taught. Alphabetic writing, especially in a language with a phonemic alphabet like Turkish, offers too many clues to word recognition to be ignored. Wardaugh (1969) points out that a synthetic phonics method greatly distorts the sounds of words and therefore is not linguistically sound. Therefore an analytic phonics approach of teaching the letters in the context of words seems much more reasonable. Just when an analytic phonics element could be introduced will be discussed after a review of some experience with Turkish women learning to read.

The Message. Comprehension is unquestionably the goal of reading. Phonics advocates assume that if words are decoded comprehension is assured. Wholists accuse phonics people of not teaching comprehension at all and often react as if decoding were the enemy of meaning, which of course is not true. On the other hand, wholists may assume comprehension is attained when the reader can integrate words into a thought and answer who, what, when, where and why questions about every sentence. Real comprehension should go beyond a mere extracting of information to interacting with the material. The reader may interact simply by continuing to read a story, poem, or article because he enjoys the language and plot, or the

information is interesting and useful to him. A decision
not to read further because the information is not inter-
esting to him, relevant to his present need, or compatible
with his value system is also interaction. Even routine
reading tasks like reading package labels or bus signs
often involve a decision whether to buy the product or
get on the bus. Things are not necessarily right or true
because they are in the newspaper, be it a hachet murder
or a political statement. Thus comprehension involves
questions like: "Did he say or do the right thing?" "What
are the consequences?" "What should have been done or said?"
"What does the speaker want me to do or believe?" "Do I
want to do or believe it?" In an age where the manipu-
lation of words has been perfected to a fine art, com-
prehension for the adult reader, even the beginning
reader, should also include the ability to spot emotion-
ally loaded words and blanket statements. (Harris and
Smith, 1976)

Reading and Writing. Along with reading, writing is
usually taught, and it can be taught in a way which com-
plements the teaching of reading. Many illiterate adults
want to learn to write, probably for the same reason that
most of us want to speak as well as to listen.

The mechanical aspect of writing, letter formation, writing
on the line, copying, etc. is of course important, but

need not concern us here other than to note it is desirable for each learner to form letters as perfectly as possible, drawing circles and lines in the right direction, etc. With adults who have never tried to write before, this goal may not be attainable. It is, however, important that the letters be legible if not perfect. A good test for legibility is if the learner's peers can read it.

The cognitive aspect of writing, writing from memory or knowing what letter to write next, can be made very relevant to the reading task. Spaulding (1957) recommends the teaching of reading through the teaching of writing, thus capitalizing on children's natural desire to communicate through writing. If they can write something, it is only natural for them to want to read it, and it emphasized the communicative aspect of reading.

Sealy at al. (1979) suggest that writing activities can be started before reading activities and certainly should be taught at the same time as reading. The teacher helps the child write something which the child wants to say, encourages the child to learn it and expresses surprise should he forget it. Writing in the classroom should serve a purpose, that is, should express real communicative needs. Rather than put the work on a bulletin board, for example, the children should make books to read to each other and show to visitors. An ordered

progression of labels and captions, full sentences, two
or more sentences and finally sentences organized into a
logical, communicative order is suggested. Cards with
words the children have already learned may be used as an
aid to arranging sentences. The approach described by
Sealy is more in the direction of a wholistic method than
Spaulding's.

Writing can be, and Spaulding recommends that is be,
taught through use of sound-symbol correspondences. The
child decides what to write, keeps it in his mind while
he searches for the appropriate letter, and high frequency
spelling patterns can be taught. This of course results
in many origial spellings, which at this stage is not con-
sidered a serious mistake (although it is corrected) as
the child is learning to relate the sound to the letters.

If sound symbol correspondences are to be taught rela-
tively early, writing may be a good way to introduce
them. After choosing a word or sentence to write, the
teacher can discuss with the class which letters to use,
perhaps saying the word slowly, stressing the sound in
question.

Even copying is not without its value in learning to read.
In a sentence method the sentence may be read and dis-
cussed in class for comprehension, but copying the sentence

forces the learner's attention on the letters.   Thus
both wholes and parts are learned   (Oğuzkan, personal
communication).

Our discussion of methods has of necessity been somewhat
limited, since much of the research available deals with
the teaching of English reading to English-speaking child-
ren rather than teaching Turkish reading to Turkish adults.
The research has been selected with a view to its possible
application to Turkish adults, and in some places reference
to Turkish has been made. A more solid conclusion about
method will be postponed until after a discussion of the
Turkish data in a later chapter.

Important as it may be, method is not the only considera-
tion in a literacy program for Turkish adults. In this
section we will be discussing materials from a practical
standpoint and conclude with a shorter section on approach.

Materials

As we noted in the previous section, a major weakness of
a sound-symbol oriented approach was the very limited
vocabulary and therefore very limited appeal of the mate-
rials. However, primers written for sentence and word
methods do not always escape the charge of being dull.
Within the framework of a limited vocabulary, writing
interesting materials is no minor challenge! Issuse to
be considered are content and cultural fit, naturalness
of language, and format.

Content and Cultural Fit. While experienced readers use
reading to learn about unfamiliar topics and new cultures,
the burden of learning to deal with print is enough for
the beginner; he should not be overloaded with unfamiliar
concepts and foreign ideas. The readers' immediate interests
ideally should form the content of what they are going to
read. In Turkish villages this would include various as-
pects of agriculture and animal husbandry, marketing,
forestry and sanitation. Women might be interested in

nutrition, housekeeping, childcare or needlework. In
preparing materials the target group should be narrowed
down to a group with common interests (eg. women in a "gece
kondu," men in a cattle raising area) and the actual inte-
rests determined by some sort of survey. Details of the
content (including illustrations) should fit Turkish cul-
ture. Translated stories are not suitable for beginning
reading. Even though the language is simple, children's
books are usually not suitable in content for use with
adults. Familiar content increases predictability and
ease of reading.

Depending on the content, it may be necessary to teach
numbers and perhaps simple arithmetic. If a class is
learning to read price tags, they will probably need
numbers up to a thousand. Reading prices will probably
lead into simple addition and subtraction to determine
how much one has spent or can spend, which may in turn
lead to reading and writing a budget. A class learning
bus signs will need to read route numbers as well as place
names but probably will not want to add or subtract them.
Reading numbers can legitamitely be considered a part of
reading even though numbers are recognized on a different
basis than words. Simple math is not a part of reading as
such, but is well within the goals of a broad-based literacy
course and may grow out of the content.

Naturalness of language. Readability formulas use such
features as word difficulty (frequency and length), sentence

complexity (number of prepositional phrases and relative clauses; more recently also transformational complexity such as passive, negative and question forms) to determine the difficulty of a text. As a result beginning reading material tends to use only very short simple sentences, which unfortunately often produces stilted, unnatural language which reduces redundancy and predictability, and therefore the readability of the very text which is supposed to be more readable.

Using third and forth graders as subjects, Pearson(1976) conducted a series of experiments with sentences of the following types:

    (1) The man liked the girl. The man was tall.
        The girl was short.

    (2) The tall man liked the short girl.

    (3) John was lazy. He slept all day.

    (4) Because John was lazy, he slept all day.

Sentences (1) and (3) are both transformationally less complex and more "readable" in terms of sentence length. Their counterparts (2) and (4) are transformationally more complex, but were both better comprehended and preferred by the subjects, probably because the semantic relationships were more explicit. Thus there seems to be a trade-off between grammatical and semantic simplicity. If this is so, beginning reading materials could, within limits, increase sentence length and complexity if it results in greater semantic clarity and more natural language.

Two further problems are connected with "naturalness of language." One is that written and spoken language are different: written language is much more concise and refined and much less redundant. Written language tends to use more complex grammatical forms, more formal style and more elegant vocabulary. Even the natural sounding conversational portions of a good novel are more refined than in real life. Thus Smith (1973) says that the beginning reader must realize that "print is different." One way to help him realize this is to let him hear plenty of written material being read out loud. For an illiterate adult this could mean hearing the newspaper being read aloud, which has been the custom in villages. Illiterates would also be familiar with newscasting speech from radio and televison, which is close in style to newspaper language. Another alternative is to select materials which are as close to normal speech as possible.

The other problem is that of dialect. Dialects may vary greatly from standard Turkish. Illiterates are often dialect speakers, although many have a listening knowledge of standard Turkish from radio and TV.

A similar situation exists in the United States, where most blacks speak a dialect which differs syntactically, phonologically and in vocabulary from standard English (SE). Blacks also tend to be socio-economically disadvantaged, and in particular, black children in large urban school systems fail to learn to read. Theorizing that dialect differences

contribute significantly to reading failure, Baratz,
Labov, Shuy and others experimented with texts written in
BE syntax while retaining SE spelling and found that child-
ren who could not read SE could read the BE texts rather
fluently, adding fuel to Goodman's assertions that predic-
tability is more important than phonics in reading. The use
of dialect readers in initial reading is opposed by whites,
who regard BE as "substandard," and by black educators,
who view it as an extension of the already resented linguis-
tic imperialism by delaying access to the prestige dialect.
(Cox 1978)

Use of dialect in beginning reading could be opposed in
Turkey on similar grounds. Linguistically it would make
sense to teach initial reading in dialect and use the
newly acquired skills as a bridge to learning standard
Turkish. If however, an unmentioned goal of the national
literacy campaign is the integration of all citizens into
modern society, dialect materials could easily be inter-
preted as contrary to that goal. How the problem is to be
solved is beyond the scope of this thesis. If (and this is
a big 'if') most illiterates do indeed have a receptive
knowledge of standard Turkish through radio and TV, the
problem may not be a big one. If, in English, speakers of
mutually unintelligible dialects (for instance Cockney and
a southern Mississippi drawl) learn to read the same English
script, there is hope for a dialect speaker from Sivas or
Kars trying to learn standard Turkish. A wholistic approach
which leaves the details of decoding letters until later
may be advantageous.

<u>Format of Materials</u>.

Primers. Size: Gudschinsky (1965) suggests that primers
be of the same size and shape as other books and notebooks
for ease of handling. Rather than one large primer the
material should be divided into a series of smaller primers,
the first one or two shorter than the rest, between 12-36
pages. This prevents student boredom with one book, and
gives a feeling of progress as he finishes one book after
the next.

Layout: Material should not be crowded on a page: the
layout should be pleasing to the eye, whether illustra-
tions are used or not. Material should also be divided
into smaller units so that not more than one or two words
appear on a page. A new story should be started on a
new page.

Typeface: Gudschinsky suggests that no larger than
great primer or 18 point (.5 cm) type be used even in
the beginning. Since many adults do need corrective
lenses but do not have them, this size type may be a
requirement at the beginning. Success in reading may
motivate some adults to get glasses (assuming they can
afford them) by the time type size is reduced. Ability
to read small type is not a prerequisite to many reading
tasks such as signs and notices or newspaper headlines.

Illustrations: Especially in the minimum vocabulary stories

in the first primer, it would seem that illustrations are
necessary to carry the story. For instance in the sequence:
"See Spot run. Funny, funny Spot," the picture can carry
the information that Spot is running away with Dick's
sock. However many adults believe that reading is getting
meaning from print and try to ignore the pictures! This
is of course an instructional problem and the teacher can
relieve guilt feelings about looking at the picture.

Little is known about what type of illustration is most
effective. Line drawings, unless of professional quality
as used in posters and advertising or good cartoons tend
to look like a child's coloring book. This might not
appeal to adults. High quality professional photographs
which focus in one an idea would seem ideal, however,
even when large enough, often do not print clearly on the
newsprint quality paper usually used for books in Turkey,
nor would a primer be likely to receive the four-color
printing of a newspaper. A professional graphics artist
would be a real asset to a primer producing team.

Other materials.
Flash cards are useful teaching materials in any approach.
They can be used for drill in recognition, matched to
charts or another standard, rearranged to form new sen-
tences, used in games of various sorts, in class work
or in smaller groups and pairs. They can be made easily
by the teacher in a language experience approach or

printed for coordination with a primer. Letters 8 cm.
tall can be seen by the class; sets of cards for indiv-
idual learners could be smaller. Large print cards could
be useful for learners with severe visual problems.

Charts: Stories developed by the class can be put into
more permanent form on charts. Maps or simple graphs (at
an appropriate stage of instruction) can be put on charts.

Posters: Any poster printed by any government agency is
useful instructional material and could routinely be
supplied to literacy classes. Posters often cover vital
areas such as health and child care, energy conservation
traffic, environmental protection, etc. Posters may
also be available from other sources.

Approach

Connected with the issue of method and materials is the
issue of approach, and until approach is decided, the
final form and content of the materials cannot be decided.
In some ways approach resembles method, yet it is dif-
ferent from method in that different combinations of
method and approach are possible. A primer approach can
be used with any method, whereas a language experience
approach, often an integral part of a functional liter-
acy approach, can only be used with wholistic methods. A
major dimension of approach is the amount of control

which the learner has over the learning situation.

Primers, usually a series of them, are a well established
approach to reading. Both vocabulary and sentence struc-
ture are strictly controlled. In a sound-symbol oriented
method, vocabulary is limited by letters and spelling
patterns already available to the reader. In a wholistic
approach, vocabulary is chosen from high frequency word
lists. One or at most two new words are introduced per
page and vocabulary is repeated frequently. Only simple
sentences are used at first and sentence length is kept
short. This can result in rather unnatural language
which neither children nor adults actually use, but a
well prepared primer can be interesting and appealing.
Without a primer, the teacher would have to invent mat-
erials for each lesson and have them duplicated, which
would greatly increase the teacher's work load. With a
primer the learner is provided with carefully graded
material which increases gradually in difficulty. Fre-
quently repeated vocabulary relieves learner strain in
having to identify too many new words.

Language Experience. In the past two decades this approach
has been used widely in the United States and to some
extent in Britain. Some teachers in Turkey have also
experimented successfully with it. The teacher and
students discuss some topic of interest to the students,
such as the class pet hamster or a visit to a museum,

and out of the discussion a story is generated, perhaps only 3-4 sentences long. The story is written on the chalkboard or a chart, and the class memorizes the story and learns to identify the individual words and sentences, which may be written on cards and matched with the sotry on the chart. The class makes and illustrates books .. which are read and re-read, copied into individual note-books and proudly shown to guests. The strength of a language experience approach is that it uses material which is known to be interesting to the learner, and highlights the use of reading and writing as a means of communication of individual thoughts. However, heavy demands are made on the teacher in producing material both in writing and organizing it as well as the actual making of charts, flashcards and duplicated materials. It may not be possible to sequence and practice skills adequately. Vocabulary may not be repeated from one story to another, and the learner has to learn more words, putting a heavier burden on the memory.

Language experience can be combined with a primer approach: it may be used alone for a while before introducing other materials or as a supplement to primers from the start. It is seldom used exclusively. Even when it is, children are encouraged to brouse through a broad selec-tion of colorful books in the class library. Language experience also forms the basis of the literacy part of a functional literacy program.

Functional literacy is a broader approach to adult educa-
tion designed to give the learner skills which will enable
him to function in a literate society. Literacy is one
component of the program, but other areas such as problem
awareness, problem solving, general knowledge and simple
math skills are also part of functional literacy, as
literacy is only part of a complex of problems keeping
illiterates at a disadvantaged position in society. A
traditional literacy program assumes that the learner is
well motivated to learn, and that after working his way
through one or more primers, he will be able to apply
his knowledge to any reading material.

Functional literacy assumes neither that the illiterate
is motivated to learn to read, nor that he is even aware
of the helpful information which can be obtained through
reading. The initial approach therefore may not be to
offer a literacy course as such but to invite people to
a discussion about mutually interesting problems such as
how to market produce at a fair price or improve family
nutrition. Out of the discussion may come a need for
literecy, e.g. to read helpful pamphlets or write to a
government agency to request the visit of an advisor.
The sentences for literacy instruction are generated out
of the discussion and of course are much simpler than the
general knowledge taught through the discussion.

Because one cannot predict just what sentences will be

developed in a functional literacy class, materials pre-
pared for such a course may center more on problem dramas
(read aloud by the teacher) or discussion provoking pic-
tures. The approach depends heavily on accurate research
to determine the problems of interest to the target popu-
lation and present them from their viewpoint, and upon
teachers who can lead discussions without dominating
them and help the group come to conclusions without dic-
tating them. Otherwise he risks killing the discussion.
This is deadly to an approach which aims to teach reading
and writing in the context of creative problem solving.

Because of the demands made by a functional literacy
approach on the teacher and a probable need for this type
of teacher training, the approach as such may not be
workable in Turkey. However some aspects of a functional
literacy approach may be successfully incorporated into
a more traditional approach, notably course content and
materials. (Oxenham 1974, 1975)

Sources of Materials Suitable for Use in Literacy Teaching

A. Signs, notices, labels, prices, addresses. We live
in a world of print. The need to read signs, especially
bus signs, and prices seems to be a key motivational
factor in learning to read. At the same time these items
provide short exts which can easily be learned and pro-
vide immediate rewards as the student goes out and uses
his new knowledge.

B. The newspaper. At first glance, the newspaper might seem too difficult to use with beginners. However, some newspapers almost always have a few items which are easy enough even for beginners. Of the major newspapers, Günaydın has the simplest language; Hürriyet ranks second. Both of these papers almost always have useful items even for the most beginning stages. Since newspapers must print things as they happen, one day's paper may have none, so it may be wise to save a good paper for a few days "just in case." Güneş, Milliyet and Cumhuriyet are generally too difficult for use with beginners.

The easiest items are simple headlines and headings of regular features such as TV, sports, horoscope, advice column, movie and want ads. As the learner becomes fami-liar with the format of the paper, the desire to learn should also grow.

As reading skills grow, the learner can learn to go from the largest print headline of an article to the smaller headlines and caption of the picture, and eventually into the text. By the end of an article the same material will have been repeated three or four times.

Human interest articles usually are the easiest to read and attract the most interest. Examples of articles which have been used with relative beginners are: a baby abandoned under a bridge, a little girl falling off a

cliff and only breaking an arm, teen-aged girls who run
away from home, a husband who beats his wife and a wife
who murders her husband, rain coming after a drought and
a grandfather who takes the neighborhood children to
school in a horse cart.

Articles about events which have been reported on TV also
provide familiar reading material. Examples are Evren's
latest speech, a coal mine explosion in Zonguldak, an
apartment house collapsing in Diyarbakir, a ship running
aground in the Bosphorous and cars driving off bridges.

Political, economic and international news is generally too
far from the learner's sphere of knowledge to be read easily,
but are useful when expanding skills at a later stage.

C. Other sources. Proverbs and riddles are familiar and
short items which can be used to teach comprehension. Folk
songs (türkü), especially if from the learner's own part of
the country, are excellent sources of familiar and enjoyable
material. Some people enjoy poems. Simplified stories of
Nasreddin Hoca or Karagöz and Hacivat can be found in child-
ren's readers and other books, but are not too juvenile for
use with adults. (Children's books generally are NOT a good
source as the content is too far away from the world of
adults.) Women may enjoy reading the captions in needlework
or fashion magazines. This material is highly redundant and
can be used early. Household hints and recipies require a
bit more skill, but may be interesting enough to motivate
the effort.

"Foto roman"s are a good introduction into reading longer
stories. Stories written in Turkish by Turks for older
children may make good transition material. The children's
novels by Kemalettin Tuğcu, for instance, although a bit
long, feature very natural conversational Turkish and plots
which revolve around working class people and villagers.
I do not imagine that I have exhausted the possible sources
of teaching material, but even these few suggestions pro-
vide adequate material on several levels for most beginners.

There is a need for easy to read (but not childish or didactic)
informational material on many topics for adults. Since
distribution cold be a problem, it would be useful for a
newspaper to give a quarter of a page daily to such material,
called "Yeni Okuyanlar İçin." (For New Readers)

An Evaluation of the Materials used in the Turkish Literacy Campaign

The materials used in the present literacy campaign consist
of a teacher's manual and two primers, the second of which
was designed as a replacement for the first. For purposes
of contrast some of the features are listed in parallel
columns.

First Primer	Second Primer

Title

İş ve Hayat İçinde Alfabe 46 pages.

İş ve Hayat İçin Yetişkinler Alfabesi, 64 pages.

Layout of first section.

Unrelated sentences cramped together on pages with few illustrations. A few work-book type pages for copying words.

Starts with one sentence per page. Increases gradually to 5-6. Only one sentence per line. Type is larger. Half page pictures.

Illustrations.

Detailed line drawings, mostly too small. Pictures seem intended to stimulate discussion and teach good and bad ways of doing things.

Line drawings, mostly of village life. Illustrations on every page, often half page. Pictures illustrate the story.

Text.

First pages unrelated sentences. Thereafter short, easy, illustrated stories entitled "Choose Your Mate Well," "one Child is too Few, Five are too Many," "Family income and Budget." Moves on to harder material treating health, occupational topics and citizenship.

Continuous story of a village family planting trees, selling crops, going to a wedding and helping to repair the village school. Pictures fill in for limited vocabulary. Moves onto patriotic stories and poems, parables and Nasrettin Hoca. Examples of letters.

Tone.

"Preachy," lots of "should be."

Desires behavior modeled in the stories or taught through parables.

Level of Difficulty.

Starts easy, becomes difficult quickly. Very little repitition. Last pages quite difficult due to complex sentences and small print.

Starts easy with much repition. Gradual increase in difficulty. Last pages still have short sentences and large print. Page 42 is about the same level of difficulty as page 18 in the other.

Method.

Sentence method, but even first pages have breakdown words, syllables and letters.

Sentence method.

Introduction of new letters.

First pages use the stop consonants B and K, the affricate C, the continuants N,L, and S, the vowels A,E, and I. Thereafter new letters are introduced rapidly and without drill.

The first 9 pages use continuants L,N,S,S,V,F,R, the vowels E,I,I,U,U. The first stop K is introduced in medial and final position, other letters introduced in a controlled manner and repeated.

Mathematics component.

Scattered throughout the book. Teaches addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, area, fractions,percentages, weights, measures and money.

Gathered into ine section at the end of the book. Confined to addition, subtraction, multiplication and division of numbers under 100. Simple story problems.

Strengths and weaknesses.

On the whole the first primer has potentially useful informational material for the new reader but doesn't lay enough groundwork for reading it. Some of the material could be reworked into booklets or readers for learners who have reached that level.

The second book was a great improvement over the first and had a much better layout. It was less directly "functional literacy" than the first but instead modeled desirable behaviors such as family and community cooperation. Though much repition is pedagogically desirable, the language was typical primer language and it seems basically to be a child's primer with grownups taking the main roles in the story.

Bu baba.   Bu abla.

Bu anne.   Bu kabak.

Bu Lâle.   Bu un.

kabak   un   elek

ka - bak   un   e - lek

k - a - b - a - k   u - n   e - l - e - k

Bu bal. Baba bal al.

Abla bu kabak. Anne kabak ek.

Bu un. Bu elek. Lâle unu ele.

K_____   k_____

U_____   u_____

E_____   e_____

L_____   l_____
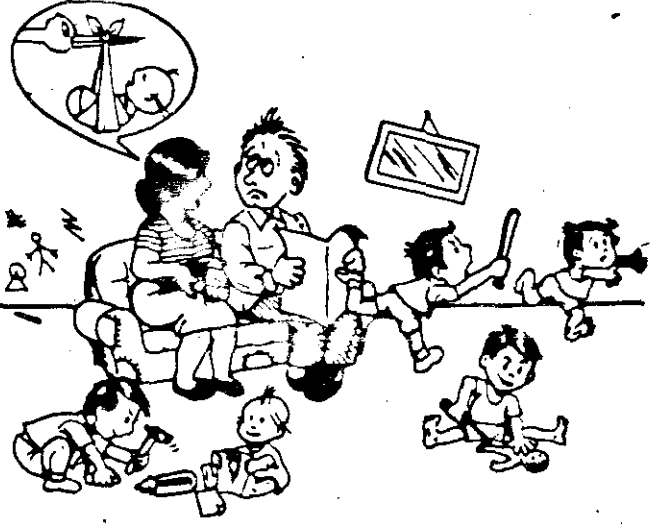
Bir çocuk az, beş çocuk çok.

Aile; anne, baba, çocuklarla oluşur.
Şu resimlere bak.
Remzi, sizin kaç çocuk var ?
Beş çocuk. Beş çocuk çok.
Onlara bakmak çok zor.

Ayşe, sizin kaç çocuk var ?
Bizim iki çocuk var. İki çocuk iyi.
Bence iki çocuk yeterli.
Bakmak ve okutmak kolay olur.

-Ayşe su ver.

Ayşe ekmek ver.

-Ali al.

Su al, ekmek al.

8

– Ayşe sabun nerede ?

– Ali sabun şurada .

– Ayşe su ver, sabun ver .

– Su var , sabun var .

Sabun var, elini yıka .
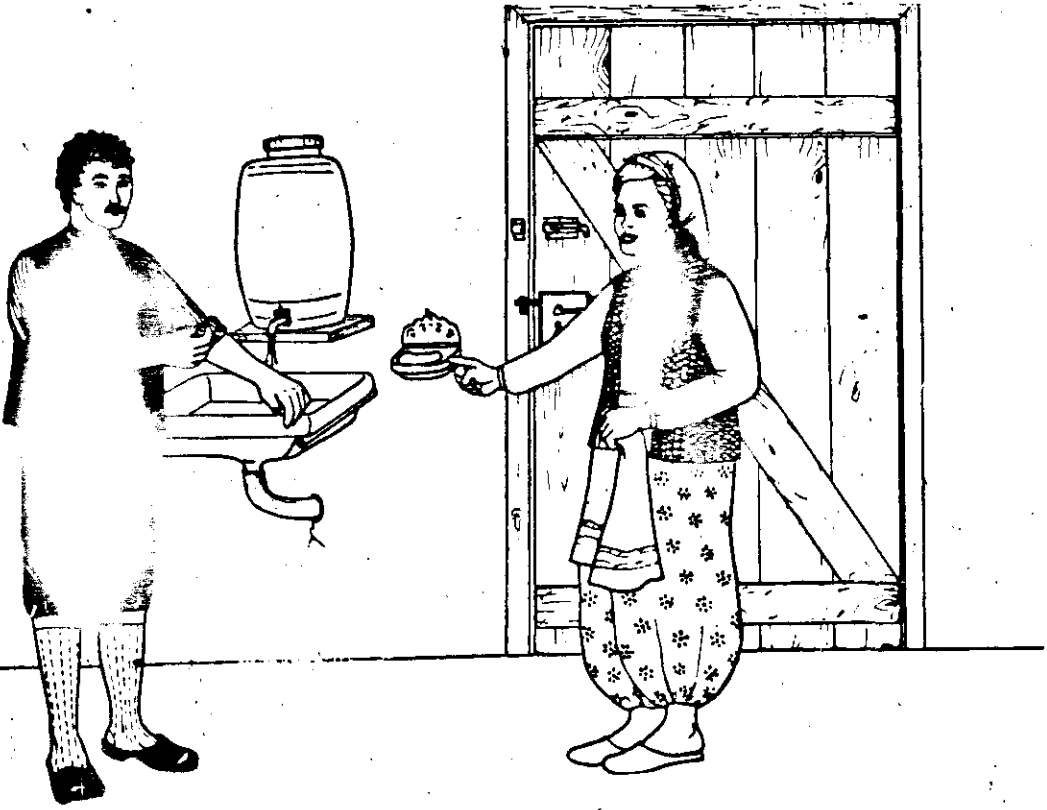
– Su var , sabun var .

Temizlik yapmak ne güzel .

Page 13 of the second primer. (MEB 1981b.)

Teachers in two schools whom I interviewed indicated that they did not like the first primer at all but were satisfied with the second. The directior of the Halk Eğitim Merkezi told me that the second book was produced because of teacher dissatisfaction with the first. Not only students but teachers, too, have to feel comfortable with any book they are expected to use in teaching.

How does one determine student reaction? Do they know enough about what could be in a book or newspaper to decide if a primer is interesting or relevant? Most of the women in the literacy classes that I asked were unable to express any opinion, though it can be said that my efforts to get an opinion on the primer hardly constituted a scientific survey.

The Teacher's Manual. The most interesting thing about the teachers manual is that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the primers, which are not mentioned even in passing. Instead it is a guide to help the teacher develop a functional literacy course. After presenting a list of topics, the teacher is told to spend 10-15 minutes leading a discussion and the rest of the 90 minute period except for a ten minute conclusion for teaching the sentences derived from the discussion and simple math. He is also told on which days of the(45 day) course to make the transitions from sentence to word to syllable to letter. Prescribed topics include the family (two days), a two week unit on Atatürk and Turkey, and a unit on the press,

TV and radio at the end. Considerable freedom was given in selecting topics from agriculture, animal husbandry, tourism and economics. Interestingly enough, topics of specific interest to women were not suggested, but presumably could be included. Apparently the teacher is expected to know enough on these topics to lead a discussion, as he is not told where he could find source materials.

The primers and the manual would seem to be mutually exclusive. Since the manual requires considerably more teacher preparation and creativity, the path of least resistance would be to use the primer. This is what the teachers I observed were doing, although they knew of the manual and claimed they were following it.

A well-written, attractive teacher's manual, closely coordinated with other teaching materials could be a valuable resource for the teacher. Besides giving information on the method (in non-technical terms) and explaining the approach and materials, the manual could help the teacher understand the adult learner, discuss teaching strategies and suggest creative ways to apply the material being learned. The first two have already been discussed; the last three will be taken up in the next chapter.

TEACHING ADULTS

As the title implies, this chapter is concerned with
two main ideas: adult learners and teaching.

Adult Learners

Squeezed into children's desks and knowing as little
about reading and writing as a first grader, they may
seem like children, but they aren't. They may not know
how to read and write, but they bring with them a great
deal of experience. Cognitively they are more devel-
oped: they know about spatial relationships, cause and
effect and can reason logically within the limits of
their general knowledge. They know how to look at
something and remember it when they see it again. They
know much more than children. They know about plants
and animals, weather and seasons. They know how society
operates. They have learned to buy and sell and use
public transportation. Men often have some job skills
(perhaps farming related) and can fix all sorts of things.
Some play musical instruments or make things. Women
can cook and sew and raise children. Many can do beau-
tiful needlework and some can copy complicated knitting
and crochet patterns.

Although as intelligent as anyone, adults have passed
the childhood and adolescent years in which learning is

easiest. Adults can learn, but it may cost them more time and effort, and the teacher may need to repeat patiently, and move at a slower pace than with children.

Middle age brings with it eye problems, usually far-sightedness. If students don't have well-fitted glasses, they may need materials which are large enough to read. If reading is the only thing which requires near vision, and glasses are not a priority on the family budget, they may postpone getting glasses until they are sure they will read well enough to need them. Blackboard glare may also be a problem. Each student should be allowed to sit where he can see the blackboard clearly.

Hearing may also be slowly deteriorating. The learner may need to be able to see the teacher's mouth and the teacher may need to speak louder. Many people who are hard-of-hearing may be ashamed of their problem and simply sit quietly on the fringe of a discussion which they can only partially understand. People who have been able to hear and have learned to speak can learn to read without much problem (as opposed to congenitally deaf persons), and reading may become a real companion and means of communication in the loneliness which results from hearing loss.

Writing may be difficult for some adults as it requires
a whole new set of fine muscle coordination. Adults who
are used to doing fine jobs with their hands (e.g., needle-
work) may have little or no trouble learning to manip-
ulate a pencil. Many adults have stiff and arthritic
hands from the type of work they do and find it very
difficult to control a pencil.

Illiterates in Turkey tend to be villagers (still living
in villages as well as those who have migrated to the
big cities). Two thirds of them are women. This of
course has implications for curriculum. It also says
something about the learners: since they come from
disadvantaged classes they may have been made to feel
ignorant and worthless and need to realize their own
worth as persons and to come to believe in their own
capacity to learn.

In a "school" situation they may be sensitive about
making mistakes on the blackboard where everyone can
see them, and may wear out erasers trying to make
their notebooks presentable. Public announcement of
grades can be devastating for those with low grades.
Because of this they need to be made aware of each
little bit of progress; they need "proof" that they
can learn.

Teaching

Not everyone who stands in front of a class is, in the truest sense of the word, a teacher. Getting students to learn is an art, but it is an art which can be learned. Thus we need to discuss an overall teaching strategy as well as practical ideas for the classroom.

An Overall Strategy.   It is said that if you aim at nothing you're sure to hit it. Teaching goals are important; if they are vaguely defined there is no way to measure learner progress. "Literacy" is a vague term. We have described the skilled reader and the struggles of the beginner. Somewhere in between there is a point of adequacy where instruction could stop. Children are required to attend school for several years. How many years is an adult likely to give his evenings to learning? At present, 45 day, 90 hour courses which can be repeated are being offered. One such course is supposed to bring the learner to the point of literacy. International experience over several decades indicates that a minimum of twice that time would be necessary for a minimum standard of literacy. (Gray 1956, Oxenham 1975) How much can we teach in two semesters?

Gray (1956) lists six groups of reading activities, arranged on the basis of comprehension skills involved.

Since they represent reading needs in the real world,
they need to be represented in some way in the goals.

Group one: Sign reading. Signs such as 'Danger' 'stop'
'go' for self protection. Reading bus signs, labels
on cans and packages and prices, reading addresses and
names on buildings, and signs and notices in public
buildings. While most of the examples can be satisfied
with sight words, even this level of reading involves
purposeful reading often followed by practical decis-
ions, such as getting on the bus.

Group two: Gaining information and satisfying curiosity.
Reading newspapers and leaflets to find out what has
happened recently or about proposed projects. Reading
school books for general information. Information takes
on real value when the reader interprets the facts.

Group three: Reading notices and directions, such as
warnings of an epidemic of new village ordinances,
instructions for making things. The reader should
grasp what and how he is expected to do.

Group four: Solving problems. Reading to discover
ways of improving sanitary conditions, raising better
crops or feeding infants. Here he needs to read crit-
ically to decide if the information will apply to his situation.

Group five: Thoughtful reading. Reading to decide
whether the decision made by a character in a story
was a good one, reading to decide whether to vote for
a proposed change in the town's water supply. This
involves seeing implications, grasping relationships,
choosing between alternatives and checking conclusions.

Group six: Reading for pleasure and inspiration. Read-
ing to enjoy rhythm, choice of words and beauty of expres-
sion. Reading religious material.

It is doubtful that all six types of reading could be
thoroughly taught in two courses, but a good start
could be made. Groups one and two are reasonable goals.
Many items from the newspaper could be taught with
reading activity groups three, four and five in mind.
"Türkü"s and proverbs are simple, but can be read for
pleasure and beauty of language.

A tentative grouping of goals over two 90 hour courses
(two stages per course) is:

Stage one: Prices and bus signs.
Stage two: Signs and notices in public places such as
the hospital, labels on packages. Simple newspaper
headlines and newspaper format.

Stage three: Newspaper headlines on all topics,
reading human interest articles and familiar mater-
ial, (for women) recipes and needlework magazines.
Stage four: Less familiar material in the newspaper
(politics and international news), informational
material on health, childcare or other desired topics.

Once goals for a course or a unit have been established,
clearly defined learning objectives should be estab-
lished. "Reads bus signs" is vague. Does this mean all
bus signs, or only the ones in the learner's city, or
the ones on busses he is likely to use? Under what
conditions will he read them? While the bus is parked
at the end of the line and the driver is drinking tea,
or at a busy bus stop where five or six busses come in
at the same time, or at a less busy stop where the bus
stops only for half a minute to take on one or two
passengers? A well-stated objective lets the learner
know what he is supposed to learn and tells the teacher
what to teach and how to measure progress.

Learning objectives and content need to be related to
each other and sequenced in a way in which they build on
each other like steps in a staircase. If they are prop-
erly sequenced, no individual objective with its related
content will be too difficult and all the previously
reached objectives will contribute to reaching the next one.

Since each objective with its related content provides the foundation for the next, each objective should be mastered before moving on. Unmastered objectives make future learning difficult; it is like building a house on a poor foundation or trying to climb stairs where half the steps are broken. Whether by formal testing or informal evaluation, the teacher should keep records on how each learner attains the objectives.

The concept of formative and summative evaluation is useful at this point. Summative evaluation is used to give grades, make decisions about awarding diplomas or rate students with reference to each other. Formative testing is used to diagnose the learner's progress and give him feedback about what he has learned and what he still needs to learn. When a number of students fail to master the same item, it gives the teacher feedback on what to reteach or to teach differently. In non-technical speech, formative testing is giving the learner another chance to learn before a grade is assigned. Formative testing may be carried out by informal means as observing class performance or homework, or by an ordinary test. The difference is not in the test itself but in the purpose.

Feedback to the learner about his progress can be an important part of the learning progress and should be

as specific as possible. The learner already knows
that he cannot read the words being taught in a lesson
so the teacher need not point that out. If the teacher
can show him that he is confusing two words because he
is looking at the wrong cue, the feedback should lead
to a correction of the problem.

Positive feedback about progress can be very encour-
aging to the learner and motivate him to further learn-
ing. A major advantage of carefully sequenced, clear
objectives is that the student can be encouraged by
concrete accomplishment on the way to an otherwise
amorphous goal of "literacy."

Practical ideas for the classroom. "Cloze" is a
technique for judging the readability of a passage
by deleting every nth (usually 5th) word and asking
the reader to fill in what he thinks the word should
be. Because it takes advantage of the natural redun-
dancy of the language, it can also be a useful struc-
tural tool. It may be difficult to delete every nth
word in Turkish and still have the passage make sense;
a "word" in an agglutinating language like Turkish is
often the equivalent of a phrase in English. Still,
selective deletion helps the learner focus on an item
to be taught. An often encountered problem in reading

is "word calling": the reader can read the words but
not put them together to make a meaningful sentence.
Thus having to supply the last word forces him to "put
it together" in his mind. In sentences where the words
bear an obvious semantic relationship to each other
endings can profitably be deleted. This can also be
used to point out the similarity of inflected and un-
inflected forms such as 'okul', 'okula' and 'okulda'
which otherwise would have to be learned as separate
words. In learning to write, letters can be deleted.
Particularly the medial consonants of CVCCVC words
can be taught by this technique. If the teacher has
access to some kind of duplicating machine, word sheets
with missing words or endings can be made for learners;
lacking this, such exercises can be written on the
board and done independently by the learner, thus free-
ing the teacher for individual or small group work.

Comprehension and critical reading can be taught by
game-like routines where the teacher describes a place
and destination, shows a bus sign and asks if the
learner is going to get on. Oops! it drove away already!
In a shopping game, products can be shown at normal
prices, very expensive ones or unusually cheap ones and
the learner is asked if she is going to buy it. Or
flash cards can be manipulated to produce anomalous

sentences such as 'The rice is rotten (çürük).' The learner should be able to respond by saying the rice gets moldy but doesn't rot.

There are a number of small group techniques and games other than the usual board word or independent reading which can be used to break up the normal classroom routine and give the teacher time for individual work. Most of them involve matching of pairs of cards. They can be made by the teacher or as a group project. If the learners make them, the activity forces them to write legibly so the others can read the materials (cards). It is possible to make games to match words to pictures, captions to pictures, words to words, subjects to verbs, objects to verbs, missing words to sentences or roots to endings. For small sets of cards and learners working in pairs, the simplest games are "Read the word and keep the card" or laying all cards face up and arranging them into pairs.

Concentration, Old Maid, and Rummy involve larger sets of cards (12 pairs or more). In Concentration the cards are mixed and laid face down in rows. During his turn, each player turns two cards face up so everyone can see. If he turns up a pair, he gets to keep them. If the cards are not a pair, he turns them face down and the

next player takes his turn. The idea is to remember
which cards were face up so as to make pairs.

In Rummy, half the cards are dealt out to the players and
the other half is left face down in a pile. All play-
ers check their cards for pairs and lay them on the
table in front of them. When it is his turn each player
draws a card from the pile. If he can use it to make
a pair, he draws another card, If he cannot make a
pair, he lays it face up in a new pile, The next
player can use the face up card if it will make a
pair, otherwise he draws a card from the face down
pile. The first player to use all his cards in pairs
wins.

In Old Maid one extra card, called the 'old maid'
because it doesn't have a mate, is added to the set.
All the cards are dealt out to the players, who make
as many pairs as they can with the cards they have.
Each draws a card from the person to his right. If he
can make a pair, he does so, otherwise he keeps the
card. The "old maid" will change hands several times,
but the person who has it says nothing in the hope that
the next person will draw it. The first person to make
pairs with all his cards wins, the person left with the
"old maid" after all the cards are drawn loses.

In Word Lotto large cards with nine, sixteen or 25
squares are prepared and words in random order are written
in the squares. A separate set of small cards with the
words are prepared and mixed. The learner draws a card
and reads the word. The players search for the word
on the large card and put a marker on it. The first
player to have a vertical, horizontal or diagonal row
of markers wins.

In Scrabble letters of the alphabet (5-6 of each) are
written on small squares of heavy cardboard, small tiles
or wood chips and put in a bag. Each player draws seven
letters and during his turn attempts to make a word out
of them and draws as many letters as he used. At first
he keeps the words in front of him. He may also use
his turn to put an ending on his or anyone else's word,
but must use the words in a sentence. Later as players
become more proficient, words may be arranged in crossword
fashion so letters can be used more than once, and num-
erical value can be added to the letters for purposes of
scorekeeping. At the beginning players may help each
other make words.

Some of the games and activities described above have been
and may still be used in Turkish primary classrooms and
adult courses. Other ideas have been used successfully
elsewhere (Gudschinsky 1965). After testing they may
need some modification.

THE EXPERIENCE WITH TURKISH WOMEN

My first contact with the problem of illiteracy in
Turkey came during my time as a social worker/interpreter
in Germany when I tried to help some women learn to read
in the very limited amount of time I had available.
Having been exposed mainly to phonics methods of teaching
I hit on the clever idea of teaching the learner's name
first and then using the letters in her name to make
other words. Unfortunately the first woman I tried to
teach was named Fatma, and there are not many words which
can be made from those letters! The experience was more
successful in arousing my interest in the problem than
in teaching her to read.

I got off to a better start one day while waiting for
a bus near the Hisarüstü "gecekondu" area of İstanbul and
a woman asked me if I had an extra bus ticket. I asked
her if she could read, and a few days later I found my-
self in her living room, trying to teach her and her
neighbors how to read. In the meantime these ladies have
become my friends, and I have learned as much from them
as they have from me. I have also had the opportunity
to observe literecy classes in two schools and interview
the students which has also provided invaluable information.

Classroom Observations in the Schools

During the fall of 1981 I observed six different classes
in two schools once or twice a week over a period of six
weeks. Türkan Şoray İlkokulu in the Hisarüstü area of
İstanbul was chosen because I knew some of the women
attending the classes. Harbiye İlkokulu was chosen
because of its proximity to my home. It was not possible
to choose schools through probability sampling, which
would provide a scientific basis for a claim that the
classes I observed were indeed typical of all literacy
classes in İstanbul. I have no reason to think that these
classes are not typical, but have no way to demonstrate
that this is so. Thus the data from these observations
must be regarded as annecdotal.

The sentence method is officially prescribed for use in
the literacy campaign, although teachers in one school
had been told by an official in the Halk Eğitim Merkezi,
"Use whatever method you want as long as they learn to
read." All of the teachers except one felt that the
sentence method was best for use with children, however
only one teacher felt it was best for use with adults,
and even he modified it somewhat. Thus the four teachers
in the Türkan Şoray İlkokulu used a variety of methods
and switched from one method to another as they felt it
was needed. Of the two teachers in the Harbiye İlkokulu,

one used a synthetic phonics method and the other the
sentence method.

Classes at the Türkan Şoray İlkokulu were divided roughly
according to ability and previous attendance at a course.
No formal test was used to assess ability, but the teachers
knew many of the women because they had attended a course
the previous spring. Although some of the women had
received a literacy certificate, none of the women were
in my opinion independent readers, and the women them-
selves said they could not yet read without help and
wanted to learn to do so. Of the four classes, one was
considered advanced, two intermediate and one was composed
of absolute beginners.

In the most advanced class, most of the ladies had already
received a literacy certificate but could not yet read
independently. Because they had already had a foundation
in reading, the teacher was using a syllable type approach
not unlike Bloomfield's linguistic approach described
earlier. Taking the consonant he had decided to teach,
for instance 'Z', he put it on the board in all possible
CV and VC combinations:

```
az   za        öz   zö
ez   ze        oz   zo
ız   zı        üz   zu
iz   zi        uz   zu
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The class read these in chorus in order and as he pointed
to different ones. Those syllables which formed words
or roots on their own were singled out and discussed

(e.g. az, ez, iz, öz), then other letters were added to
the beginning or end to produce other words such as: 'saz,
kaz, gaz, kez, çiz, diz, biz, siz, kız, söz, çöz, buz,
tuz,' or 'üzüm, öküz, kaza, zor, zar, zurna' etc. He
introduced only one letter per day and shose "those which,
can be extended" (continuants) for earlier presentation.
He used about 15-20 minutes of class time for such activ-
ities and the rest for reading out of a first grade
reader and dictating sentences to be written, usually
sounding out words so the learner could isolate the
letters they needed. He felt that this syllable approach
was too hard for use with real beginners but useful
after learners had mastered some words and sentences.
The women seemed to be benefitting from this type of
instruction.

In one of the intermediate classes where most of the
women seemed to have had some previous instruction, the
teacher was spending most of the time showing how to
divide the words into syllables using either hyphens
(A-i-le i-le o-kul e-le-le) or curved lines under the
words (Kadın kitap okuyor). The sentences were taken
mostly from the first few pages of the primer. To empha-
size the vowels, she sometimes asked the class to supply
missing vowels in sentences like "V _ li çiç _ k ek."
Although the sentences used were rather dull, the principle
of dividing words into syllables were sound. I have since
observed several women spontaneously divide words into

into syllables when they could not recognize it otherwise.
The school director also suggested that sentences and
words be divided into syllables and the longest part of
instruction be spent on syllables.

The teacher of the beginning class had used a sentence
method during a previous course and was dissatisfied with
the results, feeling it was too slow a method for use
with adults. Thus she was now experimenting with a letter
(meaning phonics) method. Most of the women had had no
prior reading instruction. During the first week the vowels
were introduced through words which began with each vowel.
After that instruction was mainly from the first few pages
of the first primer, supplemented with similar words an
sentenoes, taught from a synthetic phonics approach. By
the end of the term some of the women could sound out some
simple material but most could not. The teacher felt
that a better primer would have been helpful; it was very
discouraging to both teacher and learners to be confined
to the same few pages.

The teacher of the lower class at Harbiye İlkokulu also
used a phonics method. Althuugh the second primer was
available and had been distributed to the students, he
preferred to use his own material written on the board.

To overcome the usual difficulty of pronouncing a reduced
vowel after stop consonants, he taught the women to pro-
nounce it before, so that /b/ sounded more like /ɪb/ than
/bɪ/, and this really seemed to make a difference in the
ease with which words could be sounded out. Classes had
been in session for about six weeks at the time I began
observing. None of the students had attended a literacy
course before, but about half of them could already sound
out simple sentences. By the end of the course most of
them could, although no one was yet really reading
independently.

Although the teacher claimed that none of the women knew
anything or had attended a literacy course before, the
women in the upper class at Harbiye İlkokulu said they
had attended a course the previous spring but had refused
to accept a certificate lest they not be allowed to
attend another course, since they had not learned to read
by their own standard. All of them had known at least
the letters before attending this course. The teacher
had modified the sentence method by presenting sentences
as words at the same time. About a week later, after
about ten sentences had been learned, he went back and
analysed the sentences into syllable and letters at the
same time continuing to give new sentences. The second
primer was quite acceptable for his purposes.

At the time I began observing, the women were reading
independently or in pairs. Those who wanted to work
on writing were taking dictation from a neighborhood
volunteer helper, while others learned to address en-
velopes or do simple arithmetic. Some of the women were
reading fairly fluently, and even the slow readers were
not experiencing any difficulty sounding out words.
Most of the instruction was on an individual or small
group basis as all the women were capable of working
independently. The progress, even for a second semester
class and not a first as the teacher claimed, was im-
pressive.

All of the teachers whose classes have been described
impressed me as being "good teachers," although this
is a very subjective measure. They were alert to stu-
dent difficulties, flexible in approach, conscious of
what they were doing and dedicated to the job, for which
they had volunteered. They seemed to enjoy teaching the
women and seemed to have a good relationship with them.
The fact that some of the teachers were men did not
seem to bother the women.

Both classes at the Harbiye school were performing bet-
ter than the corresponding classes at the Türkay Şoray
school. Since both schools were using both phonics
oriented as well as wholistic methods, it does not seem

that the difference can be ascribed to method. The teach-
ers may have been better, but I have no way to measure
this. The most striking difference between the two
schools were age of the students and socio-economic
status.

In the Harbiye school the women were, except for a
few teenaged girls, older and had grown children. The
children may have been encouraging and even helping
their mothers learn. Because the children were grown,
the housework load was smaller and the women had more
leisure time which could be used for reading. The
women in the Türkan Şoray school were somewhat younger.
Most had school-aged and smaller children who could not
help and encourage their mothers to read, and who do
create a lot of housework for their mothers.

The women in the Harbiye school seemed to be richer,
better dressed and more urbanized. Many wore no head-
scarf at all; others wore colored rayon ones. They
did not have jobs outside of the home. In contrast,
the women in the Türkan Şoray school were of a village
background, although they had lived in Istanbul for ten
years or more. All of them wore headscarves, mostly
white cotton scarves with beaded edgings. Their clothes
were old work clothes and many women wore pajamas under

their skirts. Some of the women had cleaning jobs
and others knit stockings and sold them. The somewhat
lower economic class also points to a heavier work
load for the women and consequently less time for
reading.

Case Studies of Turkish Women Learning to Read

The following case studies are the result mostly of
individual tutoring, usually on an irregular basis,
due to scheduling problems on both sides. At times
some of the women met together in a small class, never
more than four persons. I worked with the first two
women described fairly regularly (usually once or twice
a week, sometimes more) over a period of a year and
a half. The other women were tutored for shorter per-
iods of time, somewhere between a few weeks and two
or three months. Sometimes I tried to teach, but mostly
I answered their questions, helped them read and watche.
what they were doing, letting them control the session

Because the things I tried show my own development in
an understanding of reading, the case studies are
presented in chronological order. My original orienta-
tion to teaching reading was a strongly phonics-oriented
approach, which I eventually abandoned. For this reason
I never tried a sentence method; by the time I would

have wanted to try it, all of the women already knew
something about reading and there was no time to start
over with a new person. I did however experiment with
a word approach.

Teaching an actual class would have been an ideal way
to test some of the ideas gained through the tutoring.
For this reason an experimental class was arranged, but
only one woman who could already read almost independently
came, so instead of a class I had another case study.

Zehra, age 50. Zehra is convinced that she cannot learn,
yet wants to very much. She is burdened with domestic
problems which prevent her from looking outside herself
and is more likely to spend an afternoon worrying than
doing something which would distract her attention from
the current problem, like reading. She has poor vision
and it is hard to tell how much her glasses help her.
She also has high blood pressure and frequent headaches
which affect both her vision and her ability to understand.
She is an extremely slow learner and may have a learning
disability, but she can learn, as evidenced by slow but
steady progress over a year and a half. At the beginning
she could not recognize any letters or any words, nor
could she copy even her own name. That is, she could
neither form any letter correctly due to extremely poor

motor control, nor could she preserve dequence of
letters in copying. It took her weeks of practice to
get the letter 's' the right way around.

At first I tried to teach her the sounds of the letters
and how to put them together, explaining carefully how
a 'sessiz harf' (consonant) needs a 'sesli harf' (vowel)
to be pronounced. It probably sounded like nonsense
to her as all letters obviously have 'ses' (sound). I
then tried a more 'linguistic' approach with lists of
words having the same pattern("ak-çak-bak, bak-bal-baş-
bas, bal-bel-bil-bul", etc.). Again she didn't seem
to comprehend or even be interested. Finally she
latched onto a story about selling apples and buying
a field, out of the primer. She tried to memorize it
and would 'read', pointing to the wrong words. Even
with reference to its position on the page she could
not tell which was 'kaç' and which was 'elma.'

Gradually over the winter she learned to distinguish
between words on the basis of the initial letters.
She also memorized the letters on her own. As time went
on her writing began to resemble letters and she began
to copy words. In short sentences she sometimes inclu-
ded the spaces between words, and would count the letters
to see if she had left any out. Occasionally she would

find which letter had been left out and insert it in
(almost) the right place.

Her word recognition skills improved as we did word
lists in context: all of the bus stops on the way to
Taksim (that lesson got everyone's attention), names of
banks, foods. She showed more effort to rely on letter
clues than random guesses (her number one strategy) or
remember a word by its position on the page. She never
did try to use word length or shape as a clue, even
when it was pointed out to her. We reached a turning
point when I gave her a set of cards with words on the
front and in the case of concrete nouns, pictures on the
back and arranged them to form simple sentences. She
does not seem to use the pictures to identify words,
and is beginning to recognize them on the basis of two
letters.

Somewhere along the line she got hold of a "hece tablosu"
because others were using one, tried using it on her own
for awhile but finally gave it up, probably because iso-
lated syllables didn't make much sense.

In spite of her difficulties she demonstrates normal
linguistic abilites. When I lead her in reading syllable
by syllable, she can repeat almost simultaneously and
can predict word endings like '-di' or '-larını', indi-

cating that she has got the meaning despite the somewhat
unnatural pronunciation. When reading a fixed phrase I
got as far as 'har vur-' and she continued 'har vurup
harman savurdu.' On another occasion one of the others
read as far as 'Bir elin nesi' and she continued 'var,
iki elin sesi var,' and clapped. Perhaps working with
fixed phrases may help her.

When we decide on a word to write and I sound it out,
she can often tell me what comes next. Once when I
wrote 'recel' she spotted the error and corrected it to
'reçel.' She wants very much to write and writing seems
to be helping her learn to read.

Although Zehra is an unusually slow learner I have
described her in considerable detail because every bit
of progress she has made has forced me to evaluate my
teaching strategies in the light of her learning stra-
tegies. Interestingly enough, she also retains her
knowledge over longer periods of time when instruction
is not possible. The cues to which she has responded
best seem to be the letter cues, not in sounding out a
word but in breaking an already identified word down into
its component sounds.

Saniye, age 40, is a very intelligent woman who simply
never had an opportunity to learn. After completing a

literacy class she refused to accept a literacy certificate because she knew she couldn't read yet: she wants to read fluently like the teacher does. In particular she wanted to learn to 'çarp' the letters and to write from dictation. ("Çarpmak" is a word which many of the women use to mean put the letters together to form a word.) Although she seemed to benefit from phonics instruction she had little patience with meaningless contexts such as a "hece tablosu" or lists of words beginning with 'ba'. For a while she was so occupied with sounding out texts that she wasn't paying attention to the meaning: I once caught her reading the comprehension questions to a simple text in the primer without realizing that they were questions she was supposed to answer, in spite of the space provided for the answer. (This is a classic example of what the literature refers to as 'word calling' or 'barking at print.') Thus I began asking her what she had read and having her reread if she couldn't say. She soon caught on and began asking for help when she knew she wasn't getting the meaning.

The letter 'ğ' gave her trouble in reading, but after I explained it a few times and pointed it out in various contexts, she caught on and even was able to explain it to a classmate. She is now likely to read 'çocuğu' as 'çocuk-u' and readjust. I began pointing out endings and

it paid off as she began to read them more fluently, although it was easy to explain more than she was ready to absorb at any given point. When a word is hyphenated so the ending is on the next line, she often anticipates the correct ending (especially if it is possessive or accusative). This is strong evidence that she is processing for syntax and forming hypotheses as she reads.

She can now read a complex sentence with several clauses, tell me what she has read in as many simple sentences and answer a detail question about a detail she may have left out. She is beginning to make judgments about what she reads: recently she read a headline about a man who was selling his wife as a prostitute and commented "This filth is getting to me!" (I replied, "Well, don't read it then, read something else.")

She still reads slowly and does not read silently. She can read a headline upside down and is growing in her ability to handle small print and different typefaces. She seems to be developing a strategy of what to read and can usually select a human interest article without outside help.

In writing she had trouble with 'ğ' and 'y', almost always omitting the 'y' (and the 'r') in 'gidiyor.'

(This may reflect her dialect.) She also had trouble getting both middle consonants in words with a CVCCVC pattern. This was partially remedied by giving her words with missing letters to fill in. When she found a children's book which had sentences with missing words, she enjoyed the challenge of filling in the blanks. Because she is still slow in writing, she prefers for me to dictate a sentence and take the responsibility for remembering what it was until she has finished writing it. She has recently written actual letters to her brothers in Sivas.

Telli, age 45, is kept busy with her grown daughters' troubles and this eventually caused her to drop out. When I met her she did not know a single letter. My first step was to teach her her name and the names of her daughters, then try to rearrange those letters to form words. (This did not work very well.) She seemed to respond to an intensive phonics approach better than Zehra did and could supply an 'a' when asked what 'b.k' needs so it will be 'bak'. She learned most of the letters by herself and soon announced that she could read all the bank signs on the way to Taksim: "the one with 'z' is Zirahat pankası." She had trouble with the letter 'k' because in her dialect she pronounces 'hor' and 'kor' as /hor/ and /xor/. She also has a hearing problem: I have to look her straight in the eye and

shout at the good ear. However when I pointed out the
difference between her dialect and standard Turkish
the difficulty disappeared. From this I suspect that
dialect differences need not be a big hindrance to
reading if the teacher is sensitive to them. Generally
she responds to simple explanations and is confident
she could learn if there weren't so many other problems
to deal with.

Mercan, age 45(?). When trying to write she had little
difficulty supplying a letter and was often ahead of
Saniye on a dictation exercise, but had great difficulty
in reading. Her concept of reading, as it is with many
women, is that she has to 'çarp' the letters to get
words. Her painfully slow "b-len-a, ba, b-len-a ba,
baba" is a prime example of why many educators would
prefer not to start with letters. By the time she has
sounded her way to the end of a sentence, she has no
idea of what she has read, and it bothers her that she
is unable to get any meaning. I tried with moderate
success to get her to see the initial CV combination
of a word as a unit. It has helped some to read slowly
with her pointing to syllables as we go. We worked
some on seeing endings as wholes and she seemed satisfied
that this was a useful exercise. She seldom anticipates
an ending which suggests that she is not processing for

meaning, however one day surprised me by reading
'çalıştı' for 'çabalıyordu' in the context of 'yüzmeğe ___'.
Because of her difficulty in getting meaning I would have
liked to work more with her to see what teaching strat-
egies would be effective. This was not possible due to
severe chronic illness in the family.

Several times Mercan brought children's books which we
read together. While it is true that the sentences are
shorter and the print is larger than in the newspaper,
such books do not seem 'easier.' One of the stories
was called "İyimser Kurbağa" (The Optimistic Frog.)
The story, based on an old fable, was good. Two frogs
fell into a can of milk and couldn't get out. One gave
up hope and drowned; the other struggled until he had
churned the milk into butter and could sit on it until
he was rescued. However, nearly half the story was
spent on unnecessary detail of how the frogs got in the
can of milk. (The frogs were having such fun playing
on the mossy shady bank and diving into the cool water
when some terribly naughty little boy caught them. Then
the boys saw a lazy milkman sleeping under a tree and
dumped the frogs into the milkcans. . .) By the time
we had waded through all that detail, the women were
tired. A Turkish story-telling style (Bir varmış, bir
yokmuş, iki kurbağa süte düşmüş") topped off by a

proverb would have been much more effective and could have been followed by a discussion of how they handle their difficult situations.

Ayşe (age 30) has a similar problem in sounding out words. She too seems to have an endless supply of children's books which she thinks will help her learn, but though she patiently tries to sound out the text, she is unable to extract any meaning at all. When I give her a human interest article from the newspaper, she does much better. Once she read " ne konuşuyor" and commented "zavallı çocuk" before going on to read "ne yuruyor." There was a picture in the article, but not very near the caption she was reading. When reading about a world which she understands, it would seem that Ayşe is constructing meaning first and then extracting information from the text.

Süheyla (age 35) could already read almost independently when I started working with her so we started reading the newspaper together. She can handle articles about people fairly easily, but a headline like "Reagan Andropv'a el uzattı" required a lot of background knowledge before she could understand it. The reverse situation occurred the day I brought her a "Türkü" text which I could not understand and she commented "Ah, ne güzelmiş" after every line and told me what it was about. Together we have

been reading a children's novel dealing with themes of
poverty, trying to get an "orta okul" education and a
girl who is very clever, strong-willed and rude to her
elders. Although it is a long story (80 pages) Süheyla
is reading through it at a steady pace and really en-
joying the language and situations in it.

Hatice (age 36) has similar sounding-out problems to
Mercan and Ayşe but is better at catching the meaning.
We started with small flashcards with bus names and food
items which she learned quickly, commenting that it was
easier to learn whole words than try to sound them out
each time. We worked at silent reading playing games
with the cards like "Will you get on this bus?"or "what's
wrong with this?" (Pirinç çürük. 250 kilo maydanoz.")
or "give me the cards of the foods which go with this
word" ('proteinli' and 'vitaminli'). We work occasionally
with a hece tablosu at her request. Reading newspaper
headlines is hard for her and often I have to tell her
what the word is. At the same time her miscues reveal
real comprehension and linguistic processing. Following
are samples of her miscues.

Actual Text	Miscue/Comment
Songül, bu uçurumdan iki kez düştü (large headline)	none, because we had dis-cussed the picture.
. . .kelebek yakalamak islerken	kelebek yakalarken

...yuvarlanan kız	...yuvarlandı
...geçen yıl düşmüş	...düştü
...kırılmıştı	...kırıldı
küçük afacan kızı Tanrıkorudu	stumbled on 'afacan' left 'ı' off of 'kızı'
...kelebek kovalar-ken (hyphenated at end of line)	read 'ken' before moving eyes to the next line
yuvarla-nan kız (hyphenated)	yuvarlandı, read before moving eyes to the next line.
Yağmur Sevinci	sevinecek
Dualardan sonra	dualar sonra
beklenen	beklediğimiz
yağışlar	yağmur
başladı	read the 'dı' ending very quickly
Çok şükür (Under a picture of an old man in a green field.)	Çok sürdü

Saniye also makes such miscues. Between Saniye and
Hatice it is interesting to notice that many miscues
are syntactically and semantically appropriate. End-
ings may be substituted but only endings appropriate to
the part of speech are used. Yuvarlanan is read as
'yuvarlandı' but not as 'yuvarlak'. 'Yağışlar' is
read as 'yağmur' but not 'yağdı'. 'Kovalar-ken' is
read properly and not as 'kovalarda.' Miscues such as
'yakalarken' for 'yakalamak isterken' or 'beklediğimiz'
for 'beklenen' indicate that the reader is expecting a

subordinate clause. The reverse miscue, 'yuvarlandı'
for 'yuvarlanan' indicates that she was not expecting
a subordinate clause. In her mind the idea was already
complete, and perhaps give a hint as to how subordinate
clauses are processed. Saniye also seems to be doing
this when she reports the content of a complex sentence
in simple sentences.

Discussion of the Case Studies

As mentioned before, I started with a phonics orienta-
tion and moved gradually towards a more wholistic
approach. Synthetic phonics, sounding out words, simply
did not seem to work. No matter how I explained it, 'bı-a,
ba, bı-a,ba baba,' did not make sense, and I really tried
many ways to explain it. Was my imperfect Turkish a
barrier to explaining and being understood? I do not know.
Since the women seem to understand almost everything else
I said, I suspect that the concept itself was too difficult.

A "linguistic" approach or the use of a "hece tablosu"
seems to be of value only when the women are reading enough
to get some meaning, and understand that learning parts
of words (roots, endings, syllables) will increase their
reading speed and therefore comprehension. As an initial
technique it is almost useless. The syllables and word
lists are boring and the women respond politely but not
with enthusiasm and understanding.

On the other hand, the sentences typically used in the
sentence method are not very interesting, and I have little
reason to believe that the women I tutored or the women
in the classes I observed found "Ali, gel," or "Baba bak,"
to be meaningful or interesting. For women with concen-
tration problems such as Zehra, a sentence may be too long
a unit to focus on. Perhaps the sentence method doesn't
tell the learner which details to attend to. Length of
such a short sentence does not seem to be a factor, since
'Ali, gel.' is shorter than some single words such as
'portakal.'

The technique to which the women responded most favorably
was the use of small cards with words written on them. A
major reason was content. Most of the women I interviewed
in the literacy classes indicated that a major reading
need was bus signs and prices. Atakan (1982) documented
the same need. Thus the first words on the cards were
place names used on bus signs. Next came the names of
foods, prices, weights and adjectives which can be used
with the foods such as "pahalı" "ucuz" "güzel" "çürük"
"vitaminli" "proteinli" (however the meaning has to be
taught) and the word "değil." Such words find immediate
application in daily life and satisfy immediate raading
needs. At the same time they provide a broad base for
breakdown into syllable or letter (necessary to distin-
guish "portakal,") and for buildup into sentences. Since
they are written on cards they can be manipulated in a

number of ways: memory drills, sentences and situational
games.

After the very beginning stages the mainstay of reading
instruction turned out to be the newspaper. Although it
would seem to be too difficult, there is almost always
a simple headline which beginners can manage or a story
which can be rewritten. This really helps, to build
confidence, which many learners need badly, and arouses
the desire to learn still more. The women demonstrated
visibly more interest and attention with the "live"
material described in these paragraphs.

"Reading with" can sometimes be a helpful technique
although some women prefer to struggle with reading
independently. By "reading with" I mean reading head-
lines or some other text slowly out loud, pointing to
the syllables and encouraging the learner to follow. It
is not unlike choral reading in a class. Women can also
be encouraged to work in pairs as a classroom management
technique when the teacher needs to give individual or
small group instruction.

The question of whether inflected and uninflected forms
of a word ('okul' vs. 'okula') need to be taught separately
seems to be a superflous question. In actual practice,
if the women stumbled in reading, they stumbled on the
first part of the word. Once the main word was identified

the endings did not seem to present a problem. Endings
were sometimes sounded out with the wrong vowels, but
in those cases the reader went back to put the whole
word together with the proper vowel harmony, also cor-
recting t/d and k/ğ alterations. Misread dative and
accusative endings were adjusted when the reader came to
the verb. Dative, accusative and past tense endings seem
to be read or predicted without any effort at all, because
they are a very redundant part of the language. Occasion-
ally it seemed helpful to draw attention to endings.

Writing seemed important to the women and they worked
hard at it. I generally let them decide how to divide
the time between reading and writing and they seemed to
find a good balance. Writing for them does not mean
copying words over and over in a notebook as is done in
first grade; once or twice seemed to be the upper limit
for any item. After they had copied something they wanted
me to dictate it and sound it out so they could write from
memory or figure out what letter came next, thus writing
greatly reinforced the reading process. Most wanted to
write letters to relatives.

Although they did not respond well to a phonics oriented
approach, an almost universal remark about reading was,
"I know the letters but I can't put them together."
("çarpamıyorum"), thus indicating their belief that reading
has something to do with letters and "putting them together."

Not to teach the letters could violate their expectations.
Writing, the way they want to write, from the very begin-
ning is a good way to teach the letters without violating
the principle of reading for meaning.

The women all knew that reading involves meaning and
showed signs of frustration when they couldn't get the
meaning. All of them made the kind of miscues which in-
dicated that they were processing for meaning.

How valuable are case studies? Not much can be "proved"
by case studies. On the other hand, controlled experi-
ments are not very generalizable due to the artificial
situation. Naturalistic inquiry methods such as used
here sometimes have higher generalizability. (Kline,
1980) My sample of women may not have been scientifically
selected, but neither was Goodman's, who simply analysed
those miscues which were available to him. If the data
is not conclusive, it at least gives us some insight
into how Turkish women may learn.

We started with a discussion of what experienced readers
and sometimes even beginners are doing when they read.
While this gives us some idea of what a non-reader has
to learn when he learns to read, it doesn't really tell
us how he learns. Thus we discussed the strengths and
weaknesses of various methods and came to a tentative
conclusion that both the wholes and the parts, the code
and the message need to be taught, and that teaching
writing could be part of that process. While methodology
is important, the approach (primer vs. language exper-
ience or functional literacy) and the actual content of
the reading material also influence learning outcomes.
A section on adults and teaching was included, not because
it involved any original thought (it doesn't) but because
many teachers in Turkey have not had the kind of educa-
tional psychology course where this kind of information
is normally taught, and consequently may not be taking
it into account. Our main concern in this paper is teaching
a specific group of people to read: Turkish adults.
Since my own experience is limited to women, we watched
what women do when they read and how they seem to learn,
and how they seem to respond to various methods of
teaching. In this chapter I would like to further arti-
culate partial conclusions from the last chapter in three
areas: Method, Approach and Content, and attempt to apply
them in a course designed for the women I worked with:
"gece kondu" women.

Method. My tentative conclusion based on the relatively
good response to place names and food names written on
cards is that words are a good place to start, or at least
these words are a good place to start. Oğuzkan (personal
communication) suggests that word method in general com-
bines the weakness of both a phonics method and a sentence
method: words in isolation (especially inflected ones)
lose some of their meaning which could be derived from
the sentence and as wholes are too small. On the other
hand, words are too large to serve as parts. However it
could also be said that a word method, if the words are
well chosen, could combine the strengths of phonics and
sentence methods: while a sentence is too large a unit
to break down into component sounds, a word is not and
therefore is a convenient unit for demonstrating sound
symbol correspondences. And, while letters as units are
too small to convey meaning, words are not. Some well
chosen words carry as much meaning as some sentences, and
a well chosen set of words can be combined to make sen-
tences as soon as they are presented. Presenting words
rather than sentences on flashcards facilitates activities
with those words.

In actual practice there need not be much difference
between a word and sentence method: words are almost
always used immediately in sentences. The first sen-
tences are seldom more than three words, and can be
broken down immediately into words even if this is

not always done. A sentence method has a distinct advantage in an agglutinating language like Turkish because it can use inflected words which could be presented in isolation. One other practical advantage of the sentence method in Turkey is that it is endorsed by the Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı; teachers are already trained to use it and therefore feel comfortable with it.

However, I do not see any basis for a strict division of sentences, words, syllables and letters. Learners will vary as to when they can handle the various levels. Words most certainly could be identified as soon as the sentence is presented rather than waiting until the 10th day of instruction as suggested in the teacher's manual. For the type of content which I will suggest, the concept of sentence could be revised to include single words which have sentence value, such as place names. Immediately identifying uninflected words within sentences also opens the way for the use of flashcards, which I consider to be a useful and flexible teaching tool, much more flexible than writing on the chalkboard.

When can syllables and letters be introduced? Since many illiterates know that reading has to do with the alphabet and even have learned the alphabet, some letters, for instance initial letters of words or other letters in words which have the same initial letter could be pointed out relatively early, perhaps after several words

have been introduced. Writing exercises are also a good
place to demonstrate the use of letters. My impression
from my observation of Turkish women is that in a learning
situation they use the information which they can under-
stand and politely ignore the rest until they are ready
to understand it. Thus it would be possible to present
the letters without any pressure to use them until the
learners pick up on the clues and start using them. If
the emphasis is on words and sentences but at the same
time mentions letters, the learner has a broad base of
cues to work from while gradually being pointed to those
cues which will help him identify words he has never seen
before.

At the same time learners should be taught to use context
clues (pictures, previous text, or kind of sign). Compre-
hension and critical reading should be taught by exercises
which require more than simple reporting of the text.

Approach. An examination of the materials already pre-
pared for the literacy campaign reveals that the goals
of the campaign are more than just reading skills: both
primers but especially the first (which turned out to
be too difficult) presented content material on health,
nutrition, need for family planning, community or economic
cooperation and good citizenship. The teacher's manual,
although not coordinated with the primers, was concerned

with the kind of functional literacy which encourages
the learner to think and discuss and use his literacy
skills to obtain information which could help him improve
his living circumstances. Thus there already exists a
real concern for the functional aspect of literacy, and
presumably this would be reflected in any materials pre-
pared for any approach.

The real point of tension is between prepared sequence
and graded materials and those which spontaneously arise
out of the learning experience. Primer type materials,
as we have seen, tend to use structure which is too short
and too simple to be natural language and loose on pre-
dictability, redundancy, and interest what they gain on
simplicity. A non-reader, on the other hand, cannot be
expected to know what is simple and easy to read and
write or which forms of which words can best be used in
new combinations. Vocabulary quickly gets out of control,
with the result that individual items are not learned
well enough. In a controlled approach, what happens when
the materials really do not appeal to the learner for
some reason? In a language experience approach, what
happens when a teacher doesn't know how to lead the class
in interesting discussions, or a class of women turns out
to be very passive and expects the teacher to be an
authority figure?

Elements of both a primer and a language experience approach

clearly need to be incorporated into a literacy program. The teacher's manual needs to be coordinated to the student material, containing both suggestions as to how to use the prepared material and adapt it to student need and interest as well as how to lead students to develop their own interests. In addition, some type of teacher training may be necessary.

Content/Materials. Learner's actual interests and what some education authority thinks they should be interested in are sometimes, but not necessarily the same thing. At the present time one primer is considered to be enough to meet the varied interests of men and women in urban and rural areas. Given the large number of illiterates in Turkey it would seem economically feasible to develop separate materials for urban women, urban men, rural women and rural men, and perhaps for different occupations especially in agriculture. While no scientifically, based survey has been done, both Atakan (1982) and I have found that many urban women mention bus signs and prices as immediate reading needs, and that after these needs have been satisfied, there seems to be a desire to read the newspaper. Thus materials based on these reading needs could be attractive to women at least in İstanbul. There still remains a need for some kind of need assessment for this and other target groups.

A primer is not the only possible format for reading

materials. Flashcards in larger format for class use and in smaller format for individual use are much more flexible than primer pages for teaching prices and bus signs and can be manipulated in a number of ways. Posters prepared by the municipality or other governmental agencies should regularly be supplied to literacy classes. A folder or looseleaf notebook format may provide greater flexibility for the teacher in selecting materials which are relevant to the class such as longer signs and notices, proverbs, poems and "türküs" etc. A primer format becomes more useful as longer connected stories are presented, however prices, commodities and actual signs as found at the grocery could be included in a primer (at the risk of being out-of-date by the time the primer is printed, due to inflation).

An important principle is the selection of "live" reading material. Actual texts that the women will read in the environment is by its very nature more attractive than specially prepared material because of the communcative nature. Even the newspaper did not seem "too hard" for beginning readers, because the material itself was interesting and attractive and gave the women the feel that they were "really" reading.

A Sample Literacy Program

Target Group: Illiterate Women in "gece kondu" areas
     of İstanbul

Content and Learning Objectives: While learning objectives
determine the content of a course, there is also a sense in
which they grow out of the course content. Objectives and
content need to be interrelated and sequenced. Therefore
objectives and content are given together. The course is
divided into four learning modules. General objectives and
content are given for each module. A detailed plan for
Module I is in the appendix.

Module I: Bus Signs and Prices
Objectives: The student will be able to:
     -read a bus sign and decide whether to get on the bus.
     -read a price and decide whether to buy the product.
     -write her name from memory.
Content:
     Student's own name and the names of immediate family
                                                  members
     bus signs

     prices

     signs at the grocery (as a transition to Module II)

     writing: make a shopping list, practice in all the
                                              above
     math: numbers under 1000 which could be actual prices,
          weights or bus route numbers

Module II: Signs, Posters and Packages, Introduction to Newspa

Objectives: The student will be able to:

-find a place in the hospital or a shop by reading signs

-buy a product by reading the label

-identify important parts of the newspaper without help

-read a simple headline with help

-write a shopping list

Content:

signs in the hospital

signs at the grocery

posters

signs in public places

invormation on packages

newspaper format

easy headlines

easy proverbs

captions in needlework magazines

writing: student's own address, practice in all the
above

math: read all numbers under 1000

read some prices over 1000

simple addition under 1000

Module III: The Newspaper (1)

Objectives: The student will be able to:

-read headlines to decide whether to read the article

-locate an article dealing with a specific topic

-read a human interest article with help

-write her address

-write a short note

-use addition to decide how she will spend TL 1000

Content:

human interest articles in the newspaper

news items which have been reported on TV

Foto Romans

recipies

needlework magazines

proverbs and türküs

writing a note

math: addition with carrying

subtraction

read fractions and percentages

numbers over 1000, examples from family budget

Module IV: The Newspaper (2)

Objectives: The student will be able to:

-read an easy newspaper article independently and report on it

-read a more difficult article with help

-write a short letter

-fill in a form for the "muhtar"

-assess the family income and expenses to decide if a desired item can be purchased this month

Content:

International, political and economic news

news about new laws

material on health, child care, family planning, etc.

any other material of interest to students

short stories and folktales

writing: a letter to relatives

a form for the "muhtar"

math: easy multiplication

easy division (?)

planning the family budget, buying on time

It will be noticed that the content of each module is some-
what more advanced than the objective, and that objectives
for that more difficult material are given in the following
module. This has been done deliberately (1) to give the
student more time to master the objective, (2) to provide
continuity between the modules and (3) to motivate the
student to continue to the next module by demonstrating
how interesting and useful the next step is.

Method: Module I will present the content on a sight/memory
basis but point out sound-symbol correspondences.
Module II will continue to present items on a memory basis
but lay increased emphasis on syllable and letter.
Modules III and IV will continue the emphasis on sound-
symbol correspondences and comprehension with increasing
difficult reading materials.

Materials: An attractive, well written teacher's manual
which explains the objectives, content and method, and
specific techniques and strategies for implementing the

program, and guidelines for selecting and assessing the difficulty of material.

Modules I and II: flashcards, charts, posters, actual bus
      signs and signs from the grocery or market, copies
      of other signs. Possible a primer with repooductions
      of these items.
Modules III and IV: Newspapers, magazines, brochures.
    A primer with proverbs, riddles, poems, türküs,
      folk tales and short stories.
    A primer with informational material on health,
      child care, nutrition, family planning, etc.

Pretest: Students will be given a pretest of reading knowledge, the results will be used to place the student in an appropriate learning module, and to encourage students as needed by demonstrating at any given point how much more they know now than when they started.

Feedback/Certification: Students will be given feedback as they attain detailed objectives (contained in the detailed plan for each module), and special recognition as they pass from one module to the next. They will be considered candidates for a Literacy Certificate when the first two general objectives of Module IV are attained.

Administration: The program will use the present frame- work of 45 day, 90 hour courses, held in Primary schools

and taught by primary school teachers. The material to
be covered will take two, or possible three courses, and
may need adjustment to fit course dates. Teachers will
participate in a training workship (two full Saturdays in
the month before the course is opened). If this is not
practical, they will at least be provided with an attrac-
tive, well written manual.

Evaluation: This proposed course is based on a theoretical
foundation supplemented by some practical experience and
observation. Because it has not been tested, it would
seem necessary to set up a pilot program and gather feed-
back from student perserverance and performance rates,
classroom observation, and interviews with teachers and
students.

Learning Objective	Rationale	Teaching Technique
1) Read, incontext, on a memorized basis, bus signs and names of foods.	Learner may use any cues for recognition. "Context" means that place names will appear on bus signs and food names on signs at the grocery or market	Introduce words from lists in groups of two or three using flashcards. Ask students to identify cards or give yes/no answers when asked,"is this____?"
(a) Differentiate two known signs.	Can use silent reading and any salient cue.	Present two flashcards and ask, "Which one is (Şişli)?"
(b) Search for a specific known sign among several known or unknown ones.	Simulates the situation at a bus stop or in the market. Student knows what she is looking for and checks each alternative on a yes/no basis. In real life she will encounter new words while looking for a known one,	
(c) Simultaneously search for two different signs.	so this is a good place to introduce previously unlearned words. Develops scanning ability. It is not necessary to read every word, just the target word.	Present flashcards serially or several at a time and say, "You are in Osmanbey and want to go home. Tell me when your bus comes."
(d)On the routing sign of a bus, determine which route a bus leaving the end station will take.	A necessary real life situation. Many bus routes are circular with busses running both ways.	On a routing sign, point out where the crucial word will be and ask if they want to get on that bus.
2) Recognize those numbers under 1000 which could be actual prices, weights or bus route numbers.	The principle of how numbers are written will be taught in Module II. Numbers end-with ones are not used in prices and needed only for relevant bus routes.	Use flash cards for drill, pair with names of foods to make prices Introduce the words 'kilo', 'gram' and 'lira.' Longer units like 500 gram peynir 450 lira" possible.

3) Form judgements about what is read— whether to get on the bus or buy the product.	Teaches critical reading and makes silent reading possible. Student saves money by getting on the right bus.	Busses: Using flashcards and predetermined destinations, have student get there using the least possible number of "tickets."
		Prices: Always asking for price judgements present products in season at normal, high and low prices. products out of season at high prices (eg. tomatoes in Feb. oranges in June or strawberries in October.
	Value judgments: price of food vs. desire to have it.	
	Forces attention to both detail and comprehension. Teaches that something is not necessarily right because it is written.	Ask what is wrong with combinations like "50 gr. patates" "5 kilo maydanoz" or "peynir 10 lira."
4) Begin to recognize words on the basis of sound-symbol correspon- dances.	Student needs tools to iden- tify words as many of the words will startwith the same letter or have the same length and shape. Sounding out totally new words is left for Module II.	
(a) Differentiate words on the basis of the initial letter.

(b)Differentiate on the basis of other letters. | (a,b,c) These are begin- ning steps toweard sound- symbol correspondance, intro- duced gradually and at first as a suggestion, not insis- ting in their use. As stu- dent responds she will be encouraged to use them more, | (a) Compare words on the basis of initial letter:'patates'vs 'domates.'

(b) Compare words with the same ini- letter such as 'patates' 'patlican' and 'portakal.' Point out letter values, intoning the sound being emphasized, especially when writing. |
| (c) Start to recognize syllables. | | (c) Point out recurring syllables, demonstrate how words are divided. |

(d) Search a list for a previously unlearned target word.

Student may want to go to 'Gültepe,' a word not yet on the list. If she can anticipate the appropriate letters, she may be able to find the bus.

(d) Have the student think about what letters might be in the target word. Show the word and ask if this could be it. Mix target word in with other known words, then with other unknown words

5) Read short sentences such as found at the grocery.

Expansion of vocabulary, comprehension, emphasis on meaning, opportunity for making judgments and discussion on nutrition. Real texts should be used as much as possible. This objective is the transition to Module II.

Match subject and predicate cards to make sentences. Use actual signs from the grocery. Group cards under headings (proteinli, vitaminli, şişmanlatır, zayıflatır, pahalı, ucuz, etc.) Make anamolous sentences like 'pirinç çürük' for judgment.

6) Writing.
(a) Become accustomed to writing.

Motor control. Many women can copy already, others cannot.

How to hold pencil and paper, left to right, top to bottom order, letter formation.

(b) Copy material to be learned.

Facilitates giving of homework. Necessary to learn words and pay attention to letters. Ideal place to emphasize letter sounds.

Formation of letters, use of capital and small letters, spaces, periods, etc.

(c) Write learned words from memory.

Teaches communicative aspect of writing: a shopping list or a needed bus route for an illiterate neighbor to show when she has to change busses. Opportunity to show off new skills.

Have students write words from dictation, intoning letters if this is helpful.
Discuss with students what to write in a given situation.

7) Develop a desire for further learning and a belief in her ability to learn.

Motivation is a very important factor in learning and continuing to learn. Many women believe they are "dumb" and need proof that they aren't.

Objectives have been designed to produce useful skills with immediate application in shopping and transportation. This alone should encourage students.

Teacher should take every opportunity to give students positive feedback. Rather than give negative feedback, the teacher should try to diagnose the student's difficulty and reteach.

A student should never be embarressed publically.

Teacher should emphasize that students are not lacking in intelligence but only in opportunity, and point out ways in which they already are using their intelligence.

Content of Module I

Objective 1 (Not all words need be used: students should help choose the most useful ones.)

Place names on bus signs: (Examples given are for Hisarüstü.)

(1) Busses which go to student's neighborhood.
R. Hisarüstü, Boğaziçi Univ.

(2) Main destination/routing points.
Taksim, Eminönü, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Maçka, Bayazıt

(3) Busses which could be confused with a desired one.
43A Balmuncu (confusable with 43B Boğaziçi Univ.)

(4) Other places where student may want to go.
OkMeydanı, Kâğıthane, Gültepe, etc.

(5) Busses which can be taken part way home instead of waiting.
Uçak Savar, Narin Sitesi, Etiler

Food and other items from the grocery and market.

Vegetables	Fruits	Staples	Meat and Dairy
papates	portakal	un	et
soğan	limon	şeker	kıyma
patlican	greyfrut	tuz	gulaş
biber	şeftali	pirinç	kuş başı
domates	çilek	bulgur	dana
fasulye	kayısı	makarna	sığır
bezelye	armut	kuru fasulye	kuzu
salatlık	karpuz	barbunya	balık
marul	kavun	mercimek	
maydanoz	üzüm		süt
	kiraz	zeytin	yoğurt
Spices	vişne	zeytin yağı	peynir
		Sana yağı	beyaz peynir
kırmızı biber		ekmek	kaşar
kara biber		reçel	yumurta
kimyon			
nane			
kekik			
etc.			

This kind of list can be extended to include soaps and cleaning products, household and clothing items, etc. Since it can get very long, it will be necessary to pick and choose.

Objective 2 Numbers

(1) which could be prices.

    10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (for eggs)
    5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30........, 95
    100, 120, 150, etc.
    200 etc, (depending on product)

(2) which could be weights

    1, 2, 2-1/2, 3, 4, 5 (for kilos)
    100, 125, 200, 250, 500 (for grams)

(3) bus route numbers

    43, 43B, 53, C1, C2, etc.

Words used with numbers.

    kilo, kg., kilosu
    gram, gr.
    lira, TL, liraya

Objective 5 Short sentences.

(1) for transportation.

    Garaj'a gider
    Taksim'e kadar
    Beşiktaş'a   etc.
    Şoförle konusmayın.
    Sigara içilmez
    Arkaya doğru ilerlemesi rica olunur.

(2) signs in the grocery or the market.

ezik yok	Bursa şeftalisı
halis zeytin yağı	Ereğli çilek
büyük ucuzluk	Amasya elması
lüks kalite	Golden elma
duble zeytin	Washington, Vaşington (portakal)
içi kırmızı yumurta	açıl arab sabunu geldi
köy yumrtası	neftalin geldi
taze yufka bulunur	kandil simidi unutmayın
seç	iftar sofranız için

(3) words which could be useful in discussion and making
    sentences.

pastörize	güzel	var	vitaminli
eski (kaşar)	ucuz	yok	proteinli
bal gibi	pahalı	değil	şismanlatır
mis gibi	taze	çok	zayıflatır
kokulu	çürük	hiç	
	ezik	geldi	
	ekşi	bulunur	

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