

*Special Education*  
*for a*  
*New Century*



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# *The Deaf as a Linguistic Minority*

## *Educational Considerations*



TIMOTHY REAGAN

What is it like to "hear" a hand?  
You have to be deaf to understand.

.....

What is it like to comprehend  
Some nimble fingers that paint the scene,  
And make you smile and feel serene  
With the "spoken word" of the moving hand  
That makes you part of the world at large?  
You have to be deaf to understand.

— Wilard J. Madsen, "You Have to Be Deaf to Understand"<sup>1</sup>

The last thirty years have seen remarkable changes in the educational system of the United States, not the least of which have been those affecting social and linguistic minorities. The 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*<sup>2</sup> Supreme Court decision provided the legal basis for widespread desegregation in the schools and an end to the long tradition of separate and unequal education for blacks and whites in U. S. society.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, some twenty years later, meaningful racial integration is still an unrealized ideal in many parts of the nation.

In 1974, the *Lau v. Nichols*<sup>4</sup> decision expanded the coverage of the doctrine of "equal educational opportunity" to include the provision of "affirmative steps" for minority-language children unable to function in school in English.<sup>5</sup> While the Court did not specify that bilingual programs were the only acceptable way school districts might meet the educational needs of non-English-speaking students, the "*Lau* remedies," initially issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) in the summer of 1975, clearly favored the implementation of bilingual education programs.<sup>6</sup>

In a 1979 decision in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the educational problems faced by speakers of Black English were addressed for the first time by a court of law.<sup>7</sup> The *King*<sup>8</sup> decision recognized Black English as a viable and legitimate variety of English and acknowledged that the learning problems of many poor blacks may be partly linguistic in nature. The decision, however, was far from radical.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it recommended such approaches as in-service sociolinguistic training for teachers rather than the development of bilingual or bidialectal programs for speakers of Black English.<sup>10</sup> Still, the rights of those whose native language is a specific nonstandard variety of English were recognized in *King*, and future judicial challenges may conceivably apply similar criteria to other nonstandard varieties of English.<sup>11</sup> We see, then, an expansion of concern with and sensitivity to the special educational needs and problems of minority students, especially linguistic minorities. The rights of one sizable linguistic minority group, however, have been overlooked throughout this period, probably through a combination of ignorance, bias, and a generally unrecognized history of oppression. I am referring to the deaf.<sup>12</sup>

Commonly identified as simply "handicapped," little attention has been given to the deaf as a cultural and linguistic minority group with distinctive educational needs. The federal law that defined special education in the United States, P. L. 94-142, has been used rather than *Lau* to provide the legal basis for contemporary developments in the education of the deaf. This has resulted in widespread misunderstanding of the deaf in educational circles, as well as to pedagogical approaches in deaf education which, were they to be directed toward any other minority language population in the United States, would be condemned by educators and policymakers alike. This paper provides an analysis of the cultural and linguistic aspects of the deaf community, of the education of the deaf as a cultural and linguistic minority, and of alternative approaches in the education of the deaf. It also offers arguments for the provision of bilingual education programs for the deaf.

### LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Although small numbers of the deaf use speech and lipreading as their primary means of communication, the vast majority rely on a variety or combination of varieties of sign language and manual "codes."<sup>13</sup> In general, three major types of signing are used by the deaf in the United States: American Sign Language (ASL), Pidgin Sign English (PSE), and different kinds of Manually Coded English (MCE). The distinctions among them have important educational consequences.

ASL is the language used by the deaf and is, in fact, the single "most effective signal of membership in the deaf community."<sup>14</sup> It has been the focus of a great deal of linguistic study since the 1960 publication of William Stokoe's landmark work, "Sign Language Structure."<sup>15</sup> ASL's linguistic features are now understood, at least in fairly broad outline. It is a language in every sense of the word, relying on visual, rather than auditory, encoding and decoding. ASL has a complex, rule-governed phonology, syntax, and morphology.<sup>16</sup> For example, each sign contains at least five distinct pa-

FIGURE 1  
*Changes in the Parameters That Result in a Different Sign*



SIT



NAME



SALT



TRAIN

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rameters which delimit its meaning. These parameters are handshape(s), movement of hand, position/location of hand, palm orientation, and facial expression and other body movement(s).<sup>17</sup> These parameters, which also affect meaning in most other sign languages, function in ASL roughly as phonological distinctions do in oral languages.<sup>18</sup> Figure 1 shows how a change in one or more of the parameters can result in the formation of a different sign.<sup>19</sup>

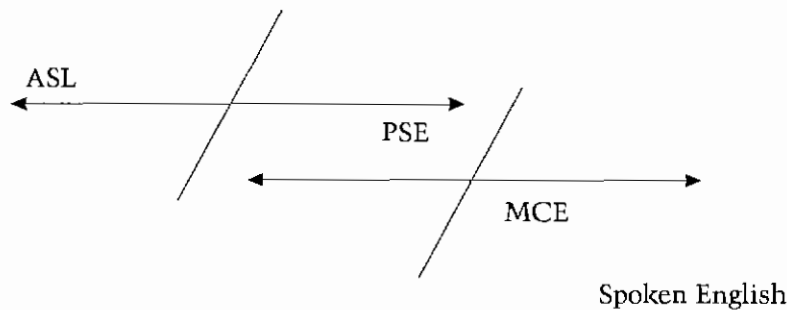
Although ASL has traditionally been considered the low-status variety of signing (as contrasted with those varieties which more closely approximate English) by both the deaf and hearing worlds,<sup>20</sup> this negative attitude appears to be changing.<sup>21</sup> Undoubtedly, "deaf pride" has played a role in this change, which has been further encouraged by the preparation of new instructional materials for the teaching of ASL to hearing individuals.<sup>22</sup> As ASL becomes increasingly accepted as a "legitimate" foreign language in colleges and universities, and continues to gain recognition by hearing individuals, this change is likely to become even more profound.

An interesting sociological feature of ASL is that, unlike other languages, it is passed on more commonly from child to child — usually in residential schools for the deaf — rather than from parent to child. Indeed, since only an estimated 12 percent of deaf children have deaf parents, it can be argued that "for close to 90 percent of the deaf population, the group language [ASL] and sociocultural patterns are not transmitted from parent to child."<sup>23</sup> Further, ASL provides a language of "group solidarity" not generally shared with hearing individuals.<sup>24</sup> Its use is almost never allowed in formal or educational settings, a fact which has important social and pedagogical implications and to which we will return.<sup>25</sup>

Pidgin Sign English refers to a range of different types of signing that incorporate varying amounts of ASL and English in a pidgin system. In general, PSE can be defined as the use of ASL signs in English word order.<sup>26</sup> Words which have no ASL equivalents (such as *the*, *a*, and so on) may be fingerspelled in PSE, but this is not required. PSE serves as a bridge between the deaf and hearing individuals who know some sign language but who may or may not know ASL.<sup>27</sup> It is commonly used in the education of the deaf at the intermediate, secondary, and postsecondary levels,<sup>28</sup> for example at Gallaudet College.<sup>29</sup>

Manually Coded English [MCE] encompasses a number of very different systems designed to represent visually the English language. The systems of MCE include Seeing Essential English (SEE I), Signing Exact English (SEE II), Linguistics of Visual English (LOVE), Cued Speech, and Fingerspelling (including the Rochester Method).<sup>30</sup> The key is that MCE is a manual *code* used to transmit English, rather than a language in and of itself.<sup>31</sup> This is no doubt one of the principal arguments in favor of its use, as Gustason notes: "The most important principle of Manual English systems is that English should be signed as it is spoken for the deaf child to have linguistic input that would result in his mastery of English."<sup>32</sup> This aspect of MCE, together with its ease of acquisition for hearing individuals, helps to explain its popularity in both preschool and primary education.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the use of MCE in early childhood education, while pedagogically superior to an oral (that is, nonmanual) approach, has not been particularly effective in providing an adequate education for the deaf.

FIGURE 2  
*Overlapping Continua of the Three Major Types of Signing*



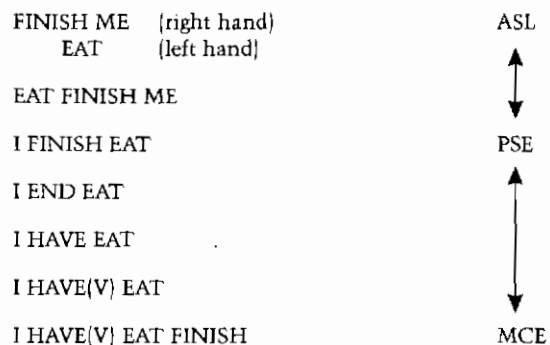
These three major types of signing can be conceptualized as falling along two overlapping continua.<sup>34</sup> If viewed as a continuum ranging from the most private, exclusive to the deaf, to the most public, common to most of U.S. society, the types of signing can be envisioned as shown in Figure 2.

Since ASL and English are not historically related languages — in the way that English and German are, for example — we must use two overlapping lines, rather than a single line, to represent the range of sign systems. As a pidgin, PSE incorporates enough syntactic, semantic, and morphological variation to fall along both continua, and hence can be seen as mediating between the two distinct linguistic communities. Figure 3 provides an illustration of how the continua between ASL and MCE function for the English sentence, "I have eaten."

The result of this range of signing systems has been what Stokoe has called "sign language diglossia."<sup>35</sup> The term *diglossia*, coined by Ferguson in the late 1950s,<sup>36</sup> is normally used to describe a situation in which "two varieties of a single language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play."<sup>37</sup> Commonly, the two varieties of the language are the literary and colloquial, as in the differential usage in Greece of *katharevusa* (the *H*, or high-status, variety) and *dhimotiki* (the *L*, or low-status, variety).<sup>38</sup> Fishman has expanded this definition of diglossia, suggesting that diglossia may also refer to a situation in which two different languages are used for different functions in a community.<sup>39</sup>

Within Fishman's broader definition, the situation for the deaf community in the United States is diglossic.<sup>40</sup> Sign varieties approximating English are the *H* varieties, while ASL serves as the *L* variety.<sup>41</sup> Woodward clearly explicates the situation: "As in other diglossic situations, the literary variety [English] is used in formal conversations in church, in classrooms, for lectures, and so on. The colloquial variety [ASL] is used in smaller, less formal, more intimate conversations. English is considered superior to ASL, and ASL is regarded as ungrammatical or non-existent."<sup>42</sup> The diglossic situation of the deaf community is likely to remain, but the relative status of English to ASL, as noted earlier, appears to be changing. Few today would consider English in-

FIGURE 3  
*Lexical and Syntactic Variations in Sign Varieties of the English Sentence*



From James Woodward, "Sociolinguistic Research on American Sign Language: A Historical Perspective," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community: Essays in Honor of William C. Stokoe*, ed. Charlotte Baker and Robbin Battison (Silver Springs, MD: National Association of the Deaf, 1980), p. 123. Printed by permission of the publisher.

nately superior to ASL, and no one could now justifiably maintain a belief in the supposed "ungrammaticality" of ASL.

#### CULTURAL SITUATION

The deaf constitute a unique subculture in American society. Although many of the characteristic features of the deaf subculture are linguistic, or at least partially linguistic, in nature, other important cultural values, attitudes, and traditions are present as well. One of the more significant features of deaf life has been the role played by residential schools for the deaf in the maintenance and transmission of deaf culture.<sup>43</sup> As we noted earlier, this is one of the principal ways in which the deaf differ from other minority groups, because it means that the culture is, in most instances, passed on from child to child. Four general features demarcate the deaf subculture.

##### *Language*

Language generally plays a key role in cultural and ethnic identification, and this is especially true for the deaf. Membership in the deaf community is contingent upon communicative competence in ASL, which thus serves a dual function as both the community's vernacular language and its principal identifying characteristic.<sup>44</sup> Given the diglossic nature of language use in the deaf community, ASL serves in many instances as an effective barrier to hearing people's access to the deaf subculture.<sup>45</sup> As Meadow has noted about language in general, "It can serve as a cohesive, defining source of pride and positive identification and simultaneously as a focus for stigma and ridicule

from members of the majority culture."<sup>46</sup> This is clearly the case with respect to ASL, though, again, the hearing world's resistance to ASL appears to be changing.

### *Group Identification*

The deaf community in the United States perceives itself as a distinctive group, in both social and linguistic terms, and is generally recognized as a distinctive population by the dominant society, though perhaps not a culturally distinct one. Interestingly, there are significant differences in how the parameters of the group are established and how that grouphood is evaluated.

In the hearing world, distinctions based on the extent to which an individual can hear (for example, hearing vs. hard-of-hearing vs. deaf) are seen as reasonably significant. Further, hearing-impaired individuals are commonly "valued" based on the extent to which they can hear. In the deaf community this is not the case. Rather, the degree or extent of hearing loss is simply not regarded as a criterion for membership in the deaf community so long as there is some degree of hearing loss.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Padden notes that "there is one name for all members of the cultural group, regardless of the degree of hearing loss: Deaf. In fact, the sign DEAF can be used in an ASL sentence to mean 'my friends,' which conveys the cultural meaning of 'Deaf'."<sup>48</sup>

### *Endogamy*

The maintenance of endogamous marriages is often seen by cultural and ethnic groups as a key to their survival. Among the deaf, intermarriage appears to be the most typical pattern. Estimates for the rate of endogamous marriage in the deaf community range from 86 percent to well over 90 percent.<sup>49</sup> By these estimates the deaf are significantly more endogamous than most other contemporary U.S. cultural and ethnic groups.

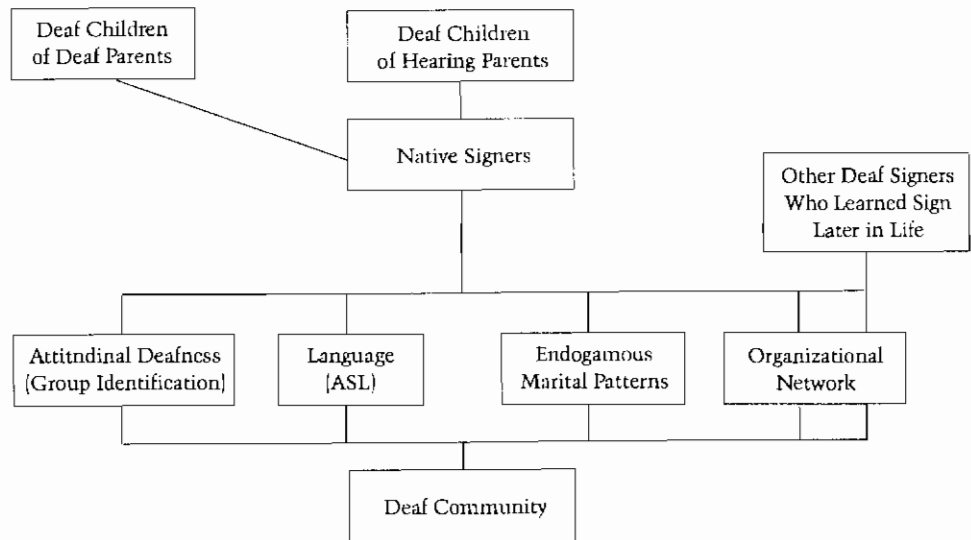
### *Organizational Network*

Lastly, the network of voluntary organizations that serves the deaf community is comparable to that serving any other cultural or ethnic group in U.S. society.<sup>50</sup> In addition to the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) and the various state associations of the deaf, there are social clubs, sports teams, the "Deaf Olympics," the National Theatre of the Deaf, and a host of others. This is especially significant given Padden's observation that "Deaf people consider social activities an important way of maintaining contact with other deaf people."<sup>51</sup> In short, such organizational networks help both to maintain the cohesiveness of the group and to serve the companionship needs of group members.

The deaf, then, do indeed appear to constitute a subcultural community in contemporary U.S. society. Figure 4 shows the classifications and significant features of the deaf community. This same diagram, with only minor modifications, has been used to describe the deaf community in Great Britain and could presumably be applied to a number of other nations as well.<sup>52</sup>



FIGURE 4  
*Classifications and Significant Features of the Deaf*



This figure is adapted from Liliau Lawson, "The Role of Sign in the Structure of the Deaf Community," in *Perspectives on British Sign Language and Deafness*, ed. Bernice Woll, James Kyle, and Margaret Deuchar (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 168. Printed by permission of the publisher.

#### COMPETING APPROACHES IN THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF

Historically, the major controversy in the education of the deaf in the United States has been the debate between the oralists and the manualists.<sup>53</sup> The oralists, working in the tradition of Alexander Graham Bell,<sup>54</sup> have emphasized the need for deaf children to acquire competence in English, as manifested in lipreading and the ability to produce speech. Signing is discouraged and generally not allowed in schools.<sup>55</sup> At the present time, approximately one-third of the educational programs for the deaf in the United States use the oral approach.<sup>56</sup> Such programs are ideologically similar to traditional, pre-*Lau* approaches to non-English speaking minority groups whereby children were commonly punished for using their native language.

Manualists, on the other hand, have advocated a combination of speech and signing [in English word order] in the classroom. The role and extent of signing, however, even in the manual approach, has tended to be limited. Rather than using ASL, the manualists favor sign systems which approach English syntactically, so that speech and signs can be used together.<sup>57</sup> As Woodward has noted, "Until recently, there has never been any question that the language code in the classrooms should approach English; the question has been through what channel could English be best represented and understood."<sup>58</sup>

A new wrinkle appeared in the oral-manual controversy in the late 1960s, however, as total communication gained popularity in deaf education.<sup>59</sup> Like so many other educational slogans,<sup>60</sup> "total communication" gained widespread support because it could mean so many different things to so many different people. Commonly, total communication meant that "no change in philosophy took place; to all other methods, techniques, training, and curricula, signs were merely added."<sup>61</sup> This is especially interesting in view of the fact that NAD has specifically defined the term as "a philosophy of communication which implies acceptance, understanding, and use of all methods of communication to assist the deaf child in acquiring language and the deaf adult in understanding."<sup>62</sup> In short, while there may have been greater acceptance of sign language in the education of the deaf, there was hardly a revolution in deaf education. Total communication has been used to mean nothing more than the "simultaneous method" in many programs.<sup>63</sup> In schools it has not engendered the acceptance, understanding, or use of sign languages in general, or of ASL in particular.

### BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE DEAF

Despite widespread international support for initial mother-tongue approaches in education,<sup>64</sup> bilingual education programs in the United States have been far from popular. Empirical evidence for the effectiveness of such programs is often ambiguous.<sup>65</sup> The successes of early immersion programs for Anglophone students in Canada are commonly used to support calls for similar English as a Second Language programs for minority language students in this country.<sup>66</sup> There is some agreement that initial mother-tongue programs are most likely to be effective where children come from lower socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds, where they may not be proficient in their native language, where their native language has low social status, and where teachers in regular classrooms are of a different ethnicity or language background.<sup>67</sup>

These criteria suggest that the deaf might be an ideal population for bilingual education programs. While the social class background of the deaf population is quite varied, an increasing percentage of the school-age deaf population is coming from minority and lower SES backgrounds.<sup>68</sup> More significant, though, is the generally low SES that the deaf as a community continue to face in U.S. society as a result of social and economic discrimination. The question of the deaf child's native language is difficult because, for the deaf child, "home language" and "native language" are not necessarily synonymous, except in the rare cases where a deaf child is born to deaf, ASL-using parents. In any event, visual rather than auditory languages are the natural communicative approach for the deaf child. Taking this into account, and recognizing both the role of ASL in the deaf community and the artificial nature of MCEs, it is reasonable to treat the deaf child *as if* his/her native language were ASL. This means, of course, that in the vast majority of cases the child will not be proficient in the native language. We have already discussed the traditionally low social status accorded ASL in both the deaf and hearing worlds. With respect to the ethnicity and language backgrounds of the teachers, there is a classic colonial model in the education of the

deaf in which great resistance to the hiring of deaf professionals persists. Further, the control of deaf education, at all levels, is firmly in the hands of hearing individuals.

The need for the deaf child to learn to cope with and function in both the hearing and deaf cultures would make a bicultural — as well as a bilingual — approach especially desirable. Indeed, the deaf have a uniquely powerful argument for such programs. Nevertheless, despite the strong arguments in favor of a bilingual-bicultural approach in the education of the deaf, only a few individuals have proposed such programs, and their audience has been limited for the most part to those already immersed in and sympathetic to studies of deaf culture and the linguistics of ASL.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, few of their proposals have been published, and even these have reached a narrow audience.<sup>70</sup> Educators involved with bilingual education, minority studies, and multicultural education, on the other hand, have generally tended to ignore the deaf, save in discussions about blacks, Latinos, and so forth, who happen also to be deaf. The notion that being deaf in and of itself might have important cultural and linguistic implications appears to have been overlooked. Woodward correctly claims that “the Deaf community has had a more difficult time overcoming inferiority stereotyping by the majority culture than other minority groups, since deaf people are viewed as a *medical* pathology.”<sup>71</sup>

In the development and implementation of a bilingual-bicultural program for the deaf, two conditions would have to be met.<sup>72</sup> First, ASL — *not* PSE or some form of MCE — would have to be not only allowed but encouraged in the classroom. This would require reeducating teachers of the deaf as well as others, but the rewards would almost certainly be worth the effort. Second, members of the deaf community would need to be active and, ideally, coequal partners in the control, administration, and teaching of the programs.<sup>73</sup> Given the resistance even to the hiring of deaf teachers in many schools, this would require significant amounts of time, effort, and pressure.<sup>74</sup> To do otherwise, however, would be to allow an essentially imperialistic approach to the education of a sizable minority group in the United States to continue unabated. Such a path cannot, I believe, be condoned.

This approach does not mean that the acquisition of English skills should be eliminated or minimized in the education of the deaf. English remains the written language of the deaf community and is an indispensable key to the hearing world. The question, instead, has to do with the best way for the deaf student to acquire English and, with the educational role of ASL, the language of the deaf community. It is time to recognize the deaf as a cultural and linguistic community and to reject the view of deafness as an exclusively physiological condition. Perhaps, in time, hearing people may even come to realize how much they have to learn from the deaf. Perhaps, someday, we will understand what it means to “hear’ a hand.”

#### NOTES

1. Original poem printed by permission of the author.
2. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

3. See Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975). Also of interest is Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: A History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
4. 414 U.S. 563 (1973).
5. See Hebert Teitelbaum and Richard J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate," *Harvard Educational Review*, 47 (1977), 138-170.
6. The "Lau Remedies" originally appeared as "H.E.W. Memorandum on 'Task Force' Findings Specifying Remedies Available for Eliminating Past Educational Practices Ruled Unlawful Under Lau v. Nichols, Summer, 1975."
7. See Center for Applied Linguistics, *The Ann Arbor Decision: Memorandum Opinion and Order and The Educational Plan* (Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1979); and *The Ann Arbor Black English Case*, ed. Arthur Brown (Gainesville, FL: John Dewey Society, 1980).
8. *Martin Luther King Junior Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board*. Civil Action No. 7-71861 (E.D. Mich. 12 July 1979).
9. See Geneva Smitherman, "'What Go Round Come Round': King in Perspective," *Harvard Educational Review*, 51 (1981), 40-56.
10. Smitherman, "'What Go Round Come Round'"; Walt Wolfram, "Landmark Decision Affects Black English Speakers," *The Linguistic Reporter*, 22 (1979), pp. 1, 6-7.
11. See Walt Wolfram, "Beyond Black English: Implications of the Ann Arbor Decision for Other Non-Mainstream Varieties," in *Reactions to Ann Arbor: Vernacular Black English and Education*, ed. Marcia Farr Whiteman (Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980), pp. 10-23.
12. See Harlan Lane, "A Chronology of the Oppression of Sign Language in France and the United States," in *Recent Perspectives on American Sign Language*, ed. Harlan Lane and Francois Grosjean (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1980), pp. 119-161; Edward L. Scouten, *Turning Points in the Education of Deaf People* (Danville, IL: Interstate, 1984); and Donald F. Moores, *Educating the Deaf: Psychology, Principles, and Practices* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), pp. 27-64.
13. Barbara M. Kannapell and Paul E. Adams, *Orientation to Deafness: A Handbook and Resource Guide* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press, 1984), ch. 4, pp. 9-10.
14. Carol Erting, "Language Policy and Deaf Ethnicity in the United States," *Sign Language Studies*, 19 (1978), 139.
15. Stokoe, "Sign Language Structure: An Outline of the Visual Communication Systems of the American Deaf," *Studies in Linguistics: Occasional Papers*, 8 (1960); also of interest in Stokoe, Dorothy Casterline, and Carl G. Croneberg, *A Dictionary of American Sign Language* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press, 1965).
16. Stokoe, "Sign Language Structure"; Charlotte Baker and Carol Padden, *American Sign Language: A Look at Its History, Structure, and Community* (Silver Spring, MD: T. J. Publishers, 1978); and Ronnie Wilbur, "The Linguistic Description of American Sign Language," in *Recent Perspectives on American Sign Language*, pp. 7-31.
17. Based on Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 3. See also Robbin Battison, "Signs Have Parts: A Simple Idea," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community: Essays in Honor of William C. Stokoe*, ed. Charlotte Baker and Robbin Battison (Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf, 1980), pp. 35-51.
18. See, for example, Margaret Deuchar, *British Sign Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), ch. 3.
19. See also Martin L. A. Sternberg, *American Sign Language: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).
20. See Kathryn P. Meadow, "Sociolinguistics, Sign Language, and the Deaf Sub-Culture," in *Psycholinguistics and Total Communication: The State of the Art*, ed. T. J. O'Rourke (Washington, DC: American Annals of the Deaf, 1972), pp. 19-33; Stokoe, "Sign Language Diglossia," *Studies in Linguistics*, 21 (1970); 27-41; and James Woodward, "Some Sociolinguistic Aspects

- of French and American Sign Languages," in *Recent Perspectives in American Sign Language*, pp. 103-118.
21. See Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 3.
  22. Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*. Good examples of such materials are Charlotte Baker and Dennis Cokely, *American Sign Language: A Teacher's Resource Text on Grammar and Culture* (Silver Spring, MD: T. J. Publishers, 1980); Elaine Costello, *Signing* (Toronto: Bantam, 1983); Louie J. Fant, Jr., *Ameslan: An Introduction to American Sign Language* (Northridge, CA: Joyce Media, 1972); and Tom Humphries, Carol Padden and T. J. O'Rourke, *A Basic Course in American Sign Language* (Silver Spring, MD: T. J. Publishers, 1980).
  23. Erting, "Language Policy and Deaf Ethnicity," p. 140.
  24. James Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven If You Can't Talk With Jesus: On Depathologizing Deafness* (Silver Spring, MD: T. J. Publishers, 1982), p. 33.
  25. See Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 3.
  26. See Judy Reilly and Marina L. McIntire, "American Sign Language and Pidgin Sign English: What's the Difference?" *Sign Language Studies*, 27 (1980), 151-192; and James C. Woodward, Jr. "Some Characteristics of Pidgin Sign English," *Sign Language Studies*, 3 (1973), 39-60.
  27. James Woodward, "Some Characteristics of Pidgin Sign English."
  28. Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 4.
  29. Gallaudet College is significant here because it is the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world.
  30. For SEE I, see David Anthony, ed., *Seeing Essential English* (Greeley: University of Northern Colorado, 1971); see also Paul W. Ogden and Suzanne Lipsett, *The Silent Garden: Understanding the Hearing Impaired Child* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 109-118; and Jerome D. Schein, *Speaking the Language of Sign: The Art and Science of Signing* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), pp. 64-77. For SEE II, see Gerilee Gustason, D. Pfetzing, and E. Zawalkow, *Signing Exact English: Seeing Instead of Hearing* (Rossmoor, CA: Modern Sign Press, 1972); see also Anthony, *Seeing Essential English*. For LOVE, see Dennis Wampler, *Linguistics of Visual English* (Santa Rosa, CA: Santa Rosa City Schools, 1971); see also Gustason, Pfetzing, and Zawalkow, *Signing Exact English*. For Cued Speech, see R. O. Cornett, *Cued Speech: A New Aid in the Education of Hearing Impaired Children* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College, 1966); see also, Wampler, *Linguistics of Visual English*.
  31. See Baker and Cokely, *American Sign Language*, pp. 65-71; Ogden and Lipsett, *The Silent Garden*, pp. 110-111; and Schein, *Speaking the Language of Sign*, pp. 64-66.
  32. Gustason as quoted in Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 5.
  33. Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 5.
  34. This is not the way the ASL-English continuum is commonly presented. Normally, the two languages are shown as two extremes of a single continuum. This is problematic, as explained in the text. For examples of the more general usage, see Baker and Cokely, *American Sign Language*, p. 77; Ogden and Lipsett, *The Silent Garden*, pp. 110-111; Carol Padden and Harry Markowicz, "Cultural Conflicts Between Hearing and Deaf Communities," in *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf* (Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf, 1976), pp. 407-411; and Woodward, "Some Sociolinguistic Aspects of French and American Sign Languages."
  35. See Stokoe, "Sign Language Diglossia," p. 1.
  36. See Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word*, 15 (1959), 325-340; see also James Woodward, "Sociolinguistic Research on American Sign Language: A Historical Perspective," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community*, pp. 119-122.
  37. Ferguson, "Diglossia," p. 1.
  38. Ferguson, "Diglossia," pp. 2-5.
  39. See Joshua Fishman, "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia: Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (1967), 29-38.
  40. See Woodward, "Sociolinguistic Research," p. 120.

41. Woodward, "Sociolinguistic Research," p. 120.
42. Woodward, "Sociolinguistic Research," p. 120.
43. See Kathryn P. Meadow, "The Deaf Subculture," *Hearing and Speech Action*, 43 (1975), 16-18; and Arden Neisser, *The Other Side of Silence: Sign Language and the Deaf Community in America* (New York: Knopf, 1983), pp. 281-282.
44. See Erting, "Language Policy and Deaf Ethnicity," pp. 139-140; Harry Markowicz and James Woodward, "Language and the Maintenance of Ethnic Boundaries in the Deaf Community," *Communication and Cognition*, 11 (1978), 29-37; Meadow, "The Deaf Subculture"; Meadow, "Sociolinguistics, Sign Language, and the Deaf Sub-Culture"; and Padden, "The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community*, pp. 89-103; and Padden and Markowicz, "Cultural Conflicts Between Hearing and Deaf Communities."
45. See Meadow, "The Deaf Subculture," p. 17; Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, pp. 32-33.
46. Meadow, "The Deaf Subculture," p. 17.
47. See Erting, "Language Policy and Deaf Ethnicity," p. 140; and Padden, "The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People," pp. 95, 99-100.
48. Padden, "The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People," p. 100.
49. See, for example, *Family and Mental Health Problems in a Deaf Population*, ed. John D. Rainer, Kenneth Z. Altshuler, and Franz J. Kallmann (New York: New York State Psychiatric Institute, Columbia, 1963); and Jerome D. Schein and Marcus Delk, *The Deaf Population of the U.S.* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press, 1974).
50. Erting, "Language Policy and Deaf Ethnicity," p. 140; Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 2, pp. 48-49; and Meadow, "The Deaf Subculture," p. 16.
51. Padden, "The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People," p. 97.
52. See Lilian Lawson, "The Role of Sign in the Structure of the Deaf Community," in *Perspectives on British Sign Language and Deafness*, ed. Bencie Woll, James Kyle, and Margaret Deuchar (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 166-177.
53. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 15.
54. See Scouten, *Turning Points in the Education of Deaf People*, pp. 152-166, 383-384.
55. Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 7.
56. Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 7.
57. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 15.
58. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 15.
59. See Scouten, *Turning Points in the Education of Deaf People*, pp. 326-330.
60. For an excellent discussion of educational "slogans," see B. Paul Komisar and James E. McClellan, "The Logic of Slogans," in *Language and Concepts in Education*, ed. B. Othanel Smith and Robert H. Ennis (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961), pp. 195-214.
61. Neisser, *The Other Side of Silence*, p. 4.
62. Quoted in Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 8.
63. See Kannapell and Adams, *Orientation to Deafness*, ch. 4, p. 6; Moores, *Educating the Deaf*, p. 16.
64. See, for example, *Mother Tongue Education: The West African Experience*, ed. Ayo Bamgbose, (Paris: UNESCO, 1976); *Issues in International Bilingual Education: The Role of the Vernacular*, ed. Beverly Hartford, Albert Valdman, and Charles R. Foster (New York: Plenum, 1982); and UNESCO, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).
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68. See *The Hispanic Deaf: Issues and Challenges in Bilingual Special Education*, ed. Gilbert L. Delgado (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press, 1984), p. 28
69. See Kannapell, "Bilingualism: A New Direction in the Education of the Deaf," *The Deaf American*, 26 (1974), 9-15; Kannapell, "Personal Awareness and Advocacy in the Deaf Community," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community*, pp. 105-116; Barbara Luetke-Stahlman, "Using Bilingual Instructional Models in Teaching Hearing-Impaired Students," *American Annals of the Deaf*, 128 (1983), 873-877; Raymond Stevens, "Education in Schools for Deaf Children," in *Sign Language and the Deaf Community*, pp. 177-191; William C. Stokoe, Gallaudet College, "An Untried Experiment: Bicultural Education of Deaf Children," unpublished manuscript, 1975; and James Woodward, "Some Sociolinguistic Problems in the Implementation of Bilingual Education for Deaf Students," in *Second National Symposium on Sign Language Research and Teaching*, ed. Frank Caccamise and Doin Hicks (Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf, 1980).
70. Woodward, "Some Sociolinguistic Problems."
71. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 11.
72. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 22.
73. Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, p. 33.
74. See also Hugh T. Prickett and J. T. Hunt, "Education of the Deaf — The Next Ten Years," *American Annals of the Deaf*, 122 (1977), 365-381.