

301 Research Topics From Skinner's Book *Verbal Behavior*

Mark L. Sundberg
Sundberg and Associates, Concord, CA

Skinner's (1957) analysis of verbal behavior addresses some of the most important issues in human behavior. However, relatively few of the analyses presented by Skinner in *Verbal Behavior* have been subjected to an experimental analysis. The current list of topics was assembled in an effort to stimulate empirical research on verbal behavior. The list contains thirty research areas with ten topics suggested for each area. A final topic, education, is presented as a challenge to behavior analysts.

Skinner's (1957) book *Verbal Behavior* contains a conceptual analysis of the topic of language. This book has not received the abundant amount of experimental attention that Skinner's other works have, yet Skinner stated several times that this book would prove to be his most important work (e.g., 1978, p. 122). There are a variety of reasons why Skinner's analysis of verbal behavior has been slow in affecting the behavioral community (e.g., see Eshleman, 1991; Michael, 1984; Vargas, 1986). A frequently raised point is the lack of supporting data for the analysis. McPherson, Bonem, Green, and Osborne (1984) conducted a citation analysis of *Verbal Behavior* and found that of the 836 citations only 31 were of an empirical nature. These authors have made a rather pessimistic prediction concerning the book stating that "*Verbal Behavior* has not provided a conception that has led to the empirical examination and explanation of verbal behavior. If the past is a predictor of the future there is no reason to suspect that it will eventually do so" (p. 165). The current list was developed to show that the book does contain many suggestions for empirical research, and that any observed lack of research is not due to a paucity of topics, but rather to a paucity of researchers. Also, the list lends

support to Skinner's proclamation that "The formulation is inherently practical and suggests immediate technological applications at almost every step" (1957, p. 12).

The list contains thirty research areas, each containing ten suggestions for specific research topics. The suggestions are brief and at times it may be difficult to determine exactly how to conduct a research project given so little information. Unfortunately, further elaboration of each topic is beyond the scope of the present paper. Nevertheless, it is hoped that individual readers will find topics of interest to them and conduct empirical research.

1. ESTABLISHING OPERATIONS AND VERBAL BEHAVIOR

Establishing operations (Michael, 1982, 1988) play a major role in controlling verbal behaviors (as well as nonverbal behaviors). The mand, for example, is always under the control of an establishing operation (EO). Skinner (1957) defined the mand "as a verbal operant in which the response is reinforced by a characteristic consequence and is therefore under the functional control of the relevant conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation" (pp. 35-36). Many who use this definition focus only on the specific reinforcement, and neglect the importance of "relevant conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation" (i.e., establishing operations). These motivative variables can be strong

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