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and of Standard English as a Second Dialect*

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QUARTERLY

Editor's Note

■ I am happy to welcome the following new members to the Editorial Advisory Board: Dwight Atkinson, Patricia Carrell, Micheline Chalhoub-Deville, John Flowerdew, Carol Fraser, Linda Harklau, Steven Ross, and Devon Woods.

With sincere thanks on behalf of TESOL, *TESOL Quarterly*, and the profession, I say farewell to the members rotating off the Editorial Advisory Board: Rod Ellis, Ann Johns, Karen E. Johnson, Keiko Koda, and Teresa Pica. We are extremely grateful for their willingness to contribute their time and expertise to the journal. I am happy to report that although Rod Ellis and Karen Johnson will end their terms as members of the Editorial Advisory Board, they have agreed to continue for another year as editors of Brief Reports and Summaries, as have the editors for the other sections.

In This Issue

■ The three articles in this issue present results of research that should be directly useful in three teaching contexts of interest to readers: English for academic purposes (EAP), English classes promoting attention to form through learners' output, and graduate classes in TESOL programs.

- Averil Coxhead provides the first academic word list developed through principled corpus analysis using electronic texts. Coxhead explains the problems with existing word lists intended to guide materials development and the teaching and learning of EAP: They have been developed through counts of words in small collections of texts that are not necessarily representative of the range of registers within EAP, and they have not applied strict criteria of range and frequency of occurrence for inclusion in the lists. Coxhead drew on principles from corpus linguistics in compiling a 3.5-million word collection of texts representing four academic disciplines (arts, commerce, law, and science), each

of which comprises texts from seven subject areas. Words included in Coxhead's academic list were those occurring frequently and uniformly across the range of subject areas. The resulting word list was evaluated through comparisons of its coverage of the original corpus with its coverage of another academic corpus and a corpus of nonacademic texts.

- Shinichi Izumi and Martha Bigelow report the results of research attempting to document the role of learners' linguistic output in drawing their attention to linguistic form and in acquiring the form. Izumi and Bigelow compared experimental and comparison groups, each of which participated in a pretest, two posttests, and four learning tasks. Tasks differed in whether or not the learners were to produce the target language. Results, which included posttask interviews with learners, indicated that output alone could not necessarily be associated with noticing but that opportunities to receive multiple exemplars of the structure in the input along with opportunities for output were helpful in improving learners' use of the target form, the past hypothetical/counterfactual conditional. Izumi and Bigelow provide extensive discussion of their results as they pertain to issues of second language acquisition theory and the assessment of noticing.
- Naoko Morita reports results of research conducted in graduate courses in TESOL on the discourse socialization of students through the process of engaging in oral academic presentations. Through classroom observations, video recordings, interviews, and questionnaires, Morita learned about the role that this classroom activity played in learners' socialization into the academic community of TESOL. She found that both native- and nonnative-speaking students learned about the academic oral discourse of TESOL through a complex process of negotiating with instructors and other students and preparing for, observing, performing, and reviewing oral academic presentations. The data and analysis shed light on the complex process of discourse socialization and are particularly informative for faculty who assign or are considering assignment of oral academic presentations in their classes.

Also in this issue:

- The Forum: Sandra G. Kouritzin offers a unique glimpse into the personal life of a mother who is not a proficient speaker of her children's primary language. Kouritzin's situation is the product of her own and her husband's choosing; moreover, she is a native speaker of English, a language that she can be confident her children will eventually acquire. Her reflection and analysis, however, reveal some of the issues faced by the many nonproficient speakers of English who are raising children in English-speaking environments. Two readers, Joyce Milambiling and Micah Mattix, each comment on Vivian Cook's "Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching," and Cook responds.

- Teaching Issues: Pippa Stein and Gunther Kress each consider the question of how to rethink resources in the ESOL classroom.
- Brief Reports and Summaries: Two brief reports are included in this issue. María C. M. De Guerrero and Olga S. Villamil report the results of research using the analysis of metaphor to explore how ESL teachers view their roles. Judy Sharkey and Carolyn Layzer report the results of a case study that investigated teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and practices in facilitating or hindering the success of ESOL students in high school.
- Reviews and Book Notices: The following books are reviewed: *Second Language Teaching and Learning* (David Nunan), *Rhetorical Implications of Linguistic Relativity: Theory and Application to Chinese and Taiwanese Interlanguages* (Kristopher H. Kowal), *The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course* (2nd ed., Marianne Celce-Murcia and Diane Larsen-Freeman), *Second Language Phonology* (John Archibald), *Text, Role, and Context: Developing Academic Literacies* (Ann Johns), and *Measuring Second Language Performance* (Tim McNamara). Notices are provided for five additional books.

Carol A. Chapelle

A New Academic Word List

AVERIL COXHEAD

Victoria University of Wellington

Wellington, New Zealand

This article describes the development and evaluation of a new academic word list (Coxhead, 1998), which was compiled from a corpus of 3.5 million running words of written academic text by examining the range and frequency of words outside the first 2,000 most frequently occurring words of English, as described by West (1953). The AWL contains 570 word families that account for approximately 10.0% of the total words (tokens) in academic texts but only 1.4% of the total words in a fiction collection of the same size. This difference in coverage provides evidence that the list contains predominantly academic words. By highlighting the words that university students meet in a wide range of academic texts, the AWL shows learners with academic goals which words are most worth studying. The list also provides a useful basis for further research into the nature of academic vocabulary.

One of the most challenging aspects of vocabulary learning and teaching in English for academic purposes (EAP) programmes is making principled decisions about which words are worth focusing on during valuable class and independent study time. Academic vocabulary causes a great deal of difficulty for learners (Cohen, Glasman, Rosenbaum-Cohen, Ferrara, & Fine, 1988) because students are generally not as familiar with it as they are with technical vocabulary in their own fields and because academic lexical items occur with lower frequency than general-service vocabulary items do (Worthington & Nation, 1996; Xue & Nation, 1984).

The General Service List (GSL) (West, 1953), developed from a corpus of 5 million words with the needs of ESL/EFL learners in mind, contains the most widely useful 2,000 word families in English. West used a variety of criteria to select these words, including frequency, ease of learning, coverage of useful concepts, and stylistic level (pp. ix-x). The GSL has been criticised for its size (Engels, 1968), age (Richards, 1974), and need for revision (Hwang, 1989). Despite these criticisms, the GSL covers up to 90% of fiction texts (Hirsh, 1993), up to 75% of nonfiction texts (Hwang, 1989), and up to 76% of the Academic Corpus (Coxhead,

1998), the corpus of written academic English compiled for this study. There has been no comparable replacement for the GSL up to now.

Academic words (e.g., *substitute*, *underlie*, *establish*, *inherent*) are not highly salient in academic texts, as they are supportive of but not central to the topics of the texts in which they occur. A variety of word lists have been compiled either by hand or by computer to identify the most useful words in an academic vocabulary. Campion and Elley (1971) and Praninskas (1972) based their lists on corpora and identified words that occurred across a range of texts whereas Lynn (1973) and Ghadessy (1979) compiled word lists by tracking student annotations above words in textbooks. All four studies were developed without the help of computers. Xue and Nation (1984) created the University Word List (UWL) by editing and combining the four lists mentioned above. The UWL has been widely used by learners, teachers, course designers, and researchers. However, as an amalgam of the four different studies, it lacked consistent selection principles and had many of the weaknesses of the prior work. The corpora on which the studies were based were small and did not contain a wide and balanced range of topics.

An academic word list should play a crucial role in setting vocabulary goals for language courses, guiding learners in their independent study, and informing course and material designers in selecting texts and developing learning activities. However, given the problems with currently available academic vocabulary lists, there is a need for a new academic word list based on data gathered from a large, well-designed corpus of academic English. The ideal word list would be divided into smaller, frequency-based sublists to aid in the sequencing of teaching and in materials development. A word list based on the occurrence of word families in a corpus of texts representing a variety of academic registers can provide information about how words are actually used (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1994).

The research reported in this article drew upon principles from corpus linguistics (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Kennedy, 1998) to develop and evaluate a new academic word list. After discussing issues that arise in the creation of a word list through a corpus-based study, I describe the methods used in compiling the Academic Corpus and in developing the AWL. The next section examines the coverage of the AWL relative to the complete Academic Corpus and to its four discipline-specific subcorpora. To evaluate the AWL, I discuss its coverage of (a) the Academic Corpus along with the GSL (West, 1953), (b) a second collection of academic texts, and (c) a collection of fiction texts, and compare it with the UWL (Xue & Nation, 1984). In concluding, I discuss the list's implications for teaching and for materials and course design, and I outline future research needs.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC CORPORA AND WORD LISTS

Teachers and materials developers who work with vocabulary lists often assume that frequently occurring words and those which occur in many different kinds of texts may be more useful for language learners to study than infrequently occurring words and those whose occurrences are largely restricted to a particular text or type of text (Nation, in press; West, 1953). Given the assumption that frequency and coverage are important criteria for selecting vocabulary, a corpus, or collection of texts, is a valuable source of empirical information that can be used to examine the language in depth (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1994). However, exactly how a corpus should be developed is not clear cut. Issues that arise include the representativeness of the texts of interest to the researcher (Biber, 1993), the organization of the corpus, its size (Biber, 1993; Sinclair, 1991), and the criteria used for word selection.

Representation

Research in corpus linguistics (Biber, 1989) has shown that the linguistic features of texts differ across registers. Perhaps the most notable of these features is vocabulary. To describe the vocabulary of a particular register, such as academic texts, the corpus must therefore contain texts that are representative of the varieties of texts they are intended to reflect (Atkins, Clear, & Ostler, 1992; Biber, 1993; Sinclair, 1991). Sinclair (1991) warns that a corpus should contain texts whose sizes and shapes accurately reflect the texts they represent. If long texts are included in a corpus, “peculiarities of an individual style or topic occasionally show through” (p. 19), particularly through the vocabulary. Making use of a variety of short texts allows more variation in vocabulary (Sutarsyah, Nation, & Kennedy, 1994). Inclusion of texts written by a variety of writers helps neutralise bias that may result from the idiosyncratic style of one writer (Atkins et al., 1992; Sinclair, 1991) and increases the number of lexical items in the corpus (Sutarsyah et al., 1994).

Scholars who have compiled corpora have attempted to include a variety of academic texts. Champion and Elley’s (1971) corpus consisted of 23 textbooks, 19 lectures published in journals, and a selection of university examination papers. Praninskas (1972) used a corpus of 10 first-year, university-level arts and sciences textbooks that were required reading at the American University of Beirut. Lynn (1973) and Ghadessy (1979) both focussed on textbooks used in their universities. Lynn’s corpus included 52 textbooks and 4 classroom handouts from 50

students of accounting, business administration, and economics from which 10,000 annotations were collected by hand. The resulting list contained 197 word families arranged from those occurring the most frequently (39 times) to those occurring the least frequently. Words occurring fewer than 10 times were omitted from the list (p. 26). Ghadessy compiled a corpus of 20 textbooks from three disciplines (chemistry, biology, and physics). Words that students had glossed were recorded by hand, and the final list of 795 items was then arranged in alphabetical order (p. 27). Relative to this prior work, the corpus compiled for the present study considerably expands the representation of academic writing in part by including a variety of academic sources besides textbooks.

Organization

A register such as academic texts encompasses a variety of subregisters. An academic word list should contain an even-handed selection of words that appear across the various subject areas covered by the texts contained within the corpus. Organizing the corpus into coherent sections of equal size allows the researcher to measure the range of occurrence of the academic vocabulary across the different disciplines and subject areas of the corpus. Campion and Elley (1971) created a corpus with 19 academic subject areas, selecting words occurring outside of the first 5,000 words of Thorndike and Lorge's (1944) list and excluding words encountered in only one discipline (p. 7). The corpus for the present study involved 28 subject areas organised into 7 general areas within each of four disciplines: arts, commerce, law, and science.

Size

A corpus designed for the study of academic vocabulary should be large enough to ensure a reasonable number of occurrences of academic words. According to Sinclair (1991), a corpus should include millions of running words (tokens) to ensure that a very large sample of language is available (p. 18).¹ The exact amount of language required, of course, depends on the purpose and use of the research; however, in general more language means that more information can be gathered about lexical items and more words in context can be examined in depth.

¹ The term *running words* (or *tokens*) refers to the total number of word forms in a text, whereas the term *individual words* (*types*) refers to each different word in a text, irrespective of how many times it occurs.

In the past, researchers attempted to work with academic corpora by hand, which limited the numbers of words they could analyze. Campion and Elley (1971), in their corpus of 301,800 running words, analysed 234,000 words in textbooks, 57,000 words from articles in journals, and 10,800 words in a number of examination papers (p. 4). Praninskas's (1972) corpus consisted of approximately 272,000 running words (p. 8), Lynn (1973) examined 52 books and 4 classroom handouts (p. 26), and Ghadessy (1979) compiled a corpus of 478,700 running words. Praninskas (1972) included a criterion of range in her list and selected words that were outside the GSL (West, 1953).

In the current study, the original target was to gather 4.0 million words; however, time pressures and lack of available texts limited the corpus to approximately 3.5 million running words. The decision about size was based on an arbitrary criterion relating to the number of occurrences necessary to qualify a word for inclusion in the word list: If the corpus contained at least 100 occurrences of a word family, allowing on average at least 25 occurrences in each of the four sections of the corpus, the word was included. Study of data from the Brown Corpus (Francis & Kucera, 1982) indicated that a corpus of around 3.5 million words would be needed to identify 100 occurrences of a word family.

Word Selection

An important issue in the development of word lists is the criteria for word selection, as different criteria can lead to different results. Researchers have used two methods of selection for academic word lists. As mentioned, Lynn (1973) and Ghadessy (1979) selected words that learners had annotated regularly in their textbooks, believing that the annotation signalled difficulty in learning or understanding those words during reading. Campion and Elley (1971) selected words based on their occurrence in 3 or more of 19 subject areas and then applied criteria, including the degree of familiarity to native speakers. However, the number of running words in the complete corpus was too small for many words to meet the initial criterion. Praninskas (1972) also included a criterion of range in her list; however, the range of subject areas and number of running words was also small, resulting in a small list without much variety in the words.

Another issue that arises in developing word lists is defining what to count as a word. The problem is that lexical items that may be morphologically distinct from one another are, in fact, strongly enough related that they should be considered to represent a single lexical item. To address this issue, word lists for learners of English generally group words into families (West, 1953; Xue & Nation, 1984). This solution is

supported by evidence suggesting that word families are an important unit in the mental lexicon (Nagy, Anderson, Schommer, Scott, & Stallman, 1989, p. 262). Comprehending regularly inflected or derived members of a family does not require much more effort by learners if they know the base word and if they have control of basic word-building processes (Bauer & Nation, 1993, p. 253). In the present study, therefore, words were defined through the unit of the word family, as illustrated in Table 1.

For the creation of the AWL, a word family was defined as a stem plus all closely related affixed forms, as defined by Level 6 of Bauer and Nation's (1993) scale. The Level 6 definition of affix includes all inflections and the most frequent, productive, and regular prefixes and suffixes (p. 255). It includes only affixes that can be added to stems that can stand as free forms (e.g., *specify* and *special* are not in the same word family because *spec* is not a free form).

Research Questions

The purpose of the research described here was to develop and evaluate a new academic word list on the basis of a larger, more principled corpus than had been used in previous research. Two questions framed the description of the AWL:

1. Which lexical items occur frequently and uniformly across a wide range of academic material but are not among the first 2,000 words of English as given in the GSL (West, 1953)?
2. Do the lexical items occur with different frequencies in arts, commerce, law, and science texts?

TABLE 1
Sample Word Families From the Academic Word List

<i>concept</i>	legislate	<i>indicate</i>
conception	legislated	indicated
concepts	legislates	indicates
conceptual	legislating	indicating
conceptualisation	<i>legislation</i>	indication
conceptualise	legislative	indications
conceptualised	legislator	indicative
conceptualises	legislators	indicator
conceptualising	legislature	indicators
conceptually		

Note. Words in italics are the most frequent form in that family occurring in the Academic Corpus.

The evaluation of the AWL considered the following questions:

3. What percentage of the words in the Academic Corpus does the AWL cover?
4. Do the lexical items identified occur frequently in an independent collection of academic texts?
5. How frequently do the words in the AWL occur in nonacademic texts?
6. How does the AWL compare with the UWL (Xue & Nation, 1984)?

METHODOLOGY

The development phase of the project identified words that met the criteria for inclusion in the AWL (Research Questions 1 and 2). In the evaluation phase, I calculated the AWL's coverage of the original corpus and compared the AWL with words found in another academic corpus, with those in a nonacademic corpus, and with another academic word list (Questions 3–6).

Developing the Academic Corpus

Developing the corpus involved collecting each text in electronic form, removing its bibliography, and counting its words. After balancing the number of short, medium-length, and long texts (see below for a discussion on the length of texts), each text was inserted into its subject-area computer file in alphabetical order according to the author's name. Each subject-area file was then inserted into a discipline master file, in alphabetical order according to the subject. Any text that met the selection criteria but was not included in the Academic Corpus because its corresponding subject area was complete was kept aside for use in a second corpus used to test the AWL's coverage at a later stage. The resulting corpus contained 414 academic texts by more than 400 authors, containing 3,513,330 tokens (running words) and 70,377 types (individual words) in approximately 11,666 pages of text. The corpus was divided into four subcorpora: arts, commerce, law, and science, each containing approximately 875,000 running words and each subdivided into seven subject areas (see Table 2).

The corpus includes the following representative texts from the academic domain: 158 articles from academic journals, 51 edited academic journal articles from the World Wide Web, 43 complete university textbooks or course books, 42 texts from the Learned and Scientific section of the Wellington Corpus of Written English (Bauer, 1993), 41

TABLE 2
Composition of the Academic Corpus

	Discipline				Total
	Arts	Commerce	Law	Science	
Running words	883,214	879,547	874,723	875,846	351,333
Texts	122	107	72	113	414
Subject areas	Education	Accounting	Constitutional	Biology	
	History	Economics	Criminal	Chemistry	
	Linguistics	Finance	Family and	Computer science	
	Philosophy	Industrial	medicolegal	Geography	
	Politics	relations	International	Geology	
	Psychology	Management	Pure commercial	Mathematics	
	Sociology	Marketing	Quasi-commercial	Physics	
		Public policy	Rights and remedies		

texts from the Learned and Scientific section of the Brown Corpus (Francis & Kucera, 1982), 33 chapters from university textbooks, 31 texts from the Learned and Scientific section of the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) Corpus (Johansson, 1978), 13 books from the Academic Texts section of the MicroConcord academic corpus (Murison-Bowie, 1993), and 2 university psychology laboratory manuals.

The majority of the texts were written for an international audience. Sixty-four percent were sourced in New Zealand, 20% in Britain, 13% in the United States, 2% in Canada, and 1% in Australia. It is difficult to say exactly what influence the origin of the texts would have on the corpus, for even though a text was published in one country, at least some of the authors may well have come from another.

The Academic Corpus was organized to allow the range of occurrence of particular words to be examined. Psychology and sociology texts were placed in the arts section on the basis of Biber's (1989) finding that texts from the social sciences (psychology and sociology) shared syntactic characteristics with texts from the arts (p. 28). Lexical items may well pattern similarly. Placing the social science subject areas in the science section of the Academic Corpus might have introduced a bias: The psychology and sociology texts might have added lexical items that do not occur in any great number in any other subject in the science section. The presence of these items, in turn, would have suggested that science and arts texts share more academic vocabulary items than is generally true.

With the exception of the small number of texts from the Brown (Francis & Kucera, 1982), LOB (Johansson, 1978), and Wellington

(Bauer, 1993) corpora, the texts in the Academic Corpus were complete. The fact that frequency of occurrence of words was only one of the criteria for selecting texts minimized any possible bias from word repetition within longer texts. To maintain a balance of long and short texts, the four main sections (and, within each section, the seven subject areas) each contained approximately equal numbers of short texts (2,000–5,000 running words), medium texts (5,000–10,000 running words), and long texts (more than 10,000 running words). The breakdown of texts in the four main sections was as follows: arts—18 long, 35 medium; commerce—18 long, 37 medium; law—23 long, 22 medium; and science—19 long, 37 medium.

Developing the Academic Word List

The corpus analysis programme Range (Heatley & Nation, 1996) was used to count and sort the words in the Academic Corpus. This programme counts the frequency of words in up to 32 files at a time and records the number of files in which each word occurs (range) and the frequency of occurrence of the words in total and in each file.

Words were selected for the AWL based on three criteria:

1. *Specialised occurrence*: The word families included had to be outside the first 2,000 most frequently occurring words of English, as represented by West's (1953) GSL.
2. *Range*: A member of a word family had to occur at least 10 times in each of the four main sections of the corpus and in 15 or more of the 28 subject areas.
3. *Frequency*: Members of a word family had to occur at least 100 times in the Academic Corpus.

Frequency was considered secondary to range because a word count based mainly on frequency would have been biased by longer texts and topic-related words. For example, the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary* (1995) highlights *Yemeni* and *Lithuanian* as high-frequency words, probably because the corpus on which the dictionary is based contains a large number of newspapers from the early 1990s.

The conservative threshold of a frequency of 100 was applied strictly for multiple-member word families but not so stringently for word families with only one member, as single-member families operate at a disadvantage in gaining a high frequency of occurrence. In the Academic Corpus, the word family with only one member that occurs the least frequently is *forthcoming* (80 occurrences).

RESULTS

Description

Occurrence of Academic Words

The first research question asked which lexical items beyond the first 2,000 in West's (1953) GSL occur frequently across a range of academic texts. In the Academic Corpus, 570 word families met the criteria for inclusion in the AWL (see Appendix A). Some of the most frequent word families in the AWL are *analyse*, *concept*, *data*, and *research*. Some of the least frequent are *convince*, *notwithstanding*, *ongoing*, *persist*, and *whereby*.

Differences in Occurrence of Words Across Disciplines

The second question was whether the lexical items selected for the AWL occur with different frequencies in arts, commerce, law, and science texts. The list appears to be slightly advantageous for commerce students, as it covers 12.0% of the commerce subcorpus. The coverage of arts and of law is very similar (9.3% and 9.4%, respectively), and the coverage of science is the lowest among the four disciplines (9.1%). The 3.0% difference between the coverage of the commerce subcorpus and the coverage of the other three subcorpora may result from the presence of key lexical items such as *economic*, *export*, *finance*, and *income*, which occur with very high frequency in commerce texts. (See Appendix B for excerpts from texts in each section of the Academic Corpus.)

The words in the AWL occur in a wide range of the subject areas in the Academic Corpus. Of the 570 word families in the list, 172 occur in all 28 subject areas, and 263 (172 + 91) occur in 27 or more subject areas (see Table 3). In total, 67% of the word families in the AWL occur in 25 or more of the 28 subject areas, and 94% occur in 20 or more.

Evaluation

Coverage of the Academic Corpus Beyond the GSL

The AWL accounts for 10.0% of the tokens in the Academic Corpus. This coverage is more than twice that of the third 1,000 most frequent words, according to Francis and Kucera's (1982) count, which cover 4.3% of the Brown Corpus. Taken together, the first 2,000 words in West's (1953) GSL and the word families in the AWL account for approximately 86% of the Academic Corpus (see Table 4). Note that the AWL's coverage of the Academic Corpus is double that of the second

TABLE 3
Subject-Area Coverage of Word Families in the Academic Word List

No. of word families	Subject areas in which they occurred	No. of word families	Subject areas in which they occurred
172	28	20	21
91	27	15	20
58	26	9	19
62	25	9	18
43	24	5	17
43	23	5	16
33	22	4	15

Note. Total subject areas = 28; total word families = 570.

1,000 words of the GSL. The AWL and the GSL combined have a total of 2,550 word families, and all but 12 of those in the GSL occur in the Academic Corpus.

The AWL, the first 1,000 words of the GSL (West, 1953), and the second 1,000 words of the GSL cover the arts, commerce, and law subcorpora similarly but in very different patterns (see Table 5). The first 1,000 words of the GSL account for fewer of the word families in the commerce subcorpus than in the arts and law subcorpora, but this lower coverage of commerce is balanced by the AWL's higher coverage of this discipline. On the other hand, the AWL's coverage of the arts and law subcorpora is lower than its coverage of the commerce subcorpus, but the GSL's coverage of arts and law is slightly higher than its coverage of commerce. The AWL's coverage of the science subcorpus is 9.1%, which indicates that the list is also extremely useful for science students. The GSL, in contrast, is not quite as useful for science students as it is for arts, commerce, and law students.

TABLE 4
**Coverage of the Academic Corpus by the Academic Word List
and the General Service List (West, 1953)**

Word list	Coverage of Academic Corpus (%)	No. of word families	
		Total	In Academic Corpus
Academic Word List	10.0	570	570
General Service List			
First 1,000 words	71.4	1,001	1,000
Second 1,000 words	4.7	979	968
Total	86.1	2,550	2,538

TABLE 5
Coverage of the Four Subcorpora of the Academic Corpus
by the General Service List (West, 1953) and the Academic Word List (%)

Subcorpus	Academic Word List	General Service List		Total
		First 1,000 words	Second 1,000 words	
Arts	9.3	73.0	4.4	86.7
Commerce	12.0	71.6	5.2	88.8
Law	9.4	75.0	4.1	88.5
Science	9.1	65.7	5.0	79.8

Coverage of Another Academic Corpus

A frequency-based word list that is derived from a particular corpus should be expected to cover that corpus well. The real test is how the list covers a different collection of similar texts. To establish whether the AWL maintains high coverage over academic texts other than those in the Academic Corpus, I compiled a second corpus of academic texts in English, using the same criteria and sources to select texts and dividing them into the same four disciplines. This corpus comprised approximately 678,000 tokens (82,000 in arts, 53,000 in commerce, 143,000 in law, and 400,000 in science) representing 32,539 types of lexical items. This second corpus was made up of texts that had met the criteria for inclusion in the Academic Corpus but were not included either because they were collected too late or because the subject area they belonged to was already complete.

The AWL's coverage of the second corpus is 8.5% (see Table 6), and all 570 word families in the AWL occur in the second corpus. The GSL's coverage of the second corpus (66.2%) is consistent with its coverage of the science section of the Academic Corpus (65.7%). The overall lower coverage of the second corpus by both the AWL and the GSL (79.1%) seems to be partly the result of the large proportion of science texts it contains.

Coverage of Nonacademic Texts

To establish that the AWL is truly an academic word list rather than a general-service word list, I developed a collection of 3,763,733 running words of fiction texts. The collection consisted of 50 texts from Project Gutenberg's (<http://www.gutenberg.net>) collection of texts that were written more than 50 years ago and are thus in the public domain. The

TABLE 6
Coverage of the Academic Corpus and the Second Corpus of Academic Texts by the Academic Word List and the General Service List (West, 1953) (%)

Word list	Coverage of Academic Corpus	Coverage of second corpus
Academic Word List	10.0	8.5
General Service List		
First 1,000 words	71.4	66.2
Second 1,000 words	4.7	4.4
Total	86.1	79.1

fact that the Academic Corpus contained many more texts (414) is not important, because the central purpose of compiling the fiction collection was to find out whether the AWL families occurred frequently in fiction texts. Neither the number of texts, nor their length, nor the range of lexical items occurring across the texts was crucial to the comparison.

The AWL accounts for approximately 1.4% of the tokens in the fiction collection, much lower than the AWL's 10% coverage of the Academic Corpus. The markedly different coverage suggests that the majority of word families in the AWL are associated particularly with academic writing (see Table 7). The age of the fiction texts may be another reason that the word families in the AWL occur infrequently in the fiction collection, and for words such as *infrastructure*, this is probably true. However, an examination of the AWL words revealed few of this type.

Of the AWL families, 410 (380 + 30) are clearly academic; that is, they occur with much higher frequency in academic than in fiction texts. An additional 86 occur with more than twice the frequency in academic as

TABLE 7
Occurrence of the AWL Word Families in the Academic Corpus and the Fiction Collection

Frequency of occurrence	No. of AWL word families
Not in fiction collection	30
In Academic Corpus	
Four or more times as frequently as in fiction collection	380
Three times as frequently as in fiction collection	34
Twice as frequently as in fiction collection	52
Less than twice as frequently as in fiction collection	52
Less frequently than in fiction collection	22
Total	570

they do in fiction texts. The remaining 74 (those occurring less than twice as frequently in academic texts as they do in fiction texts and those occurring less frequently in academic than in fiction texts) are candidates for inclusion in a new general-service word list, depending on the selection criteria for that list.

Comparison With the University Word List

The UWL (Xue & Nation, 1984), created through the amalgamation of four existing word lists, contains 836 word families consisting of 3,707 types and covers 8.5% of the Learned and Scientific sections of the LOB corpus of written British English (Johansson, 1978) and the parallel Wellington corpus of written English (Bauer, 1993). It covers 9.8% of the Academic Corpus, slightly less than the 10.0% coverage of the corpus by the AWL. Therefore, the AWL, though smaller, gives a better return on learning, as students would need to learn only 570 word families instead of 836 for the same coverage of academic texts.

The overlap between the AWL and the UWL is 51%, with 435 word families occurring in both. This leaves 401 word families occurring only in the UWL and 135 word families occurring only in the AWL. The explanation for the large number of word families occurring in the UWL but not in the AWL lies in the criteria for including word families in the AWL: Members of a word family had to occur at least 100 times in the Academic Corpus. Approximately 150 of the word families that are only in the UWL occurred in the Academic Corpus less than 50 times, or only once in more than 174 pages of 400 words, and therefore would not have been included in the AWL. Other words in the UWL did not meet the range criterion for the AWL.

The UWL contains more than 133 word families that do not occur in all four sections of the Academic Corpus (Table 8). Thus students could learn these words but might rarely or never encounter them in academic texts. Although the UWL contains useful words for students to learn, as shown by the 9.8% coverage of the Academic Corpus, the AWL is smaller, has a higher coverage of academic texts, and covers a far wider range of subject areas.

CONCLUSION

The Academic Word List includes 570 word families that constitute a specialised vocabulary with good coverage of academic texts, regardless of the subject area. It accounts for 10% of the total tokens in the Academic Corpus, and more than 94% of the words in the list occur in 20 or more of the 28 subject areas of the Academic Corpus. These

TABLE 8
Characteristics of the Academic Word List and the
University Word List (Xue & Nation, 1984)

Characteristic	Academic Word List	University Word List
Word families (total)	570	836
Types	3,110	3,707
Coverage of Academic Corpus (%)	10.0	9.8
Inclusion of word families		
In four sections of Academic Corpus	570	703
In three sections of Academic Corpus	0	84
In two sections of Academic Corpus	0	39
In one section of Academic Corpus	0	6
Not found in Academic Corpus	0	1
In General Service List (West, 1953)	0	3

findings are useful in teaching English and point to directions for future research.

Implications for Teaching

The AWL is the result of a corpus-based study. Such studies create lists, concordances, or data concerning the clustering of linguistic items in coherent, purposeful texts. The use of this research method, however, does not imply that language teaching and learning should rely on decontextualised methods. Instead, the AWL might be used to set vocabulary goals for EAP courses, construct relevant teaching materials, and help students focus on useful vocabulary items.

The AWL will be most valuable in setting goals for EAP courses. This study has identified vocabulary to include in teaching and learning materials, but there remains a need to design tests to diagnose whether learners know this vocabulary and whether attempts to teach and learn it have been successful. Such tests exist for the UWL (Nation, 1983); similar tests based on the AWL are under development.

The UWL and one of its predecessors, the *American University Word List* (Praninskas, 1972), served as the basis for course books specifically designed to teach academic vocabulary (Farid, 1985; Valcourt & Wells, 1999; Yorkey, 1981). It is hoped that authors will undertake to write similar books based on the AWL. In addition, a useful direction for materials development would be the design of texts that provide optimal conditions for meeting and learning academic vocabulary. This initiative might involve adapting academic texts so that the density of unknown

words, particularly academic vocabulary and low-frequency words, is not too high and the opportunities for repeated exposure to the academic vocabulary are optimised.

The direct learning and direct teaching of the words in the AWL also have value. Courses that involve direct attention to language features have been found to result in better learning than courses that rely solely on incidental learning (Ellis, 1990; Long, 1988). Using subdivisions of the AWL, teachers and students can set short-term vocabulary learning goals of reasonable size during courses of study. The AWL can be divided into 10 rank-ordered sublists according to decreasing word family frequency (Table 9). With the exception of Sublist 10, each sublist contains 60 items. The words in the first 3 sublists occur with comparatively high frequency (on average, in at least every 12.0 pages of text). On average, each word in Sublist 1 occurs once in 4.3 pages of academic text, assuming that each page is 400 words long. These 60 words account for more than one third of the total coverage of the list, and the next most frequently occurring 60 words (Sublist 2) provide just half the coverage of the first 60 words. Even though Sublists 5–10 add little to the overall coverage of the AWL, they are worth including, as these less frequent items occur in a wide range of texts and are unlikely to be acquired incidentally through reading.

Direct teaching through vocabulary exercises, teacher explanation, and awareness raising, and deliberate learning using word cards need to be balanced with opportunities to meet the vocabulary in message-focused reading and listening and to use the vocabulary in speaking and writing. For direct study of the vocabulary, teachers and learners can work from the list itself. More than 82% of the words in the AWL are of

TABLE 9
Sublists of the Academic Word List

Sublist	Items	Coverage of Academic Corpus (%)	Cumulative coverage (%)	Pages per repetition in Academic Corpus
1	60	3.6	3.6	4.3
2	60	1.8	5.4	8.4
3	60	1.2	6.6	12.3
4	60	0.9	7.5	15.9
5	60	0.8	8.3	19.4
6	60	0.6	8.9	24.0
7	60	0.5	9.4	30.8
8	60	0.3	9.7	49.4
9	60	0.2	9.9	67.3
10	30	0.1	10.0	82.5

Greek or Latin origin, indicating that the study of prefixes, suffixes, and stems may be one way to study this vocabulary.

By focusing on this academic vocabulary in both message-focussed and language-focussed ways, learners gain the opportunity to make this important vocabulary a part of their working knowledge of the language and thus help make their academic study more manageable.

Future Research

The results of this research show that the development and use of large corpora hold promise for obtaining information about vocabulary frequency in registers of interest for language teaching. Future research might fruitfully build on these findings in four ways.

1. Compare the findings obtained from the Academic Corpus with those from larger corpora, such as those used for dictionary making. In this study, the collection of texts used for comparison with the Academic Corpus was smaller rather than larger than the original Academic Corpus, and its lack of balance in the number of running words per discipline made a full comparison impossible. In addition, the law subcorpus contained only half the number of short texts (27) as did the other three subcorpora (arts, 60; commerce, 52; science, 57), which may have resulted in less variety in the vocabulary of the law subcorpus. Approximately 6% (or 228,000 running words) of the Academic Corpus consisted of 114 incomplete texts of 2,000 running words that came from the Brown (Francis & Kucera, 1982), LOB (Johansson, 1978), and Wellington (Bauer, 1993) corpora. Whereas the majority of the texts in the Academic Corpus were written between 1993 and 1996, the texts from the LOB and Brown corpora were written in 1961.
2. Obtain more in-depth information about academic vocabulary. Does each of the words in the AWL have roughly the same meaning over a range of subject areas? If not, how can teachers effectively teach learners to recognize distinctions of meaning in different subject areas? Do some lexical items take on a grammatical-type function in texts?
3. Investigate whether learners would be well served by further lists of subtechnical and technical vocabulary in subject areas or whether this knowledge is more easily developed through reading.
4. Investigate the AWL in regard to spoken academic English. Does the AWL, which is based on written academic English, account for spoken academic English, or is this a completely separate genre that needs its own academic word list?

Good knowledge of academic vocabulary is essential for success at higher levels of education (Corson, 1997). By highlighting the words that university students will meet in a wide range of academic texts, the AWL provides the foundation for a systematic approach to academic vocabulary development and may serve as a useful basis for further research into the nature of academic vocabulary.

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THE AUTHOR

Averil Coxhead teaches English for academic purposes in the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

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APPENDIX A

Headwords² of the Word Families in the Academic Word List

Numbers indicate the sublist of the Academic Word List (e.g., *abandon* and its family members are in Sublist 8). Sublist 1 contains the most frequent words in the list, and Sublist 10 contains the least frequent.

abandon	8	aspect	2	coincide	9
abstract	6	assemble	10	collapse	10
academy	5	assess	1	colleague	10
access	4	assign	6	commence	9
accommodate	9	assist	2	comment	3
accompany	8	assume	1	commission	2
accumulate	8	assure	9	commit	4
accurate	6	attach	6	commodity	8
achieve	2	attain	9	communicate	4
acknowledge	6	attitude	4	community	2
acquire	2	attribute	4	compatible	9
adapt	7	author	6	compensate	3
adequate	4	authority	1	compile	10
adjacent	10	automate	8	complement	8
adjust	5	available	1	complex	2
administrate	2	aware	5	component	3
adult	7	behalf	9	compound	5
advocate	7	benefit	1	comprehensive	7
affect	2	bias	8	comprise	7
aggregate	6	bond	6	compute	2
aid	7	brief	6	conceive	10
albeit	10	bulk	9	concentrate	4
allocate	6	capable	6	concept	1
alter	5	capacity	5	conclude	2
alternative	3	category	2	concurrent	9
ambiguous	8	cease	9	conduct	2
amend	5	challenge	5	confer	4
analogy	9	channel	7	confine	9
analyse	1	chapter	2	confirm	7
annual	4	chart	8	conflict	5
anticipate	9	chemical	7	conform	8
apparent	4	circumstance	3	consent	3
append	8	cite	6	consequent	2
appreciate	8	civil	4	considerable	3
approach	1	clarify	8	consist	1
appropriate	2	classic	7	constant	3
approximate	4	clause	5	constitute	1
arbitrary	8	code	4	constrain	3
area	1	coherent	9	construct	2

² *Headwords* are stem noun or verb forms.

consult	5	document	3	flexible	6
consume	2	domain	6	fluctuate	8
contact	5	domestic	4	focus	2
contemporary	8	dominate	3	format	9
context	1	draft	5	formula	1
contract	1	drama	8	forthcoming	10
contradict	8	duration	9	foundation	7
contrary	7	dynamic	7	found	9
contrast	4	economy	1	framework	3
contribute	3	edit	6	function	1
controversy	9	element	2	fund	3
convene	3	eliminate	7	fundamental	5
converse	9	emerge	4	furthermore	6
convert	7	emphasis	3	gender	6
convince	10	empirical	7	generate	5
cooperate	6	enable	5	generation	5
coordinate	3	encounter	10	globe	7
core	3	energy	5	goal	4
corporate	3	enforce	5	grade	7
correspond	3	enhance	6	grant	4
couple	7	enormous	10	guarantee	7
create	1	ensure	3	guideline	8
credit	2	entity	5	hence	4
criteria	3	environment	1	hierarchy	7
crucial	8	equate	2	highlight	8
culture	2	equip	7	hypothesis	4
currency	8	equivalent	5	identical	7
cycle	4	erode	9	identify	1
data	1	error	4	ideology	7
debate	4	establish	1	ignorance	6
decade	7	estate	6	illustrate	3
decline	5	estimate	1	image	5
deduce	3	ethic	9	immigrate	3
define	1	ethnic	4	impact	2
definite	7	evaluate	2	implement	4
demonstrate	3	eventual	8	implicate	4
denote	8	evident	1	implicit	8
deny	7	evolve	5	imply	3
depress	10	exceed	6	impose	4
derive	1	exclude	3	incentive	6
design	2	exhibit	8	incidence	6
despite	4	expand	5	incline	10
detect	8	expert	6	income	1
deviate	8	explicit	6	incorporate	6
device	9	exploit	8	index	6
devote	9	export	1	indicate	1
differentiate	7	expose	5	individual	1
dimension	4	external	5	induce	8
diminish	9	extract	7	inevitable	8
discrete	5	facilitate	5	infer	7
discriminate	6	factor	1	infrastructure	8
displace	8	feature	2	inherent	9
display	6	federal	6	inhibit	6
dispose	7	fee	6	initial	3
distinct	2	file	7	initiate	6
distort	9	final	2	injure	2
distribute	1	finance	1	innovate	7
diverse	6	finite	7	input	6

insert	7	minimise	8	precede	6
insight	9	minimum	6	precise	5
inspect	8	ministry	6	predict	4
instance	3	minor	3	predominant	8
institute	2	mode	7	preliminary	9
instruct	6	modify	5	presume	6
integral	9	monitor	5	previous	2
integrate	4	motive	6	primary	2
integrity	10	mutual	9	prime	5
intelligence	6	negate	3	principal	4
intense	8	network	5	principle	1
interact	3	neutral	6	prior	4
intermediate	9	nevertheless	6	priority	7
internal	4	nonetheless	10	proceed	1
interpret	1	norm	9	process	1
interval	6	normal	2	professional	4
intervene	7	notion	5	prohibit	7
intrinsic	10	notwithstanding	10	project	4
invest	2	nuclear	8	promote	4
investigate	4	objective	5	proportion	3
invoke	10	obtain	2	prospect	8
involve	1	obvious	4	protocol	9
isolate	7	occupy	4	psychology	5
issue	1	occur	1	publication	7
item	2	odd	10	publish	3
job	4	offset	8	purchase	2
journal	2	ongoing	10	pursue	5
justify	3	option	4	qualitative	9
label	4	orient	5	quote	7
labour	1	outcome	3	radical	8
layer	3	output	4	random	8
lecture	6	overall	4	range	2
legal	1	overlap	9	ratio	5
legislate	1	overseas	6	rational	6
levy	10	panel	10	react	3
liberal	5	paradigm	7	recover	6
licence	5	paragraph	8	refine	9
likewise	10	parallel	4	regime	4
link	3	parameter	4	region	2
locate	3	participate	2	register	3
logic	5	partner	3	regulate	2
maintain	2	passive	9	reinforce	8
major	1	perceive	2	reject	5
manipulate	8	percent	1	relax	9
manual	9	period	1	release	7
margin	5	persist	10	relevant	2
mature	9	perspective	5	reluctance	10
maximise	3	phase	4	rely	3
mechanism	4	phenomenon	7	remove	3
media	7	philosophy	3	require	1
mediate	9	physical	3	research	1
medical	5	plus	8	reside	2
medium	9	policy	1	resolve	4
mental	5	portion	9	resource	2
method	1	pose	10	respond	1
migrate	6	positive	2	restore	8
military	9	potential	2	restrain	9
minimal	9	practitioner	8	restrict	2

retain	4	status	4	thesis	7
reveal	6	straightforward	10	topic	7
revenue	5	strategy	2	trace	6
reverse	7	stress	4	tradition	2
revise	8	structure	1	transfer	2
revolution	9	style	5	transform	6
rigid	9	submit	7	transit	5
role	1	subordinate	9	transmit	7
route	9	subsequent	4	transport	6
scenario	9	subsidy	6	trend	5
schedule	8	substitute	5	trigger	9
scheme	3	successor	7	ultimate	7
scope	6	sufficient	3	undergo	10
section	1	sum	4	underlie	6
sector	1	summary	4	undertake	4
secure	2	supplement	9	uniform	8
seek	2	survey	2	unify	9
select	2	survive	7	unique	7
sequence	3	suspend	9	utilise	6
series	4	sustain	5	valid	3
sex	3	symbol	5	vary	1
shift	3	tape	6	vehicle	8
significant	1	target	5	version	5
similar	1	task	3	via	8
simulate	7	team	9	violate	9
site	2	technical	3	virtual	8
so-called	10	technique	3	visible	7
sole	7	technology	3	vision	9
somewhat	7	temporary	9	visual	8
source	1	tense	8	volume	3
specific	1	terminate	8	voluntary	7
specify	3	text	2	welfare	5
sphere	9	theme	8	whereas	5
stable	5	theory	1	whereby	10
statistic	4	thereby	8	widespread	8

APPENDIX B

Sample Texts From the Academic Corpus³

Text From the Commerce Subcorpus (Buckle, Kim, & Hall, 1994)

DATING NEW ZEALAND BUSINESS CYCLES

I. Introduction

Dating the turning points and duration of business cycles has long been associated with the construction of aggregate reference cycle indexes, and their associated leading, coincident and lagging indicators. This was along lines originally developed by Burns and Mitchell (1946), and subsequently by colleagues at the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), e.g. Klein (1990). More recently, identifying the turning points and duration of business cycles has been an important aspect of two further areas of business cycle research: the evaluation of theoretical and associated empirical business cycle models, e.g. King and Plosser (1994), Simkins (1994); and the analysis of the time varying characteristics of business cycles, e.g. Diebold and Rudebusch (1992), Watson (1994).

³ Words in the Academic Word List are underlined.

The Burns and Mitchell technique of dating business cycles relied primarily on two sorts of information: the descriptive evidence from business publications and general business conditions indices, and the “specific cycles” found in many individual series and the tendency for turning points to sometimes cluster at certain dates. Based on this information, a set of reference cycle dates were selected that specified the turning points in “aggregate economic activity”. A key feature of the Burns and Mitchell approach was to focus on the amount of cyclical co-movement or coherence among a large number of economic variables. This co-movement is the prime characteristic of their definition of the business cycle: “. . . a cycle consists of expansions occurring at about the same time in many economic activities, followed by similarly general recessions, contractions, and revivals which merge into the expansion phase of the next cycle; . . . in duration business cycles vary from more than one year to ten or twelve years . . .” (Burns and Mitchell, 1946, p 3).

The NBER approach is based on the view that there is no unique way of combining all these activities, and accordingly the business cycle cannot be fully depicted by a single measure, e.g. Burns (1969, p 13). Burns and Mitchell, and subsequent NBER researchers, intended therefore, before the computer age, to provide a standard technique with a set of decision rules for deriving business cycle turning points based on these two sorts of information. In practice, this involved the application of a standard format of filtering procedures to extract the turning points in each data series, and then combining this information in a judgemental way to determine a single turning point date. Other procedures, notably reference cycle indexes and coincident indexes, subsequently emerged as supplementary procedures for combining a large number of data series including various measures of output, production inputs, price series, monetary aggregates, etc, into a single composite index which have also been used to identify turning points.

Text From the Science Subcorpus (Daugherty, 1997)

Transmission Genetics

Gregor Mendel’s experiments, described in Chapter 4, are models of scientific elegance. Mendel reported his studies on the inheritance of seven different characteristics of pea plants by following the transmission of these traits from parent to offspring. Although he knew nothing of the chemical nature of genes, Mendel was able to describe aspects of their function quite accurately. These principles became the starting point of the new science. The study of transmission of single genes and traits is sometimes called Mendelian genetics. The following six principles reflect contemporary concepts in transmission genetics.

1. Inheritance is the transmission of traits and characteristics from one generation to the next. In his experiments, Mendel showed that some simple traits are governed by the effects of two factors, one inherited from each parent. We now call these factors genes.
2. Differing chemical forms of a gene that govern a single function or trait are called alleles. One allele of each gene is carried by each egg and each sperm that unite to form a new individual. Thus, a newly fertilized egg, or zygote, will contain a complete set of paired alleles that governs the development of the traits of the new individual. Sometimes, the words *gene* and *allele* are used interchangeably. Individuals who have two identical alleles of a gene are said to be homozygous. Individuals who have different alleles of a gene are heterozygous.
3. All of the genes (or alleles) that an individual has are called the *genotype* or the *genome* of that person. Genotype may also refer to the pair of alleles, one derived from each parent, that govern a single trait.
4. Characteristics of an individual, singly or collectively, are called the *phenotype* of the person (figure 1.6a). The phenotype results from genes being expressed in a particular environment. Distinguishing the effects of the genes from the effects of the environment in determining the phenotype has proven to be extremely difficult.
5. The two alleles that govern a single trait may interact. Sometimes, one allele is expressed, and the other is not. In such a case, the allele that is expressed is said to be dominant to the recessive allele which is not expressed. Alleles that are both expressed are said to be co-dominant.

- Mendelian rules govern inheritance not only in pea plants, but also humans, other animals, and plants. Mendelian mechanisms of inheritance are shared by virtually all higher organisms. Simpler, single-celled organisms such as bacteria do not follow Mendelian patterns of inheritance. Bacterial genes occur singly rather than in pairs.

Cytogenetics

Mendel based his ideas on experimental results using whole plants. Quite independently, biologists analyzed the structure of cells and their components microscopically. By 1903, the basic stages of cell division had also been identified, and genes were known to occur on chromosomes. The exciting result was that the behavior of chromosomes found in the nucleus of a cell could explain many of Mendel's findings. Cytogenetics is the study of the structure and function of chromosomes, and of cells during division.

- Genes occupy segments of *chromosomes*, dark-staining bodies that occur in the nucleus of cells. Chromosomes (figure 1.7) are usually visible only during, or immediately before, cell division. The precise site that a gene occupies on a chromosome is called a genetic locus. In Mendelian terms, a genetic locus on a chromosome is occupied by an allele.

Text From the Arts Subcorpus (Kidman, 1995)

OVERVIEW

The American educator Maxine Greene (1984) has written of the relationship between students and teachers:

There is a danger in the tendency to disconfirm their experiences and responses, because they do not participate in what we believe to be "literate" discourse and because they often do not value what we take for granted to be valuable. (p. 293)

Some students believed that the discourses which allow academics within a discipline to speak to one another, or in communicating primarily through 'professional' categories, the life stories or identities of the speakers can become hidden. Some believed that the construction of academic discourses provides teachers with elaborate languages which allow a degree of intellectual and personal concealment. One student said, "I get lost in the jargon, we don't converse here at the University or share our common understandings. We swop abstract principles and call it an education". Maori students who have come to the University seeking new understandings or who wish to combine their own cultural knowledge with academic meanings sometimes find that the patterns of academic discourse inhibits them from finding the words for their own lived experiences. The 'human' face of learning, described by another student seems to disappear in the sea of faces, making communication uneasy or common values difficult to identify.

Part of this distancing effect also lies in the physical layout of the University and its classrooms. The immovable rows of seats in the larger lecture theatres are not conducive to the development of interactive learning environments. Some lecturers continue to give classes without the aid of media in the belief that their ancient lecture notes and measured tones of authority will motivate 150 or 300 recently enrolled First Years to investigate a subject further at a later date. In spite of this however, several students had attended lectures where staff had altered this traditional approach to large group teaching and, despite the problems with room layout and class size, had provided interactive instruction which the students remembered and enjoyed.

Small group or tutorial situations were a greatly preferred style of teaching. Several students mentioned that they initially lacked confidence in speaking before people they didn't know, but they had gained a sense of self assurance over their time at the University and most of them used tutorials to "bounce ideas off other students". Furthermore, some students had extended the study group approach independently and had formed informal, self-led study groups with other Maori students. These groups hold particular significance in contributing to the informal rhythms of university life. They facilitate the development of strong networks among Maori students, and they also provide support for students who have knowledge of their own culture and who wish to enter the 'deep' structures of learning. For those students competing against the pressures of university study, the commitment to adopt 'deep' approaches to their learning can be swayed by external factors, such as departmental ethos, teaching methodologies and an

overabundance of unconnected information. The desire to create knowledge from a quantity of information may be in part satisfied by students who participate in self-directed study groups. Here, it may be possible for the university to lend its support to those students who are taking the time to extract an understanding of intellectual processes alongside the demand to keep producing essays and degrees.

Text From Law Subcorpus (Miller, 1997)

ACTIONS FOR DAMAGES FOR PERSONAL INJURY IN NEW ZEALAND

Introduction

This chapter is published as a supplement to Brooker's "Accident Compensation in New Zealand". It is intended to direct the attention of persons advising accident victims to the need to explore the possibility of bringing common law actions for damages in appropriate circumstances. Clearly the topic cannot be covered comprehensively in a chapter of this kind but attention is drawn to the more obvious cases where it would appear common law actions might be available in New Zealand Courts. Readers may also wish to refer to the following recent material, R Harrison, Matters of Life and Death, Legal Research Foundation No 35, Auckland, 1993; S Todd and J Black, Accident Compensation and the Barring of Actions for Damages (1993) 2 Tort Law Review 197

1. Statutory Compensation or damages?

The lawyers duty

1.1 Because of the limited compensation available under the ARCI Act, lawyers and others who advise persons on their rights arising out of personal injury, should not limit their efforts to attempting to prove that the injury is covered by the Act. They have a duty to look for ways of showing that the ARCI Act does not apply to the injuries.

1.2 In order to ensure that the client receives the maximum benefits available, it is the lawyer's duty when advising a person who has suffered personal injury, to explore the possibility of an action for common law damages. Neglecting to explore this option may amount to professional negligence on the part of a barrister or solicitor. (see Keys v. St. L Reeves A55/85 H.C. New Plymouth 13th April 1992, Smellie J.)

Limited prohibition against suing

1.3 Apart from the actions for loss of consortium and loss of services, the Accident Compensation legislation has never removed the common law right of action for damages for personal injury in New Zealand. Section 5 of the 1972, and s27 of the 1982 Accident Compensation Acts, prevented the bringing of proceedings for damages in a New Zealand Court, but there was no prohibition against common law proceedings in a Court outside New Zealand in respect of personal injury suffered in New Zealand. Nor, apart from the two actions mentioned beforehand, did the legislation remove the common law right where a cause of action arose in New Zealand. It imposed a procedural bar to suing in a New Zealand Court to recover compensatory damages. It was however, possible to sue for "exemplary" or punitive damages (see Donselaar v Donselaar [1982] 1 NZLR 87 and Auckland City Council v Blundell [1986] 1 NZLR 732(CA)).

1.4 In common with the previous legislation, s14 of the ARCI Act 1992, prohibits the bringing in any New Zealand Court of proceedings for damages arising directly or indirectly out of personal injury covered by the Act or personal injury by accident covered by the 1972 or 1982 Accident Compensation Acts. Like its predecessors the prohibition in s 14 does not apply to exemplary or punitive damages.

*Does Output Promote Noticing and Second Language Acquisition?**

SHINICHI IZUMI

*Sophia University
Tokyo, Japan*

MARTHA BIGELOW

*State University of New York, University at Buffalo
Buffalo, New York, United States*

Following an initial investigation (Izumi, Bigelow, Fujiwara, & Fearnow, 1999), this study examines the noticing function of output (Swain, 1995, 1998), namely, the activity of producing the target language that may prompt L2 learners to recognize their linguistic problems and bring relevant aspects of the L2 to their attention. Before completing (a) essay-writing tasks and (b) text reconstruction tasks, two groups of ESL learners received the same input containing numerous examples of the target form, the past hypothetical conditional in English. One group was given opportunities for output whereas the other group engaged in comprehension-based activities. Although the results indicate no unique effects of output, extended opportunities to produce output and receive relevant input were found to be crucial in improving learners' use of the grammatical structure. A closer examination of the data suggested, however, that output did not always succeed in drawing the learners' attention to the target form, a phenomenon that seems related to both learner and linguistic factors. The essay-writing tasks were found to be much more susceptible to such individual variation than were the text reconstruction tasks. Further research is necessary to more precisely specify the noticing function of output and derive effective uses of output in L2 teaching.

Recent studies in cognitive psychology and second language acquisition (SLA) suggest that attention to formal features in the input plays an important role in SLA (for reviews, see Robinson, 1995; Schmidt, 1990, 1995; Tomlin & Villa, 1994). For pedagogically oriented SLA researchers, an obvious question raised by such studies is how to

* The first author presented an earlier version of this article at the Second Language Research Forum at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in 1998.

draw learners' attention to form in a way that enables better and faster learning of form. Among the many methods and techniques proposed in the literature to potentially facilitate SLA, the present study focuses on the role of output. Specifically, we address one of the functions of output identified in the Output Hypothesis (Swain, 1993, 1995): the activity of producing the target language that, under some yet-to-be-specified circumstances, may prompt L2 learners to recognize their linguistic problems and bring to their attention what they need to discover about the L2.

NOTICING, OUTPUT, AND SLA

Noticing and SLA

In cognitive psychology, cognitive science, and SLA, the notion that attention is necessary for learning to take place is relatively well accepted. Views differ, however, as to the amount and type of attention needed for learning to take place.

Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1994, 1995) and Schmidt and Frota (1986), for example, have proposed the Noticing Hypothesis, which claims that "noticing is the necessary and sufficient condition for the conversion of input to intake for learning" (Schmidt, 1994, p. 17). Noticing, according to Schmidt (1993), requires focal attention and awareness on the part of the learner, and subliminal learning cannot account for SLA processes. The Noticing Hypothesis further claims that "what must be attended to and noticed is not just the input in a global sense but whatever features of the input are relevant for the target system" (Schmidt, 1993, p. 209). Thus, attending to and noticing specific aspects of the input are considered to be of primary importance in learning those aspects.

Tomlin and Villa (1994), on the other hand, argue that conscious registration is not a necessary component of attentional processes in SLA. Specifically, they claim that "detection is the process by which particular exemplars are registered in memory and therefore could be made accessible to whatever the key processes are for learning, such as hypothesis formation and testing" (pp. 192–193). Detection does not necessarily imply awareness, a point that conflicts directly with Schmidt's (1994) Noticing Hypothesis.

Some attempts have been made to reconcile these opposing views. Robinson (1995), for instance, argues that noticing can be defined as detection plus rehearsal in short-term memory. The nature of rehearsal, according to Robinson, is a consequence of the processing demands of particular tasks and can involve data-driven processing (simple maintenance rehearsal of instances of input in memory) and conceptually

driven processing (elaborative rehearsal and the activation of schemata from long-term memory).

Apart from the debate surrounding the role of awareness in learning, the measurement of noticing/detection presents difficulties for researchers because it involves examining learner-internal processes. Previous investigations into the effects of some kind of external manipulation of input on learners' noticing/detection and intake have often employed postexposure tasks, including multiple-choice recognition tasks completed after exposure to simplified written or oral input (Leow, 1993, 1995); grammaticality judgment tasks completed after exposure to different kinds of instruction, such as meaning-based versus rule-based instruction and input flood (Alanen, 1995; Doughty, 1991; Trahey & White, 1993);¹ debriefing questionnaires or interviews conducted after the treatment period (Alanen, 1995; Izumi, Bigelow, Fujiwara, & Fearnow, 1999; J. White, 1998); stimulated recall while watching a video replay of an interaction (Mackey, Gass, & McDonough, in press); and think-aloud protocols produced during a written production task performed after exposure to enhanced written input (Jourdenais, 1998; Jourdenais, Ota, Stauffer, Boyson, & Doughty, 1995).

Some studies have utilized on-line measures to address the issue of noticing/detection: check-marking different types of morphemes while listening to oral input (VanPatten, 1990); producing think-aloud protocols during a reading task (Alanen, 1995) or while solving linguistic puzzles (Leow, 1997a, 1998a, 1998b; Rosa & O'Neil, 1999); metatalking during dictogloss (Swain & Lapkin, 1995); taking notes (Izumi, 1999, 2000); and underlining the grammatical structure embedded in written texts (Fotos, 1993; Izumi et al., 1999).² Although none of these on-line measures may be exact (i.e., they cannot claim to tap 100% of the learners' processes of attention), they have an advantage over postexposure measures of noticing/detection because they allow more direct access to learners' ongoing internal processes and minimize possible memory loss. Even studies utilizing on-line measures of noticing/detection, however, have failed to demonstrate that learning cannot occur without conscious awareness, a problem that relates to the above-mentioned issue of the role of awareness in learning (see Schmidt, in press, for a discussion of some related methodological issues).

¹ Because a grammaticality judgment task is generally considered a measure of acquisition, it can be considered a measure of noticing only if one accepts that only what is noticed can be acquired. The same argument applies to multiple-choice recognition tasks or any other performance tasks completed after the crucial learning phase during treatment.

² Fotos (1993) used underlining to assess the participants' noticing of the form after exposure to different kinds of grammatical consciousness-raising activities. Therefore, although the learners underlined on-line (i.e., as they processed the input), noticing appears to have occurred during the pedagogical activities themselves. In this sense, it is debatable whether her underlining task was truly an on-line measure of noticing.

If attention plays a central role in SLA, the question is how to draw learners' attention to grammatical features in the input in order to promote their learning. This question is important particularly in light of the accumulating evidence that L2 learners who are exposed to a large amount of *comprehensible input* (Krashen, 1985) fail to achieve high levels of grammatical accuracy (Harley, 1986, 1992; Harley & Swain, 1984). Various pedagogies have been proposed to help learners move forward in their interlanguage (IL) development, including *consciousness-raising* or *input enhancement* (Rutherford & Sharwood Smith, 1985; Sharwood Smith, 1991, 1993) and *focus on form* (Doughty & Williams, 1998a; Long, 1991). Consciousness-raising, a term first introduced by Sharwood Smith (1981), refers to deliberate attempts on the part of teachers (or researchers) to raise learners' awareness of the formal features of the language with a view to promoting the development of their L2 knowledge. In later publications, Sharwood Smith (1991, 1993) suggested that consciousness-raising be renamed input enhancement because, whereas the former problematically implies that direct manipulation of learners' mental state is possible, the latter stresses only the external manipulation of the input to encourage better intake of various features of that input. The idea behind input enhancement is that outside manipulation of input or task materials can create conditions that stimulate internal learning mechanisms so as to advance learners' knowledge of the target language. Focus on form, a term coined by Long (1991), is contrasted with more traditional instruction, dubbed *focus on forms* by Long. The latter method emphasizes the teaching of language as subject matter and often features isolated sentences without much context; the former aims to integrate attention to form and meaning as learners engage in meaning-oriented activities. Focus on form, in other words, refers to how attention is allocated to formal features of the language during a meaning-focused classroom lesson.

Crucial to these recent pedagogical proposals is the idea that learners' attention needs to be drawn to form during otherwise meaning-oriented communication so that they can learn the form, meaning, and function of language in an integrated manner. These proposals have been operationalized and tested in a number of empirical studies, though the degree of this integration differs—often remarkably—from study to study. For example, some studies have utilized form-focused instruction (Alanen, 1995; Doughty, 1991), grammar-based tasks (Fotos, 1993; Fotos & Ellis, 1991), negative evidence/feedback (Carroll, Roberge, & Swain, 1992; Carroll & Swain, 1993; Izumi & Lakshmanan, 1998; Tomasello & Herron, 1988, 1989; L. White, 1991), or a combination (Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Spada & Lightbown, 1993; White, Spada, Lightbown, & Ranta, 1991). Other studies have employed more implicit techniques, such as textual input enhancement (Alanen, 1995; Doughty, 1991; Izumi,

2000; Jourdenais, 1998; Jourdenais et al., 1995; Leow, 1997b; Shook, 1994; J. White, 1998); recasts (Ayoun, 1999; Doughty, Izumi, Maciukaite, & Zapata, 1999; Doughty & Varela, 1998; Long, Inagaki, & Ortega, 1998; Mackey & Philp, 1998); structure-focused, task-based interaction (Mackey, 1999); interaction enhancement (Muranoi, 1996); and input flood (Trahey & White, 1993). Learners' attention to form has been induced via task repetition (Gass, Mackey, Alvarez-Torres, & Fernández, 1999) and pretask planning (Crookes, 1989; Foster & Skehan, 1996; Ortega, 1999; Skehan & Foster, 1996). Still other researchers (VanPatten & Cadierno, 1993; VanPatten & Oikkenon, 1996; VanPatten & Sanz, 1995) have used *processing instruction*, which aims at altering the strategies learners use when processing L2 input.

Collectively, the results of these studies suggest that drawing learners' attention to form facilitates their L2 learning. Learners whose attention is deliberately drawn to the targeted elements via external input or task manipulation tend to demonstrate more accurate use of language forms than learners who are exposed to nonmanipulated input (for reviews, see Ellis & Laporte, 1995; Spada, 1997). Although definitive conclusions cannot yet be reached regarding exactly how learners' attentional mechanisms interact with the input, the results of these studies suggest that the issue of attention and L2 learning is a fertile ground for further research.

Output in SLA

Among the many methods and techniques that aim to facilitate the development of the learner's IL grammar, the role of output in SLA is relatively unexplored. A common assumption is that output is only an indication of SLA that has already taken place and does not play any significant role in language acquisition processes (Krashen, 1985), but this assumption has come into question since the publication of Swain's (1985) seminal article, in which the Output Hypothesis was first proposed.

The Output Hypothesis claims that, under some circumstances, output stimulates language acquisition by forcing the learner to process language syntactically. According to this hypothesis, whereas the learner can often comprehend a message without much syntactic analysis of the input, production forces the learner to pay attention to the forms with which intended messages are expressed. In this process, output is hypothesized to promote language acquisition by making learners recognize problems in their IL and prompting learners to do something about those problems—for example, seek out relevant input with more focused attention, search for alternative means to express the given intention and stretch their IL capability, formulate and test a hypothesis, and

modify it upon receiving feedback—all depending on the given situation (e.g., the availability of relevant input, a native-speaking interlocutor, or other L2 learners). It is important to recognize that the Output Hypothesis in no way negates the importance of input or input comprehension. The intention is to complement and reinforce, rather than replace, input-based approaches to language acquisition so that learners will go beyond what is minimally required for overall comprehension of a message.

The Noticing/Triggering Function of Output

Of several functions of output identified by Swain (1993, 1995), we focus in this study on the *noticing/triggering function*. Addressing this function of output, Swain (1995) argues that

in producing the target language (vocally or subvocally) learners may notice a gap between what they *want* to say and what they *can* say, leading them to recognize what they do not know, or know only partially. In other words, under some circumstances, the activity of producing the target language may prompt second language learners to consciously recognize some of their linguistic problems; it may bring to their attention something they need to discover about their L2. (pp. 125–126)

This function of output relates directly to Schmidt's (1994) Noticing Hypothesis, which claims paramount importance for noticing in language learning. According to this hypothesis, output facilitates the noticing of problems in the IL and the relevant features in the input. This noticing may in turn stimulate the processes of language acquisition. In addition, if output indeed triggers attention to form, this attention is most likely to involve simultaneous attention to meaning, provided that the learner initiates production with the intention of conveying content (in contrast to, e.g., meaningless or less meaningful production during mechanical drills). Under the Noticing Hypothesis, when L2 learners encounter problems with the means to communicate their message (i.e., with their grammar), they notice the problems; subsequent input exposure would then help learners notice the gap between their IL and the target language model. Thus, this function of output is entirely consistent with pedagogical proposals, such as focus on form, that emphasize the integration of focus on form and focus on meaning.

Several reasons underlie our focus on the noticing function of output in the present study. First, this function of output has important theoretical and pedagogical implications. Theoretically, the noticing function of output is closely related to the issue of noticing/detection in

SLA, as reviewed above. Pedagogically, even though student output is a prevalent feature of many language teaching practices, exactly whether and how it helps with language learning has often been assumed rather than vigorously tested. Hence, more empirical investigation in this area is urgently needed. A second reason is based on our observation of the ESL writing classes that constituted our research site. In these classes, although the *process approach* (Raines, 1992) to ESL compositions often enabled students to become skilled at choosing topics and developing ideas, even the second and third drafts of these students' compositions lacked a high degree of grammatical accuracy, just as students' speech in many of the studies cited above did. Of great interest, therefore, is whether providing students in an ESL writing class with written output activities followed by relevant input would facilitate the noticing and learning of a specific grammatical form that is difficult for them to learn. Third, in contrast to other functions of output (a hypothesis-testing and a metalinguistic function; Swain, 1993, 1995, 1998), which have been investigated by a number of researchers (e.g., Kowal & Swain, 1994; LaPierre, 1994; Nobuyoshi & Ellis, 1993; Pica, 1988; Pica, Holliday, Lewis, & Morgenthaler, 1989), little research so far has investigated the noticing/triggering function of output. Two notable exceptions are the studies by Swain and Lapkin (1995) and Izumi et al. (1999). Swain and Lapkin examined the extent to which output encourages learners to recognize problems in their IL and whether SLA-related internal processes may be triggered as a consequence. They did not, however, examine how these learners would process subsequent input. Izumi et al., on the other hand, examined whether awareness of problems during production would prompt L2 learners to seek out subsequent input with more focused attention and lead to the noticing and learning of a specific grammatical form.

Because Izumi et al.'s (1999) study of the noticing function of output informs and constitutes the basis of the study reported in this article, we discuss it here in some detail. Izumi et al. compared two groups of ESL students in regard to their learning of the past hypothetical conditional in English. One, the experimental group, produced written output and then was presented with relevant input in the form of short reading passages. The comparison group was exposed to the same input for the purpose of comprehension only. Specifically, in Phase 1 the experimental-group learners reconstructed as accurately as possible a text that had been presented to them and then were exposed to the same text. In Phase 2 the same learners wrote an essay on a given topic and then were shown a model essay. The comparison group was exposed to the same input, but instead of reconstructing a text or writing an essay, the students in that group answered comprehension questions. The three major findings of this study were as follows: First, the experimental group

and the comparison group demonstrated increased noticing of the target form, as measured by participants' underlining as they read the input passages. Second, the experimental group demonstrated a significant rate of uptake of the target form in their production immediately following exposure to the input. Third, the experimental group made significantly larger gains on the production test after Phase 2 of the treatment than did the comparison group. These results lend some support to the noticing function of output in SLA.

One issue that remains uncertain is the relative contribution of the two types of treatment in Izumi et al.'s (1999) study, in which the essay-writing tasks followed the text reconstruction tasks. In particular, it is not clear whether the Phase 1 tasks had any priming effects on the results of the Phase 2 tasks. This issue is not trivial given (a) its theoretical relevance to the noticing function of output (i.e., do the conditions under which output occurs somehow constrain or mediate the effect of output on noticing and learning or, more broadly, on the learner's attentional mechanism?) and (b) a related pedagogical question concerning the specification of task variables that may affect SLA (i.e., what kinds of tasks better facilitate noticing and learning?) (see Crookes & Gass, 1993a, 1993b; Long, in press; Skehan, 1998, for elaborate discussions and empirical studies on various issues related to task-based language teaching). As Doughty and Williams (1998b) point out, the design of the tasks is of prime importance in *proactive focus on form*, in which the target of instruction is predetermined, as is often the case in many current classroom situations, so that learners will indeed notice the target form in predominantly meaning-based activities. (The converse would be *reactive focus on form*, in which no elaborate decisions are made a priori as to the focus of the instruction.) Consequently, the effect of task type on noticing and learning is of great interest and importance.

In this regard, on both the noticing and the uptake measures in Izumi et al.'s (1999) study, the essay-writing tasks yielded lower median scores and substantially larger individual variation than did the reconstruction tasks. To account for this finding, Izumi et al. argue that the essay-writing tasks, though perhaps providing more meaningful contexts for production, allowed the participants greater freedom in what they could produce, which made it more difficult for them to compare their IL output directly with the model input and may have led different participants to pay attention to quite different aspects of that input. Although we believe that this claim is reasonable, it is equally likely that the order of the presentation of the tasks accounts for the obtained result. That is, attention to the target form may have declined as the treatment proceeded simply because the novelty effect declined. Before we can make a more solid claim concerning links among task type,

noticing, and learning, we must further explore the role of task ordering in the effect of output on noticing and learning.

Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

With this background in mind, the present study follows up on Izumi et al.'s (1999) study in an effort to further investigate learners' cognitive processes as triggered by output. To maintain an adequate level of comparability between Izumi et al.'s study and ours, we closely followed most aspects of the former, making only one major modification: We reversed the order of the treatments so that the guided essay-writing tasks preceded the text reconstruction tasks; a posttest followed each phase of the treatment. As in Izumi et al.'s study, two main research questions guided our investigation:

1. Do output activities promote the noticing of linguistic form in subsequent input?
2. Do these output-input activities result in improved production of the target form?

The Output Hypothesis generated the following predictions concerning noticing and SLA. Hypothesis 1, derived from the first research question, is concerned with the noticing issue. Hypothesis 2 focuses specifically on whether learners would demonstrate sensitivity to the form in their immediately subsequent production by examining their immediate uptake of the form.³ Hypothesis 3, which addresses the second research question, is concerned with the acquisition issue.

Hypothesis 1. The experimental group, which was required to produce output, would show greater noticing of the target grammatical form contained in the input than would the comparison group, which did not produce output but instead answered comprehension questions.

Hypothesis 2. After being exposed to input containing the target form, the experimental group would indicate immediate uptake of the target form in their output during the treatment tasks.

³ The immediate uptake may be construed either as an acquisition measure (in a very limited sense due to its very short-term nature) or as a measure of noticing (if learners are assumed to be able to successfully incorporate only what they notice into the immediately subsequent production). In this study, immediate uptake was treated as a noticing measure to complement the underlining measure.

Hypothesis 3. On the posttests, the experimental group would show greater gains in accuracy of their use of the target form than would the comparison group.

METHOD

Participants

The participants in the study, chosen from the same population as those in Izumi et al.'s (1999) study, were a heterogeneous group of adult ESL learners ($N = 18$) enrolled in an academic writing class in a community college in the United States. The class was the second of three writing courses in the ESL program. Students were placed in the course by means of a departmentally administered placement test or by passing a previous writing course. After the administration of the pretest, the participants were ranked according to their pretest scores and divided into two groups (the experimental group [EG; $n = 9$] and the comparison group [CG; $n = 9$]) composed of students at approximately equivalent levels. This procedure was employed to ensure that each group contained an adequate representation of students with different initial knowledge of the target structure.

Form in Focus

The target form was the past hypothetical/counterfactual conditional in English (e.g., *If Ann had traveled to Spain in 1992, she would have seen the Olympics*). Conditional sentences in general and hypothetical/counterfactual conditionals in particular are known to be difficult for many ESL learners because of the structure's syntactic and semantic complexities (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983). The participants' attempts to use the structure in compositions written at the beginning of the semester suggested that it was not completely new to them, but most of the students still did not use it accurately. The pretest results confirmed this observation. Some representative sentences produced by the participants at the time of the pretest are shown below.

If Kevin got up earlier, he would eat something for breakfast.

If Kevin had studied, he could pass his exam.

If Kevin would have study, he could have pass the exam.

Research Design

The experimental sequence of the study took approximately 4.5 hours spread over 1 month (Figure 1). The treatment consisted of two phases, with two tasks in each phase. Each treatment was followed by a posttest. In an attempt to minimize the test effects, Phase 1 began a full week after the pretest, and Phase 2 started a week after Posttest 1. After each treatment phase, we randomly selected and interviewed four students from the EG to obtain retrospective data on the cognitive processes engaged by output; logistical issues prevented us from interviewing all the participants.

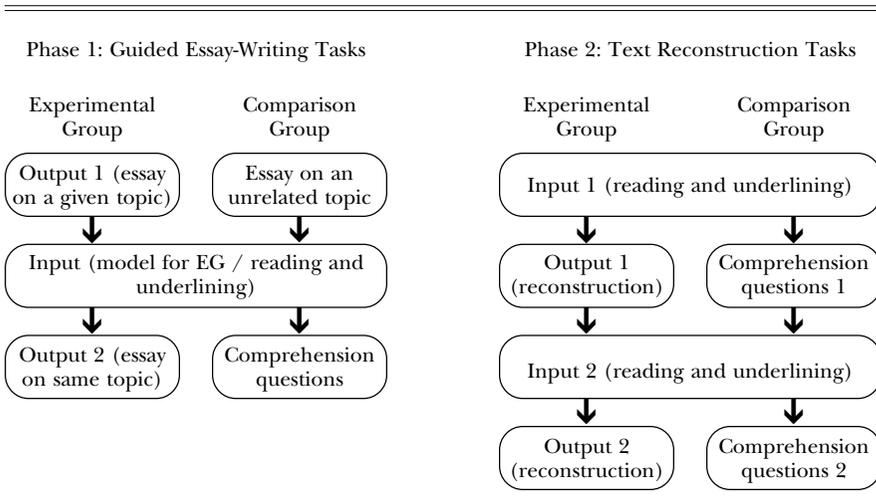
Treatment

Members of both the EG and the CG were informed of the sequence of activities in the treatment phases (shown in Figure 2) before they started the tasks. Each group completed the tasks in a separate classroom. Both phases of the treatment aimed to give the EG participants opportunities for output immediately followed by exposure to input that contained many instances of the target form used in context. We expected that the participants would notice problems with their IL when producing output and that subsequent exposure to targetlike input would allow the participants to compare their IL with the target form in that input. The CG did not produce any output but instead answered true-false comprehension questions related to the input.

FIGURE 1
Experimental Sequence

Day 1:	Pretest (35 min.)
Day 2:	Treatment Phase 1, Task A: "Job Offers" (1 hour) Interview
Day 3:	Treatment Phase 1, Task B: "Scholarship Committee" (1 hour) Interview
Day 4:	Posttest 1 (35 minutes)
Day 5:	Treatment Phase 2, Task A: "Story About Christopher Reeve" (30 minutes) Interview
Day 6:	Treatment Phase 2, Task B: "Clinton's New Welfare Bill" (30 minutes) Interview
Day 7:	Posttest 2 (35 minutes)

FIGURE 2
Activities in the Treatment Phases



To assess the participants' noticing of the target form in the written input passages, we asked both groups to underline parts of the passage each time they were presented with it. The EG was directed to "underline the word, words, or parts of words that you feel are particularly necessary for your subsequent production (or reconstruction)." The CG was also required to underline the passage, not for subsequent production but for comprehension (i.e., to answer questions about the passage). Our main reasons for using underlining as a measure of noticing were that (a) as an on-line measure, it can tap learners' attentional processes in real time and (b) it is compatible with the reading task we employed for our treatment (e.g., it is relatively unintrusive, is familiar to the students, and can be done quickly and easily). To familiarize the learners with the underlining procedure and to increase the precision of this measure, we modeled the underlining portion of the activity for both groups before they carried out the tasks. Using a passage that did not contain the target form, we demonstrated the options of underlining the "word, words, and parts of words" of the passage and stressed the importance of precise underlining. Because underlining was assumed to involve at least a minimum level of awareness, we believe that it tapped noticing in Schmidt's (1994) sense and not detection as discussed by Tomlin and Villa (1994).

Each treatment condition in each phase is described below.

Phase 1: Essay-Writing Tasks

The procedure below was followed for Task A and was repeated for Task B with a different topic.

1. The EG participants were asked to write an essay (Output 1) on a topic that had been carefully chosen to elicit the past hypothetical conditional. For logistical and pedagogical purposes (i.e., so that both groups would do a writing activity that day), the CG also wrote an essay, but on a topic that was different from the one given to the EG and that did not involve the use of the target structure.
2. After collecting the participants' essays, we presented a model essay, written by a native speaker on the topic given to the EG, in which approximately 80% of the sentences contained the past hypothetical conditional. The EG participants were told to read and underline this input to help in their second writing attempt. The CG participants were told to do the same as a reading comprehension exercise.
3. After the input passage was collected, the EG participants were asked to produce a second version of the essay on the same topic (Output 2), incorporating whatever they had learned from the model essay. The CG participants answered true-false questions based on the model essay.

Phase 2: Text Reconstruction Tasks

The following sequence was used for Task A and was repeated for Task B with a different topic.

1. Participants in both groups were given a short written passage (Input 1) in which approximately 70% of the sentences contained the past hypothetical conditional form. The EG participants were asked to read the passage and underline the parts that they felt were particularly necessary for the subsequent reconstruction. The CG participants were told to do the same for comprehension.
2. The input passage was collected. The EG participants were then given a sheet of paper and told to reconstruct the passage as accurately as possible (Output 1). The CG answered true-false comprehension questions.
3. Output 1 and the comprehension questions were collected. Both groups of participants were then shown the passage a second time (Input 2) and were directed to underline it as in Step 1.
4. Input 2 was collected. As in Step 2, the EG participants were asked to reconstruct the text as accurately as possible on another output sheet

(Output 2). The CG participants answered the same comprehension questions a second time.

In Phase 2, both the input passage sheets and the output sheets given to the EG contained a set of pictures to help with comprehension and memory of the passage's semantic content. We considered the pictures particularly necessary so that failure to retain the story line would not hinder the EG participants' attempts to reconstruct the passage. The pictures also appeared on the input passage sheets provided to the CG but not on the comprehension question sheets. In all the tasks in Phases 1 and 2, the groups were exposed to the input for equal amounts of time.

Testing Instruments

We used two written test methods to assess the participants' knowledge of the past hypothetical conditional in English: a multiple-choice recognition test and a picture-cued production test (see Appendix A for sample test items). Two forms of each test were administered in a split-block design.⁴ That is, half of the participants in each group received one form of the test, and the other half received the other form. The forms were reversed for Posttest 1 and again for Posttest 2. The recognition test and the production test were administered before Phase 1 and after Phases 1 and 2 for a total of three test administrations for each group. In all cases, the recognition test took about 15 minutes, and the production test took about 20 minutes.

The recognition test consisted of 10 target items and 10 distractors in a multiple-choice format. Five of the target items began with an *if*-clause, and 5 with a main clause. Because the past hypothetical conditional is biclausal, leaving a blank in just one clause in each item would have provided input on the target form in the other clause. We therefore developed test items with two blanks, one for the first clause and one for the second. To emphasize to the participants that the sentence referred to the past, the first clause of each item contained a past adverbial (e.g., *yesterday*, *last night*).

The production test consisted of three sections of four items each. Two of the sections involved target items, and one section contained

⁴ In this study, we used a multiple-choice recognition test to tap the learners' receptive skills because the grammaticality judgment test used in the previous study yielded results that were quite difficult to interpret, despite the careful scoring procedures followed (see Izumi et al., 1999, for details). To estimate the extent to which the tests represented parallel forms, the two forms of each test were piloted on a comparable group of 21 participants, yielding the correlation (Pearson *r*) of .89 for the recognition test and .90 for the production test, which was considered sufficient for parallel forms.

distractors. An instruction page at the beginning of each target-item section contextualized the pictures so that the use of the conditional was required. Participants were instructed to use the verbs written below each picture to write one sentence combining the meanings of the two pictures. The two pictures were joined with an arrow to indicate that one represented the *if*-clause, and the other, the main clause. A prompt (e.g., *If Mike . . .*) was also provided for each item to encourage the participants to use the target form.

Scoring and Analyses

The data consisted of the participants' underlining and written production during the treatment and tests. For each participant, we counted all items underlined and calculated the percentage of conditional-related items underlined out of this total. This procedure was used to balance individual variation arising from differences in the absolute quantity of underlining by the participants. For the purpose of this study, conditional-related items were defined as follows: modals *would* and *could*, aspectual auxiliaries *have* and *had*, copula in the past participle form *been*, complementizer *if*, and past participle endings *-ed* and *-en*.⁵

The EG participants' production during the treatment was scored using targetlike use analysis. To control for the differing numbers of the target form produced by each participant, we computed each participant's production score on each task as follows: the percentage of correctly formulated past conditional sentences divided by the total number of target sentences attempted. (To minimize distortion of percentage scores resulting from the inclusion of small denominators, we excluded from the data pool participants who did not produce at least four target clauses.)

The recognition test items were scored as either correct or incorrect. *If*-clauses and main clauses were scored separately, and the scores were combined to obtain a total score for each participant. The raw scores were converted to percentages because of the unequal number of total items for each participant (caused by the failure of a few participants to finish the test in the time allowed).

The production test was scored in two ways. For the targetlike use

⁵ Because of this scoring procedure, the underlining scores should be interpreted relative to the number of conditional-related words included in the total number of words in each text. In the following data for the texts used in each task, the numerator is the number of conditional-related words, the denominator is the total number of words, and the percentage indicates the proportion of conditional-related words: Phase 1, Task A, 71/248 (29%); Phase 1, Task B, 58/231 (25%); Phase 2, Task A, 30/87 (34%); Phase 2, Task B, 30/87 (34%).

analysis, we gave 1 point for each targetlike production of the conditional form. Because there were eight target items in the production test, the maximum scores for the *if*-clause and the main clause were 8 respectively, and the maximum combined score was 16.

The IL scoring system aimed to examine the specific IL features of nontargetlike attempts on the production test and complement the strict coding system used in the targetlike use analysis. Seven component features of the past hypothetical conditional were determined (see Figure 3): in the *if*-clause, (a) the past tense, (b) the perfect aspect, and (c) the past participle form; and in the main clause, (d) a modal, (e) the past tense, (f) the perfect aspect, and (g) the past participle form. For each attempt at the form, we scored each component feature plus (+) or minus (–) to record its presence or absence, respectively. To calculate IL scores for each participant, we assigned 1 point when each of the target grammatical features was present in the learners' productions and 0 points when it was absent. When an extra element was present in the learners' productions, as in double marking of the past tense in one clause (e.g., *he would had gone*), we deducted 1 point for each IL feature. The maximum possible IL scores were 24 for the *if*-clause, 32 for the main clause, and 56 for the *if*- and main clauses combined.⁶

Because of the small sample size and the failure to obtain a normal distribution, medians were used as a measure of the central tendency, and interquartile ranges (IQRs)⁷ were used as a measure of variation in all the results reported. Accordingly, to calculate the significance of the results, we used the Wilcoxon signed-ranks test for within-group comparisons and the Mann-Whitney *U* test for between-group comparisons, with the alpha level set at .05 in both cases.

RESULTS

In this section, we first analyze the participants' underlining of the input passages, which addresses the noticing issue. Then we examine the data produced by the EG in the essay-writing and text reconstruction tasks to address the issue of immediate uptake of the target form. Finally, we present the test results, which address the acquisition issue.

⁶ Interrater agreement was 95.3% on the underlining and 96.4% on the production data.

⁷ IQR, commonly used as a measure of dispersion when medians are used as a measure of central tendency, specifies the difference between the values at the limits of the middle 50% of the data. A larger IQR indicates more variability in the scores.

FIGURE 3
Features of the Past Hypothetical Conditional Coded in the Interlanguage Analysis

Sample sentence and features:

If Jack *had* *joined* the Navy in 1989, he *would* *have* *gone* to the Gulf War.
 [+perfect] [+past participle] [+modal] [+perfect] [+past participle]
 [+past] [+past]

Error type	Example
<i>If</i> -clause	
[-past]	<i>If Jack joins</i>
[-perfect]	<i>If Jack joined</i>
[-past participle]	<i>If Jack had go</i>
Main clause	
[-modal]	<i>Jack had gone</i>
[-past]	<i>Jack joins</i>
[-perfect]	<i>Jack would go</i>
[-past participle]	<i>Jack would have go</i>
[+extra element]	<i>Jack would have been gone</i>

Underlining: The Noticing Issue

Phase 1 Underlining

In each essay-writing task in Phase 1, the EG received the input passage as a model essay to be learned from (with what was to be learned left entirely up to each learner) whereas the CG received the same passage as a reading comprehension exercise. The differing experimental conditions of the EG and CG did not appear to contribute significantly to the extent to which the participants in each group paid attention to the conditional form (Table 1); in Phase 1 both groups underlined similar median percentages of conditional-related forms. Nevertheless, the IQRs of the EG participants were much higher than those of the CG on both tasks, indicating a greater degree of individual variation for the EG. This result suggests that, when exposed to the same input texts, the EG participants' attention was much more scattered than the CG participants', which can be attributed to the different treatment conditions of the two groups. These results are consistent with those found for the essay-writing tasks in Izumi et al.'s (1999) study.

Phase 2 Underlining

In the Phase 2 tasks (text reconstruction), both groups of participants received each input text twice, and they underlined the text on Input 1

TABLE 1
Median Underlining Scores in Phase 1 (%)

Task and group	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	Significance of difference between groups' scores
Task A				
Experimental	9	8	15	<i>ns</i>
Comparison	9	8	8	
Task B				
Experimental	8 ^a	4	25	<i>ns</i>
Comparison	9	6	9	

Note. Scores are the number of conditional-related words underlined divided by the total number of words underlined.

^aThe score of one participant was excluded from this analysis because he underlined fewer than the minimum of eight words required for inclusion.

(the EG before Output 1 and the CG before the first set of comprehension questions) and Input 2 (the EG after Output 2 and the CG after the second set of comprehension questions). Therefore, our interests here are (a) whether underlining of the conditional-related words increased from Input 1 to Input 2 for either group and (b) whether the words underlined by the two groups differed. For both groups the percentage of conditional-related underlining increased from Input 1 to Input 2 in Task A (Table 2), but the increases were not statistically significant. Moreover, no significant differences between the two groups emerged on either Input 1 or Input 2. In Task B, the percentage of conditional-related underlining increased slightly and nonsignificantly for the EG

TABLE 2
Median Underlining Scores in Phase 2 (%)

Task and group	<i>n</i>	Input 1		Input 2		Significance of difference between Input 1 and Input 2 scores ^a
		<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	
Task A						
Experimental	8 ^b	8	6	15	23	<i>ns</i>
Comparison	9	9	15	13	16	<i>ns</i>
Task B						
Experimental	9	4	7	6	9	<i>ns</i>
Comparison	9	15	9	7	13	<i>ns</i>

Note. Scores are the number of conditional-related words underlined divided by the total number of words underlined.

^aCross-group differences in Input 1 and Input 2 scores are statistically nonsignificant. ^bThe score of one participant was excluded from this analysis because he underlined fewer than the minimum of eight words required for inclusion.

and decreased nonsignificantly for the CG. As in Task A, however, the two groups did not differ from each other on either Input 1 or Input 2.

Overall, these results suggest that in both Phase 1 and Phase 2 the output conditions for the EG did not lead to greater noticing of the conditional form than did the comprehension-question condition for the CG.⁸ In terms of individual variation, the IQRs for the two groups did not differ as strikingly in the reconstruction tasks as they did in the essay-writing tasks, especially in Task B. The relatively small individual variation in the reconstruction tasks for the EG is consistent with Izumi et al.'s (1999) finding.

Task Results: The Immediate Uptake Issue

Phase 1: Production

In Phase 1, Tasks A and B (essay writing), the EG participants showed virtually no targetlike use of the conditional form in their first essays (Table 3). The correct use of the form increased somewhat in their

TABLE 3
Median Targetlike Use Scores of the Experimental Group ($n = 7$), Phase 1 (%)

Task	Output 1		Output 2		Significance of difference between Output 1 and Output 2 scores
	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	
Task A					
<i>If</i> - and main clauses	0 ^a	0	16	43	<i>ns</i>
<i>If</i> -clause	0 ^a	0	1	33	<i>ns</i>
Main clause	0 ^b	0	9	38	<i>ns</i>
Task B					
<i>If</i> - and main clauses	0 ^c	1	13	26	<i>ns</i>
<i>If</i> -clause	0 ^b	0	0 ^c	17	<i>ns</i>
Main clause	0 ^c	10	0 ^d	28	<i>ns</i>

Note. Scores are the number of correctly formulated past conditional sentences divided by the total number of target sentences attempted. The scores of two participants were eliminated because they failed to produce the minimum number of clauses (four) in Output 1, Output 2, or both.

^aIncludes six observations of 0 points. ^bIncludes seven observations of 0 points. ^cIncludes five observations of 0 points. ^dIncludes four observations of 0 points.

⁸ One might argue that, to acquire the correct conditional form, learners need to notice not just the isolated conditional words or morphemes, such as *had* or *would*, but also clusters of conditional words, that is, *had* plus the past participle form of the verb in the *if*-clause and *would have* plus the past participle form of the verb in the main clause. A tally of the two groups' underlining of these sets of words generally confirmed that, as was true in the underlining of the separate words, the EG and the CG did not differ significantly from each other in their underlining of the conditional-word sets in any of the tasks.

second essays, which were written after the exposure to the model essay. However, none of the increases in scores reached statistical significance at the set probability level (though some differences were found in Task A). These results indicate overall that the EG incorporated only some of the target form in their production after completing the first guided essay-writing tasks and being exposed to the input in the model essay.

Phase 2: Reconstruction

In Phase 2, Task A, the accuracy scores increased somewhat from the first to the second reconstruction (Table 4). This increase was significant for the combined-clause scores and for the *if*-clause score. In Task B, the increase in the scores from the first to the second reconstruction was nonsignificant, although it approached significance in the cases of the combined and main-clause scores. A possible explanation for the participants' failure to achieve a statistically significant increase on Task B may be that, in contrast to the case in Task A, in Task B the EG participants' accuracy scores were already high on their first reconstruction attempt. In Tasks A and B, the EG participants' targetlike use of the conditional form was much greater than in the essay tasks in Phase 1.

While the EG was engaged in output tasks, the CG answered comprehension questions based on the input passages. On those questions, the CG scored a mean of 12.06 (of 15 questions; $SD = 1.31$) for the Phase 1 tasks and about 8.50 (of 9 questions; $SD = .63$) for the Phase 2 tasks. These results suggest that the CG participants understood the input passages fairly well.

TABLE 4
Median Targetlike Use Scores of the Experimental Group ($n = 9$), Phase 2 (%)

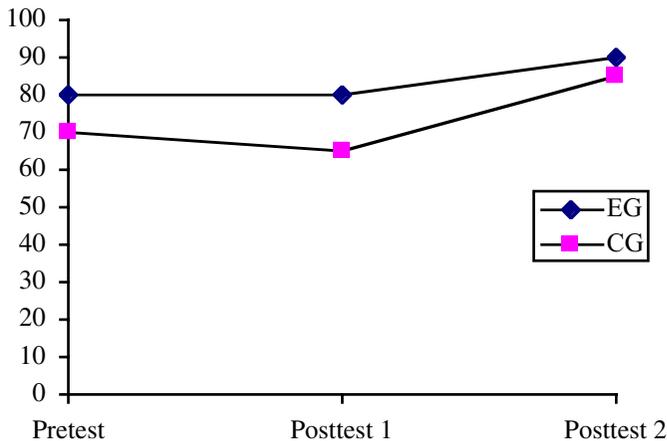
Task	Output 1		Output 2		Significance of difference between Output 1 and Output 2 scores
	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	<i>Mdn</i>	IQR	
Task A					
<i>If</i> - and main clauses	40	50	50	50	$p = .028$
<i>If</i> -clause	33	50	33	75	$p = .042$
Main clause	50	60	60	35	<i>ns</i>
Task B					
<i>If</i> - and main clauses	67	35	80	22	<i>ns</i>
<i>If</i> -clause	50	34	80	50	<i>ns</i>
Main clause	60	30	80	50	<i>ns</i>

Note. Scores are the number of correctly formulated past conditional sentences divided by the total number of target sentences attempted.

Test Results: The Acquisition Issue

The EG's median score on the multiple-choice recognition test did not increase from the pretest to Posttest 1 (see Figure 4) but increased somewhat from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2. However, only the increase in the main-clause score from the pretest to Posttest 2 was statistically significant. For the CG, the median scores did not change much from the pretest to Posttest 1 but increased significantly from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2. However, a comparison of the pretest scores and scores on Posttest 2 (i.e., an examination of the net gains) revealed no significant differences in the scores for either clause or in the combined scores. Thus, the gains made by the CG on Posttest 1 did not hold up on Posttest 2.⁹ For between-group comparisons, the Mann-Whitney *U* test found no significant differences between the EG and the CG on any of the scores (the *if*-clause, main clause, and combined scores) for the three administrations of the tests (the pretest, Posttest 1, and Posttest 2). Because both groups scored fairly high on the pretest, ceiling effects may explain the failure to obtain overall significant results for either group on this measure.

FIGURE 4
Median Scores on the Multiple-Choice Recognition Test,
If-Clauses and Main Clauses Combined (%)



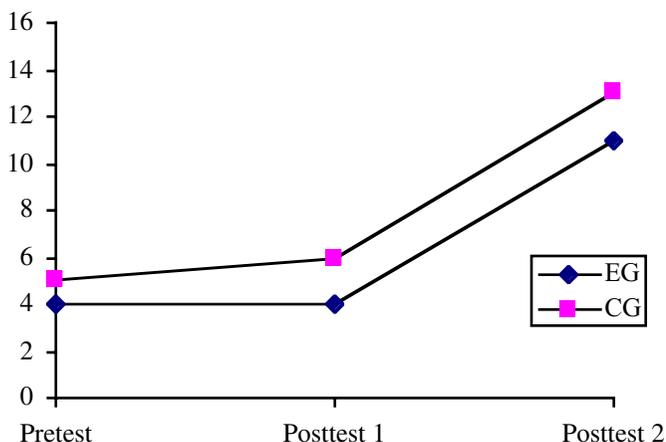
Note. See Appendix B for complete data.

⁹ Or perhaps the lack of net gain for the CG on this test simply implies that the group's significant improvement on Posttest 2 reflects a statistical artifact created by the dip in the group's Posttest 1 score.

On the production test, the improvement in the EG's median targetlike use scores was not significant from the pretest to Posttest 1 (Figure 5) but was significant from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2 and from the pretest to Posttest 2. This was the case for the *if*-clause and the combined scores. The CG's scores followed a similar pattern: an overall significant improvement from Posttest 1 to Posttest 2 and from the pretest to Posttest 2, but not from the pretest to Posttest 1. Like the EG, the CG showed significant improvement on the *if*-clause and combined scores but not on the main-clause score. The Mann-Whitney *U* test found no statistically significant differences between the two groups on any of the three test administrations.

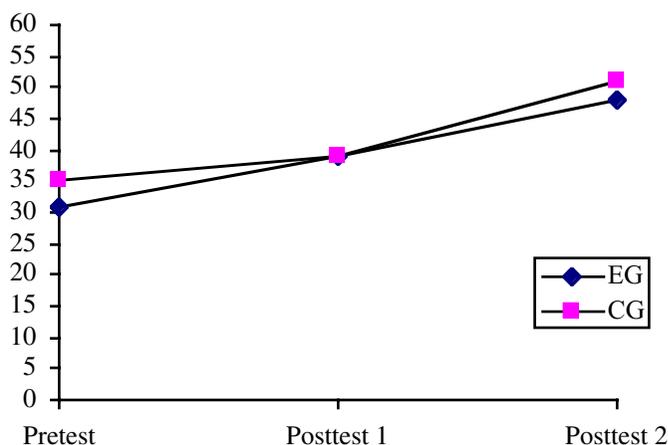
The results of the IL analysis of the production test differed from those of the targetlike analysis in several ways. In particular, in contrast to the test score results, the main-clause and *if*-clause scores of both the EG and the CG increased significantly from the pretest to Posttest 2 (Figure 6). Again, the differences between the two groups' test scores did not reach statistical significance. In general, the IL scoring method seems to have succeeded in capturing the subtle and gradual nature of the changes in the learners' IL, as shown by the gentler improvement curve in Figure 6 than in Figure 5. Even so, the IL analysis did not reveal much difference between the effects of the output and the comprehension-question treatments. (Gain score analyses conducted on both the reception test and the production test confirmed these results.)

FIGURE 5
Median Scores on the Picture-Cued Production Test, Targetlike Use Analysis,
***If*-Clauses and Main Clauses Combined (%)**



Note. Maximum possible score was 16. See Appendix B for complete data.

FIGURE 6
Median Scores on the Picture-Cued Production Test, Interlanguage Analysis,
***If*-Clauses and Main Clauses Combined (%)**



Note. Maximum possible score was 56. See Appendix B for complete data.

Finally, we analyzed the IL sentences produced by participants in both groups on the production test for each of the seven IL features identified for the past hypothetical conditional in English (Table 5; cf. Figure 3). Overall, the EG showed significant gains from the pretest to Posttest 2 on the majority of the IL features whereas the CG showed significant or near significant improvement on only one of the features. This result indicates some advantage for the EG. However, the results should be interpreted cautiously because of the nonsignificant differences found between the two groups on any of the features. In addition, in all three test administrations, both groups scored higher on the [past] feature in the *if*-clause and on the [modal] and [past] features in the main clause than on the [perfect] and [past participle] features in both clauses. We explore these IL production patterns further in the Discussion section.

DISCUSSION

To summarize the findings of this study in terms of the three research hypotheses, our results did not confirm Hypothesis 1, which predicted that the EG's noticing of the past hypothetical conditional would be greater than the CG's. Both groups underlined similar median percentages of conditional-related items. Hypothesis 2, which predicted the EG's immediate uptake of the target form, was partially supported in that the

TABLE 5
Median Scores on the Picture-Cued Production Test, by Interlanguage Feature (%)

Feature	Administration						Significance of the difference between scores on		
	Pretest		Posttest 1		Posttest 2		Pretest and Posttest 1	Posttest 1 and Posttest 2	Pretest and Posttest 2
	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>			
Experimental group (<i>n</i> = 9)									
<i>If</i> -clause									
[past]	7	1	8	0	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .039
[perfect]	3	4	4	5	6	7	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .016
[past participle]	2	5	3	4	5	7	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .042	<i>p</i> = .027
Main clause									
[modal]	8	1	8	0	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[past]	8	4	8	0	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[perfect]	2	6	7	7	7	3	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .046
[past participle]	2	6	5	6	6	4	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .039	<i>ns</i>
Comparison group (<i>n</i> = 9)									
<i>If</i> -clause									
[past]	8	0	8	0	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[perfect]	3	5	3	7	8	1	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[past participle]	2	5	3	6	8	2	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .020
Main clause									
[modal]	8	2	8	1	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[past]	8	0	8	0	8	0	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[perfect]	6	3	7	5	6	1	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
[past participle]	4	2	4	4	6	1	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>

Note. The differences between the EG's and CG's scores on any of the features were statistically nonsignificant.

EG participants showed a significant gain in their accurate use of the target form from the first reconstruction to the second reconstruction in Phase 2, Task A. Coupled with the results for Hypothesis 1, this rather weak result suggests that the output treatment for the EG did not necessarily trigger greater noticing of the target form during the treatment than did the comprehension-only treatment delivered to the CG. Hypothesis 3 predicted the EG's greater acquisition of the past hypothetical conditional. The results of this study did not lend support, as both groups improved significantly in their use of the form after Phases 1 and 2 of the treatment, with no significant differences found between the two groups on the posttests.

Two of our findings are consistent with those of Izumi et al. (1999). First, our study corroborates Izumi et al.'s finding of a significant improvement for the EG (as well as for the CG in this study) only after Phase 2 of the treatment. This result suggests that the effects found in both studies were cumulative and are not attributable solely to one phase

of the treatment. The cumulative nature of the treatment effect points to the importance of extended opportunities to produce output and receive appropriate input in significantly improving use of the form. A short-term (e.g., single-shot) output treatment, embedded in any type of task, may well underestimate the potential impact of output on SLA.

A second consistent finding relates to the differential effects of the two types of tasks used in these studies. Like Izumi et al. (1999), we found that the EG participants' essays showed greater individual variation than did their text reconstructions despite the difference in the delivery order of the two types of treatment. This finding, then, rules out the possibility that the EG's lower noticing scores and greater variation in the essay-writing tasks were caused by declining novelty as the treatment proceeded. On the contrary, the similarities in the findings of the two studies are consistent with the contention that the essay-writing tasks are susceptible to greater individual variation. That is, the greater freedom of production in essay-writing tasks may make it more difficult for learners to directly compare their IL output with the model input for the target grammatical form, which leads individual learners to pay attention to vastly different aspects of the input. This type of task therefore may not encourage learners to notice a specific grammatical form.

On the other hand, reconstruction tasks that target a specific grammatical structure may promote noticing of the gap, as these tasks maximize the similarities between the learner's production and the target language model. Whether these tasks, when provided alone and in sufficient quantity, can bring about measurable noticing and learning, however, is an empirical question that needs testing (see Izumi, 2000, for positive results in this regard). In addition, although essay-writing tasks may not be the most conducive to the teaching and learning of particular grammatical forms, they may be effective pedagogically when the emphasis is on giving learners autonomy in setting learning priorities. For example, because these tasks often lead different learners to attend to different aspects of the input, such as vocabulary, discourse markers, grammatical forms, rhetorical organization, and propositional contents, they may be used in group activities that encourage learner-learner interaction to promote reciprocal learning. In other words, different characteristics of the tasks may be exploited for different pedagogical purposes (Bygate, 1999; Skehan, 1998). In this sense, the results of this study do not indicate that one type of task should be rejected for another. Rather, they underscore the importance of carefully examining how different task types stimulate different learning potentials.

While showing some important similarities, the present study and Izumi et al.'s (1999) study obtained one contrasting finding: Izumi et al. found a significant difference between the output group and the comparison group in the production test, but the present study did not

find significant between-group differences on any of the posttest measures. The common feature of the treatment given to the two groups was input flooded with examples of the target form. This input flood appears to have played a much more crucial role than originally expected in enabling both groups to learn the form to a significant degree. Furthermore, the comprehension task may have primed the CG participants to pay closer attention to the target form. In the language testing literature, comprehension questions have been found to serve as an additional knowledge source that develops the test takers' mental model or meaning construction (Gordon & Hanauer, 1995). As such, the true-false comprehension question format used in this study, with its relatively narrow focus and limited options for answering, might have inadvertently caused the CG participants to pay greater attention to the form. As an example, to decide whether the statement *Jim finished high school* was true or false, the learner had to know that the following sentence from one of the passages was counterfactual: *If he [Jim] had avoided drugs as a teenager, he would have stayed in school.* Working with statements such as this one might have prompted more careful attention to and processing of the conditional form in the input than would otherwise have been the case. Although our analysis of Izumi et al.'s study had led us to expect such inadvertent priming for the CG, we did not try to control for this aspect of the study, for our aim was to follow that study's design and the procedure as closely as possible in order to ensure adequate comparability. Future studies addressing the noticing and learning issues, however, need to be especially careful to prevent inadvertent priming of the comparison group from obscuring possible between-group differences (see Izumi, 2000, for one such attempt).

Cognitive Processes Engaged by the Output Treatment

Although the effects of the input flood and the priming caused by the comprehension questions seem to have washed away overall between-group differences in this study, if output enhances noticing and learning, as predicted by the Output Hypothesis, one might expect the EG, with its increased opportunity for output, to exhibit still greater degrees of noticing and learning of the form than the CG, which merely answered comprehension questions. Besides the explanation that the CG's improvement perhaps overshadowed that of the EG, two other explanations, related to learner and linguistic factors respectively, provide greater insights into the cognitive processes engaged by the output treatment. These factors also seem to offer common explanations for the rather limited effects of output in the previous study and therefore may

be important for a more precise specification of the noticing function of output. We discuss these factors in turn below.

Individual Variation

In this study, which sought to use output to enhance the noticing and learning of a specific grammatical form, a particularly problematic finding is that after the production task the EG participants varied greatly in their attention to the grammatical form while processing the input. This was particularly so in the case of the Phase 1 essay-writing tasks, as discussed earlier. The interviews conducted with some EG participants immediately after each treatment phase allowed more insight into this phenomenon. After Phase 1, Task A, Participant SA stated that she had had difficulties with the “grammar” and the “past form” while writing her first essay. She then paid careful attention to how the “past form” was expressed when reading the model essay. Her verbal report of paying close attention to the conditional form is also reflected in her unusually high underlining score for this task (73%). When given an opportunity to write a second essay, she said, she had tried to use the form she had learned in the model. A portion of her verbal report reads, “I did better the second time grammatically. But I *would have done* much better!” [italics added to show intonational emphasis]).

Her reconstruction scores in Phase 2, which increased dramatically from 0% on the first attempt to 89% on the second, also reflect her attention to the form. Her recognition test scores, which increased from 75% on the pretest to 100% on Posttest 1, confirm that her learning of the form was solid, and her production test scores improved from 1 (6%) on the pretest to 15 (94%) on Posttest 1. These improved scores were maintained on Posttest 2. The following comments illustrate the kind of processes she went through during the task: “It [the activity in Phase 1, Task A] was excellent because you became conscious which one are your mistakes. When I saw a model, I noticed exactly what and where are my mistakes.” Interestingly, this participant formulated the precise idea put forth by the Output Hypothesis: Learners come to notice their linguistic problems when trying to produce language, which then prompts them to notice the gap between their IL form and the target form upon receiving relevant input.

Not all participants, however, reported experiences like SA’s. Participant MH, on the other end of the continuum, hardly ever mentioned the form in his interviews. This was generally reflected in his relatively low underlining scores (typically ranging from 0% to about 8% but reaching close to 20% in Phase 1, Task B). His comments almost always focused on the ideas or meaning and the organization of his essays and those of the input passages. Interestingly, when asked after a Phase 2 task what he had

tried to do differently the second time he reconstructed the passage, he noted in passing that he had tried to be careful, among other things, with the grammar, which according to him was in the form “He would ride horses.” The corresponding sentence in the passage was “Reeve says that if he had stayed healthy, he would have continued riding horses.” This comment suggests that although this participant did pay some attention to the conditional form, he may not have examined it carefully. Rather, he appeared to filter out what was not currently part of his grammar. His (re)production scores continued to be low throughout the treatment, and his test scores did not show measurable improvement over time. The other two participants interviewed fall between these two learners: They mentioned the form in their interviews, and their test scores improved slightly over time; however, their reports of the form were rather sketchy, and their (re)production scores and test scores did not improve as impressively as SA’s did.

The interview data as well as the analyses of individual learners’ underlining and task production scores therefore lend additional support to the contention that L2 learners vary greatly in what they find problematic in their production and, consequently, in what they pay attention to in subsequent input. Such large within-group variation in the EG is likely to have contributed to the failure of the EG as a group to perform better than the CG on the noticing and acquisition measures.

Past Hypothetical Conditional in English

In the Results section, we presented the findings of an IL analysis based on the component features of the English past hypothetical conditional. These results help illuminate why some learners’ attention was not drawn to the target form as much as we had expected on the basis of the Output Hypothesis. Specifically, we examined the IL data in terms of the grammatical functions that each feature fulfills in the sentence. To express the past hypothetical conditional in English, the writer must encode two functions: hypotheticality and past time reference. Using the analytical framework of the past hypothetical conditional in English (as depicted in Figure 3), we argue that, whereas hypotheticality is encoded in the features [+past] in the *if*-clause and [+past] and [+modal] in the main clause (e.g., *had* and *would* in the sentence *If Jack had gone to Spain in 1992, he would have seen the Barcelona Olympics*), past time reference is encoded in [+perfect] and [+past participle] (e.g., *had gone* and *have seen* in the sentence *If Jack had gone to Spain in 1992, he would have seen the Barcelona Olympics*).¹⁰

¹⁰ At a first glance, this argument may seem counterintuitive. However, a comparison of past and present hypothetical conditional sentences should make it clear that [+past] in the past

An analysis of the learners' production on the test using this conceptualization of the form revealed that although most participants encoded the features [+past] in the *if*-clause and [+modal] and [+past] in the main clause, they often failed to encode the features [+perfect] and [+past participle] in both the *if*- and the main clauses, typically producing such sentences as *If Jack traveled to Spain in 1992, he would see the Olympics in Barcelona*. This suggests that their major problem with the past hypothetical form involved marking past time reference rather than marking hypotheticality. Interestingly, whereas some participants (such as SA) improved on all features, successfully encoding both past time reference and hypotheticality, other participants (such as MH) improved only in their marking of hypotheticality. No participant improved on the marking of past time reference without also improving on the marking of hypotheticality.

A closer examination of the IQRs in Table 5, presented earlier, also provides numerical evidence. Although the IQRs for any of the IL features at the time of the pretest show no substantial variation for either group, the IQRs for Posttests 1 and 2 show a striking divergence for both groups along the following lines: for the *if*-clause, the [past] feature versus the [perfect] and [past participle] features; and for the main clause, the [modal] and [past] features versus the [perfect] and [past participle] features. For both clauses, the participants seem to have acquired the former features (both expressing hypotheticality) with greater uniformity and ease than they acquired the latter (expressing past time reference). The [perfect] and [past participle] in both clauses seemed quite difficult for many of the participants and susceptible to greater individual variation.

There are two possible reasons for the learners' preference for encoding the [+modal] and [+past] before the [+perfect] and [+past participle] features. One obviously is the formal complexity involved in marking the perfect in English. The English perfective uses the aspectual auxiliary *have* for the present perfect and *had* for the past perfect, both followed by the past participle form of the verb. The past, in contrast, involves only a change in the form of the verb or the modal. Furthermore, double marking of the past, one marking indicating hypotheticality and the other indicating past time reference, adds to the formal complexity of the past hypothetical conditional.

hypothetical conditional encodes not the semantic meaning of the past but rather hypotheticality. In the sentence *If Jack had money, he would take a vacation*, the word *had* encodes the feature [+past], *would* encodes [+modal] and [+past], but [+past] does not serve a semantic function of past time reference in either clause, as the sentence refers to the present time. Rather, it encodes hypotheticality. In the past hypothetical conditional, an additional past time marking (i.e., a perfect tense) is necessary to show its past time reference, as in *If Jack had gone to Spain in 1992, he would have seen the Barcelona Olympics* (see Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1983, chapter 25, for a similar observation).

The second possible reason for the observed developmental trend is a functional one. Perhaps output or comprehensible input does not always heighten learners' sensitivity to the [+perfect] and [+past participle] features because failure to encode these features in the output or decode them in the input does not necessarily hinder communication. For example, one could say, "If Jack traveled to Spain in 1992, he would see the Olympics in Barcelona" and still successfully communicate the intended idea, especially once it is established that the sentence refers to the past. Similarly, one can achieve adequate comprehension without necessarily attending to the grammatical morphemes encoding past time reference. Such reliance on contextual clues and the resultant failure to encode or decode (often redundant) grammatical features has an analogue in the literature (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, 1999; Meisel, 1987; Sato, 1986; Schumann, 1987), in which L2 learners are reported to have problems acquiring the past tense inflection in English because they rely heavily on the context or on adverbials such as *yesterday* to clarify the past time reference of their utterances and those of others.¹¹ In the present study, a combination of these two reasons—formal complexity and functional expendability—is likely to have led participants to notice the [+perfect] and [+past participle] features less and more variably—and consequently to learn those features to a lesser degree than they learned the [+past] and [+modal] features. Like many other pedagogical techniques, output-input activities may be more effective in promoting the noticing and learning of some forms than of others.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The above discussion suggests some interesting avenues of further research, which we hope will lead to more precise specifications of the noticing function of output and to more robust pedagogical applications. First, if variability is what characterizes learners' attention during their production and subsequent input processing, researchers and teachers need to know (a) what specific individual factors contribute to such variability and (b) how to adequately control for learners' otherwise

¹¹ Alternatively, the failure of many of the participants in this study to encode the features [+perfect] and [+past participle] in their sentences may have been due to their erroneous interpretation that the past time was already marked by *had* and *would*. Data on these students' production of the present hypothetical conditional would be relevant here, but unfortunately we did not collect such data. Future studies that elicit both present and past hypothetical conditionals may benefit methodologically, in their ability to address this issue, and pedagogically, for presenting both the present and the past hypothetical conditionals in the same output-input activities might force learners to distinguish the two in order to convey the given meaning accurately.

scattered attention if the aim of the research or teaching is to draw the learners' attention to a specific form and help them acquire it (see below for some suggestions). The first issue would lead to research into individual factors contributing to SLA (see Skehan, 1989, for an overall review), and the second issue would involve more research into the relationship between task variables and learning. Second, research on the effect of output on the noticing and learning of other forms would be necessary to illuminate the possible interaction of the output-input treatment and the type of form. For instance, is such a treatment effective only for functionally important, meaning-bearing forms? What role does linguistic complexity play in capturing (or not capturing) learners' attention during output and input processing? What about the effect of input-output treatment on vocabulary acquisition? Answers to these questions clearly have important theoretical implications, for they shed light on the relationship among attentional mechanisms, linguistic variables, and L2 learning.

The Use of Output in L2 Teaching and Learning

Pedagogically, the output-form interaction issue can be tackled in relation to the above-mentioned issue of task variables. For instance, if output does not necessarily enhance the noticing and learning of some forms, how can output be used effectively in L2 teaching and learning? The following suggestions in this regard, although by no means exhaustive, all use learner output in coordination with target language input; meaning remains the primary focus of the task—or at least so it should to focus on form in Long's (1991) sense.

- Learners may complete *awareness-raising activities* (Thornbury, 1997) targeted at noticing strategies. These activities may include training learners in text-scanning skills (e.g., spotting the difference between two similar texts) and proofreading skills (e.g., marking the differences between first and revised drafts and reporting on the differences noted).
- Output can be followed by enhanced input (e.g., the target form typographically enhanced through boldface and underlining in the written mode or intonationally enhanced by stress in the oral mode) to draw learners' attention more explicitly to the target form (see, e.g., Izumi, 2000).
- Learners can complete a reconstruction task collaboratively, as in Kowal and Swain's (1994) study. In this task, after listening to and taking notes on the input passage, students work together to reconstruct the text they have heard. The reconstruction phase may

be followed by a whole-class analysis and correction of the reconstructed texts (Wajnryb, 1990).

- After the production attempt, the teacher can give the learners feedback on the success of their production in terms of content and grammar (Swain, 1985, 1993, 1995).
- In some contexts, the target language model can be juxtaposed sentence by sentence onto the IL output to increase the salience of the gap and thus make comparing the two forms easier. Notice that such a condition is similar to that of providing recasts to learners' errors, as tested by other researchers (e.g., Doughty & Varela, 1998; Doughty et al., 1999; Long, Inagaki, & Ortega, 1998; Mackey & Philp, 1998).

Of course, teachers and researchers should monitor and examine carefully the efficacy of any of these techniques during their implementation.

Measures of Noticing

Finally, a methodological note is in order. In this study, we used underlining of the input text as an on-line measure of learners' noticing of the target structure. However, the use of this measure (like the use of any other measure of noticing) raises issues of completeness (i.e., does the measure include all items that are attended to?) and precision (i.e., does the measure exclude items that are not attended to?). Underlining may fare relatively well on the criterion of completeness in that one can underline quickly and easily, resulting in a strong link between noticing and subsequent behavior (although there is always the possibility that one does not underline everything that one attends to). On the other hand, underlining may not be a relatively precise measure of noticing because its relative ease may mean that one underlines items not perceived as particularly important (a case of sloppy underlining). To increase the preciseness of the measure, in this study we modeled neat underlining for the learners before they were exposed to the input, which seems to have reduced sloppy underlining that could have caused serious measurement problems.

Despite such care, however, quantitative analyses of underlining may be limited in scope; they may be less suitable (if not completely unsuitable) for answering some questions that are clearly important in research on attention and learning, such as how the learners approached the task (e.g., whether they were engaged in the task as expected by the researcher or predicted by the theory), why they did what they did, and how they processed the form when they attended to it. More qualitative analyses can shed light on these issues. In this sense, our analyses of the

retrospective interview data and our closer examination of the production data of individual learners helped us account for the individual variation we observed for the EG in our study. That is, some participants immediately found their IL production to be problematic and paid attention to the target grammatical form upon exposure to the input whereas the opposite was true for other participants. We therefore believe that the use of multiple measures is important in investigating complex notions such as noticing and recommend that future studies requiring measures of noticing include as much methodological triangulation (e.g., on-line measures, immediate retrospective report, task and test results) as the research designs allow.

Also necessary is an examination of some fundamental questions: What exactly is noticing? How, in psycholinguistic terms, is it relevant to learning? Does underlining (or any other claimed measure of noticing) really tap noticing in Schmidt's (1994) sense of the word, that is, both "necessary and sufficient . . . for learning" (p. 17)? Further progress in this area of research clearly requires a more psycholinguistically sophisticated conceptualization of noticing before an adequate interpretation of the results is possible. This is an urgent task for further theoretical and empirical research (see Izumi, 2000).

CONCLUSION

This study addressed the effects of output on the noticing and acquisition of an L2 grammatical form. Although the results demonstrated no unique effects of output, extended opportunities to produce output and receive relevant input were found to be crucial in improving the use of the target structure. In addition, output did not always succeed in drawing the learners' attention to the target grammatical form. The analyses of the interview data and of the production data collected during the treatment suggest that this occurred because not all learners necessarily found their IL grammar to be problematic during production, which in turn affected their attention to the grammatical form when they were exposed to the input.

In terms of the task types, we found the essay-writing tasks to be much more susceptible to individual variation than the text reconstruction tasks were. In this vein, this study, together with Izumi et al.'s (1999), suggests a need for more research into the different learning potentials stimulated by various task types. To further explore the utility of output in promoting noticing and SLA, future research needs to examine the effects of noticing on other grammatical forms under varying conditions using various focusing devices, if necessary. Further investigation will help specify the conditions under which output, in combination with

input, can most effectively promote SLA, an important issue for both theory construction and pedagogic applications.

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THE AUTHORS

Shinichi Izumi recently earned a PhD in applied linguistics from Georgetown University. He teaches EFL and applied linguistics at Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan. His research interests lie in second and foreign language acquisition and the interface between second language acquisition research and teaching.

Martha Bigelow is a visiting professor in the Department of Learning and Instruction at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Her research interests include topics in language teacher education, writing instruction, and cognitive issues related to second language acquisition.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Test Items

Multiple-Choice Recognition Test

- Read each sentence completely before reading any of the choices.
- Read all the options for both parts of each sentence.
- THEN choose the correct answers to complete the sentence.
- Check to make sure that you have formed a correct sentence using the choices.

If Jane _____ harder last semester, she _____ her final history exam.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. a. studies | 2. a. passed |
| b. will have studied | b. had passed |
| c. had studied | c. would pass |
| d. would study | d. would have passed |

I _____ time to eat breakfast this morning if my alarm clock _____ at 6:30.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 3. a. had | 4. a. has rung |
| b. would have | b. rings |
| c. had had | c. would ring |
| d. would have had | d. had rung |

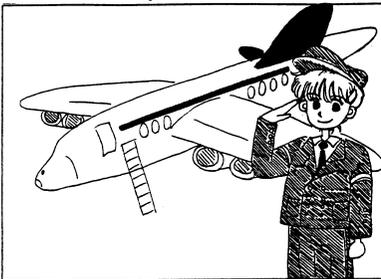
Picture-Cued Production Test

Please read all of the following instructions *very carefully* and then create your own sentences. Note that all of the situations relate to the **past**.

Lisa had many options when she finished high school in 1992, however, she decided to work for an insurance company. The following pictures illustrate Lisa's **other options** and their results. **She did not choose these options.** In each pair, *Picture A* shows Lisa's option when she finished high school in 1992, and *Picture B* shows the result of the option.

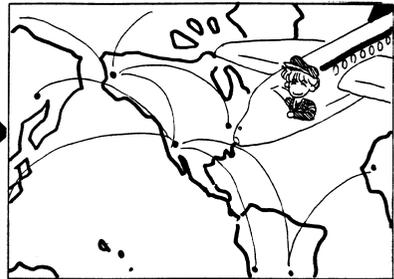
- Create a sentence that describes what would have happened if she had chosen each of the following options.
- Start each sentence with "If Lisa . . ."
- Use the verb given below each picture when you make a sentence.
- Change the verb form, if necessary.

A: Option



BECOME

B: Result



VISIT

APPENDIX B

Median Scores on the Multiple-Choice Recognition Test and the Picture-Cued Production Test (%)

Group	Administration						Significance of the difference between scores on		
	Pretest		Posttest 1		Posttest 2		Pretest and Posttest 1	Posttest 1 and Posttest 2	Pretest and Posttest 2
	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>IQR</i>			
Multiple-choice recognition test ^a									
Experimental									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	80	26	80	25	90	20	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
<i>If</i> -clause	80	10	75	40	90	60	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
Main clause	80	20	80	18	90	20	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .031
Comparison									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	70	25	65	30	85	25	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .013	<i>ns</i>
<i>If</i> -clause	90	40	60	40	90	10	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .017	<i>ns</i>
Main clause	80	20	90	20	90	20	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .034	<i>ns</i>
Picture-cued production test, targetlike use analysis ^b									
Experimental									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	4	6	4	8	11	9	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .015	<i>p</i> = .030
<i>If</i> -clause	1	3	1	5	6	7	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .016	<i>p</i> = .028
Main clause	1	4	3	6	5	2	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
Comparison									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	5	2	6	6	13	6	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .012	<i>p</i> = .018
<i>If</i> -clause	2	4	2	4	8	1	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .021
Main clause	0	4	2	6	6	5	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
Picture-cued production test, interlanguage analysis ^c									
Experimental									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	31	13	39	22	48	13	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .034	<i>p</i> = .008
<i>If</i> -clause	9	9	15	10	19	14	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .008
Main clause	16	15	28	14	27	8	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .036
Comparison									
<i>If</i> and main clauses	35	11	39	14	51	12	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .015
<i>If</i> -clause	13	10	14	13	24	2	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .017
Main clause	24	4	28	6	28	2	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>p</i> = .043

Note. Differences between the EG's and CG's scores on all three administrations of the tests (for the *if*- and main clauses combined, the *if*-clause, and the main clause) were statistically nonsignificant.

^aScores are the number of correct responses divided by the total number of items completed by each participant. ^bFigures are raw scores. Maximum possible scores were 16 for the *if*- and main clauses combined and 8 each for the *if*-clause and the main clause. ^cFigures are raw scores. Maximum possible scores were 56 for the *if*- and main clauses combined, 24 for the *if*-clause, and 32 for the main clause.

Discourse Socialization Through Oral Classroom Activities in a TESL Graduate Program

NAOKO MORITA

University of British Columbia

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

This article explores the discourse socialization of nonnative- and native-English-speaking graduate students through their engagement in one type of classroom speech event, oral academic presentations (OAPs). From a language socialization perspective, an 8-month ethnographic study investigated how students were expected to speak in two graduate courses in a TESL program and how they acquired the oral academic discourses required to perform successful OAPs. Data were collected mainly from classroom observations, video recordings of OAPs, interviews, and questionnaires. The OAP discourse was analyzed as embedded in the local culture of the graduate courses, being linked with ethnographically derived information. Findings suggest that both nonnative and native speakers gradually became apprenticed into oral academic discourses through ongoing negotiations with instructors and peers as they prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed OAPs. OAPs, which are commonplace, seemingly straightforward activities, were also found to be complex cognitive and sociolinguistic phenomena. Based on these findings, this article argues that academic discourse socialization should be viewed as a potentially complex and conflictual process of negotiation rather than as a predictable, unidirectional process of enculturation. Implications for L2 pedagogy and future research are discussed.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in and call for socially, culturally, and historically situated L2 studies (Belcher & Braine, 1995; Davis, 1995; Hall, 1993, 1995; Johnson, 1992; Peirce, 1995; Prior, 1995; Toohey, 1998; Willett, 1995). Moving away from the previous focus on the individual in second language acquisition research, many L2 researchers have explored the rich sociocultural contexts of L2 learning with the underlying assumption that language learning is not just an individual psychological process but is also a social process. A number of L2 studies have employed the theoretical perspective of *language*

socialization (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and investigated the fundamental link between L2 learning and its sociocultural contexts (e.g., Crago, 1992a; Duff, 1995; Mohan & Marshall Smith, 1992; Poole, 1992; Willett, 1995). Following this line of research, the present study examined the academic discourse socialization of a group of graduate students in a TESL program at a Canadian university.

In higher education, many researchers have explored the academic discourse socialization of L2 university students, particularly through writing (e.g., Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995; Casanave, 1992, 1995; Currie, 1998; Johns, 1997; Leki, 1995; Prior, 1994, 1995; Riazi, 1997; Schneider & Fujiyama, 1995; Spack, 1997). In the introduction to a recent edited volume on L2 academic writing, Belcher and Braine (1995) suggest that research interests in this area have taken “the social turn” and started to “extend beyond the composing processes of individual writers to the contexts of learning in which those composing processes take place” (Trimbur, 1994, cited in Belcher & Braine, p. xiii). For example, Prior (1995), through a series of qualitative studies, demonstrated the need for contextualized, detailed ethnographic research designs and the value of sociohistoric approaches (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991, cited in Prior) in understanding student writing and faculty feedback. He argued that such an approach is important “if we perceive our students as full subjects working to achieve their social, intellectual, and affective goals within complex, emergent streams of situated activity” (p. 78). Similarly, Casanave (1995) emphasized the importance of examining “the immediate, local, and interactive factors that impinge upon individual students as they write” (p. 83) in order to capture some of the complexity faced by student writers.

Although this body of literature on L2 academic writing has continued to grow, few studies have explored the issue of academic discourse socialization by focusing on oral language use. In their daily academic life, university students, particularly graduate students, are normally required to interact orally in various contexts. Their performance and participation in oral activities, such as class presentations and discussions, meetings with professors, conference presentations, and thesis oral defenses, are important not only for the successful completion of their courses and programs but also for their disciplinary enculturation and apprenticeship into academic discourses and cultures. In addition, the recent large-scale survey studies by Ferris and Tagg (Ferris, 1998; Ferris & Tagg, 1996a, 1996b) as well as Mason’s (1994) interview-based study have suggested a growing expectation that students will participate orally in U.S. university classrooms across disciplines. This trend and the relative lack of socioculturally situated studies on academic speaking point to a need for more research in this area.

The present study is an attempt to address this need. Its focus was graduate students' engagement in one type of classroom speech event, the oral academic presentation (OAP), and its relationship to students' academic discourse socialization. As I will show, examining the processes by which students become proficient participants in an academic activity reveals the complexity, confusion, insecurities, and perceptions that accompany that activity. The activity may be equally demanding for native and nonnative speakers, but it is demanding for different reasons. In addition, many instructors in TESL and applied linguistics take it for granted that students perform oral presentations in their courses but may never have considered them as complex cognitive and sociolinguistic phenomena. In what follows, I discuss the theoretical orientation of the study. I then describe the research methodology, the broad context of the study, and the rationale for the analysis. The next section presents the findings on (a) the academic culture of graduate school, (b) goals and discourse socialization, (c) the way students learn through discourse socialization processes, (d) nonnative speakers' (NNSs') perceptions, and (e) the qualities of a good OAP as perceived by students and instructors. I then discuss the complexity of academic speaking, the implications of the findings for L2 pedagogy, and some directions for future research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical orientation framing this study is *language socialization* (Duff, 1995; Heath, 1983; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Willett, 1995).¹ This term refers to the process by which children and other newcomers to a social group become socialized into the group's culture through exposure to and engagement in language-mediated social activities. Central to this notion is the concept of *activity*. Ochs (1988) argued that participation in socioculturally organized, language-mediated activities is key to the acquisition of both linguistic and sociocultural knowledge. Activity or human action is also central to sociocultural approaches to cognitive development (Leont'ev, 1981; Rogoff, 1990;

¹ In anthropology, sociology, and related fields, the term *socialization* has traditionally referred to the process by which children are enculturated into the norms, values, and beliefs of their home and community rather than to learning that takes place later in life (cf. Burgess, 1995, on the term *adult socialization* as used by Howard Becker and others). Gee (1990, 1992) also distinguishes *primary Discourses*, to which children are apprenticed during their primary home-based socialization, and *secondary Discourses*, typically learned outside early home and peer-group socialization. In this article, however, following Ochs (1988) and Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), the term *socialization* refers to the lifelong process by which newcomers—children or adults—are apprenticed into the expectations of a given sociocultural group.

Vygotsky, 1978, 1987; Wertsch, 1991). The Vygotskian school of psychology, for example, promotes the idea that the higher mental functions of individuals develop through their participation in socioculturally organized activities (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Wertsch, 1991) and that language skills are shaped in part by the culturally specific activity in which they are used.

Another important element of language socialization is the participation of more competent members of the social group along with learners or less proficient participants. Many studies have documented how adult caregivers guide or scaffold children's participation in social activities through which the children acquire the skills and structures of cultural knowledge (e.g., Crago, 1992a; Crago, Annahatak, & Ningiuruvik, 1993; Heath, 1983; Ochs, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Schieffelin, 1986, 1990; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986). Language socialization, however, is a bidirectional process: Novice members actively seek and structure the assistance of more competent members; as a result, competent members also learn from novices (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Ochs, 1990; Rogoff, 1990). Rogoff called this dynamic process *guided participation* whereas Lave and Wenger characterized it as *legitimate peripheral participation*. Although the distinction between experts and novices is often considered clear and static in these theories (e.g., parents as experts and children as novices), the case of graduate seminars presented in this article indicates a need for a more dynamic notion of expertise.

Although the study of language socialization has traditionally concerned children's L1 acquisition and socialization, a number of recent studies have examined L2 socialization with a realization that it is a lifelong process. These studies, which have often employed ethnographic investigation, have provided important insights into the complex and situated nature of L2 learning by examining its rich sociocultural contexts. Willett (1995), for example, illustrated how society's gender and academic socialization shaped ESL children's classroom interactions, identities, and L2 development. Crago (1992a) found that cultural differences in the patterns of communicative interaction between Inuit families and non-Inuit L2 teachers in Canada caused communication problems between Inuit children and non-Inuit teachers. Duff (1995) examined the dynamic relationships among classroom activities, educational discourse, and broader sociopolitical contexts of secondary-level English education in Hungary. In the context of higher education, Mohan and Marshall Smith (1992) described how a group of Chinese students with limited English proficiency developed sociocultural and linguistic knowledge and skills with the assistance of an expert (i.e., the instructor) by engaging in carefully organized classroom activities. These studies have collectively demonstrated the profound link between the local sociocultural system and the L2 learning process, and they point to

the need for more field-based research that explores and reveals this link.

The goal of the present study was to better understand the discourse socialization of graduate students (both native and nonnative speakers of English) through their participation in oral academic presentations (OAPs). The research questions addressed were as follows:

1. What are the social, cultural, and intellectual values that are promoted in graduate courses in a TESL program and thus that graduate students must learn in order to become competent members of the academic community?
2. What are the goals of OAPs, and what is the nature of graduate students' discourse socialization in relation to OAPs?
3. How do students perceive OAPs and their learning in relation to this activity?
4. What kind of difficulties, if any, do NNSs experience in performing OAPs? How do they cope with any difficulties?
5. According to the students and instructors, what are the elements of a good OAP?

METHOD

To explore the research questions, I employed an ethnographic approach and observed the classroom environment where students engaged in OAPs. Ethnography and ethnographic methods have recently gained wider acceptance in L2 research (Davis, 1995; Johnson, 1992; Lazaraton, 1995; Nunan, 1992; Watson-Gegeo, 1988) and have been used in many language socialization studies. Although scholars do not easily agree on what constitutes true ethnography, it usually aims at a holistic understanding of people's cultural behavior through an extended period of fieldwork and what Geertz (1973) called *thick description*: description and interpretation that pays close attention to cultural contexts and insiders' perspectives.

Participants, Setting, and Data Collection

The study was conducted in two graduate courses, TESL 520 and TESL 570,² offered by an applied linguistics department at a large Canadian university. The 2 instructors for the courses and all 21 graduate

² Names of courses, instructors, and students are pseudonyms.

students taking either or both of these courses consented to participate in the study. Six of the students were NNSs of English, 2 from China and 4 from Japan, and the others were native speakers (NSs) from Canada or the United States. Ten took the courses (both offered in the evening) part-time while teaching ESL or mainstream content courses in local schools during the day, and the others were full-time students. The ages of the students ranged from late 20s to early 50s, but the majority were in their 30s. Each course had an almost equal number of male and female students. The instructors, Dr. Cory and Dr. Frost, were both female professors who had been teaching these courses for several years. TESL 520 and TESL 570 were required core courses for the department's master of arts and master of education programs, and the main content included theory and research in L2 learning and teaching. Like typical graduate courses in education and related fields, these courses were structured mainly as graduate seminars in which students were expected to actively discuss relevant issues raised about weekly themes, many of which were tied to specific published articles in course readings. Each course met once a week for 2.5 hours.

Data were collected during an 8-month period (the duration of an academic year) through five methods: (a) classroom observations of 40 lessons (97.5 hours), (b) video recordings and transcriptions of 25 OAPs (about 20 hours), (c) formal and informal interviews with students and instructors, (d) two open-ended questionnaires filled out by student participants, and (e) collections of relevant documents such as course outlines and OAP handouts. The OAPs observed were assigned by the course instructors as part of the regular class activities. Each student performed one or two OAPs during the academic year for each of the two courses. In total, there were 11 OAPs in TESL 520 and 14 in TESL 570. In addition, students performed and observed similar oral presentations in other graduate courses they were taking in the same year.

After a student had given an OAP, usually within a week, the student and I reviewed the video of the OAP, reflected on the student's performance, and then had an open-ended interview. This review-and-interview session served three purposes. First, students could review and reflect on their own performance of the OAP. Second, the session solicited information about students' attitudes, perceptions, and understanding of OAPs in their own words. Because the students and I had concrete visual images of OAPs as shared reference points, the students could often provide detailed information about and reflections on their performance. Third, the sessions sometimes revealed the gap between my observations and interpretations and the students' interpretations or experience of an event. For example, in one OAP, I felt that an instructor had assisted a student presenter by providing some background information, but the presenter did not share my perception because he did not

understand the instructor's comments. Nevertheless, he confessed, he had pretended to appreciate her interjection by nodding occasionally.

Analysis

Although I attended all the classes and observed all class activities from beginning to end, I chose a specific oral activity, the OAP, as the primary unit of analysis in this study. As discussed earlier, *activity* as culturally constituted behavior is embedded in the theory of language socialization and sociohistorical approaches to cognition (e.g., Lave, 1988; Wertsch, 1985, 1991) and in the notions of *speech event* and *conversation-analysis* (e.g., Duranti, 1985; Hall, 1993, 1995; Hymes, 1974). In addition, I followed Duff's (1995) argument that focusing on one activity permits "the deconstruction of well-bounded discursive events and facilitates comparisons across contexts (classes, schools, cultures)" (p. 513).

In both courses, the students were each required to give an oral presentation based on assigned reading material, such as a journal article or book chapter. One or two OAPs were given in each class almost every week. I chose this particular activity mainly because it was a frequent, highly routinized part of classroom life. In addition, OAPs are common in other courses offered by the department and in other academic disciplines. In light of language socialization perspectives, I could anticipate that this kind of routinized practice was a potentially rich and complex locus for language socialization (Duff, 1995; Ochs, 1988; Poole, 1992). This study also linked the discourse data from OAPs and data from interviews, questionnaires, and other observations of the researched context. Crago (1992b) calls such linking of data the hallmark of language socialization studies.

FINDINGS

Context of Learning: Academic Culture of Graduate Studies in TESL

In this section, I briefly describe the academic culture of graduate studies in the TESL program in terms of the intellectual values and academic skills promoted. This part of the analysis relies mainly on interviews with professors and students, questionnaires filled out by student participants, and class observations.

Graduate students were expected to be *critical thinkers*. When asked what attributes she expected of graduate students, Dr. Cory said,

to be able to be self-critical but also critical of the field, critical of trends, and therefore able to make contributions based on what they know and the gaps they see, and be able to say, okay this is what I can do that goes beyond what's already been done. (interview, December 4, 1995)

In addition to being critical and analytical, the ability to relate issues in the field to one's own interests was considered important. When asked the same question, Dr. Frost said,

I guess first and foremost that they can think for themselves. Really think analytically. . . . how do we conduct research and what literature is there in the field, that's just baseline. Then the thing is, okay now how do I take that and make something of it for myself that will fit with who I am and how I view the world, and what I value as an important thing to do and make a contribution. (interview, December 4, 1995)

The ability to work both independently and collaboratively was also valued, but the issue of collaboration was not a simple one. Although the classroom learning was mostly collaborative because the courses were discussion based, the general sense among the students was that they had only limited chances to work together outside the classroom. One student said,

I think it's fine to work in isolation, but I don't think that's something you want to do all the time. We don't get together in study groups. People just don't do that. . . . people are sort of involved in their own thing, their own research project, their own lives. (interview, March 4, 1996)

In addition to logistical problems created by individual students' busy schedules, some students perceived competition as another factor that could work against collaboration. Also, whereas some students believed in the benefit of a strong academic network of graduate students, others felt that they learned more from meeting individually with instructors. Despite these difficulties, both instructors promoted collaboration by encouraging group work and giving students the option of coauthoring written assignments.

Another set of values, which is often discussed as inherent in the field of education, was theory and practice. Although both were discussed in the courses, the TESL program at this university was considered relatively research and theory oriented. Individual students emphasized theory and practice to varying degrees, but what instructors most valued was the making of meaningful connections between the two. "Intellectual flexibility", as Dr. Cory put it (interview, December 4, 1995), was another important element, given the large amount of material covered in the courses and the limited time the students had to learn it. Also

valued were the ability to extract main points from the literature and synthesize them in a meaningful way and the ability to articulate opinions in spoken and written communication. Without the latter ability, students would not be able to contribute to the academic community.

The general academic values described so far were closely related to the goals of the OAP, which I examine in some detail in the next section.

Goals of OAPs and Nature of Discourse Socialization

In TESL 520 and TESL 570, the student presenters' basic task was to orally present an academic article (usually from the course readings) and lead a class discussion. According to the instructors, giving an OAP of this sort was customary in graduate seminars in the program and served multiple objectives. First, the activity was designed to promote analytical and critical reading and thinking skills on the part of the presenter. Dr. Frost said,

The main pedagogical purpose [of OAPs] would be for the presenter in that it would help them not just to understand that article, but to get into the practice of reading articles in a particular way. . . . It's for putting people inside the practice of reading things critically and carefully. It's not just to read the article and sort of regurgitate what it says, but rather their job would be to pose questions and discuss issues that would then lead the class forward. That takes a certain kind of thinking. (interview, December 4, 1995)

The OAP also provided the class with a variety of perspectives other than the instructor's. Because different students gave OAPs every week, the students were exposed to the viewpoints of their classmates. In addition, the activity was a way to practice giving academic presentations and engaging in oral communication in an academic setting. Many students valued this aspect of OAPs because they realized that such presentations were an integral part of their academic and teaching lives. As Dr. Cory explained, OAPs also offered students an opportunity to start narrowing down and exploring their own areas of interest (interview, December 4, 1995); students were encouraged to choose an article according to those interests. In addition, the designation of a "backup" person (who could take charge if the main presenter was absent and with whom the designated presenter could confer in advance) encouraged collaboration. Thus, OAPs served multiple objectives that reflected some of the intellectual values and academic skills generally promoted in graduate studies.

Although the typical formats and premises of OAPs differed somewhat

in the two courses (see Table 1), I would surmise that they resemble those in many other TESL graduate programs with a research/academic focus. In TESL 520 but not in TESL 570, the presenters assumed that all the students had read the article to be presented. This difference resulted from the rationales, purposes, and histories of OAPs in each course and influenced the way students organized their OAPs. Dr. Frost emphasized that in TESL 520 the presenter's main job was to "prime the pump" for discussions rather than to provide a "blow-by-blow account" of the article (interview, December 4, 1995), that is, to provide a starting point for an in-depth class discussion about the article. For such a discussion to take place, the entire class would need to have read the article. Dr. Cory, on the other hand, set up the activity differently in TESL 570 based on her experience in previous years. She explained,

In the past, normally everyone would have read all the articles and you would be presenting the one that you signed up to present. What I found was that that ran into a couple of dangers. One thing is that either the presenter ends up telling everyone everything they've already read, or going into too much detail. . . . The other thing is that it's not the kind of real-world activity that you end up having to do in a presentation at a conference, or in teaching, or for a thesis defense. . . . So I thought that was a more legitimate, real-world kind of task, if you have to present to us something we don't really know but could learn from. (interview, December 4, 1995)

OAPs in TESL 570 thus explicitly represented one aspect of academic apprenticeship in that they were intended to serve as practice for "real-world" academic presentations. The character of the OAP as a process

TABLE 1
Characteristics of the Oral Academic Presentations

Characteristic	Course	
	TESL 520	TESL 570
Premise	The audience has read the presented article.	The audience has not read the presented article.
Standard format	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction 2. Summary 3. Critique 4. Discussion questions 5. Small-group discussion 6. Whole-class discussion 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction 2. Summary 3. Critique 4. Implications 5. Discussion questions 6. Whole-class discussion
Time (minutes)	32–85	27–51
Average	56.5	37.6
Median	51.0	36.5

for discourse socialization was expressed through the speakers' communication of epistemic stance, the strategies they used to engage the audience, and the construction of the presentation as social collaboration.

Communication of Epistemic Stance

Because the presenters were expected not just to “regurgitate” the article but to provide their own analysis and critique, they communicated their *epistemic stance* (Ohta, 1991) in varying ways; that is, they expressed their attitudes, judgments, and beliefs in relation to what they knew about the article and issues relevant to it. Epistemic stance as revealed through epistemic markers is an important aspect of language socialization because novices must learn how to display their knowledge (or lack of it) in a way that demonstrates their competence as members of the social group (Ochs, 1993). In addition, it is through manifestations of epistemic stance that participants in social interactions constitute themselves as relative experts or novices, and such expert-novice interaction helps participants learn to use language appropriately and is a source of information about the academic discipline.

Although the OAP presenters were in a sense “licensed” to be the expert of the day, they seemed to take a variety of stances and communicate them in various ways at various points in an OAP. In response to the presenters' epistemic stance, members of the audience could identify with the presenters, learn from them, or choose to share their own better informed or, at least, different insights or interpretations.

One common stance was that of a relative expert. Presenters rarely claimed explicitly to be experts on the presented topic but often implicitly demonstrated their credibility. Before the excerpt below (from an OAP on an article about ESL and learning disabilities), Nancy (an NS) had asked the class what they thought the term *learning disability* meant, and a few students had offered their opinions. In the excerpt, she stated her general understanding of the term and the reason she had chosen this topic for her presentation.³

. . . generally when we are talking about - learning disabilities - uh: we are generally talking about a person with . . . specific processing difficulties. Uhm - I - don't have a lot of- obviously have a lot of background in the area uh: I'm just very interested in it. And I work with students with learning disabilities and I wanna do my research on ESL and learning disabilities, which is why I chose this article. (January 23, 1996)

³ See the Appendix for transcription conventions.

Although Nancy claimed to lack background knowledge about learning disabilities, she seemed to establish her credibility as a presenter by revealing her strong commitment to and investment in this area. In addition, because the topic was relatively new to the TESL field, no one else in the class, including the instructor, appeared to be knowledgeable about it. Thus, Nancy was perceived to be a good source of knowledge and was constituted as a relative expert in this OAP. Presenters also expressed their stance as relative experts by drawing on relevant personal experiences, critiquing the subject of the OAP confidently and convincingly, and displaying their presentation skills.

In some cases, on the other hand, the presenter expressed a lack of knowledge or some uncertainty and therefore seemed to take the role of a relative novice, as in the excerpt below from the beginning of an OAP given by Jeff (an NS; A = audience).

J: Okay. Uh: - overall uh: the article uh: by - uh Martin was a - it was a challenge

A: ((laughs)) ((nodding))

J: to say the least. Uh: I think part of it - I had a feeling as I was going through it that - you know - I sort of wandered in the middle of a discussion.

A: ((laughs))

J: . . . I was sort of trying to figure out now where - you know - where does this all come from. Where do all this - you know - where do all those language come from - where is uhm - sort of uhm - you can sort of the: the: reasons why genre and literacy come from. . . . Uh:m we have to look elsewhere. Probably I would feel better if I had read Halliday - the other Martin articles that would kind of give me a better idea of what - what - the literacy (x) is all about. (October 16, 1995)

Jeff quite explicitly communicated to the audience his difficulty in grasping the article and its main topic. The audience members' laughs and nods suggest that they shared this difficulty. In other cases, presenters communicated their novice stance by asking for forbearance from the audience, trying to create solidarity with the audience, or seeking the expertise of audience members. Note, however, that presenters took various stances along a continuum from expert to novice. Furthermore, the stance taken by a single presenter could change during an OAP. For example, although overall Emi (an NNS) expressed her stance as a newcomer to Canada in her presentation of an article about Canadian bilingual education, she attempted to establish credibility by recounting her own experiences as a L2 learner.

Strategies to Engage the Audience

Another significant aspect of discourse socialization was the presenter's attempt to involve the audience. Although the instructors did not state explicitly that presenters should do so, many students tried to make their OAPs interesting, engaging, or even memorable. Indeed, an OAP was inherently a performance in which presenters had primary control over the class time and students' learning, so the audience's involvement was an important consideration. Communicating one's epistemic stance, as described above, often helped engage the audience. For example, May (an NNS) read a passage from a novel as the introduction to her OAP, a strategy that not only demonstrated her expertise in the presented topic but also effectively caught the audience's attention. In what follows, I describe three strategies that presenters seemed to use, consciously or unconsciously, in attempting to engage the audience.

Students often made personal connections to what they were presenting (e.g., by telling a personal anecdote), which seemed to help the audience get involved in the presentation. Lynn (an NS presenting an article on communicative language teaching) filled her OAP with such connections, as illustrated by the excerpt below. The excerpt also shows the sense of immediacy and tension conveyed; both seemed to contribute to the audience's engagement.

Uhm this article for me was *really really* interesting and I asked *right as soon as* I saw it if I could present this. Because where I work this has *a lot of relevance* - because the school is a language school for international students and basically we *have* to use the communicative language approach. It's not even uhm a choice it's something that we *have to* do. . . . But you know . . . there's still that - you know - sort of *ongoing issue* - how much should we be focusing on grammar, and how much we should be focusing on communication. And *for me that's an absolute ongoing conflict* because I really feel - uhm - there's a place for both? But I'm not sure what the balance is. (italics added; October 2, 1995)

Lynn expressed her strong, immediate response to the article in relation to her current work situation. Her enthusiasm was also manifested in her repeated use of *really* and *have to* and of powerful, evocative words like *absolute* and *conflict*.

Some presenters successfully attracted the audience's attention by communicating a sense of novelty. Mark (an NS), for example, changed the standard OAP format slightly by starting his presentation with a quiz for the audience, which led to a lively class discussion. The content of Nancy's aforementioned OAP, learning disabilities, in itself communicated a sense of novelty. Also, the use of a support item, such as a video clip, a newspaper article, and even scissors and glue sticks (as tools for an activity), often added novelty.

Another way in which presenters engaged the audience was to overtly express their stance on a debatable issue. Tina (an NS) gave perhaps one of the most engaging and emotionally charged OAPs I observed. In the excerpt below, she was arguing against the validity of diary studies, one of which she was presenting.

If you haven't already noticed the bias [I have vis-à-vis this study] I'm gonna state it *overtly*. I have *a real trouble* with - diary studies. Okay. Uhm the validity and reliability of data collected - I'm just - questioning. As such - *high subjectivity* - uh: the extent to which individuals in this case - teachers *distort data*. ((weak laugh)) Okay. So the response effect here is *in full effect*. (italics added; January 9, 1996)

The strong sense of conflict and emotional engagement expressed throughout Tina's OAP inevitably involved the audience. In fact, after the above excerpt, some members of the audience challenged her critique of diary studies, and the class had a heated discussion. Tina later mentioned in the review-and-interview session (January 15, 1996) that she had "dared to go beyond the article" and had intentionally made her stance explicit so that the class, including herself, could learn more from her OAP. Some presenters, on the contrary, avoided taking a particular stance but instead acted as neutral facilitators, which nevertheless served to involve the audience in a discussion.

Social Collaboration

The third salient aspect of discourse socialization in the OAP was the way in which the performance was socially and collaboratively constructed by the presenter, audience, backup, and instructor. Though seemingly given by a single presenter, the OAP in fact involved dynamic interaction and collaboration among participants representing multiple roles, voices, and levels of expertise. The audience members were not passive listeners but, for example, endorsed or rejected the presenter's expressed epistemic stances and served as the recipients of the presenter's attempt to make the OAP interesting and engaging. In addition to these assigned roles, an individual participant might represent multiple voices, such as those of a teacher, an administrator, an L2 learner, a researcher, a professor, a graduate student, and an immigrant. Furthermore, within each of these categories were subcategories, such as teacher at a public elementary school, private English language school, or French immersion school. An individual might take on one role (e.g., that of an experienced high school teacher) to offer an opinion on one issue but adopt another (e.g., that of a novice graduate student) to speak on a different issue. An instructor might speak as an experienced researcher and as an L2 learner.

The following excerpt from Emi's aforementioned OAP (on bilingual education in Canada) illustrates how expertise was negotiated among the participants (Emi, Robert, May, Eric, Lynn, and the instructor) moment by moment within the 20-minute discussion period depending on the topic under consideration.

- (1) E: I don't have background so I'm just wondering - ((speaking very softly)) (xxx) minority students? Here because they don't have - I don't know if they have any - their first language instruction?
- (2) R: Depends on [nationality.
- (3) I: [Up to school.
- ...
- (4) I: But you know - in [City A] - they've just started the first Mandarin immersion program - in elementary school. It started September 1994.
- (5) M: I phoned the School Board and found out how many, - there's only one elementary school now, but they can't release the information because - at the moment - they are not allowed to. And they are working on the guideline which could be implemented from 1997.
- (6) I: And [Town B], - I believe - have a plan to try to have uhm - immersion in Punjabi because they have a very large - Punjabi speaking population. ((looking at Robert)) Is that uhm - do you teach in [Town B]?
- (7) R: Yeah.
- (8) I: Do you know - something about that?
- (9) R: No. I don't - [no
- (10) I: [So they are - in fact - there are places that are - uhm - thinking of implementing - heritage language immersion programs - but in - not all languages.
- ...
- (11) R: I think they are (0.6) also looking at the option (xxx) - they are talking about the fact that the students - who have their L1 - the language they wanted to use - do better academically. . . It makes sense to have a kindergarten in Punjabi rather than to have all the Punjabi students working in English.
- (12) L: ((looking at the instructor)) I was gonna ask like the - with the Chinese program - do you find that it's mostly - Canadian-born Chinese?
- (13) I: I don't know ((looks at May)) May, do you know how many students are in it, and what =
- (14) M: = In - in that immersion school, I don't know. But I know they have uh: seven or eight high schools which offer Mandarin as credit courses. And I know most of the students are students - often new Chinese immigrants. (October 30, 1995)

In Turn 1, Emi seemed to constitute herself as a relative novice by expressing her lack of knowledge. May, joining the discussion (Turn 5),

demonstrated her expertise in the topic by offering some background information. In Turns 6–11, Robert was considered a relative expert on or a source of knowledge about Town B because he taught there. Lynn (Turn 12) directed a question to the instructor, considering her as the knowledge source, but the instructor referred the question to May (Turn 13), who had earlier (Turn 5) demonstrated her knowledge of the topic.

This analysis of discourse socialization reveals that a common academic activity, the OAP, can involve not only content knowledge and cognitive skills but also cultural knowledge of and skill in expressing epistemic stance, engaging others, and collaboratively constructing knowledge. In the present study, many of the graduate students faced challenges in meeting the demands of the OAP and had to gradually develop competence and strategies by learning from various sources.

Learning Through Academic Discourse Socialization in OAPs

Graduate students learned through discourse socialization by negotiating about instructors' expectations, by preparing for OAPs, by observing and performing OAPs, and by reviewing their OAPs.

Negotiating About Instructors' Expectations

The students felt that it was important to understand what instructors expected from an OAP. Therefore, as is commonly done in the initial discussion of assignments in graduate courses, the students and instructors negotiated extensively about the expectations for OAPs, especially at the beginning of the courses. In the first few weeks, the instructors explained what the activity was like, how students could approach it, how previous students had given OAPs, and what they expected from students' performances. In their explanations, the instructors provided many examples of language that presenters could use. For example, Dr. Frost said,

So it's not going over [the article] and explaining it to everybody else. . . . You can say, "There was a part of this I didn't get. I didn't get this middle section where they are saying x , y , and z . I couldn't figure it out. I read it, read it, either it makes no sense or where I'm at right now it's too hard for me. Can we talk about that?" Or you could say, "The things that really struck me and the things I learned from it are x , y , and z . The things I was surprised to find out were such and such." (class discussion, September 11, 1995)

Dr. Cory gave many similar examples. By doing this, the instructors seemed to be providing students not only with a general description of

the OAP but also with an idea of the appropriate register and possible approaches. In addition, each instructor modeled an OAP in class, which clearly set the basic format, and the first student OAP in each course followed that format almost exactly. Esther (an NNS), who gave the first student OAP in TESL 570, mentioned how important Dr. Cory's model was, for she was new to the program and did not know what to expect:

Dr. Cory's presentation last week helped me a lot. It gave me an idea how to present. I paid a lot of attention to what kind of things she said first and what steps she took. First, the introduction of the author, and then second, she talked about the data, how data was collected, and then she went through the article, the theories in it. So I just took notes on the sequence that she took and I just followed it in my own presentation In China we never had this kind of presentation So I didn't know how I should organize my presentation. (interview, October 3, 1995)

Thus a model or demonstration of the performance of possibly unfamiliar activities, in addition to abstract explanations, can be helpful. At the same time, instructors' modeling can shape the performance of the students who follow in significant ways.

Preparing for OAPs

In both courses, students engaged in various subtasks before the actual OAP, which provided different kinds of opportunities for academic socialization and apprenticeship. In the first step, choosing an article to present, the instructors encouraged the students to choose one related to their own interests, the students often needed to consider other factors. Some students wanted to choose a relatively straightforward article to ensure a successful OAP, and a few students chose one that was not included in the course readings, meaning that they had to negotiate with the instructor about its suitability.

Once an article was chosen, students prepared for an OAP in a variety of ways. All the students read and analyzed the article and planned how to present it. Some conducted background research on the topic, author, or related areas. Many consulted their backup person or the instructor outside class.

Preparing handouts, transparencies for an overhead projector (OHP) (both strongly encouraged), or other supporting items was another important subtask. Some students mentioned that they learned from the process of preparing a handout because it forced them to extract the main points from the article and organize them in a coherent way for the audience. Rehearsing the OAP was another optional subtask, which was done by 5 of 6 NNSs (as opposed to only 3 of 15 NSs).

The total time devoted to preparing a single OAP varied considerably depending on the individual student and on the article presented; the average time was 4–6 hours. Some students, however, spent more than 10 hours preparing, devoting the additional time to, for example, discussions with the backup, preparation of support items, and rehearsals and revisions.

Observing and Performing OAPs

Interestingly, many students mentioned that they learned at least as much from observing fellow students perform an OAP as they did by performing one themselves. They learned what worked and what did not; that is, they became aware of approaches that were not well received by the audience. Such observations often guided the students in planning their own OAPs. For example, one student chose her approach (which could be characterized as innovative, as she gave a provocative response to the presented article) based on previous OAPs that she thought lacked critical analysis and were boring. Another student noted that she learned a lot about what was expected of OAPs from observing the instructor's comments or questions to other presenters during their performances, although during her own OAP she was too involved to act on the instructor's advice.

Performing an OAP, of course, also constituted a valuable opportunity for academic apprenticeship. On the one hand, all the students had teaching experience and were quite used to presenting in front of an audience. Some even told the researcher that they already had good presentation and instructional skills. On the other hand, not all students had degrees in education or experience in this type of academic presentation, so many found OAPs challenging. A particular challenge was that the audience for the OAPs consisted of their peers and instructors, not their students. One student (an NS) said,

If I have this class of ESL students . . . they're gonna judge me of course on how well I speak English, which is assumed because I'm a native speaker, and how interesting I make the class. The same skills are not going to be the same skills that are judged in this kind of presentation [i.e., OAPs]. Whether the class is fun or not I don't think is very important. But what is more important is, "Do I understand what you are presenting? Do you excite questions in me or do you bring viewpoints or ideas to me that I didn't know before? Am I interested in what you're saying because of the way you present it?" . . . So judgment is very different. In fact some peers are above me in terms of their experience or training, academic training. In some ways people might appear above me and there's much more room to be judged and I think there's more stress. (interview, November 28, 1995)

As vividly described above, presenting to peers often put pressure on the students to stimulate or satisfy the audience intellectually. Also, peers could challenge the presenters by offering differing opinions and perspectives. Although students found this intimidating, they also felt that giving OAPs in graduate courses constituted good practice for giving presentations in even more intimidating contexts, such as a thesis oral defense or a conference. A student said,

For me, it is a lot of pressure to present in front of my peers because they are critical thinkers and experienced presenters themselves, but at the same time, I'm glad that I have that opportunity because I really try my best and gain something out of it in the end. I mean the instructor could have said, "Okay, analyze a paper and hand in something," but that's not the same. (interview, October 3, 1995)

Reviewing the OAP

As described in the Method section, students were invited to review their videotaped OAPs with me.⁴ Although this review was not part of the courses, the students indicated that they learned a great deal from it. Below are examples of questionnaire responses in regard to watching the videos.

Reviewing my presentation with the researcher helped me to improve my presentation (my second presentation was a little better than my first one). I had a chance to look at myself and also understand why my presentation was going in that way.

By reviewing the video I found some language problems that I had never noticed or paid much attention to before.

The video was very helpful (helps us see the nuance of physical behavior). It's always interesting to see what one is doing on the video—it's difficult to have self-awareness that you get by viewing a video.

It was educational to see how my perceptions varied—what I thought occurred after the presentation vs. after viewing the video.

Interestingly, as the last comment suggests, a number of students felt better about their performance after watching the video because, for example, they did not appear to be as nervous as they thought they had been. In addition, some NNSs mentioned that reviewing the video made them more aware of certain interactional features of class discussions,

⁴ When time constraints prevented me from watching the video with students, the students viewed the video by themselves.

such as turn taking and body language, to which they normally paid less attention in regular classes.

In summary, graduate students were apprenticed into the culture of graduate school—or at least one version of it—and into academic oral discourses by preparing for, observing, performing, and reviewing OAPs repeatedly throughout the academic year. The instructors' guidance and modeling also contributed to this socialization process.

NNSs' Perceptions and Strategies

NNSs reported having at least three types of difficulties with the OAP: linguistic, sociocultural, and psychological. Although all six NNSs displayed advanced English abilities, many still felt that their limited English skills were the main source of their difficulty. Some were conscious of specific areas of linguistic problems, such as pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, whereas others were more concerned with their overall lack of fluency and limited ability to elaborate. Another concern was that their English was “too simple” or “childish” and that their OAP might be “not very academic sounding” as a result.

NNSs felt that certain cultural differences between Canadian classrooms and those in their home countries added to the difficulty of participating in oral classroom activities. For example, classroom interaction in Canadian graduate seminars was generally more active, more quickly paced, and less controlled than in the NNSs' home countries:

Canadian students seem to respond very quickly to the instructor's comments or questions or to each other's opinions. I sometimes wonder if they really think before they open their mouth. . . . I've never experienced that kind of classroom interaction in Japan. In Japan, students usually take some time to think after the instructor asked a question. Otherwise, they may be perceived as being superficial or not really thinking. (interview, November 8, 1995)

It is still very difficult for me to speak up in class because I don't know when to get in the discussion! Students here are allowed to speak up freely and it is okay to interrupt others' speech, but I'm not used to doing that because we don't do that very much in my home country. So I don't know how to interrupt and join the discussion. But if you don't interrupt, you sometimes don't get any chance to speak up. (questionnaire response, November 28, 1995)

In fact, the NNSs in this study generally understood the norms and assumptions of the Canadian classroom (e.g., that students are supposed to interact). However, their difficulties seemed to stem from their lack of tacit knowledge and subtle skills of classroom interaction. As the questionnaire response above suggests, for example, some NNSs had

difficulty gaining a turn in discussion even though they understood that students' active participation was generally encouraged in the Canadian classroom. Some also reported that they did not know how to appropriately direct questions to the class instructor even though they knew that students were allowed to do so. One student said,

Sometimes when I have questions I don't feel it's very polite to ask them in class. Not like other students. When they have questions they just speak directly to the instructors. ((laughs)) . . . I heard something about that in China. We know that the Western teaching method is different from China and students are more active than Chinese students. I heard a lot about it but here I'm really experiencing it. ((laughs)) I'm trying to figure out how to ask questions in class. (interview, October 6, 1995)

Another cultural difference related to the academic skills and intellectual values promoted in Canadian universities and the NNSs' home country universities. For example, some NNSs felt that they lacked training in critical thinking, which they thought was one of the most important academic skills promoted in Canadian graduate school:

When I first came [to this university] I used to think I was lost. I did all the course readings and presentations and wrote term papers. But I felt I was lost because it was really difficult for me to think critically. . . . I just couldn't analyze things critically. Then I realized that I was not educated to be a critical thinker in my home country. So basically I was just accepting everything I read. . . . for example, the summary part of the presentation was pretty easy for me but the challenging part was to come up with some critique points. I had never done such activities in my university back home. (interview, January 24, 1996)

Third, some NNSs reported psychological difficulties, such as a lack of confidence or an inferiority complex, in combination with linguistic and sociocultural difficulties:

I was really nervous [in my presentation]. One reason was that I didn't have much background knowledge about the topic that I presented. And also I didn't have confidence with my English. I still have a big inferiority complex about my English abilities. So it was mentally difficult. (interview, November 8, 1995)

Although feelings of insecurity were common among NNSs, some NSs also experienced them, though their reasons might have been different. One NS said, "I didn't dare to open my mouth in the first few months because I'd been away from school for several years before I started my graduate program and had no confidence whatsoever" (interview, November 14, 1995). Another NS mentioned that she had to push herself to

speak at least once in every class because she felt intimidated and tended to stay quiet (interview, March 4, 1996). Nevertheless, many NNSs seemed to believe that NSs' mastery of English meant that they were not likely to experience psychological difficulties.

To compensate for these perceived difficulties, NNSs used a variety of strategies in preparing for and performing their OAPs. In the preparation stage, they often rehearsed the OAP, tried to prepare clear, organized handouts, and made extra written notes for themselves, mainly to compensate for their perceived English limitations and to overcome nervousness. Two students chose an article that was of particular relevance to their own linguistic and cultural background (e.g., a Japanese student chose an article about the acquisition of the Japanese language) so that they could use their expertise. Strategies employed during the actual performance included using audiovisual aids such as an OHP, collaborating actively with their backup, and inviting input from the audience. Interestingly, a number of NS peers felt that the strategies used by NNSs were very effective. One NS even suggested that he felt that NNSs were sometimes better presenters than some NSs because they prepared more carefully and often used visual aids and other supporting items more effectively.

In fact, as suggested by this student, the NS-NNS distinction alone did not determine how successful a student would be in performing an OAP; in this regard NSs varied as widely as NNSs did. Some NNSs overcame some of their difficulties by employing a number of the strategies described above whereas some NSs, for example, seemed to struggle to provide a concise summary of the presented article or interact effectively with the audience.

In spite of the challenges, NNSs also perceived OAPs as an opportunity to demonstrate knowledge and skills or even to gain confidence. Being licensed to speak, perform, and take primary control over class discussion allowed some NNSs who had general difficulty in contributing to class discussions to show some of their strengths. As many of the NNSs had been teachers before becoming graduate students in Canada, OAPs allowed them to revert to a familiar (often highly valued) role. In addition, a successful performance helped some NNSs gain confidence and a sense of having contributed to the class.

Qualities of a Good OAP

In discussing the features of a good OAP, the participants each emphasized different points but were in fairly close agreement on the main features (Table 2):

TABLE 2
Key Features of Good OAPs as Described by
Students (*n* = 21) and Instructors (*n* = 2)

Feature	Description
Summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a concise summary that covers only the main points or identifies key issues of the article. • Avoid a long summary that discusses too many details or information already known to the audience.
Critique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a thoughtful critique of the article that brings new insights. • Critique the article from a number of perspectives. • Discuss both strengths and weaknesses of the article.
Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discuss pedagogical and research implications of the article for other relevant issues or situations (i.e., go beyond the article to, e.g., discuss applications of a theory to concrete language learning situations).
Relevance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make personal links to the topic when appropriate (e.g., provide personal anecdotes). • Relate the topic to the audience members' experiences, needs, and situations.
Epistemic stance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate one's epistemic stance (e.g., show credibility as a relative expert, communicate one's strong interest in the topic, seek solidarity as a novice).
Emotional engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate one's emotional engagement (e.g., show enthusiasm, communicate one's feelings or strong opinions about something, use humor).
Novelty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate a sense of novelty (e.g., provide new information, use a different format, use support items).
Immediacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate a sense of immediacy (e.g., discuss urgency of an issue, relate the article to immediate contexts).
Conflict/tension	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicate a sense of conflict, debate, or dilemma, and stimulate audience members intellectually.
Support items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use relevant and effective support items (e.g., handouts, visual aids, video clips, newspaper articles, a passage from a novel).
Audience involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide discussion questions that make audience members think and encourage their participation in discussions. • Invite audience members' input by taking an interactive approach. • Maintain the audience's interest (cognitive involvement). • Be perceptive of the audience's reaction (e.g., continually assess the interest level of the audience, try to involve members in discussions).
Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use an effective delivery (e.g., maintain eye contact with the audience; use appropriate gestures, rate of speech, and volume; avoid speaking in a monotone).
Time management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be conscious of time and allocate appropriate time to each subpart (i.e., summary, critique, discussion). • Be flexible in the case of an unexpected time change or limitation (e.g., focus on the most important points if time is limited).

1. The OAP should contain a concise summary, a thoughtful and well-balanced critique, and a list of relevant pedagogical and research implications.
2. Presenters should engage and evoke interest in the audience. The presenters I observed did this in many different ways—for example, by providing relevant information; communicating their epistemic stance or emotional engagement; communicating a sense of novelty, immediacy, or conflict; or using relevant and effective support items. Other ways included providing thought-provoking questions and inviting input and taking a more interactive approach.
3. Presenters should have an effective delivery style.
4. Presenters should manage time well.

DISCUSSION

This study attempted to yield a better understanding of the academic socialization of graduate students in a TESL program through their engagement in oral presentations in their graduate courses. Drawing mainly on a language socialization perspective, it explored the larger sociocultural context of learning, the local cultures and expectations of the focal activity, and the activity as a locus and resource for students' oral discourse socialization. It was found that students gradually became apprenticed into the academic discourse by negotiating with instructors and peers as they prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed OAPs throughout the courses. This study also revealed the complexity of one very commonplace academic activity.

Although many previous language socialization studies have documented interactions in which the expert-novice distinction is normally static and obvious (e.g., child-caregiver, student-teacher, apprentice-master), the context of graduate seminars in this study involved more dynamic, moment-by-moment negotiations of expertise among participants who contributed different knowledge, experiences, and specializations to the group (see Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991, for a similar finding). Furthermore, these negotiations could be dilemmatic or conflictual to the participants (see Tracy, 1997, for an extensive discussion on dilemmas of academic talk). Many students, NSs and NNSs, considered themselves as relative novices in the academic community and often felt insecure about their knowledge, skills, and performances. As one NS put it, students sometimes felt as if they were "in another country where you don't speak the language" (class discussion, April 1, 1996). At the same time, however, many were experienced teachers (and therefore experienced presenters) with a fair amount of expertise in TESL, education, or

both, which often provided them with a sense of professional pride and confidence. Thus, in performing an OAP, students sometimes had to negotiate different, sometimes conflicting identities within themselves in addition to negotiating expertise with peers and instructors. These negotiations were manifested, for example, in the presenters' communication of a shifting epistemic stance in the OAP discourse. Instructors were also subjected to such negotiations because they were not always constituted as the expert during OAP interactions. In addition, instructors had relatively less control over the interaction because they had delegated primary control to the student presenters.

These dynamic negotiations of expertise and identity in OAPs seem to provide insights into the epistemic issues of academia that Belcher and Braine (1995) discuss. A point of debate in their discussion is whether academic discourse is oppressive or potentially emancipatory in nature. Some authors (e.g., Shaughnessy, 1977, cited in Belcher & Braine) see it as oppressive, in which case students "will not be able to add their voices to the academic conversation even in their own classrooms" (p. xix). Others (e.g., Harris, 1989, cited in Belcher & Braine; Kraemer, 1991) view it as simultaneously oppressive and emancipatory, as students are introduced to new world views and allowed to reposition themselves in several continuous and conflicting discourses. The locally situated, shifting nature of the expert-novice constitution as documented in the present study seems to oppose the deterministic view of academic discourse as statically oppressive to students—especially NNSs, who are often considered to be even more powerless than NSs. Although NNSs faced various challenges and felt insecure in their attempts to become competent members of the academic community, so did many NSs. Furthermore, in giving OAPs, students spoke not only as novices in the academic community but also as experienced professionals or as participants with unique perspectives and specializations, and thus contributed multiple voices to the academic community of graduate seminars.

Although the instructors' modeling set the standard and expectations for the activity at the beginning of the courses, some students took the risk of deviating from the model by introducing variations as the courses progressed. In some cases, the instructors and the students found the deviations refreshing yet still effective for the purpose of the OAP; in other cases the deviations were considered too idiosyncratic and unsatisfactory. The students had to achieve a balance between two competing desires: (a) to be conservative and conform to norms and expectations and (b) to be innovative and make the OAP more interesting and memorable. In addition, other motives might come into play; for example, by being the best presenter or, at least, by being memorable, students might garner support for coveted resources or opportunities

(e.g., scholarships, research or teaching assistantships, opportunities for admission to a PhD program).

Innovation could also result from the conflicting discourses in which individual students found themselves. For example, a student who was an experienced elementary school teacher deviated from the conventional OAP by organizing his as a series of group activities (involving cutting and pasting with scissors and glue). He explained later that his decision to give the presentation in this form came partly from his frustration toward what he perceived as the theory-oriented discourse of the university, which he felt placed limited value on his expertise and experience as a schoolteacher. Another student, on the contrary, believing that the conventional OAP was not theoretical enough or academically rigorous enough for a graduate-level course, decided to discuss only theory in his OAP.

In short, the findings of this study seem to suggest that academic discourse socialization is not a predictable, entirely oppressive, unidirectional process of knowledge transmission from the expert (e.g., instructor) to the novice (e.g., student) but a complex, locally situated process that involves dynamic negotiations of expertise and identity. This is consistent with the main findings of recent naturalistic studies of academic writing, such as those by Casanave (1992, 1995), Prior (1995), and Spack (1997).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PEDAGOGY

This study provides a number of implications for L2 pedagogy. First, it points to a need to reexamine the usefulness and possible limitations of the often taken-for-granted dichotomy between NSs and NNSs (for recent discussions on this topic, see Braine, 1999; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Liu, 1999; Medgyes, 1992; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 1995). Based on this dichotomy, L2 researchers and educators often assume that the ultimate goal for NNSs is to gain nativelike proficiency in their L2 (Hoekje & Williams, 1992). However, the present study, which included both NNSs and NSs as participants, suggests a danger in such assumptions, for in spite of their language difficulties many NNSs were as successful as NSs were in performing OAPs. The NNSs were able to use a range of strategies and resources and were perceived as successful presenters by their peers and instructors. Furthermore, both NNSs and NSs faced the challenge of acquiring academic oral discourses. From a language socialization perspective, members of graduate seminars, NSs and NNSs alike, are coparticipants in a community of practice who bring their unique experiences and expertise and guide each other's learning. Thus, instructors in graduate courses need to be careful about making

assumptions about the abilities, performance, and difficulties of NS and NNS students. It may also be useful to reexamine NNSs' assumption that an oral activity such as an OAP is much easier for NSs to perform simply because they are NSs. What NNSs in this study did not always realize was the fact that many NSs felt just as nervous, tongue-tied, or insecure as they did.

Second, given that active participation in the community's practice is a key to members' discourse socialization (Lave & Wenger, 1991), an activity like an OAP might especially help students who tend to be shy about participating in other types of class discussion. In the OAP, one student legitimately interacts with other class members as the presenter. Many NNSs as well as some NSs in this study felt that OAPs encouraged them to participate in class discussions more extensively than they would normally do.

The OAP also provides the basis for analyzing the tacit rules and subtle skills of classroom interaction. As discussed above, international students in the study suggested that it was one thing to know the general norms and rules of the Canadian classroom but quite another to behave according to such norms. Students may benefit from opportunities to closely examine classroom interaction. Hall (1993, 1995), for example, presents a framework for analyzing oral practices in terms of the *interactional resources* that might be useful. These resources, claimed to be universal features of oral practices, involve *setting, purposes, participants, content, participation structures, act-sequence, and rhythm*. Hall (1993) notes that it seems particularly worthwhile to analyze socioculturally important, routinized activities because the "conventionalized nature of such activities provides the novice members with fairly predictable ways of using and interpreting the uses of the available resources" (p. 149). If this is true, OAPs may be a good activity for such an analysis.

Another way to increase learners' awareness of the tacit use of interactional resources may be for them to view videotaped classroom interactions, especially those with a specific analytical focus (e.g., the verbal and nonverbal cues participants use to gain a turn). An obvious advantage of video over audio is that video captures nonverbal use of the resources, which often conveys subtle but important interactional messages.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As noted earlier, very little research on the academic discourse socialization of university students has focused on oral practices. However, as this study demonstrates, common academic oral activities such as OAPs can constitute powerful and rich resources of discourse socialization

and academic apprenticeship. Further, as this study and others (e.g., Duff, 1995; Hall, 1993, 1995; Jacoby & Gonzales, 1991; Rudolph, 1994; Tracy, 1997) have suggested, oral activities are indeed interactionally and cognitively complex and demanding and therefore deserve more attention in research. Also, as public activities, they may have a greater range of possible consequences.

More extensive investigation into the role of oral activities in academic discourse socialization in several areas thus seems warranted.

1. The examination of various oral activities (e.g., group discussions) employed in similar contexts or similar activities in various academic contexts (e.g., different disciplines) would enable comparison and may provide new insights.
2. A closer investigation of the development and transformation of individual students' oral performance across contexts and over time would be informative (for similar case studies focusing on reading and writing, see, e.g., Casanave, 1992; Spack, 1997).
3. The interrelation of oral and written discourse in academic activity settings is another area to explore. Although OAPs were treated as primarily oral activities in this study, they were indeed *literacy events* (Heath, 1983; see also Gee, 1996; Street, 1995), that is, oral activities based on written material.

Further research in these areas will add to a growing body of literature that views discourse socialization as a complicated, potentially conflictual, transformative process and will help provide ways to address students' varying needs and challenges.

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THE AUTHOR

Naoko Morita is a PhD candidate in the Department of Language and Literacy Education at the University of British Columbia. Her research interests include second language acquisition/socialization, classroom discourse research, and qualitative research methods. She has taught EFL in Japan at the secondary level.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions⁵

I =	instructor; initials are used for speakers identifiable by name (e.g., E, R, M, L).
[beginning of overlapping speech
=	speech that comes immediately after another person's (i.e., latched utterances), shown for both speakers
(x.x)	where <i>x</i> is a number, the length of a pause in seconds
(words)	words not clearly heard; (x), an unclear word; (xx), two unclear words; (xxx), three or more unclear words
<u>underlining</u>	spoken emphasis
CAPITAL LETTERS	loud speech
((comments))	comments or relevant details pertaining to interaction
:	unusually lengthened sound or syllable
.	terminal falling intonation
,	rising, continuing intonation
?	high rising intonation, not necessarily at the end of a sentence
-	(unattached) short, untimed pause (e.g., less than 0.2 second)
x-	(attached on one side) cutoff often accompanied by a glottal stop (e.g., a self-correction)
[]	author's insertion or rephrasing

⁵ Adapted from Duff (1995).

THE FORUM

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites commentary on current trends or practices in the TESOL profession. It also welcomes responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published here in The Forum or elsewhere in the *Quarterly*.

A Mother's Tongue

SANDRA G. KOURITZIN

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

■ This commentary significantly departs from the standard written form for contributions to The Forum over the years (i.e., 1992–1999). While commenting on one aspect of TESOL that is of particular professional and personal interest to me—the development and maintenance of minority L1s during childhood second language acquisition (e.g., Kouritzin, 1999, in press)—I present an argument for the importance of continued use of the familial heritage language by referring to documented accounts of my own experiences as the (White) mother of (biracial) Japanese-speaking children. I hope to augment the academic arguments in favour of bilingual education and heritage language maintenance with a more intense, lived, personal one.

My husband and I wish to ensure that our children grow up bilingual—speaking, reading, and writing not only English but also their other heritage language, Japanese. The reasons for this imperative are threefold:

1. Heritage language loss was a reality for both my husband and me; we have lived experiences of what it means to be unable to communicate with family members or participate in cultural experiences.
2. We are aware that, despite the frustrations that our children may (temporarily) experience while developing bilingually (see, e.g., Grosjean, 1982, pp. 268–288; Harding & Riley, 1986, pp. 83–113; Swain, 1982), there appear to be social, emotional, and cognitive advantages to bilingualism (Baker, 1996; Collier, 1989).¹

¹ Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins' (1988) book includes experiential narratives in prose and poetry of the social and emotional impacts of being bilingual and of losing a minority L1. These

3. Although we are not so naive as to believe that bilingual development in Japanese and English will enable our children to unproblematically “walk in two worlds” (Henze & Vanett, 1993; see also Zentella, 1997) and although we know that our children may choose (or be assigned to) an ethnic identity that is neither Japanese nor Canadian (see, e.g., Haug, 1998), we nonetheless feel that our children need to be able to draw from both of their linguistic heritages in order to best negotiate their individual cultural and linguistic identities.

Therefore, influenced by research on language maintenance/language loss and bilingual education (e.g., Collier, 1989; García & Baker, 1995; Gregory, 1997; Harding & Riley, 1986; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991), my husband and I decided to delay our children’s exposure to English as long as possible by using Japanese at home (e.g., Dolson, 1985). We were also influenced by the experiences of many Japanese families, friends who, because they lack a large, vibrant Japanese-language speaking community, reported struggling to maintain the heritage language at home after their children began playing with English-speaking children (see also Saunders, 1988). Even though Japanese was the only language both parents spoke well, these families found that their children became dominant in English and never learned to read and write Japanese. Deeply committed to maintaining the Japanese language in our family, we have therefore chosen to adopt “hothouse”² conditions for early bilingualism in order to maximize the Japanese language input, even though it imposes difficulties on me. We plan to speak Japanese exclusively until our children begin school, that is, to act as one of the five types of bilingual family described by Harding and Riley³ (1986, pp. 47–48; see also Baker, 1996, pp. 77–78).

When our children begin school, I will speak English with them while their father continues to speak Japanese (i.e., identifying one language with each parent, as Merino’s 1983 research supports) because (a) we want to ensure that our children hear each language modeled well in our home by the parent who knows each language best (see, e.g., Minami & McCabe, 1995) and (b) we wish to ensure that our children learn the “values, beliefs, understandings, [and] wisdom about how to cope with their experiences . . . the meaning of work, . . . personal responsibility,

narratives, and the stories I collected for my doctoral dissertation (published as Kouritzin, 1999), powerfully motivated my husband and me to do everything in our power to develop both Japanese and English in our children.

² I am most grateful to an anonymous *TESOL Quarterly* reviewer for this description of our home language environment.

³ Although this language development strategy is the one adopted by Harding in her own family, I believe that it is a relatively rare one; I have found few published accounts of or even references to it.

[and] what it means to be a moral or ethical person” (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). Moreover, because I am a nonnative speaker of Japanese, we want to ensure that our children do not reproduce my nonstandard linguistic choices in that language. By the time they begin school, my children will likely speak Japanese with enough complexity to exceed my ability to produce standard speech. We later hope to enroll our children in a French or Mandarin immersion program so that they do not learn to favour the culturally dominant language (see, e.g., McGroarty, 1992), and I will accompany them to weekend Japanese classes in order to (a) ensure Japanese literacy (e.g., Taft & Cahill, 1989) and (b) demonstrate the social and cultural importance of learning Japanese (e.g., Dorian, 1982), both of which appear to facilitate L1 maintenance.

These decisions were not made lightly but were based on years of study and research on the consequences of L1 loss and on how best to raise bilingual children. Wanting to test these theories, I have tracked my daughter’s language development, noting, for example, her failure to produce much English despite overhearing that language as much as 50% of the time.⁴ Along the way, I have found myself not only documenting her linguistic growth but also writing journal-type entries about my own reactions to her language development. My reactions were highlighted when we traveled to Japan for a month-long visit, and I watched my daughter slip easily into the culture of Tokunoshima, the southern Japanese island my husband is from. I watched with mixed feelings as she absorbed the cultural niceties and not-so-niceties implied by the words she knew. I wrote extensively both in Japan and upon returning to Canada, and I have turned to those journal entries in order to write this commentary.

BACKGROUND

Familial language shift to the majority language is a major, if not the major, contributor to children’s later loss of their heritage language with its attendant social, emotional, educational, and political consequences. When children begin to exhibit a preference for the culturally dominant language after beginning to speak it at school, parents sometimes respond by shifting to English themselves. At other times, teachers may recommend to parents that they speak English in the home to facilitate their children’s language development (see, e.g., Dolson, 1985; Johnson, 1987; Kouritzin, 1999; McGroarty, 1992; Pan & Berko-Gleason, 1986).

⁴ The English words she does produce are those commonly used in Japan (e.g., *thank you*, *let’s go*, *come in*) with Japanese pronunciation. She has never been addressed in English at home, but when her English-speaking grandparents and cousins speak to her, she appears to understand much of what they say.

My husband and I exercised choices in how to educate our children; those choices have placed me in an unusual position. Like many immigrant parents whose children begin speaking English dominantly (and sometimes lose their heritage languages), I speak a different mother tongue than my children do. For reasons of public policy or perceived educational need (Kouritzin, 1999, in press), these immigrant parents find themselves speaking nonnative English to their children, and little thought is given to how this situation affects the parents' lives. My situation is similar to theirs in the issues that I experience but different because, for educational reasons, I have chosen to live in my L2 for a short period of time. Although I live in this position of extraordinary privilege, the implementation of our family's language planning often discourages me. The issues that I confront daily confirm that we as a profession need to concern ourselves not only with the teaching of ESL but also with ensuring the existence of a healthy climate for fostering minority L1 development.

LANGUAGE OF THE HEART

German is the mother tongue of all my children. If I spoke English with my husband and children, they would be strangers (Harres, 1989, p. 395)

More than anything, I have learned the meaning of *mother tongue*. English is the language of my heart, the one in which I can easily express love for my children; in which I know instinctively how to coo to a baby; in which I can sing lullabies, tell stories, recite nursery rhymes, talk baby talk. In Japanese, there is an artificiality about my love; I cannot express it naturally or easily. The emotions I feel do not translate well into the Japanese language, and those which I have seen expressed by Japanese mothers do not seem sufficiently intimate when I mouth them. I have no models to teach me how a loving mother speaks when she strokes a child's hair, wipes away tears, cradles a newborn, introduces a puppy, points out the moon and the stars, splashes in the bathtub, or spreads her arms and says "I love you this much." When my daughter, learning from Japanese cartoons and playmates, calls me *Mama* or *ka-chan* instead of *Mommy*, I feel very far removed from her, as if my identity has been erased.

When I feel most sorry for myself, I wonder about immigrant parents who have not chosen this situation and who cannot comfort themselves by thinking that eventually their children will learn to speak the heritage language at school or on the playground. What is it like to be a Farsi-speaking mother who has felt pressure to speak English to her child at home? Whom can she ask for mothering-language guidance in the way that I turn to my husband or my mother-in-law? How does she resolve the

conflict between speaking English at home, often recommended by a well-meaning teacher, and wanting to share with her children the most intimate possession of all—a language?

THE LANGUAGE OF DISCIPLINE

Talk is a crucial link between parents and children: It is how parents impart their cultures to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be. (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343)

I am most perplexed by discipline. Returning from Japan, we spent 9 hours on a ferry with a Japanese mother and her two children. When her 1-year-old son pinched her and bruised her arm, I watched and listened while she patiently demonstrated why it hurt and brought her son to the point at which he apologized. I understood every word she said, yet there is no way I could manage to put the words together as cleverly as she did. Nor could I manage to fuse discipline with love merely by using intonations, gestures, or expressions that, though natural for her, are counterfeit for me. An incompetent Japanese mother, I either ignore discipline problems altogether or attempt disciplinary explanations that perplex my children and frustrate me. I cannot find the perfect word or phrase that will enable me to sound authoritative without sounding shrewish. I watch my husband discipline the children, or I watch our baby-sitter, my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law, strangers, explain things to my children, and I feel both thankful for their proficiency and angry that they have usurped my role. All my life I have wanted to replicate with my children the close relationship I have with my mother, but now it is easier for my children to have that closeness with Japanese-speaking strangers than with me. A thousand times I have threatened my husband that I am going to start speaking English to the children tomorrow, but I focus on their bilingual futures and never do.

LANGUAGE LEARNING

“O-negaimasu” (pretty please), my daughter says to her father and to me. I know the expression is *o-negai shimasu*, but I have heard my husband say it her way. I do not know if this is (a) an informal abbreviation, (b) part of our family’s linguistic subculture, (c) a common children’s expression, or (d) a cute mistake. I know that if I do not use the formal form, Japanese-speaking people will correct me, assuming that I do not know the proper expression, but I do not know if my daughter needs correction or not. And what do I do about English expressions that are well known in Japan? When my daughter says “sank you” or “puri puri prease,” should I correct her pronunciation or leave it

alone because Japanese people will not understand the correct pronunciation (in the way that English speakers cannot understand *hara kiri* (“harry karry”) or *karaoke* (“karry okey”))?

At other times, my daughter has said things and I have misunderstood the context. I sometimes think that she has made a mistake when, in fact, she has made a joke; at other times I lose the thread of a conversation trying to unravel a grammatical error. This happens not because she exceeds the limits of my linguistic repertoire but because I cannot judge her language skills against the sort of language blueprint that native speakers have. On the other hand, I am sometimes at an advantage. When she makes false starts and strings together meaningless utterances, I can recognize difficulties that I also encounter in trying to express complex thoughts. Although I therefore understand what she is trying to say, I cannot with confidence offer her a corrected sentence to model. Instead, I explain what she is trying to say and let my husband or another native Japanese speaker negotiate the grammar with her. When no one is around to help us, we focus on meaning and disregard form.

Related to this, I am learning, too. Sometimes my daughter questions my language. At other times, she watches my husband correct me. What is she learning about her mother? Is she learning that Mommy is not a good role model for Japanese language or behaviour, that Mommy’s instructions on how to be polite and kind are untrustworthy? Or is she learning a more general lesson: that Daddy rebukes Mommy and corrects her when she makes mistakes, and Mommy strives to do exactly as he says? I have to trust that my husband explains my errors in a sympathetic light and that my daughter will judge me charitably. I have to depend on my family members to ensure that my own children understand me favorably, which, though difficult for me, must be doubly difficult for immigrant parents who must depend on complete outsiders, perhaps teachers or immigration case workers.

When I go to my Japanese lessons, sometimes I make jokes in Japanese that I and the other students in my class think are funny but that our teacher thinks are crude, nasty, or boring. I can speak the language, but I cannot replicate the sensibilities that go with it. I am reminded of my research on L1 loss (Kouritzin, 1997, 1999), in which children complained that their parents failed to teach them cultural sensibilities; those children still feel somewhat disconnected from the culture of English. As one of the participants in the research project commented during an interview,

That reminds me that one of the areas that I have a lot of difficulties is with idioms and my wife is—some of her ancestry is English and Irish—and they have all these sayings for everything, and, she always kids me because I get them all confused. . . . Those types of things we never heard in the house; they

weren't on the records I guess, and so I find that I don't have much facility for those types of things. Like, it's things like "a bird in the hand is better than two in the bush," . . . a lot of phrases, none come to mind. . . . If it wasn't said around there, I guess I didn't learn it. (Michael, November 17, 1995, p. 6)

I remember my surprise in learning that the familiar phrase "a rolling stone gathers no moss" doesn't mean "keep learning and innovating so that you don't become old and stale" to Japanese people but rather means "you will never put down healthy roots if you keep moving." Even though I understood the words, my understanding of the phrase was the opposite of its real meaning.

LANGUAGE-CULTURE CONNECTION

I do not like some of the culture the Japanese language teaches. There are no cultural equivalents for *I love you* or for pet names like *honey bear*, *sweet pea*, or *stud muffin*, and direct translations are strange. I am not particularly comfortable with scatological references, racially oriented jokes, slapstick, or physical humour, all of which seem to appear more frequently on Japanese children's programs than on those in English—or, more likely, I just know how to avoid them on English television programs.

In Japanese, the pronoun *I* can be expressed in a number of ways depending on the formality of the situation and the gender of the speaker. Socialized by Japanese cartoons with male protagonists, my daughter shows a marked preference for the male marker *boku* and, more recently, the even more taboo *ore*, despite having numerous live female models who use *watashi*. Every time she says *boku*, she is corrected and made to repeat herself using *watashi*. Yet when we pretend that her baby brother is speaking, we use *boku*. Hanika is *Hanika-chan*; Tyrone is *Tyrone-kun*. My daughter is learning that men and women are not equal—that men, even younger men, may use all vocabulary items but that women must use only ones that demonstrate respect for the addressee.

And I am sure that these objections must cut both ways. English has explicit language for sexual acts and for genitalia that are not considered obscene; we call these *clinical references*. We recognize different levels of lying, from white lies—which are considered good—to evading the truth, to black lies, to perjury. In theory at least, English speakers like first names, lay terms, precise words, and direct speech, and we have tried to purge our language of terms that express class, race, or gender inequality. I do not like the lessons the Japanese language teaches, but the culture my daughter sees daily in her home and in the community contradicts some of those lessons. I believe the situation must be even

more complicated for immigrant parents who want to teach their children one way of thinking while the English language teaches them another, especially parents whose children no longer speak the heritage language. I remember one parent explaining such a situation to me in a life history interview about the difficulties of mothering in an L2 (Kouritzin, 1994):

I always tell him what we'd hope he do. What we like he do. Because some people say to me, "If you don't teacher your son or your daughter when they grow up, they will choice the life, . . . a different kind life. Maybe this life you don't like; they will be a punk." Sometimes I meet a Chinese, his daughter not born here but come here early, 4 years old, now she leave home, and she go to downtown, she live with English man, she like a punk. Her mother cried . . . (Ling, April 1994, p. 8)

On the flip side of the coin, when I interviewed Nellie (November 3, 1995) about her L1 loss, she explained to me that her parents did not consider her a good daughter even though she was a mature, responsible, A-average university graduate who did not smoke, drink, party, or do drugs because she was not a typical young woman of her social class in her native Hong Kong (pp. 7–9).

I also feel inadequate as a parent because I am uncertain what the natural sequence is for learning to speak Japanese and therefore do not model it well. One of the first things my son learned to say was *Doushiou* (what shall I do?), and my daughter, *Sekkaku tsukuta no ni* (I spent all of my time and effort to make this). Using my English frame of reference, I find these difficult concepts and worry that my children are developing unusual ways of speaking. Although I understand that all children use language in individual ways, I worry that because I don't know how children normally develop Japanese as an L1, I will miss the markers of nonstandard usage or language delay. Yet I know that I am lucky. When I compare my situation with that of non-English-speaking parents, I realize that, even though I have internalized the monitoring of my children's language development as part of my role (why else would such terms as *motherese* or *mother tongue* exist?), I can rely on my husband. Whom can these immigrant parents rely on not just to notice but to find assistance for their children?

INADVERTENTLY CAUSING SHAME

My struggles to be a proper parent have marked my daughter as different just as surely as if I had not tried at all. While we were in Japan, Hanika had the opportunity to go to kindergarten and make friends. On the Sunday night before she began kindergarten, my husband and I

puzzled over the forms that we had to fill in with answers to questions about her birth, her vaccinations, and her character. I wrote in my journal,

At the end, we needed to write what kind of child Hanika is. I said “like a puppy.” We ended up writing that she was enthusiastic and made friends easily, that she enjoyed things very much, that she was like an overfriendly puppy who got too excited and then got injured—which wasn’t exactly what I meant by that. I meant that she was eager to please and lovable. I discovered that I talk in metaphor more than Japanese people do. All her teachers laughed at my description of her. I made my child a laughing stock. (March 8, 1999)

Later that night, I struggled to compare the list of necessary items with those we had prepared and then set about labeling them. Although I am often complimented on the neatness and legibility of my *hiragana* (one form of Japanese script), I do not know the cultural equivalents of dotting *is* with hearts or flowers, adding curlicues to *fs* or *gs*, or ending a signature with a flourish, so my penmanship was not cute enough to label my daughter’s clothes. My success in reading the list from school and managing to get all of the items together paled in comparison with the realization that, if I had unknowingly labeled my child’s belongings, she would have become an object of pity or ridicule.

WHO CAN CARE FOR MY CHILDREN?

From the time she was 5 months old, my daughter has had a Japanese nanny because we made Japanese-language child care a priority. Finding good child care is an expensive, worrisome proposition for all parents, but specifying that the caregiver speak fluent Japanese adds a level of complexity. Moreover, I lie awake at night sometimes and worry about whether we are doing the right thing to continue to isolate our children from their English-speaking peers. When I consider the alternative, allowing our children exposure to English when research suggests that they would then prefer to use English instead of Japanese, I rationalize that the isolation is an investment in their bilingual futures.

Yet I am thankful. My husband and I are educated and not underemployed. I worry about non-English-speaking parents who lack our resources, who must make use of English-language child care because it is less costly, and who therefore cannot insist that their children use only their heritage languages. What do parents do when for lack of resources they do not have access to children’s books or videos in the heritage language? When I read stories to my children in Japanese, worrying so much about reading correctly that until the 10th read-through I sound

terrible even to myself, I compare my situation with that of immigrant parents who have been encouraged to read to their children in English, and I realize what a monumental task they have been set.

Sometimes I am struck by fear. What if there were an emergency and I needed to give orders—basics like “stop, drop, and roll” or “keep the wet towel over your nose and hold my hand”—for my children to survive? Would I remember my Japanese in such a moment of crisis? Would they understand enough English? I try to be the best parent that I can, but what if someone were to judge me? When my husband and I fight, do our children side with my husband because he can elegantly explain himself to them? If there were a custody battle between my husband and me, would I lose my children because we do not have the same mother tongue? Could I ever find myself in the position of the mother in Amarillo, Texas, who was chastised in a court battle because “speaking only Spanish [at home] amounted to child abuse” and “if she starts first grade with the other children and cannot even speak the language that the teachers and the other children speak . . . you’re abusing that child and you’re relegating her to the position of a housemaid” (Pellerin, 1995, p. A20). Should both my husband and I die before our children are fluently bilingual, who can raise them, and where? For years we have avoided committing ourselves to a guardian because there are no solutions, but our inability to find a workable plan has ensured that in the unlikely event of our deaths, our children will have to negotiate custody issues in a language they do not speak. If I am paralysed by these fears, what must it be like for parents dealing with social services and courts about their children in a language and culture they do not fully understand?

GUILT

Guilt sits like my guardian angel on my right shoulder. My lonely daughter is starved for child companions. From her Japanese language videos, she has given us all animated character identities that we assume when she wants us to play with her—or rather, my husband is the handsome prince, my son is *Anpanman*, and I am Hanika’s character’s mommy. When we go to the playground, Hanika tries to play with the neighbourhood children. When she talks to them, they look at her as if she had two heads. She is confused because they do not respond to her suggestions, and she does not understand what they are telling her.

I also find myself facing the pressure that immigrant parents must feel when they decide to maintain minority languages at home. Strangers ask me when my children are going to start learning English because they will need it for school. They express amazement that I can speak an Asian language. I feel their disapproval when, unsolicited, they tell me what

they think of parents who speak minority languages at home and then let their children take ESL at public expense (see, e.g., Kouritzin, 1999, pp. 207–208, for examples of public opinion); I know that they are giving me a warning. The researcher/teacher in me wants to argue that all children in Canada have the right to study a second (foreign) language at school, and my children are no exception. Yet, because I feel intimidated, I lie and tell them that we have a plan, and if necessary I throw in some appropriate quotations from research. But I do not really know if we are doing what will best help our children become bilingual or if we are just making life difficult for all of us. I tell myself I refuse to feel guilty, but guilt can recur.

My husband has told me that he feels guilty, too. Watching me try to mother our children in Japanese, he feels sorry for me, particularly when I have expressed something poorly, and he feels guilty because he worries that I am doing this for him. He feels that by trying to do right by his parents, we have cut our children off from mine. Taking our children to the neighbourhood playground or the beach, he feels guilty when they are excluded from games and make-believe because they do not speak the same language as their peers. Because he is able to speak English, my husband is welcomed into the children's group play and persuades the other children to accept Hanika and Tyrone as playmates, and not, as is the usual case, the other way around. The ultimate linguistic authority in our home, he embraces guilt when he is unable to explain the etymology of a word or a point of grammar.

CONCLUSION

It is not my intention here to trivialize or to co-opt the experiences of others. I am not a linguistic minority woman in the culture of Canada, so I speak from a position of privilege. I am educated and White, and I consider myself solidly middle class by virtue of my upbringing and my education.

But who will tell this story if not I? Despite considerable professional reading in the fields of L1 maintenance, heritage language loss, and the settlement of immigrant families, I have not encountered many firsthand accounts of the emotional issues I raise written in English.⁵ Although I am aware that these discourses do exist, they have been confined largely to heritage language newspapers; church, temple, or other religious archives; and various ethnic cultural center publications, where they are

⁵ Grosjean (1982), however, does cite some of the inconveniences from a bilingual's point of view. Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) include firsthand accounts in addition to academic reports, and academic life stories such as Guerra's (1998), Zentella's (1997), and Anzaldúa's (1990) illustrate some of these issues. My own research (Kouritzin, in press) also aims to speak to these struggles in immigrant families.

available but not necessarily accessible. There is also some discussion in such publications as *The Bilingual Family Newsletter* (Multilingual Matters) or case study validation in books such as Harding and Riley's (1986), but these discussions are not necessarily written for an audience of L2 teachers and administrators; rather, they are generally articles written for parents, by parents.

My fears that these issues will not find a wider audience are threefold. First, mothers who do not speak English comfortably may not have the vocabulary or syntax to explain to an interviewer/researcher their fears about growing distant from their children. Second, even if they do have sufficient language skill to voice their concerns, they may not have the luxury of pondering the implications of their struggles while they are still struggling to find personal peace and place in Canada. Third, should they have language and luxury both, they may not wish to share such intimacies with someone who represents the authorities (linguistic and educational) they react against.

And yet I think the linguistic separation of mothers from children is a story that needs to be told from the inside. The difficulties I have written about here are not intellectual; they are personal and emotional, and they reflect the fact that I am talking about my own children. These issues represent just one important aspect of the larger immigrant experience—the struggle against familial language shift. I realize with respect that many have struggled, and continue to struggle, with this phenomenon much harder than I am struggling.

THE AUTHOR

Sandra G. Kouritzin is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. Her research interests include minority L1 development and the fostering of bilingualism.

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Comments on Vivian Cook’s “Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching”

How Nonnative Speakers as Teachers Fit Into the Equation

JOYCE MILAMBILING

*University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa, United States*

■ Vivian Cook’s article, “Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching” (Vol. 33, No. 2, Summer 1999), draws attention to an issue that has finally gained the notice of the TESOL field in the past few years: the emphasis on the native speaker (NS) model in language teaching and whether it is time to admit the validity and even the necessity of nonnative models for language learning and teaching. Cook states that “language teaching would benefit by paying attention to the L2 user rather than concentrating primarily on the native speaker” (p. 185) and gives suggestions for how this can be done. He emphasizes the useful notion of the multicompetent language user and distinguishes between the language learner and the language user. This perspective is refreshing and absolutely necessary given the increased use of English among nonnative speakers (NNSs) both in English-speaking countries and in places where English is used as a lingua franca among speakers of various languages and cultural backgrounds.

One perspective that is underemphasized in Cook’s article, however, is that of nonnative-English-speaking teachers, both as working teachers and as prospective teachers. The NNS as teacher can be a valuable example of skilled L2 use, not just because such a teacher is “fallible” or “presents a more achievable model” (p. 200) but because of the knowledge and experience that teacher can share with learners. Reconsidering the NS in L2 teaching requires examining how nonnative teachers are viewed during their training and afterward in classrooms and among their peers.

Recent articles and books on the subject of the NNS as English

language teacher (Braine, 1999; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Medgyes, 1994; Tang, 1997) have begun to address these issues and attest to the widespread interest in the subject. Braine's edited volume, entitled *Non-Native Educators in English Language Teaching*, contains a number of articles written from the perspective of NNS teachers themselves. These authors raise questions about how well teacher education programs in English-speaking countries have met the needs of nonnative-English-speaking trainees who will be teaching in diverse settings around the world. In one article, Kamhi-Stein (1999) chronicles her own "journey of transition" (p. 146), including her development of a TESOL curriculum that builds on and helps develop NNSs' competencies. The author also relates how she came to realize her own value as an NNS who is teaching NNS teachers.

As a teacher educator in a TESOL program that includes both NSs and NNSs in the student ranks, I am especially interested in how peers and students receive and view NNS teachers. The students who come to my university from Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America are pursuing advanced degrees in English teaching because of their skill in the language. As a group, they represent a whole category of skilled language users, as they are able to study, write, and effectively communicate in the target language for a minimum of 2 years in an English-speaking environment. An interesting phenomenon that often occurs among students enrolled in the program is a division between NSs and NNSs. There appears to be a largely unspoken yet powerful assumption that NNSs will inevitably not perform as well academically as or will somehow be inferior to their NS peers. Unfortunately, the NNSs themselves often make this assumption, and, ironically, even their success in classes and on exams does not cause it to go away to any great degree.

If all students in the program were encouraged systematically to be aware of their strengths as language users and teachers, I believe, the advantages of NNSs, such as knowledge of at least one other language and the experience of having consciously learned English grammar, would help combat any assumption that they are at an automatic disadvantage relative to native English speakers. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) report on a graduate seminar that aimed to raise the consciousness of NNS teachers regarding their status in the TESOL profession and had the ultimate aim of empowering them as "ELT professionals" (p. 419). At the end of the article the authors list suggestions for continued action and research in this area, including "the adoption of discursive practices and paradigms in TESOL that place NNS professionals at the center rather than at the periphery by discarding the native-nonnative dichotomy as the main construct through which they are conceived" (p. 428).

I agree wholeheartedly with Cook that skilled L2 users should be

viewed as “successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers” (p. 204). TESOL professionals should make a special effort to apply this resulting “positive image” to NNS teachers or teachers-in-training for their own sake and for the sake of their students. Lung (1999) reports on the advantages and disadvantages of the presence and privileging of NSs in the Hong Kong school system, which is heavily dependent on local teachers. These NNS teachers are all products of the local system and as such are well versed in the students’ backgrounds and future needs. The author’s most serious complaint about the policy of recruiting NS teachers is its potential adverse effect on the morale and status of the NNS teachers and its effective marginalization of those teachers. She suggests that the school system give local teachers better training and acknowledge their “clear understanding of the needs and backgrounds of the students, including cultural and linguistic factors” (p. 8) instead of bringing in NS teachers from New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

As Cook points out, the label *native speaker* will not and probably should not go away. What should be reevaluated, however, is how that label is used in the profession of language teaching and whether additional designations can be used. Rampton (1990) encourages the use of other labels and terms to describe the knowledge and language proficiency of a skilled language user; for example, he writes about focusing on “language expertise” rather than status as NS. He argues that “the notion of expert shifts the emphasis from ‘who you are’ to ‘what you know’” (p. 99).

What NNS teachers know can overlap with what NSs know; on the other hand, their knowledge bases can also diverge markedly. I interviewed several professors, graduate students, and recent graduates of our program on the topic of NNSs as teachers (Milambiling, 1999). The respondents listed attributes that both NSs and NNSs bring to the task of language teaching. The advantages they attributed to NNS teachers largely echo those cited by Medgyes (1992, pp. 346–347). The positive attributes of NNSs as teachers are in many ways due to their experiences of having learned the target language after their L1 was in place and of being bilingual and possibly even bicultural. However, in many accounts of the differences between NS and NNS teachers the underlying assumption is that the NS is monolingual and not multicompetent. In my experience, this assumption is simply not true. Many NSs of English do speak the language(s) of their students and should be expected to have some knowledge of other languages, especially when teaching in an EFL setting. Multicompetence should therefore be a goal for all language teachers, whether or not their mother tongue is a world language, as English is.

Cook calls for adjustments in “perspectives about models that underlie

language teaching” (p. 204). I would argue that attitudes need to be adjusted even more than the author suggests and that teacher-training programs are a good place to start. NNSs have learned the various grammatical and pragmatic aspects of the target language and have valuable knowledge about the culture and cultural assumptions of at least one other language group. Some consciousness-raising also needs to be done among students in TESOL programs and among students of NNSs of English, especially in ESL settings, where many students assume that the only good teacher is a native English speaker. My own experience as a teacher educator in a TESOL program has led me to the view that the resources NNSs bring to the task of teaching English have not been sufficiently valued or utilized and that NNSs who are learning to be teachers have the potential in many respects to be more effective English teachers than would NSs in the same teaching situations. What NNSs can contribute to language teaching has been largely overlooked by teacher trainers, researchers, and, sadly enough, by NNSs who are teachers or are studying to be teachers themselves. The number of articles and research studies on this subject is growing, but awareness and systematic study are still in the beginning stages of development. The role of NNSs in the TESOL profession and the issues surrounding their training as English language teachers clearly need to be brought more openly into what is meant by “going beyond the native speaker in language teaching.”

THE AUTHOR

Joyce Milambiling is assistant professor in TESOL at the University of Northern Iowa. She teaches courses in linguistics, language teaching methodology, and language and culture. Her research interests include language teacher education and language policy in the United States and in developing countries.

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Going Further Beyond the Native Speaker Model: A Remark Concerning Language Models

MICAH MATTIX

*Wake Technical Community College
Raleigh, North Carolina, United States*

■ Vivian Cook’s succinct article, “Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching” (Vol. 33, No. 2, Summer 1999), develops methods for recognizing L2 learners as competent L2 users by proposing that an attainable model be developed to replace the misanthropic native speaker (NS) one. It is clear from Cook’s desire to go “beyond” the NS model that he sees it as an oppressive ideology—a position one would be hard-pressed to disagree with. However, given this philanthropic desire to include L2 learners in the realm of competent language users, in what sense is a primarily L2 user model less oppressive than the NS one? In what ways could an L2 user model avoid being used as a tool of political economic oppression as effectively as the NS one has been?

Derrida (1998) has pointed out that all language (whether an individual’s native, second, or third language) is inherently *oppressive*, in that individuals must conform their thoughts and feelings to grammatical, semantic, and syntactical rules. Derrida identifies a certain *meaning-to-say* (*vouloir dire*) reaction that all humans possess. Subjects formulate their thoughts in this meaning-to-say language and then translate these ideas into the language being used at that time (whether it is the native language or the L2). Thus both the NS and the L2 user are oppressed by language, conforming their meaning-to-say reaction to the appropriate language model.

I raise the idea above regarding oppression not to take away or dissent from Cook’s desire to incorporate the L2 learner in the realm of capable language users; on the contrary, I fully agree with the need to recognize the success of competent L2 users. Rather, I wish to point out that all speakers must subject themselves to language, and simply changing the language model (NS or otherwise) does not erase this subjugation. Most language instructors would agree that the identity of an individual is not

synonymous with the language of that individual; however, almost all language users perceive language as somehow linked to identity, as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have noted. However, for Derrida (1998), language is not identity; instead, all speakers must conform their thoughts to language, which indicates to Derrida that thought (or a meaning-to-say desire) exists before the speech act. Simply changing the model to which speakers must conform will not address this widely held presupposition that language is identity—a presupposition that I believe is the root of the problem Cook attempts to address.

Although changing the criteria of proficiency will certainly alleviate a lot of unwarranted anxiety regarding pronunciation, more time should be devoted to dismembering the myth that language is identity. Here, much of the work by Wolfram (1998; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998) regarding stigmatization based on language variation could also be applied to L2 users. I believe that it would better to try to educate the public (and L2 learners, for that matter) that language is not identity than to build an entirely new model for language learners that might just as easily become a tool for stigmatizing L2 users.

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The Author Responds . . .

VIVIAN COOK

University of Essex

Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, United Kingdom

■ My article argued that language teaching should adopt the successful L2 user rather than the native speaker (NS) as a model for the L2 learner. Two reactions can be predicted to such an argumentative article. One, exemplified by Mattix, is that it does not go far enough: The uniqueness of the individual is constricted by any language, whether a first or a second. The other, exemplified by Milambiling, is that it has

overlooked some vital area, in this case underplaying the role of nonnative speaker (NNS) teachers.

Overall the article is far from a complete approach to language teaching and leaves many loose ends. It derived from the multicompetence viewpoint in second language acquisition research (Cook, 1992), which has developed the idea that L2 users are distinctive people in their own right, not monolinguals who have added another language. This idea is being related to language teaching in a series of papers (Cook, 2000b, in press). The starting point was therefore a theoretical perspective rather than a classroom insight.

I am not competent to comment directly on the relevance of Derrida's (1998) notion of *meaning-to-say* preceding actual speech. Translated into more familiar terms, this concept resembles the familiar linguistics relativity conundrum of whether people speak differently because they think differently or think differently because they speak differently; Malaysians perceive far more subtle distinctions of saltiness than English speakers do, and Bahasa Malaysia has far more terms for saltiness than English does (O'Mahoney & Muhiudeen, 1977). So, is English-speaking cuisine restricted by the language's comparatively limited vocabulary for saltiness, or does Bahasa Malaysia reflect the reality of Malaysian cuisine? Much research indeed shows that one's perceptions of the world are affected by another language; for example, Koreans who do not know English use the word *paran sekj* (blue) to mean something greener and less purple than Koreans who know English do (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977). So even if the L2 restricts the world view in one's mind, it also changes that world view. Though any language may oppress individuals by constraining their thoughts and identity, an L2 to some extent liberates people from the constraints imposed by their L1.

Milambiling's contribution was very informative. My article concentrated on the learner's perspective rather than the teacher's, partly because the claims of the NNS teacher have already been extensively discussed. Setting aside any differences between NS and NNS teachers in terms of training, culture, and so on, the advantage of the NNSs is indeed that they can assume the role model of a successful L2 user for the students. The NNS teacher is someone who has arrived where the students want to be, not someone who happens to have been born there; indeed, it may well be that the NS is also a proficient user of the student's L1, though this is still comparatively rare in the case of mobile expatriate teachers of English. Nonnatives (or L1-proficient natives) can demonstrate how they use two languages effectively at the same time, unlike the monolingual NS teacher. Of course, the availability and desirability of NS teachers is linked to the second-versus-foreign-language dimension; an NS of English may be a rare and exotic specimen in Yaoundé or Reykjavik.

One assumption that is often made is that students prefer or indeed demand NS teachers. Small ads in London papers proclaim “Qualified Native Tutor.” On the World Wide Web the Alliance Française (n.d.) in London claims “taught by French nationals”, the Eurolingua Institute (<http://www.eurolingua.com>) boasts “experienced and fully qualified mother tongue teachers,” and the International TESOL Training Centre (n.d.) advertises jobs in Buenos Aires, Casablanca, and Dar es Salaam with the “required qualifications: native English.” Yet do students really make such a big issue out of whether the teacher is a NS? I have been using a questionnaire to assess attitudes to monolingualism and bilingualism in children studying L2s in different countries (Cook, 2000a). The NS teacher was preferred by 18% of Belgian 15-year-olds, 44% of English children, and 45% of Polish children. Looked at in reverse, 47% of Belgian, 32% of English, and 25% of Polish children preferred nonnatives, the rest having no preference. Children in a country that recognises two languages, such as Belgium, clearly set less store by NS teachers than those in countries such as England and Poland, which effectively recognise one language. But, more revealingly, nowhere is there an overwhelming preference for NS teachers. Being an NS is only one among many factors that influence students’ views of teaching.

It is interesting that a third possible reaction to the article did not occur, namely, rejection of the whole argument and insistence on the NS as the only realistic goal in language teaching. In spoken presentations on the same material, this reaction has been not infrequent; one member of an audience claimed that she had been insulted because her whole life had been dedicated to becoming as close to an NS as was humanly possible. This emotional reaction suggests one of the difficulties those working with language always face. It is all very well for linguists to claim that all varieties of English are equally valid; one only has to hear the limited range of accents in radio broadcasts in England to learn that this is not true. It may well be intellectually correct that the main legitimate goal of language learning is to be a successful L2 user; it is another matter to persuade a generation of students and indeed teachers that there is no need for them to aim to get as close as possible to NSs. As with student motivation and attitude, teachers are fighting against all the influence of the cultural milieu that has influenced the students and themselves all their lives. According to Jung, when confronted with a patient, a psychoanalyst has to provide help for that individual regardless of all preset ideas and theories. The goal of L2 use has to be adapted to the wishes and aspirations of our actual students now, even if we as teachers hope that future students will be less rigid in their views of what being a successful L2 learner actually means.

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TEACHING ISSUES

The *TESOL Quarterly* publishes brief commentaries on aspects of English language teaching. For this issue, we asked two educators the following question: How can we extend our understanding of resources in the ESL classroom?

Edited by **BONNY NORTON**

University of British Columbia

Rethinking Resources in the ESL Classroom

Rethinking Resources: Multimodal Pedagogies in the ESL Classroom

PIPPA STEIN

*University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa*

■ Central to our work as language and literacy teachers are the exploration of conceptual and practical issues in relation to representation and the activity of meaning making in classrooms. A major pedagogical challenge is to bring *knowing* to the surface of consciousness, to help students render knowledge as material culture; in other words, to help them transform what they know, remember, sense, feel, and believe into a paragraph of writing, a lively dialogue, or a scrapbook of images.

A starting point for addressing this challenge is to reconceptualise representation in the classroom. Drawing predominantly on the work of Kress (1997) and others (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996) in social semiotics and multimodality, the process begins with conceptualising classrooms as semiotic spaces in which human beings who are the agents of their own meaning making produce multimodal texts—visual, written, spoken, performative, sonic, and gestural. Each text produced can be viewed as a complex sign. In the act of making meaning, learners produce multiple signs in textual forms across semiotic modes, drawing on different representational resources in order to succeed in that domain. The design of such texts is constrained by the genres, languages, and discursive practices that are valued within the broader sociocultural and political context of education and the nation-state.

Working with the concept of *representational resources*, Kress (1997) suggests that an adequate theory of semiosis is based on the recognition of the interested action of socially located, culturally and historically formed individuals as the remakers, transformers, and reshapers of the representational resources available to them. A transformative theory of representation constructs meaning as a dynamic process of redesigning signs in response to other signs: This semiotic “work” produces change both in the object being transformed and in the individual who is the agent of transformation. The concept of semiotic modes as resources for meaning making is fundamental to this theory. Human beings have at their disposal an array of semiotic resources that do different kinds of work and produce different effects. So, for example, performing a play produces effects for the participants that are different from the effects of reading a play in silence in the privacy of one’s room. A social semiotic analysis focuses on the relationship among texts, social contexts, and the social practices language and other modes realise.

RECOGNIZING THE LIMITS OF LANGUAGE

My interest as an ESL teacher educator in South Africa is in exploring pedagogies that work with students’ diverse representational resources in productive ways (Stein, 1998, 1999). To put it simply, how can the classroom, as a space in which signs are produced, become a complex space founded on the productive integration of diverse histories, multiple modes of representation, epistemologies, feelings, languages, and discourses?

I believe a central feature of such pedagogies is the recognition of the limits of language as a channel for expressing the arc of human experience. Language often fails us. When giving expression to the richness of memory, words are not enough. Much of memory is located in the senses, in the body. When making meaning, we have an array of resources at our disposal that include language and extend beyond it into gesture, sounds, images, textures, and silences. For sociocultural and historical reasons, different communities privilege particular representational resources and background others. For example, in many Black South African homes, oral, gestural, and musical modes of communication are far more extensively used than literacy is. As Gardner’s (1991) work in multiple intelligences has demonstrated, individuals have their preferred semiotic modes. Modes themselves do different kinds of work: A visual image produces certain effects of display that cannot be reduced to a linguistic description.

Anthropologists researching the senses in everyday life have demonstrated the relationship among memory, the senses, and material culture.

Seremetakis (1984) claims that senses are meaning-generating apparatuses that operate beyond consciousness and intention; they represent inner states of feeling not shown on the surface: “Although the senses are a social and collective institution like language, they are not reducible to language. What is said may be relativized, contradicted, or confirmed by embodied acts, gestures or sensory effects” (p. 6). Multimodal pedagogies highlight the indivisibility of body and mind, of corporeal communication between the person and the world across modes, senses, and communicative practices. Such pedagogies involve constructing tasks or projects for students that require multiple forms of representation, of which language is only one part. Multimodal pedagogies that work with multiple entry points for meaning making have the potential to hold in tension access to dominant discourses while incorporating the rich variety of representational resources that each student brings to the classroom context.

RE-SOURCING RESOURCES

For the past 2 years I have assigned a mini-research project for third-year undergraduate ESL students completing an arts degree. The project involves researching and documenting the literacy practices used in a specific site, for example, the home or the workplace. Each pair of students must capture the literacy practices in this site in exactly 14 photographs taken with a disposable camera. Each student is then required to design a display consisting of an exhibition poster of the photographs, a written explanation on A4 paper for viewers of the display, and written captions for each photo. Students then write an academic essay describing and analysing the literacy practices in their site. Thus the total assessment package requires students to produce multimodal textual forms.

This project has repeatedly demonstrated the value of photography as an entry point to academic writing. The use of the visual mode as a sensory and cognitive activity enables many ESL students who struggle with writing to produce more logical, coherent written texts. According to Sontag (1977), to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relationship to the world that has the semblance of knowledge and therefore like power. A photograph has explanatory power: It furnishes evidence and passes for incontrovertible proof that something exists or has happened. Taking photographs is a sensory appropriation of an object. Through this act of appropriation, students who struggle with language succeed in gaining a form of power over the object. The activity of seeing generates meanings for the perceiver that operate beyond the linguistic to establish

communication between the body and the thing, embedding the photographer/perceiver within the material world. The photographer then mobilises the photograph to bear witness to the material world, which helps in the construction of the written academic essay. Thus correspondences are established between the activity of focused seeing and the activity of writing.

I call the process I have described above *re-sourcing resources*: taking invisible, taken-for-granted resources to a new context of situation to produce new meanings. Through this rearticulation in a new site, students come to see what they have and what they know in a different way: The source is re-sourced. Re-sourcing resources is possible through multimodal pedagogies that recognise students as remakers and transformers of the representational resources available to them.

THE AUTHOR

Pippa Stein is an English teacher educator at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research interests are in literacies, multimodality, social semiotics, and pedagogy. She has published in *Harvard Educational Review* and *TESOL Quarterly*.

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Multimodality: Challenges to Thinking About Language

GUNTHER KRESS

*University of London
London, United Kingdom*

■ Nearly every text that I look at uses two modes of communication: (a) language as writing and (b) image. Yet TESOL professionals continue to act as though language fully represented the meanings they wish to encode and communicate. Yes, they admit that other features are important, but if pressed, the linguist and the applied linguist (the language teacher, let us say) would maintain that their business was language, after all, and these other things were someone else's to look after.

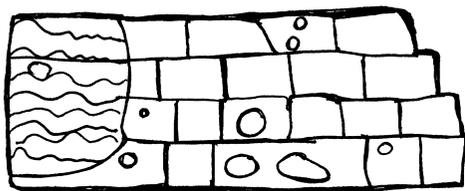
It is time to unsettle this commonsense notion. It is now impossible to make sense of texts, even of their linguistic parts alone, without having a clear idea of what these other features might be contributing to the meaning of a text. In fact, it is now no longer possible to understand language and its uses without understanding the effect of all modes of communication that are copresent in any text.

A revolution in the landscape of communication is changing its configurations fundamentally; it has been taking place over the past 30–40 years, and its very recency has made it difficult to see. A look at a newspaper of 30 or 40 years ago will show at once the characteristics and the extent of that change: The newspaper of, say, 1960 and even of 1970 is covered in print; its successor paper in 2000 is most likely to have a lot more space given over to image than to print. Does this have an effect on language itself, on what it does, and on what it is asked to do? Are images there merely to entice the reader, to decorate, to please? Or do images now have full communicational roles? If so, are they merely doubling up what language does already, are they doing complementary things, or do they take on tasks that were not and perhaps cannot be performed by language?

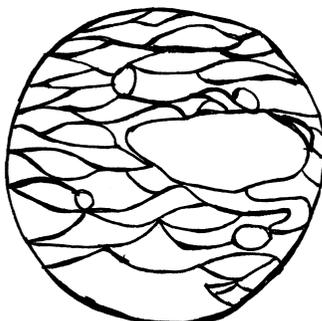
MODES AND AFFORDANCES

I am looking at four texts produced by 13-year-olds in a science lesson. The topic had been plant cells, and the teacher asked the class (in groups of four) to prepare a slide of the epidermis of an onion to look at under the microscope. The children were then asked to write a report of what they had done and to draw what they had seen. The teacher gave some instructions (e.g., use black pencil, place the drawing at the bottom of the page). Two of the drawings are shown in Figure 1, and the accompanying texts are given below.

FIGURE 1
Drawings From a Science Lesson



Drawing 1



Drawing 2

Text accompanying Drawing 1:

What I did

At first Amanda and I collected all the equipment. Amanda peeled the skin off the onion, while I got the microscope. Amanda put the onion skin on the slide, then I put on a drop of iodine on the onion then we put a cover slip on top of it. We then sorted the microscope out then we put the slide under neath it on the stage. We then looked in the eyepiece. It was interesting to look at and draw.

Text accompanying Drawing 2:

Step 1

Peel of a bit of onion skin and put a drop of iodine on it.

Step 2

Place the onion skin on to a microscope slide and put a cover slip on top.

Step 3

Put the slide on the microscope and get it into focus. Search for a pattern like a honey comb.

The generic form chosen by each group is different, narrativelike in one case and procedural in the other. But what is most significant from my point of view is that the substance of the lesson—the curricular content—is represented in the image, not in the language. To know what sense these children made of my teaching, what it was they think they saw, what they had learned, I need to look at their images, not at their writing. Meaning taken in via writing (the metaphor of the brick wall) or in accompanying talk (the honeycomb) reappears in the image. There is

a semantic trade among speech, image, and writing (and other modes, too, and via other senses—touch, feel, taste) that is, simply, human. One could not know what this text is about, what sense these children had made from their lessons and their experiment, unless one looked at image and writing together.

Does the image here do things that could not be done in words? Yes: What the image describes cannot be described in words. Words can provide a gloss: “What the child drew looks like a kind of . . .” The semiotic modes of writing and of image are distinct in what they permit, that is, in their *affordances*. Image is founded on *the logic of display in space*; writing (and speech even more so) is founded on *the logic of succession in time*. Image is spatial and nonsequential; writing and speech are temporal and sequential. That is a profound difference, and its consequences for representation and communication are now beginning to emerge in this semiotic revolution. One of its effects is a functional specialization of speech, writing, and image in which each is used to do that for which it is best suited. In this specialization, language is no longer the carrier of all meaning. And difference in use is beginning to affect the structure of language. Whether from meaning or structure, it is impossible to ignore this change: Those dealing with language are as affected as those dealing with other aspects of communication.

TRANSFORMATION AND DESIGN: NEW THEORIES OF MEANING

The children who produced the two science texts did not reproduce what they had been told. They did not simply demonstrate competence in the use of language or of image. They transformed what had been presented to them via a range of modes—in image, in speech, in experiment/demonstration, with models—into a new sense, their sense, representing their interests in their world. In this they used the representational resources that they felt were apt for their purposes, whether in their choice of written genre (narrativelike vs. procedural) or in the choice of metaphor guiding their visual representation (brick wall vs. fishnet); in their decision on which mode to use for representing which aspects of meaning; in their choice of coloured pens versus black pencil as well as in their choice of layout for the page (image at the top or at the bottom, as instructed). None of these decisions led to reproduction, whether of genre (these are specific kinds of procedure or narrative) or of image. The new texts are transformations of what existed before. In that process the resources available to these young women have been transformed. At the same time, the makers of the texts are not who they were before: They, too, have been changed as a result of their work.

Nor was the children’s work simply that of choice, of using appropriate

resources for a task. I wish to characterize their work as the work of design: the intentional deployment of resources in specific configurations to implement the purposes of the designers. That represents a shift from older theories both of meaning and of meaning use to a position in which the work of the text maker is taken as transformative of the resources and of the maker of the text. It gives agency of a real kind to the text maker.

THE AUTHOR

Gunther Kress is professor of education/English in the Institute of Education at University of London. His interests focus on the (English) curriculum, multiliteracies, and multimodality, that is, the developing forms of representation and their implications for the futures of education in school and out of school. His forthcoming publications include *Multimodal Teaching and Learning* (Continuum) and *Multimodality* (Edward Arnold).

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

TESOL Quarterly invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Quarterly* readers. Authors' addresses are printed with these reports to enable interested readers to contact the authors for more details.

Edited by **ROD ELLIS**

The University of Auckland

KAREN E. JOHNSON

Pennsylvania State University

Exploring ESL Teachers' Roles Through Metaphor Analysis

MARÍA C. M. DE GUERRERO AND OLGA S. VILLAMIL

Inter American University of Puerto Rico

San Juan, Puerto Rico

■ This report presents preliminary results of an ongoing study on ESL teachers' metaphorical conceptualizations of their profession. The current view of metaphor is that metaphorical expression is not only a fundamental and pervasive way of using language but also a way of thinking (Cameron & Low, 1999; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Marchant, 1992; Strickland & Iran-Nejad, 1994). Metaphors reflect how people know the world and how they think. Teachers are no exception in the widespread use of metaphor as a cognitive tool. Studies have revealed that teachers often employ metaphorical language, in particular conventional metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), when talking about their profession, their beliefs, and their daily practices (Munby, 1986, 1987; Tobin, 1990; Tobin & Ulerick, 1995). Educational researchers (Marchant, 1992; Marshall, 1990; Strickland & Iran-Nejad, 1994; Tobin, 1990; Tobin & Ulerick, 1995) believe that metaphor analysis is an excellent heuristic for bringing implicit assumptions to awareness, encouraging reflection, finding contradictions, and ultimately fostering change in educational beliefs and practices.

Little research has been conducted on the metaphors of L2 and foreign language (FL) learning and teaching. The little that has been done, however, indicates that metaphorical language in L2 and FL teaching, learning, and research is extensive and influential, and the value of pursuing metaphorical analysis is acknowledged (Block, 1992,

1999; Cameron & Low, 1999; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Danahy, 1986; Ellis, 1998; Herron, 1982; Lantolf, 1996; Nattinger, 1984; Oxford et al., 1998). Most of the research is based on relatively rigorous reviews of the literature aimed at identifying recurrent metaphorical conceptualizations of L2 and FL teaching and learning. Few studies (Block, 1992; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Ellis, 1998; Oxford et al., 1998) have used empirical data to analyze the metaphors employed by L2 and FL teachers and learners.

The purpose of the study reported here was to explore teachers' beliefs about their roles as ESL teachers through an analysis of metaphors they produced. The specific aims in this report are (a) to identify the metaphors that ESL teachers use to characterize their roles and (b) to elucidate some of the theoretical assumptions about teaching and learning ESL reflected in those metaphors.

METHOD

The data for analysis were obtained at a workshop titled "Teachers' Beliefs about the Teaching of ESL: What Their Metaphors Say."¹ At the workshop, participants were asked to produce a simile beginning "An ESL teacher is like"² To avoid having participants produce metaphors that might not truly represent their own beliefs, their instructions were to write a metaphor that best represented the way they saw themselves as ESL teachers in an original way. During the workshop, the participants underwent a process of deconstructing their metaphors through a series of steps disclosed to them as the workshop proceeded (see the Appendix). Twenty-two participants (6 males, 16 females), all with previous or current experience as ESL teachers in Puerto Rico, handed in their worksheets and gave us permission to use their responses as data for the study.

At this point in our analysis, we have examined two aspects of the workshop data: Step I, identifying the metaphors produced by the participants, and Step IV, learning about the participants' assumptions or theories that might help explain these metaphors. The methodology of the study followed Cameron and Low's (1999) general approach to metaphor analysis. This involves "collecting examples of linguistic metaphors . . . , generalising from them to the conceptual metaphors they exemplify, and using the result to suggest understandings or thought

¹ The workshop was offered on two different occasions: at the 1999 Puerto Rico TESOL convention and in a graduate class in the MA-TESL program at Inter American University of Puerto Rico.

² Although distinct in form, similes are considered instantiations of metaphor and have been used as data in metaphor analysis (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Marchant, 1992). Simile thus is not treated as a separate category from metaphor in this study.

patterns which construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions" (p. 88).

Our first procedure was to list the metaphors produced by the participants. Because of the relatively small number of tokens obtained (28) and because of the exploratory nature of the study, we analyzed the metaphors jointly. Working on an iterative basis, we recursively examined and reexamined the metaphors, making decisions based on consensus. We observed salient features, common elements, and similarities among the metaphors until some general conceptual categories representing teachers' roles emerged. To aid us in the process of categorization, we noted conventional teacher metaphors discussed in the literature and examined responses to Step IV on the worksheets in order to learn more about the participants' stated reasons for creating the metaphors the way they did. We then framed a tentative definition for each category. Because many of the metaphors were complex constructs suggesting teacher attributes that could fit more than one conceptual category, we scrutinized the metaphors for the one predominant feature that would determine which category they best represented. In this recursive process, category labels, definitions, and tokens within each category were refined.

The second phase of the data analysis consisted of studying the participants' stated assumptions and theories underlying the metaphors (Step IV). We examined the responses in terms of the explicit and implicit beliefs they revealed and traced them to various theoretical notions, principles, approaches, paradigms, or frameworks in the field of L2 and FL teaching and learning.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In response to the cue "An ESL teacher is like . . .," the 22 participants produced 28 metaphors that fall into nine general categories (Table 1). Some respondents apparently felt the need to write more than one metaphor, as if each metaphor captured best one aspect of the teacher concept. Most of the metaphors consisted of figurative expressions for the roles of teachers with detailed qualifying statements, such as "an ESL teacher is like a trail guide, guiding students through the forest of English and easing their fears about getting lost" and "an ESL teacher is like a wire in a thick wall searching for an outlet in which to introduce energy."

Three categories had an equal number of tokens (6). The metaphors in one of these categories present the teacher as a *cooperative leader*. Although these metaphors clearly put the teacher in a position of leadership and the learner at a certain level of dependence, they do not envision the teacher as a dictatorial authority figure. The author of the

TABLE 1
ESL Teachers' Roles Metaphorically Conceptualized

Role	Definition: The teacher . . .	No. of metaphors	Examples
Cooperative leader	. . . guides and directs students, helping them achieve goals; places herself or himself next to students, not above as an authoritarian figure; establishes an atmosphere of trust in the classroom.	6	coach, little leagues coach, trail guide, movie/theater director, instrument of God, symphony director
Provider of knowledge	. . . is the source and/or conduit of language; dispenses language knowledge to students.	6	moon, wire in a thick wall, television set, sun, missile, tree full of apples
Challenger/agent of change	. . . serves as a transformative agent in the students' learning process by creating challenge, bringing about change, and procuring opportunities for learning.	6	snag in the river, window to the world, bullfighter, lion tamer, gateway to the future, shooting star
Nurturer	. . . fosters the potential capabilities of students; facilitates growth and development; mediates the language learning process by giving feedback and constant support.	4	bee, busy bee, Mother Nature, gardener
Innovator	. . . keeps abreast of new methods and developments in the field and tries to implement them in the classroom.	2	explorer, convertible car
Provider of tools	. . . makes language available to students as a tool to construct meaning and participates in the language learning process as co-creator of language.	1	tool carrier
Artist	. . . approaches teaching as an aesthetic experience requiring a high degree of skill and creativity; molds learners into works of art.	1	potter
Repairer	. . . corrects students' language, strategies, and attitudes.	1	mechanic of the mind
Gym instructor	. . . treats the learners' minds as muscles that need to be trained and exercised to develop.	1	person starting an aerobics class

“coach” metaphor, for example, expanded the metaphor by saying, “An ESL teacher is like a coach helping the players to improve the play through constant encouraging and guiding.” The assumption behind this metaphor was, according to the participant, that “students need constant encouragement, support, feedback, and opportunities for practice.” The metaphor “instrument of God,” which would appear at first sight to give almighty powers to the teacher, reveals a theoretical inclination toward learner-centered rather than teacher-centered instruction: “[As an instrument of God], I am invisible because I want my students to be the center of the learning process, not myself.” A similar belief is expressed in the “movie/theater director” metaphor. A director is someone “who just has to sit back at certain points after the scene has been prepared and then just let the actors act.” Again, this metaphor emphasizes the teacher’s willingness to relinquish control and let the students assume responsibility for their own work. The “trail guide” metaphor could be seen as a combination of humanistic and sociocultural approaches to language teaching (Williams & Burden, 1997) in its emphasis on affective factors and collaboration. As the author of this metaphor explained, her major concern was with easing fears and anxiety among learners, a principle of L2 teaching that she explicitly traces to “Krashen’s affective filter.” One way of allaying the students’ fears is, according to the participant, “collaboration . . . a kind of buddy system . . . which can be linked to Vygotsky.”

Six metaphors present the teacher as a *knowledge provider* or dispenser. These metaphors reflect an adherence to a view of language as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge or ideas, a limited conception of language and communication known as the *conduit metaphor* of language (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Reddy, 1993). Information-processing approaches to L2 teaching and learning typically adopt the language of the conduit metaphor (Dunn & Lantolf, 1998). In the metaphors produced by the participants, the teacher is seen as some part or element of the process of conveying knowledge to the students, with language knowledge traveling from source to recipient. In the “moon” metaphor, for example, the teacher “emits light [language knowledge]” and the learner “receives reflected light.” In the “wire in a thick wall” metaphor, “ESL teachers are the medium through which students are exposed to language.” In the “tree full of apples” metaphor, the teacher is “a person full of knowledge to give.” The “missile” metaphor is a particularly aggressive conceptualization of dispensing knowledge and is coherent with other “military” metaphors in the field of L2 and FL learning (Danahy, 1986) and with a view of teaching as war (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). Its creator, in fact, spoke of “bombarding” his students with language experience.

Six participants represented the teacher as some kind of *challenger* or *agent of change*. The teacher who used the “snag in the river” metaphor saw himself as a transformative agent in the students’ learning process. His role is to provide “snags”: to challenge students to think critically and to encourage them “to be thinking, ethical, contributing members of society.” For this participant, the teacher is also a “window to the outside world and to the students’ inner world.” Again, the teacher’s role here is to provide “new perspectives” as well as “to help students think for themselves.” Both the “bullfighter” and “lion tamer” metaphors emphasize the difficulty involved in teaching L2 students when they are not willing to learn the L2. Some of the assumptions behind these metaphors are that “students cannot be forced to learn English” and that teachers are challenged to “lead the students to something they don’t really feel comfortable with.” Two of the metaphors in this group (teacher as “gateway to the future” and as “shooting star”) stress the ESL teacher’s role as a contributor to the learner’s future, providing “opportunities that were once forbidden” and “hope” that English can be learned, despite its difficulties.

In the *teacher as nurturer* group of metaphors, the teacher is seen as someone nourishing, influencing, and fostering the potential capabilities of the learner. Although in these metaphors there is a basic adherence to the notion of language development as a process that is biologically determined, as plant growth and pollination are, they also reflect an implicit belief in the key role of teachers as mediators in the language learning process. One of the assumptions underlying the “bee” metaphor, for example, is that in order to obtain the “best from each flower [learner],” the teacher must give “constant feedback.” In the “Mother Nature” metaphor, the teacher is as much “nature” as “nurture.” According to its author, teachers will not only “develop [the students’] natural talents” but will also “enhance and polish” these talents. The underlying beliefs in this group of metaphors are epitomized in the “gardener” metaphor: “A teacher is a gardener who gives his/her plants TLC [tender loving care]: water, fertilizer, pruning, insecticide (at times). Each plant develops at its own rate.”

The few remaining metaphors produced in the study were assigned to five additional categories. Though consisting of one or two tokens each, these categories are distinct, providing further insights into how ESL teachers conceptualize their roles. The “teacher as explorer [of new methods]” metaphor focuses, as the “teacher as a convertible car” metaphor does, on the notion of *teacher as innovator*, always looking for new ways to approach teaching. The “teacher as a convertible car” metaphor, however, suggests meanings that go beyond being innovative in teaching. In its complete form, the metaphor reads, “An ESL teacher

is like a convertible car *in a bumpy rock infested road* [italics added].” In this metaphor, the teacher’s innovative attitude (represented by the convertible car) confronts obstacles posed by learners (the bumps and rocks on the road). Although its creator claimed that the metaphor expressed her attitude of “being open to new strategies and methodologies,” the metaphor reflects a view, highly entrenched in the L2 and FL literature, of learners as *resistors* (Meighan, as cited in Williams & Burden, 1997) and as *problematic* (Firth & Wagner, 1997).

In the category *teacher as provider of tools*, the teacher is a “tool carrier,” carrying “a box of tools . . . to deliver to every constructor of language.” Two basic assumptions in this metaphor make it distinct from the category *teacher as knowledge provider*. First, language is seen not as a vehicle for communication but as a tool for making meaning. In this view, the metaphor is close to sociocultural approaches to language teaching, which see language as a psychological tool forming part of the “tool kit” mediating intellectual development (Wertsch, 1991, p. 93). Second, the learner is posed not as a passive recipient of knowledge but as a constructor of language, a notion more in line with social-constructivist theories of language learning and teaching (Williams & Burden, 1997) than with the information-processing model of communication adopted by most cognitive approaches (Mitchell & Myles, 1998).

The *teacher as artist* category is represented by the metaphor “an ESL teacher is like a potter who models clay into unique works of art.” This metaphor is rather conventional in the field of education, revealing a highly popular belief in teaching as art (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Danahy, 1986). The *teacher as repairer* is exemplified in the “mechanic of the mind” metaphor. This metaphor seems to convey an image of the learner as some kind of “defective communicator” (see Firth & Wagner, 1997, for a discussion of this highly popularized metaphor in the second language acquisition [SLA] field). Yet its author’s stated assumption is that “most of [the learners’] past experience has taught them wrong ways to approach the language.” In this interpretation, it is not so much the learners’ language but the strategies used to approach language learning that are defective. Finally, the *teacher as gym instructor* category is consistent with the *gymnastic theory of mind* (Herron, 1982), which assumes that mind equals body and that language, like the muscles, needs training in order to develop. The teacher who compared herself to a “person starting an aerobics class” sees herself not only doing a lot of “hot sweaty work” and “put[ting] everything into [her] class” but also providing students with “*warm-up exercises*—building background, eliciting prior knowledge, brainstorming—and *building muscles*—building vocabulary and skills.”

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, an analysis of ESL teachers' metaphors sheds light on how those teachers conceptualize themselves as ESL educators. One important finding is that teachers continue to identify themselves with a series of traditional teaching roles, such as leader, provider of knowledge, agent of change, and nurturer. Despite their novel appearance, most of the metaphors in the data reflect to a great extent conventional notions about what it is to be a teacher (someone who guides; provides knowledge, tools, and opportunities; brings about change; fosters development; molds behavior; and keeps abreast of new methods).

The metaphors also suggest personal preferences, attitudes, and grievances among teachers, showing the effect of individual trajectories in the teaching profession. For example, some metaphors express a tendency toward learner-centered rather than teacher-centered instruction ("movie/theater director"), a preoccupation with teaching critical thinking ("snag in the river"), and an awareness of the difficulties involved in certain ESL situations ("lion tamer"), all indicative of how the teachers' personal experiences have shaped their conception of the ESL teacher.

The study confirms the notion that ESL teaching is a complex profession that seems to be best captured by multiple metaphorical conceptions. Whereas most participants identified themselves primarily with one role, possibly the one they felt most comfortable with, in actual practice most ESL teachers may display multiple roles on a contingent basis; that is, teachers may vary in their roles depending on the specific circumstances that arise in the instructional setting. How ESL teachers' metaphors translate into classroom behavior, however, is beyond the scope of this report.³ In addition, because the metaphors in this study were constructed specifically at the researchers' request rather than elicited spontaneously during teacher discourse, we acknowledge that they may not represent the participants' actual conceptualizations of themselves as ESL teachers (despite our explicit instructions that they do so). Rather, we tend to see these metaphors as providing access to prevalent notions about what an ESL teacher is and about the roles ESL teachers are expected to perform.

An examination of the theoretical presuppositions underlying the metaphors reveals an adherence to the information-processing approach to language teaching and learning, with some indications of seeping influences from more socially grounded approaches such as social-

³ It is in our research agenda to analyze Question III in the workshop data ("How does your metaphor reflect your daily practice?"). Because these data are based on what teachers say they do (and not on the observation of what they actually do), responses to Question III will give us only partial information on the correspondence between teachers' purported beliefs and their actual practices.

constructivism or sociocultural theory. There is some evidence of the impact of humanistic approaches to language teaching in the teachers' concern for the learners' affective well-being and in their tendency to portray themselves as participatory leaders rather than as all-powerful authority figures. The data show, however, some lingering beliefs in the learner as somehow defective, resistant, or problematic. This view is typical of mainstream SLA research, which derives models of the L2 learner from models of an idealized native speaker (Cook, 1999; Firth & Wagner, 1997). Overall, this study provides a measure of the extent to which ESL professionals have appropriated and used the metaphors, principles, and notions of the various L2 and FL theoretical paradigms and approaches for the construction of teachers' roles.

More complex information on ESL teachers' conceptions as revealed by metaphor will emerge as the data analysis is completed. Some questions to be examined in the course of this investigation are the following:

1. What are the entailments of teachers' metaphors in terms of such concepts as *learner*, *teaching process*, *learning process*, *school environment*, *language*, and *culture*?
2. How do these metaphors relate to the teachers' daily classroom practice?
3. Do teachers see the need to modify their metaphors? If so, what kind of modifications do teachers think are necessary?
4. Do the metaphors reflect any conflicting or inconsistent beliefs?

Further research is necessary to establish links between metaphorical conceptions of teachers' roles, teachers' use of metaphors in discourse, and actual teaching practices in the ESL classroom. Metaphor analysis is still largely untested as a research method in the field of L2 and FL instruction. The few partial findings obtained in this study suggest, however, that viewing the ESL field through the lens of metaphor may yield valuable insights and discoveries.

THE AUTHORS

María C. M. de Guerrero is professor of English and linguistics at Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Metropolitan Campus. She teaches basic and intermediate ESL and graduate courses in linguistics and research methods. She is currently interested in conducting research on the application of sociocultural theory to L2 learning.

Olga S. Villamil is professor of English and linguistics at Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Metropolitan Campus. She teaches ESL writing courses and graduate courses on first and second language acquisition and on writing theories. Her research interests include student interaction and assessment in the writing classroom.

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APPENDIX

Workshop Worksheet

I. [Write metaphor: An ESL teacher is like]⁴

II. [Identify the following elements in your metaphor: teacher, learner, teaching process, learning process, school environment, language, culture.]

III. [How does your metaphor reflect your daily practice?]

IV. [Identify the assumptions or theories underlying your metaphor.]

[How would you modify your metaphor? Is it necessary to change it?]

Academic preparation: bachelor's ____, master's ____, doctorate ____, graduate std. ____
Teaching experience (years): 1–5 ____, 6–10 ____, 11–15 ____, 15 + ____
Current teaching level: elementary ____, secondary ____, higher education ____
Gender: male ____, female ____

Mailing Address:

Authors' address: English Department, Inter American University of Puerto Rico,
PO Box 191293, San Juan, PR 00919-1293 USA.

⁴ Instructions were given orally; they did not appear on the participants' worksheets.

Whose Definition of Success? Identifying Factors That Affect English Language Learners' Access to Academic Success and Resources

JUDY SHARKEY AND CAROLYN LAYZER

*The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania, United States*

■ Ganda,¹ a ninth grader from Nepal who was in the United States while his father completed a doctoral degree, and Nicholas, a ninth-grade immigrant from Ukraine, burst into the ESL room minutes after the seventh-period bell had rung. After checking out who was in the room and having a small conversation about the location of Kathmandu on one of the classroom maps, they sat down and attended to the task that had brought them to the ESL room. They told Judy, a volunteer tutor, that their science teacher had sent them there to get help completing their quizzes. One question read, "You are at station two. Look at the model and describe the processes." Ganda and Nicholas were allowed to bring their quizzes but not the models to the ESL room, thus complicating how much help a tutor or teacher could offer. "What's happening in your science class now?" Judy asked. "Oh, the teacher is going over the quiz with the students. He's explaining the answers to them," Nicholas replied (field notes, October 22, 1998).

BACKGROUND

Interactions such as this one were instrumental in the designing of a qualitative case study that investigated the role of teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and practices in facilitating or hindering English language learners' (ELLs') access to academic success and resources. The purpose of this brief report is to present an overview of this in-progress case study and the preliminary findings.

During the 1998–1999 school year, we served as volunteer tutors in the ESL room at a U.S. public high school. We did not have a research agenda when we began tutoring, but as full-time doctoral students immersed in the discourse of research (in which every life encounter is reframed to fit a qualitative inquiry), we wrote weekly field notes for the tutoring sessions. Once a week, we went to the ESL room during the last two periods of the day, which were study hall periods, and assisted students in any way we could. We also engaged students in conversations

¹All names, with the exception of the authors', are pseudonyms.

about school and home life, academic plans, interests, and our cultures and languages. Our interests in the relationship between language and power, and our knowledge of the low academic success rates in U.S. public schools of students whose LI is not English, greatly influenced the types of questions raised by our interactions with the students and the head ESL teacher. Anecdotal evidence from our field notes suggested that the bi- and multilingual students viewed the ESL room as a safe haven, a second home. They were marginalized in their mainstream classrooms; their languages and lived experiences were devalued; the mainstream teachers viewed the ESL room as a content tutoring center; and the ESL curriculum did not help the students acquire the academic proficiency required for meaningful, comprehensible completion of tasks in their mainstream content courses. We realized that these assertions were premature and that further investigation was needed.

APPROACH AND RESEARCH QUESTION

When designing the study, we worked with Susan, the head ESL teacher, and Tom, the social studies ESL teacher, to generate a list of possibilities. They expressed a keen interest in knowing more about the mainstream teachers' beliefs and attitudes in regard to the ELLs in their classes. We shaped our study with this interest in mind.

Yin (1994) states that the case study approach is the best strategy when "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has no control" (p. 9). For this study, the case is bounded by place (one particular high school), by participants (teachers who have ELLs in their classrooms), and time (6 weeks), with the classroom as the unit of analysis (Creswell, 1998).

Our overarching research question was: How do teachers' attitudes, beliefs and practices about ELLs influence ELLs' access to academic resources and success in mainstream classrooms?

Although we sought to investigate numerous factors that have an impact on classroom context, including administrative policies and practices and the way the bi- and multilingual population is portrayed in the school and local community, in this report we focus on the role of teachers in shaping ELLs' classroom learning experiences. Although we recognize that students are active participants in shaping as well as negotiating context, we did not focus on them because we wanted to stress the importance of context. Because "the world [is] not a neutral medium" (McDermott, 1993, p. 273), we wanted to avoid placing the burden of success solely on the individual.

Academic resources and *academic success* were two sensitizing concepts (Patton, 1990) that we brought to the study. According to Patton, "the inductive application of sensitizing concepts is to examine how the

concept is manifest in a particular setting or among a particular group of people” (p. 391). We use the term academic resources to refer to people, practices, and physical items that facilitate a student’s academic success. College guidance counselors, advanced-level classes needed for college admission, and computers are some examples. We defined academic success as the achievement of or progress toward the students’ desired career goals. For example, we knew that two seniors, Nam Hee, the daughter of a visiting professor from Korea, and Véronique, an immigrant refugee from Rwanda, were applying to colleges, so we wanted to understand the role of the classroom context vis-à-vis their academic goals.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Our work is informed by critical and feminist theories and pedagogies (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997; Weedon, 1987; Weiler, 1988, 1991). Research projects that operate within this framework recognize that power is distributed unequally, seek to understand the factors shaping unjust practices and structures, and suggest alternatives (Carspecken, 1996; Weiler, 1988). Like Peirce (1995b) and other critical researchers, we reject the notion that any research project can be unbiased or claim objectivity. Our view of the world and our commitment to and involvement with students like Ganda and Nicholas inform our studies and shape our questions.

Our study has been influenced by a number of researchers in TESOL (e.g., Peirce, 1995a; Toohey, 1998; Willett, 1995) whose work emphasizes the importance of analysis of social contexts. They criticize traditional second language acquisition (SLA) theorists for focusing almost exclusively on the individual learner (e.g., motivation, innate capabilities) while ignoring or diminishing the role of context in learning. Lave and Wenger’s (1991) theory of situated learning and legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) extends this sociocultural perspective to reinforce the notion that not only is learning socially mediated, but social contexts can construct unequal access to resources necessary for success. As the opening anecdote indicates, the well-meaning science teacher is denying Nicholas and Ganda access to the content they need for their academic success. The concept of LPP, specifically the focus on the role of social context in constructing access to resources, helped us understand these students’ situation and shape our main research question.

LPP focuses on the types of social engagements necessary for learning to take place. The term refers to the type of participation required of members (of a learning community) for learning to occur. LPP is not a strategy or device; Lave and Wenger (1991) themselves characterize it as an “analytical viewpoint on learning” (p. 40). One element of LPP that is

particularly helpful for analyzing classroom contexts is the role of language in gaining access to practice, which is essential to participation, which in turn is a crucial condition for learning.

Research in classroom discourse provided a framework for understanding how language is used to maintain control, disseminate information, and legitimate certain types of knowledge (Cazden, 1988) and for understanding the implications of such language use for L2 learners (Harklau, 1994; Johnson, 1995).

METHOD

Context

College High, with a student body numbering approximately 2,300, is located in a predominantly White, middle-class community clustered around a large public university in rural central Pennsylvania. In 1993, College High was recognized as a Blue Ribbon School, one of the top 200 secondary schools in the country, by the U.S. Department of Education. According to published data, 82.0% of graduating seniors enrolled in 4-year colleges, and 2.5% enrolled in 2-year or technical colleges. The student body was described as 91% White, 4% Asian, 3% African American, 1% Hispanic, and less than 1% other. Seven percent were classified as low-income; 2% were classified as ESL students. The bi- and multilingual school population consisted of children of visiting faculty, researchers, or graduate students; immigrant refugees (political and economic); and exchange students. These students came from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East.

The ESL Program

When students whose L1 is not English were registered at the high school, they took the English Placement Test. Students who scored below 85 (out of 100 items) were classified as ESL students and took one to three periods a day of ESL in addition to one to three periods of mainstream courses. Students who scored above 85 were classified as ESL transition students. They took only mainstream content courses but could come to the ESL room during study hall or other free periods to get help with assignments. Susan played an active role in selecting the ELLs' mainstream classes.

During the 1998–1999 school year, approximately 35 students were enrolled in ESL classes. Another 10–15 students were classified as ESL transition students. Susan, who had received an MA in TESL in 1981, designed and implemented the ESL curriculum. At the beginning of the school year of this study, the school had assigned a mainstream social

studies teacher, Tom, who was not trained in teaching ESL, to assist Susan by teaching social studies ESL courses. According to Susan and Tom, the goals of the ESL program were to help the students feel more comfortable in the high school culture and feel comfortable using the language (i.e., English).

We found that students, even those who had transitioned out of the ESL program, often came to the ESL room just to be in a friendly environment. When we asked Edouard, an immigrant refugee from Rwanda, why the students always came back to the ESL room, he said, "Look at this place. It's like a home. Who wouldn't want to come back here? You can see your friends here" (field notes, December 10, 1998). Edouard was not alone in this opinion. Susan and Tom created spaces where the ELLs felt comfortable, safe, and welcome. As a result, these students went to the ESL room whenever possible.

Data Collection and Method of Analysis

The preliminary analysis presented here is based on the following data: a two-page survey (adapted from Penfield, 1987; see Appendix A) distributed to the 48 teachers of academic subjects who currently had ELLs in their classes (35 surveys were returned); semistructured, open-ended interviews (30–50 minutes each; see Appendix B) with 10 teachers (8 mainstream; 2 ESL); and observations of 26 periods (47 minutes each) in the following subjects: science (5), social studies (4), language arts (4), math (3), health (2), general ESL (6), social studies ESL (2). The purpose of the survey was to gain a general understanding of teachers' perceptions of ELLs and to generate possible areas of focus for interviews and classroom observations.

Description of the context is an important part of case study analysis (Creswell, 1998). We used "contextualizing strategies" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 79) in our analysis; that is, rather than coding the data, we attempted to find relationships between actions and statements in the data within the context in which they occurred. The contextualizing strategy we used in analyzing the interviews and surveys was cross-case analysis: clustering the answers that different respondents gave to the same questions. We also built small individual cases for each teacher based on interviews and classroom observations before comparing beliefs and practices with those of other teachers. As mentioned above, LPP focuses on the types of social engagements necessary for learning. Therefore, in our observations, we looked at the types of participation required by the teachers and initiated by the students. This meant keeping track of who talked when, with whom, and for what purpose.

For triangulation, we compared teachers' stated beliefs and practices with what we observed in their classrooms. Susan met with us twice after

we had given her an outline of our findings and a copy of her interview transcript.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

We found that teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and practices affected ELLs' access to academic success and resources in three important ways: (a) ELLs' placement in mainstream classes, (b) teachers' expectations of ELLs (i.e., notions of success), and (c) classroom interaction.

Placement of ELLs in Mainstream Classes

The practice. It was common for ELLs to be placed in lower track classes. This practice grew out of Susan's belief that ELLs would feel more comfortable in those classes. When asked to describe how ELLs were placed in mainstream classes, Susan stated that there was "no policy regarding the placement of ELLs in lower track classes" but rather that "it's pretty much an individual prescription" (interview, June 7, 1999); "we always try to place them in a situation [where] they can succeed and which has a good chemistry" (written response, August 5, 1999). In response to our concern (stated in the outline of our findings) that the students seemed to be placed in classes with little consideration of their academic aspirations, Susan stated that she and the counselor did consider students' goals when deciding their course schedules, adding the caveat:

Upon suggestion of the admissions officers at [local university], where most of our kids go to school, they [admissions personnel] feel it is better to have a higher grade on the transcript than it is to have a "college bound" course with a lower grade, hence the lower placement. It is always with the student's approval that this is done. (written response, August 5, 1999)

We did not interview students or their parents, but we feel further information is needed in order to understand how much choice and input the students and parents feel they have. Susan may be underestimating the weight that her advice carries with students and their parents, especially those who are unaccustomed to questioning teachers' knowledge and are unfamiliar with the workings of U.S. high schools.

The lower track classes. Five of the six mainstream teachers in our study taught subjects that had two tracks, and the ELLs were always in the lower track (referred to by teachers as *care classes*, *general classes*, or *regular classes*). Two of the five teachers explicitly described their lower track

classes as not being for college-bound students. “Earth Science is for the regular kids; general kids, [who] are not going to go to college but need the unit to pass high school” (Mr. Szymanski, interview, May 7, 1999). “English 12 [is] basically your lowest level kids, kids who have a history of failure . . . obviously most of them are not planning on going to college . . . there’s nowhere else for them to go really . . . there’s nowhere else to put them and they have to have English, so that’s why they are in there” (Ms. Federoff, interview, May 7, 1999). However, in these two classes we found five ELLs who were planning to go to college. In fact, the three ELLs in Ms. Federoff’s class had already been accepted to college at the time of this study. In the English 12 class that we observed and that Ms. Federoff described as “typical,” she was explaining the students’ next project: to make a puppet show based on children’s books. During the summer, we ran into Véronique, who had been in English 12 and was currently enrolled in college summer courses. She was finding both the quantity and the level of reading to be very difficult; her comments indicated that she was unprepared for college reading.

Ms. Giles, a social studies teacher, described the difference between students in regular and advanced World Cultures II (10th-grade social studies) class: “What you end up seeing is the interested students take advanced and the nonmotivated students take regular” (interview, May 6, 1999).

We conducted classroom observations in both “general” and “advanced” levels of the same course subject in Earth Science (9th-grade science), World Cultures II, and 10th-grade English. In interviews prior to the observations, teachers mentioned issues related to learning-support students in the general-level courses. “They have learning disabilities, or learning support, a lot of emotional support kids, so you end up with behavior becoming a real issue” (Ms. Giles, interview, May 6, 1999). Mr. Szymanski and Ms. Federoff also mentioned the special needs of the students in their classes. These reports were corroborated by our classroom observations; in the general-level courses, teachers focused more on classroom management—keeping students on task and “selling” the course content. It was common for a few vocal students to dominate the classroom space, sometimes physically (e.g., constantly roaming, roving, touching classmates or their possessions) and often vocally (e.g., shouting out answers, causing digressions). For example, when Mr. Szymanski made a connection between a question about sea scorpions and the worms in the movie *Tremors*, a student shouted, “Hey, did anyone see *Speed II*?” Five minutes later, another student shouted, “Hey, look at the bunnies!” and rushed to the window, beckoning to fellow classmates (classroom observation, May 13, 1999). In contrast, in the advanced-level courses, students in group work stayed on task longer, and teachers spent more time attending to content questions. In

Advanced World Cultures II, students were offered opportunities to decide which task to work on. Ms. Kinski, a math teacher, noted that the students in the lowest track math class had so little language that verbal explanations were often left out or severely limited (interview, May 14, 1999).

The consequences. The following excerpt from the interview with Mr. Szymanski captures the situation and the academic consequences of placing ELLs in lower track classes.

Mr. S: I find that those [ESL] kids are a heck of a lot more motivated than anybody else in my class, especially the general class. And they always put them in the general class, too. Well, I don't know if that's a good place to put them.

Judy: Why?

Mr. S: [after mentioning the learning support and special needs students] So, when you get a mix like that, who gets slighted as far as most kids? It would be the ESL kids because I have to worry about everybody else in class. Those kids are never any problem most of the time. I just feel it's a disservice to those kids. They need to be, I hate to say it, they need to be all in one room until they learn the language and then split them up. After they have some idea of what's going on. And most of them are smart, and they shouldn't be in that earth science class. They should be in Earth Science I [the advanced class].

Judy: So, then if you're in Earth Science I, it's easier to get into other science classes later?

Mr. S: Yeah, Earth Science I then you can go to Biology I, then you can take second-year classes, a semester of meteorology, semester of microbiology—if you're going into biology and stuff like this, in this school. And if you're in the general track, unless they really learn their English and then do something the following year to show somebody that they can do higher level work, they're are not going to do higher level work. (interview, May 7, 1999)

If the rationale behind placing students in lower track classes was to make students feel more comfortable or to reduce the linguistic challenge, the strategy failed on both counts: We observed (a) that ELLs tended to be isolated or overlooked in their classes (see below) and (b) that the limited language of lower track classrooms both restricted their access to discipline knowledge (subject-area knowledge) and impeded their English language learning by not providing opportunities to engage in language interactions.

Teachers' Expectations of ELLs

Criteria for success. In the individual interviews, we asked teachers, "What does a student need to be successful in your class?" The response given

by Ms. Urbaniak (an English teacher) was typical: “Do their homework and ask questions when they don’t understand. Kids who just hang in there and do their work, pass” (interview, May 20, 1999). The sentiment “just try” was repeated by three other teachers. Thus, the first criterion for success for ELLs in their mainstream classes was whether they expended any effort to accomplish the tasks set for them in the class. Mr. Szymanski stated that the students “need to know English” and Mrs. Daniels (a health teacher) stressed the importance of communication skills (for which she provided structure for all students to develop).

In contrast to Mrs. Daniels, two teachers also mentioned school skills and abilities that they expected students to possess but that the teachers did not feel it was their responsibility to teach. For example, Ms. Giles (social studies) said, “They need to know how to take notes,” but she also added, “but I don’t know how to teach them that” (interview, May 13, 1999). Mr. Smith (science) commented that “they need to know to ask for help, they need to stop me and say they don’t understand; they need to know they don’t know how to take notes and ask for help” (interview, May 18, 1999), adding that he would take off points when students needed help but did not ask for it.

Susan measured ELLs’ success by the degree of cultural assimilation (i.e., into the high school culture) they were able to attain. She described a Japanese exchange student as “one of the most successful students” because of her involvement in extracurricular activities. This student was “a B-minus student probably,” but “her studies [were] not her priority, so she’s found it to be a very satisfying experience” (interview, June 7, 1999). However, after reading the first draft of our findings, Susan said that upon further consideration of the question, she would say that “one needs to achieve a balance which includes mastery of skills and knowledge (which is measured by the English Placement Test); a demonstrated effort at acculturation and integration; as well as completing tasks and putting forth effort” (written response to draft report, August 5, 1999).

The consequences. One plausible explanation for the teachers’ assertions about success is that teachers were stating beliefs about necessary traits required for success, such as hard work and motivation, rather than outcomes that indicate success, such as mastery of content. In this respect, the teachers’ attitudes reflect core values in U.S. society: attributing individual success to personal effort and hard work. However, our classroom observations confirmed that expectations based on traits and values were foregrounded whereas mastery of content was often not checked or specifically facilitated: As long as ELLs completed the worksheet, with correct or incorrect answers, they were considered to be successful.

These findings reveal the complexity of the issue of defining success for students. All of the teachers in our study expressed concern for the welfare of their students. Indeed, the high percentage of surveys returned (73%) and the complete cooperation of all teachers whom we asked to participate indicate that the faculty at College High were interested in and committed to meeting the needs of the ELLs. They attempted to attend to the affective needs of their students, which most educators would agree is important in learning. However, focusing on the affective needs of students to the exclusion of their cognitive needs has negative consequences.

By acting through the “benevolent conspiracy” (Hatch, 1992, p. 67), that is, attempting to provide a comfortable environment without checking or facilitating the development of academic content knowledge, teachers were effectively blocking access to the acquisition of academic content knowledge. Listening to Véronique’s struggles with college-level reading confirmed that expending effort in a lower track class did not prepare her for the academic challenges ahead of her. Thus, a question for teachers is how to provide a balance of affective support and cognitive challenge.

Classroom Interaction

By classroom interaction we are referring to types of classroom communication patterns and participation structures. Drawing on research in classroom discourse, we looked at the ways language was used in classrooms and the implications for the ELLs in those classrooms. Given our theoretical belief that learning is a socially mediated activity, we adhere to the proposition that SLA is facilitated by opportunities for L2 learners to interact with speakers (native and nonnative) and use the L2 in meaningful ways (Spolsky, 1989). In this study we looked at access to interaction rather than linkages between interaction and SLA. Although we do not equate access with learning, we believe that it is a condition for learning, and without access, learning is impeded. In addition, some forms of classroom interaction can also impede learning, so it is necessary to examine what kind of interaction takes place rather than simply whether interaction occurs.

As mentioned earlier, one purpose of the survey was to generate possible areas of focus for classroom observations. One of the open-ended survey questions asked teachers to describe the interaction of ESL students with other students in their classes. Most respondents (69.7%, or 23 of 33 who answered this question) reported that ELLs had little or no interaction with other students in their classes. Of these, 17 teachers explicitly mentioned interaction (e.g., “usually little or no interaction”), and 6 implicitly indicated limited interaction (e.g., “ESL students are

polite, sweet but rather shy"). Four teachers indicated that there was little interaction because the ELLs were seen as "different or strange" or "ESL students are usually loners"; "they often remain isolated," "sometimes secluded from others." Seven teachers (21%) characterized the interaction as good, though one respondent qualified this somewhat: "limited though positive."

The surveys and our classroom observations indicated that although there was a range in the quality of ELLs' interaction in mainstream classes, the dominant pattern was one of limited interaction. In other words, ELLs rarely spoke or were spoken to. It is important to note that the dominant patterns of classroom interaction were different in the regular and in the advanced classrooms we observed. In the latter, students more commonly had choices in managing their own time, opportunities for structured collaborative work, and tasks that were more cognitively demanding but reinforced links between concepts and lexical items (sentence-length or paragraph-length responses rather than the one-word answers on worksheets more common in regular classes). The regular classes were more heavily dominated by the inquiry-response-evaluation pattern, with students doing seat work individually; less collaborative work; and less cognitively demanding work.

In the survey responses, interviews, and observations we noticed that teachers held varying attitudes regarding their role in shaping classroom communities. This ranged from the *laissez-faire* ("what ever happens, happens") to a proactive stance: "I have a feeling that he [Edouard] is a little bit left out. He has moved his seat to the back row and I don't force assigned seats because [very softly] I don't care [laughs] . . . I just haven't tried to manage the situation basically. They do it. I trust them, so go ahead" (Ms. Giles, interview, May 6, 1999). We observed three of Ms. Giles's classes in which there was one ELL. Edouard never spoke during the lecture format, and during group work his desk was physically outside of the small circle of his group. While the other students in his group talked with each other, one girl asked Edouard, "What did you come up with?" in the last 2 minutes of the 30-minute group activity. The teacher went to several groups, checking in and asking questions, but never came over to Edouard's group (observation, May 12, 1999). This *laissez-faire* attitude is present in the surveys, placing the responsibility to interact on the ELL: "[There is] very little [interaction] unless they instigate [sic] it" and "[I] try—the other kids make an effort. I wish I could do more."

Mr. Szymanski, Mr. Smith, and Mrs. Daniels grouped the ELLs together, believing that they would interact with and thus support each other. In these three different classrooms, the ELLs occupied different places: at the back of the room in Mr. Szymanski's class, in the front row in Mr. Smith's class, and in the center in Mrs. Daniels' class. We did not

see these teachers encourage the ELLs to interact with other students but did see them call on the ELLs during class time.

Ms. Kinski took the most proactive stance in helping ELLs interact with classmates. At the beginning of the school year, she arranged the seats in rows—which were eight seats across—and assigned seats with the following pattern: (front row) native speaker, ELL, ELL, native speaker; (second row) same pattern. At one point she told the native speakers that they were responsible for making sure the ELLs understood what was going on, explaining things if necessary and helping them ask questions (interview, May 14, 1999). She said that she felt this worked very well. In our observations, which were toward the end of the school year, Ms. Kinski's class was the only one in which native speakers and ELLs interacted freely. ELLs seemed to have greater access to academic resources in this class, speaking with and engaging in practice with the other members of the learning community (teacher and peers). In addition, although it is beyond the scope of this study to predict or comment on outcomes of this situation, in this classroom the teacher was clearly attempting to attend to both the affective and the cognitive needs of the learners.

The surveys also revealed attitudes about ELLs as “shy,” “timid,” “not talkative,” or “tentative in interacting.” Such attitudes place the burden of interaction on the students while leaving the classroom context unchallenged. For example, in an interview, Ms. Federoff stated that she thought the reason why Véronique was quiet in her class was because of her “very undeveloped language skills” (May 7, 1999). From our work with Véronique throughout the school year, we knew her to be very outspoken on a variety of topics from local employment opportunities for high school students to school policies and actions taken after the shooting at Columbine High School in Colorado that year.

To complement our observations of mainstream classes, we observed 2 consecutive days of Tom's social studies ESL classes. Seven of the students in this class were in the different mainstream classes that we observed. These same students, who in mainstream classes were very quiet and did not tend to interact with their mainstream classmates, demonstrated that they were not shy, quiet, or “tentative in interacting.” When Tom asked questions to the whole group, many of the students would raise hands or shout out answers. They also would stop Tom when they did not understand his meaning, and they joked with Tom and each other. They demonstrated that they did know how to interact in U.S. classrooms. We remembered a comment by Véronique in December. She said she never spoke in her mainstream classes, but she did speak in the ESL room because “nobody laughs at your English here” (field notes, December 10, 1998).

The consequences. One consequence of students' limited interaction in their mainstream classes is that access to academic resources and success was impeded. If students' academic English language proficiency is to develop, they need numerous opportunities to interact in substantive, meaningful ways with others (i.e., native and nonnative speakers). As Johnson (1995) points out, students must have opportunities to use multiple aspects (social, cognitive, cultural, linguistic, and paralinguistic features) of the new language, and "paradoxically, to acquire this knowledge, they must participate in interpersonal interaction in the language, but without this knowledge, their chances for such interactions remain limited" (p. 52). Students are placed in lower track classes because of the belief that the reduced linguistic challenges will benefit them. However, the reduced language restricts their language development, and the special needs of their native speaker classmates result in the ELLs being effectively hidden from their teachers.

It is also worth reiterating that the type of interaction as well as the quantity is important. For example, in Tom's classroom, students appeared to achieve his stated goal of their becoming more comfortable participating orally in class (interview, May 25, 1999). However, it was unclear how the content or the interaction would help students' proficiency in academic language. Again, this points to the complexity of the students' needs. Clearly, the ELLs enjoyed being in Tom's classroom, and the way he spoke of these students indicated a sincere concern for their well-being. All students could benefit from having such caring teachers. However, Tom seemed to be emphasizing the affective to the exclusion of the cognitive needs of the ELLs. This imbalance could have been due partly to his lack of understanding of their linguistic needs, as he did not have a background in SLA. Appropriate grounding in SLA could help Tom build on his pedagogical strengths to develop new strategies for effectively addressing both affective and cognitive needs of students.

Thus, the three areas—placement, expectations, and interaction—overlap to construct a context in which access to academic content knowledge and academic English proficiency were impeded. Lack of an academic focus in the ESL program exacerbated the problem.

IMPLICATIONS

Our study indicates that the ELLs at College High were being denied access to academic success and resources (even though the denial was cloaked in a discourse of well-meaning concern). There are no quick fixes, for many of these practices are embedded in larger structural issues. For example, Pennsylvania does not have an ESL or bilingual certification for teachers, thus making it easier for College High to hire an ESL teacher with no background in SLA. College admission policies

that favor an empty A over a B or C in a course more appropriate for college-bound students also work against ELLs.

Our findings raise more questions than they answer for College High, a school that prides itself on its academic achievement yet seems to have left out the ELLs. One crucial issue, then, is who defines success for these students, how that success is defined, and what the consequences of such definitions are. When schools equate success with level of comfort rather than with the meeting of students' affective and cognitive learning needs, those schools foreclose students' opportunities for learning. A discussion of success that included academic opportunities would challenge the school community to face up to lowered expectations of the bi- and multilingual population. The discussion would also address the issue of equal access to educational opportunity. Collier and Thomas (1999) recommend that programs aim for parity between the average test scores of ELLs when they leave school and the average test scores of their native-English-speaking counterparts.

Parents and students should be included in the process of defining success (Nieto, 1996, pp. 17–18) and redesigning appropriate curriculum (Cummins, 1996). Engaging the whole school community in this conversation and critically examining notions of success could lead to a better understanding of the learning needs of ELLs in the classroom and appropriate instructional strategies to address them. We hope that our work will help stimulate this discussion.

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THE AUTHORS

Judy Sharkey and Carolyn Layzer are doctoral candidates finishing dissertations in language and literacy education with an emphasis in bilingual/multicultural education at the Pennsylvania State University. Their research interests include social contexts of learning and teacher research.

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APPENDIX A

Survey

How many English as a second language (ESL) students are in your classes? _____

Please list the course subjects you teach that have ESL students: _____

How many years have you been teaching? _____

How much experience have you had with ESL students in your classes? (Check one.)

This is my first year with ESL students.

I have had ESL students in my classes for _____ years.

Do you think some subjects are easier than others to teach ESL students? No Yes

If yes, which subject do you think is easiest to teach ESL students? _____

And, which subject do you think is the most difficult to teach ESL students? _____

When ESL students have difficulty doing well in your courses, what are some of the problems they have?

When ESL students do very well in your courses, what are some of the strategies/abilities that facilitate their success?

How would you describe the interaction of ESL students with other students in your classes?

How important are the following factors for ESL students' success in mainstream classes?

	not important	_____			extremely important
• English proficiency	1	2	3	4	5
• Adjusting to a new culture	1	2	3	4	5
• Socioeconomic status of the family	1	2	3	4	5
• Individual motivation	1	2	3	4	5
• Previous schooling/level of schooling	1	2	3	4	5
• Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

In what ways do you communicate with the parents of ESL students?

Which of the following would help you most in dealing more effectively with ESL students?

Better communication between ESL and mainstream teachers

More time to adapt regular assignments / lessons to ESL students

Techniques on how to teach content to ESL students

More familiarity with materials for ESL students

Information about cultures represented by ESL students

Other: _____

Which subjects or skills do you think the ESL teacher should teach during ESL class?

What is the role of the ESL teacher as you see it?

Have you had any in-service or preservice training related to ESL students in mainstream classes? No Yes

If yes, what? _____

If no, are you interested in knowing more about this issue? No Yes

If you are interested in knowing more about issues related to ESL students in mainstream classes, which of the following would be most useful for you?

an in-service report

an article or report

other: _____

Please write below any comments/concerns you would like to add.

(adapted from Penfield, 1987)

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule

How long have you been teaching?

Can you tell us about the course subject, the scope, and the overall objectives?

How are students placed in this class? (Who is eligible to take this class?)

What does an English language learner need to do in order to be successful in your class?

Can you tell us about some of the experiences you've had with ELLs in your classroom?

Are there any specific challenges that ELLs face in this class? (Any specific challenges posed by the content?)

What is the role of the textbook in your class?

Is note-taking important?

If the ELLs have the textbook, is that enough for them to get help from an ESL teacher or parent?

How do you use other materials (videos, dittos, etc.)?

How about evaluation—what kind of criteria do you use for the students' work?

Do you use the same criteria for the ELLs?

Have you noticed any change over the year in ELLs' performance or understanding?

Is there anything related to this issue that you're interested in knowing more about?

[for the ESL teachers] How does the ESL program/your class help students be successful in their mainstream classes?

Authors' address: 42 Fairmont Street, Belmont, MA 02178 USA.

REVIEWS

TESOL Quarterly welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals.

Edited by **DAN DOUGLAS**
Iowa State University

Second Language Teaching and Learning.

David Nunan. Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1999. Pp. vi + 330.

■ *Second Language Teaching and Learning* provides an introduction to the profession of L2 teaching. Updated from the author's 1991 book, *Language Teaching Methodology: A Textbook for Teachers*, it embodies and traces how major changes in theory and empirical findings have influenced past and current L2 teaching and learning. It differs from other books on teacher training in its selective and rather personal content, reflecting the author's own professional journey as a language theorist, researcher, and classroom teacher.

The book consists of 10 chapters divided into three parts. In chapters 1–3 the author traces current issues in communicative and task-based language teaching to the general educational field of humanistic education and experiential learning; reviews research on relationships between instruction and language acquisition in terms of classroom interaction, task-based teaching, and learning styles and strategies; and contrasts traditional and contemporary approaches to L2 teaching. Chapters 4–6 address the importance of applied research to pedagogy in terms of language, learners, and the learning process. Nunan presents a strong case for why much language teaching has been relatively unsuccessful and how learner-centered teaching can help maximize learning. The remaining four chapters deal with the practice of teaching listening, speaking, reading, and writing. With sample lessons from his own textbooks, Nunan illustrates how the thematic concerns that emerge in the earlier chapters can be applied in classrooms.

The book presents the material in a concise and focused way, with effective examples and extracts from the author's own lessons. For example, Nunan includes transcripts of classroom interactions to demonstrate how a teacher can raise learners' awareness of learning processes,

allow them to set their own goals, and help them identify their own preferred styles and strategies. Throughout the book, Nunan also cites empirical data to illustrate research findings and theoretical concerns. For example, he compares original and modified transcripts to illustrate the importance of using authentic data for listening tasks and introduces learning styles and strategies with students' self-reports.

Another commendable feature of the book is its reader-friendly structure. Each chapter ends with a concept map and a list of references. Tasks at the end of each chapter (e.g., modifying a unit from a textbook to give learners an opportunity to make choices and decisions; interviewing learners to identify patterns in what does and does not work for them) help readers connect their own experiences to the author's ideas.

One small drawback is that many of the examples and studies quoted reflect the concerns of teachers in Asia. Absent from the discussion are concepts that are essential to ESL teaching in North America, such as content-based or theme-based teaching, though the former is listed in the glossary. Despite the minor drawback, I would recommend *Second Language Teaching and Learning* as a core methodology textbook for graduate programs focusing on adult students and as a reference book on up-to-date issues and practical teaching ideas in the field of L2 teaching.

REFERENCE

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LING SHI

The University of British Columbia

Rhetorical Implications of Linguistic Relativity: Theory and Application to Chinese and Taiwanese Interlanguages.

Kristopher H. Kowal. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. Pp. xiv + 310.

■ This book offers a new reading of Benjamin Lee Whorf's principle of *linguistic relativity*. As opposed to traditional linguistic interpretations of the principle as linguistic determinism, Kowal proposes a reading that attends to both the linguistic and the rhetorical dimension of the principle. This approach, termed "rhetoricized linguistic relativity" (p. 187), is applied to the investigation of counterfactual reasoning in Chinese-English interlanguage and will be of interest to teachers and researchers concerned about the dominance of British and North American English as standards in the TESOL profession.

The book consists of five chapters. The first two present a rationale for the author's approach. According to Kowal (chapter 1), a close reading of Whorf's writings reveals that the linguistic relativity principle is a critique of the *Standard Average European* world view (Whorf, 1956), an interpretation missed by the monolingual world view. Multilingual and multicultural perspectives are thus regarded as forceful correctives. Chapter 2 examines Whorf's linguistic relativity principle in parallel with the writings of his contemporaries Mikhail Bakhtin, Lev Vygotsky, and Ludwig Wittgenstein, exemplifying a creatively rhetoricized reading of Whorf.

Chapter 3 deals with Robert Kaplan's incomplete description of the cultural thought patterns underlying his contrastive rhetoric hypothesis, a line of research also known as a *neo-Whorfian enterprise* (Martin, 1992). Instead of correcting the Anglo-Eurocentric world view, Kaplan's narrow reading of Whorf leads him to idealize the authority of standard English in the English composition classroom. Chapter 4 proceeds to criticize Kaplan's view of cultural thought patterns as stated in his study of counterfactuality in Chinese-English interlanguage. According to Kowal, Kaplan confuses linguistic structure with cognitive ability. Viewed in this light, Chinese students' nonuse of counterfactual sentences in English cannot be categorically attributed to a lack of ability in counterfactual reasoning.

With a view to challenging the assumption that counterfactual reasoning must be evidenced by the use of standard counterfactual forms, chapter 5 presents two of Kowal's own applications of rhetoricized linguistic relativity to the study of Chinese counterfactuality; both are studies in the domain of interlingual discourse analysis. The first examines consecutive drafts of an English composition written by a Chinese student matriculated in a U.S. university, and the second investigates the transcripts of an annual debating contest held in Taiwan. The findings of both studies confirm to a certain extent that Chinese students reason counterfactually and that they do so without using the syntactic patterns prescribed by standard English.

Yet the description of the relationships between the cognitive style and the linguistic expression of the Chinese students remains isolated from the context of research in cognitive linguistics. The author does not relate the study to any perspective of cognitive linguistics that has evolved from the theories of Bakhtin, Vygotsky, or Wittgenstein. Presumably, any step taken in that direction would render the present discussion even more rhetoricized.

Despite this omission, Kowal's rhetoricized reading struggles vigorously against linguacentrism and ethnocentrism by transcending the constrained interpretations of linguistic relativity as linguistic determinism. In addition, the rhetoricized treatment allows a meaningful dialogue

about the principle of linguistic relativity and related disciplines, such as rhetoric, philosophy, and psychology. Given its creative and insightful perspective, the book should be useful to TESOL professionals and all linguists.

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LI SHEN

Fudan University

The Grammar Book: An ESL/EFL Teacher's Course (2nd ed.)

Marianne Celce-Murcia and Diane Larsen-Freeman. Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1999. Pp. viii + 854.

■ The second edition of *The Grammar Book*, a monumental work grounded solidly in recent developments in linguistics, grammar studies, and teaching methodology, is an excellent and invaluable grammar text for classroom use and a handy yet comprehensive reference for teachers, students, and researchers.

The new edition consists of 36 chapters. Topically, it can be classified into five major parts: 6 chapters on verb-related topics, 7 on other word classes, 12 on different sentence structures, 3 on types of questions, and 8 others. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman have rearranged topics in the old edition to accommodate additions. For example, infinitives and gerunds are incorporated into the chapter on complementation, and participles into that on adjectives. Additions include chapters on such topics as grammatical metalanguage, the tense-aspect-modality system in discourse, reference and possession, and adverbials.

The Grammar Book has expanded its theoretical scope by incorporating a wider variety of linguistic theories and analyses in the study of English grammar with an emphasis on pedagogical applications. Like the first edition, the book presents a comprehensive examination of the form, meaning, and use of grammatical structures. Phrase structure rules for tree diagrams and mapping processes are updated in view of developments in the field. The volume includes contributions in grammar studies to complement the first edition's generative orientation. Chapter discussions reference and give appropriate attention to linguists from the Columbia School and cognitive grammarians such as William Diver, Ronald Langacker, Wallis Reid, and Charles Ruhl and their research.

The foremost strength of *The Grammar Book* is the authors' conscious effort to discuss grammar at the discourse level. Instead of illustrating grammar points with isolated sentences, they present examples in context. The book's most important contribution remains its inclusion of teaching suggestions and exercises followed by a suggested answer key, an improved bibliography, and a reading list.

Some issues remain unresolved, however, and the additions create a new set of problems. A case in point is the discussion of participles. The authors examine the relationship between *-ing* (actor or cause) and *-en* (experiencer) forms but confine their application to emotive verbs, ignoring such verb categories as *fall* in *a falling rock* versus *a fallen rock*. Another example is the list of verbs taking both infinitives and gerunds, which indicates instances of overlap and meaning differences but does not explain why some verbs take only one form whereas others take both forms with a minimal or no difference in meaning. In addition, the authors deliberately separate forms and meanings, which may create the false impression that they are unrelated elements in grammar when in fact they are a set of relationally defined units in the Saussurean sense of the term, in which signals (forms) are employed to convey meanings.

Overall, the strengths of *The Grammar Book* far outweigh its weaknesses, and the volume greatly contributes to the field of ESL/EFL. The book is not only a practical grammar with strong pedagogical implications but also a work of significance in linking different contemporary linguistic theories to second and foreign language learning and teaching. Readers will find it a treasure trove of ideas about and applications of grammar.

CARL ZHONGGANG GAO

University of Wisconsin

Second Language Phonology.

John Archibald. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1998. Pp. xi + 313.

■ Archibald's broad goal in this book is "to focus on contributions to the field [of L2 phonology] made by (primarily) generative linguists looking at the sounds and sound systems of second language learners" (p. x). More specifically, this review of L2 phonology analyzes "the nature of the representation of phonological knowledge by non-native speakers" (p. xi). The book should be of interest to L2 teachers and advanced students of second language acquisition (SLA) because, for instance, acquiring the phonology of a new language seems to be so much more difficult than learning its grammar, a problem that has until recently received little attention from researchers and practitioners in the field.

The book consists of eight chapters, a 12-page bibliography, an appendix, and a subject index. Chapter 1 gives a concise overview of SLA, and chapter 2 is a detailed, easy-to-follow treatment of current issues in interlanguage phonology; readers less familiar with L2 phonology will find Archibald's approach to the topic pleasing to read and informative. Chapter 3 includes a brief discussion of phonological learning in the context of the *principles and parameters* model of grammar. In chapters 4–6, the core of the book, the author presents relevant contributions on three subdomains of L2 phonology acquisition: individual sounds, syllables, and stress. Most of the case studies refer to the acquisition of English by learners of several L1 backgrounds, but other target languages are also mentioned. These chapters are perhaps most useful for specialists. In chapter 7 the author addresses the question of developmental stages in language learning as seen from the specific perspective of parameter settings, and the book closes with a disappointingly short conclusion.

Overall, *Second Language Phonology* is well devised in its objectives, scope, and organization, although the index at the end could be more comprehensive. Moreover, readers need to have a general background in phonology and in a few places would benefit from more than a basic knowledge of recent developments in the area. However, the author has tried to make the text accessible, and the volume as a whole is simply written. Though not aimed at the beginning reader, the volume is a valuable research resource for practitioners and applied linguists with an interest in L2 speech acquisition, pronunciation specialists, or students in graduate seminars on the subject; nevertheless, teachers and students with a general background of SLA will find that the author's ability to combine theoretical phonology and applied SLA into a good overview of contemporary L2 speech research makes reading the book worth the effort.

Insight into the learning of L2 phonology is important for pronunciation teaching, but its implications are difficult to transfer to methodology, and, with few exceptions (see, e.g., Pennington, 1992), texts that fill this critical gap seem to be lacking. Although Archibald's book may not be completely accessible to a wide audience, it is a valuable contribution to the understanding of a traditionally neglected area.

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- Pennington, M. C. (1992). *Recent research in L2 phonology: Implications for practice* (Research Report No. 15). Hong Kong: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, Department of English.

DARÍO BARRERA PARDO

Universidad de Sevilla

Text, Role, and Context: Developing Academic Literacies.

Ann Johns. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xvi + 171.

■ In past decades, genre studies have focused on the description of textual features whereas composition studies have examined the contexts and functions of different genres. At the same time, literacy practices in academic contexts have attracted increasing attention in tertiary education. The relationship between genre studies and academic literacy development in university settings has been of great interest to instructors and researchers of English for specific purposes (ESP) as well as to composition teachers and theorists. In *Text, Role, and Context*, Johns argues that students develop literacy, which she calls *socioliterate competence*, through exposure to genres specific to particular social contexts. In academic contexts, therefore, students need to develop literacy practices within individual disciplinary areas. Thus, faculty teaching content courses, in addition to composition instructors, should take an active role in teaching academic literacy.

The book is divided into nine chapters. After an introductory chapter, the author focuses on genre in chapters 2 and 3 and the notion of *discourse communities* in chapter 4. Building on these theoretical foundations, Johns then highlights practical issues. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 discuss, respectively, teacher roles in classroom applications, student roles, and principles of curriculum design in the context of socioliterate practices. The author suggests ways to put these principles into practice in chapter 8, and in the concluding chapter she calls for the promotion of “a more sophisticated understanding of our literacies on our campuses” while motivating “students to undertake difficult academic work” (p. 154). Johns suggests further that literacy practitioners in academic contexts take up a mediating role between students, content faculty, and administrators.

As for setting up a research agenda, the theoretical foundations laid down in the first half of the book could serve as background for a model of L2 writing, providing an exciting area for research. Another interesting area to investigate is the ways in which a model of L2 writing could be implemented in a content-based, socioculturally oriented pedagogy in a foreign language academic literacy classroom. The practical ideas in the second half of the book could generate further discussions among content faculty, language instructors, and researchers.

The author primarily addresses literacy instructors in ESL settings; however, the book would be useful in both ESL and EFL environments for literacy instructors and language teachers in content-based, English for academic purposes, and ESP classes as well as for content faculty and administrators who desire to understand better the complexities of literacy. By appealing to those involved in literacy practices at all levels,

the volume encourages a more extensive dialogue in both research and practice. For the volume to be of greatest value in EFL settings, teachers would have to adopt new ways of thinking about literacy instruction in order to adapt the curriculum proposed.

ENIKO CSOMAY

Northern Arizona University

Measuring Second Language Performance.

Tim McNamara. London and New York: Longman, 1996. Pp. xiv + 323.

■ *Measuring Second Language Performance* is an invaluable book. It will be particularly useful for at least three different sets of readers: (a) those who wish to ponder the theory behind language testing and performance testing, (b) those who wish to learn more about Rasch analysis and the philosophy behind it, and (c) those who are thinking of using multifaceted Rasch analysis techniques.

Because of the the book's clear and readable style, the first three chapters, which cover the theory behind language assessment, will be interesting not only to language testers but also to readers in a wide range of other fields relating to L2 education. Chapter 2 discusses the concept of *performance assessment*, which some people equate with *alternative assessment*. Chapter 3, "Modelling Performance: Opening Pandora's Box," is the most interesting and, I suspect, the most cited chapter in the book. In discussing the role of performance in a theory of L2 ability, the chapter incorporates detailed comments on the communicative language models devised by Canale and Swain (1980), Bachman (1990), and Bachman and Palmer (1996), and shows how each model builds on earlier ones, with, for example, Bachman and Palmer's model adding *affective schemata* to Bachman's 1990 model. What is particularly useful about this chapter is that it does not simply provide a set of descriptions of and comments on the models concerned but relates them to other theories of language assessment, and thus encourages the reader to think more deeply about the issues concerned.

Chapter 4 describes the construction of the Occupational English Test (an English language proficiency test for health professionals in Australia). McNamara subsequently uses this test to exemplify aspects of the Rasch analyses that he introduces in the second half of the book.

Chapters 5–9 discuss different aspects of Rasch analysis in a way that readers with little training in measurement will find easy to understand. In chapter 5, McNamara explains what the problems with rating scales and raters are and shows how Rasch analysis can help identify the causes of weaknesses in language proficiency ratings. Chapter 6, which provides

the background to Rasch analysis, should be read by anyone learning about the use of Rasch measurement in language assessment. Chapter 7 describes the intuitive ways in which the majority of rating scales are constructed and shows how Rasch analysis can be used to create scales empirically. Chapter 8 reports on research using Rasch analysis to investigate the validity of performance tests, and chapter 9 goes more deeply into the rationale behind using Rasch analysis. This final chapter discusses knotty issues such as the Rasch assumption of unidimensionality, and the advantages and disadvantages of using one-, two-, and three-parameter item-response theory models.

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CAROLINE CLAPHAM

Lancaster University

BOOK NOTICES

TESOL Quarterly prints brief book notices of 100 words or less announcing books of interest to readers. Book Notices are intended to inform readers about selected books that publishers have sent to TESOL and are descriptive rather than evaluative. They are solicited by the Book Review Editor.

Exploring the Second Language Mental Lexicon.

David Singleton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Pp. xviii + 341.

■ This book approaches the study of L2 lexical acquisition from the standpoint of its relationship to L1 word knowledge, which Singleton sees as an interactive one. The book is distinctive among works on lexis in that it is written from a single perspective instead of attempting to cover the range of lexical studies from the wide variety of approaches that characterize the field. The volume does, of course, survey in depth the research literature on both L1 and L2 lexical acquisition, and it covers the field from basic questions such as the definition of *word* to the modeling of the mental lexicon, with empirical findings. Readers interested in the important role lexical learning plays in second language acquisition and use will find this volume an important resource.

Language Teaching: New Insights for the Language Teacher.

Christopher Ward and Willy Renandya (Eds.). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, 1999. Pp. vii + 308.

■ This volume is a collection of 16 selected papers from the 1998 Regional Language Centre seminar on language teaching. Together the papers are intended to document the changing roles of English teachers in a rapidly changing world and the current methodological innovations and research findings in the field of L2 education. The book is organized into sections focusing on the teacher, language teaching and learning, and computers and language learning. The authors are well-known practitioners and researchers from Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States, thus ensuring a wide range of situations and perspectives on L2 pedagogy.

Learner-Directed Assessment in ESL.

Gayol Ekbatani and Herbert Pierson (Eds.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2000. Pp. xiv + 171.

■ In assembling this collection of seven papers, the editors had as their goals promoting learner-directed assessment as a way of linking instruction to evaluation, sharing concerns about the validity and limitations of norm-referenced assessment, and providing examples of alternative assessment procedures, thus encouraging a departure from traditional testing formats. The chapters deal with such procedures as self-assessment and portfolio assessment and with research that investigates both the validity and the reliability of alternative means of involving learners in the evaluation process. Classroom teachers and program directors as well as testing practitioners will find this a thought-provoking and practical guide to authentic ESL assessment.

Stimulated Recall Methodology in Second Language Research.

Susan M. Gass and Alison Mackey. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2000. Pp. xiii + 177.

■ *Stimulated recall* is one type of introspective research methodology used in pedagogical classroom research, language testing research, and second language acquisition research. The method often employs video- or audiotapes of learning, teaching, or language-use tasks to reengage subjects in the context of their language performances. The authors discuss the theoretical underpinnings and history of the method, outline and illustrate its procedures, suggest the types of research questions that may be investigated with the methodology, and, importantly, indicate the types of questions for which stimulated recall is inappropriate. The book will be of value for all those interested in studying the processes of language learning and teaching.

The Acquisition of Second Language Syntax.

Susan M. Braidi. London: Arnold, 1999. Pp. viii + 221.

■ A very accessible introduction to second language acquisition (SLA) studies, this book focuses on the central issue of the acquisition and development of syntactic knowledge. It surveys a number of different approaches to the study of syntactic acquisition and discusses the reasons they produce differing results. Major features of the work are a clear discussion of how and why SLA proceeds as it does and frequent reference to implications of SLA research for L2 teaching and learning. The book will be of interest to teacher educators and to novice and experienced classroom instructors.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

EDITORIAL POLICY

TESOL Quarterly, a professional, refereed journal, encourages submission of previously unpublished articles on topics of significance to individuals concerned with the teaching of English as a second or foreign language and of standard English as a second dialect. As a publication that represents a variety of cross-disciplinary interests, both theoretical and practical, the *Quarterly* invites manuscripts on a wide range of topics, especially in the following areas:

1. psychology and sociology of language learning and teaching; issues in research and research methodology
2. curriculum design and development; instructional methods, materials, and techniques
3. testing and evaluation
4. professional preparation
5. language planning
6. professional standards

Because the *Quarterly* is committed to publishing manuscripts that contribute to bridging theory and practice in our profession, it particularly welcomes submissions drawing on relevant research (e.g., in anthropology, applied and theoretical linguistics, communication, education, English education [including reading and writing theory], psycholinguistics, psychology, first and second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and sociology) and addressing implications and applications of this research to issues in our profession. The *Quarterly* prefers that all submissions be written so that their content is accessible to a broad readership, including those individuals who may not have familiarity with the subject matter addressed. *TESOL Quarterly* is an international journal. It welcomes submissions from English language contexts around the world.

GENERAL INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Submission Categories

TESOL Quarterly invites submissions in five categories:

Full-length articles. Contributors are strongly encouraged to submit manuscripts of no more than 20–25 double-spaced pages or 8,500 words (including references, notes, and tables). Submit **three copies** plus three copies of an informative abstract of not more than 200 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the article. To facilitate the blind review process, authors' names should appear only on a cover sheet, not on the title page; do not use running heads. Submit manuscripts to the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly*:

Carol A. Chapelle
Department of English
203 Ross Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, IA 50011-1201 USA

The following factors are considered when evaluating the suitability of a manuscript for publication in *TESOL Quarterly*:

- The manuscript appeals to the general interests of *TESOL Quarterly*'s readership.
- The manuscript strengthens the relationship between theory and practice: Practical articles must be anchored in theory, and theoretical articles and reports of research must contain a discussion of implications or applications for practice.
- The content of the manuscript is accessible to the broad readership of the *Quarterly*, not only to specialists in the area addressed.
- The manuscript offers a new, original insight or interpretation and not just a restatement of others' ideas and views.
- The manuscript makes a significant (practical, useful, plausible) contribution to the field.
- The manuscript is likely to arouse readers' interest.
- The manuscript reflects sound scholarship and research design with appropriate, correctly interpreted references to other authors and works.
- The manuscript is well written and organized and conforms to the specifications of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.).

Reviews. *TESOL Quarterly* invites succinct, evaluative reviews of professional books. Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 500 words. Submit **two copies** of the review to the Review Editor:

Dan Douglas
Department of English
203 Ross Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, IA 50011-1201 USA

Review Articles. *TESOL Quarterly* also welcomes occasional review articles, that is, comparative discussions of several publications that fall into a topical category (e.g., pronunciation, literacy training, teaching methodology). Review articles should provide a description and evaluative comparison of the materials and discuss the relative significance of the works in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 1,500 words. Submit **two copies** of the review article to the Review Editor at the address given above.

Brief Reports and Summaries. *TESOL Quarterly* also invites short reports on any aspect of theory and practice in our profession. We encourage manuscripts that either present preliminary findings or focus on some aspect of a larger study. In all cases, the discussion of issues should be supported by empirical evidence, collected through qualitative or quantitative investigations. Reports or summaries should present key concepts and results in a manner that will make the research accessible to our diverse readership. Submissions to this section should be 7–10 double-spaced pages, or 3,400 words (including references, notes, and tables). If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the report. *Longer articles do not appear in this section and should be submitted to the Editor of TESOL Quarterly for review.* Send **one copy** of the manuscript to **each** of the Editors of the Brief Reports and Summaries section:

Rod Ellis
Institute of Language
Teaching and Learning
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Karen E. Johnson
305 Sparks Building
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA 16802 USA

The Forum. *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes comments and reactions from readers regarding specific aspects or practices of our profession. Responses to published articles and reviews are also welcome; unfortunately, we are not able to publish responses to previous exchanges. Contributions to The Forum should generally be no longer than 7–10 double-spaced pages or 3,400 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the contribution. Submit **two copies** to the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly* at the address given above.

Brief discussions of qualitative and quantitative **Research Issues** and of **Teaching Issues** are also published in The Forum. Although these contributions are typically solicited, readers may send topic suggestions or make known their availability as contributors by writing directly to the Editors of these subsections.

Research Issues:

Patricia A. Duff
Department of
Language Education
University of British Columbia
2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z4
Canada

Teaching Issues:

Bonny Norton
Department of
Language Education
University of British Columbia
2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z4
Canada

Special-Topic Issues. Typically, one issue per volume will be devoted to a special topic. Topics are approved by the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Quarterly*. Those wishing to suggest topics or make known their availability as guest editors should contact the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly*. Issues will generally contain both invited articles designed to survey and illuminate central themes as well as articles solicited through a call for papers.

General Submission Guidelines

1. All submissions to the *Quarterly* should conform to the requirements of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.), which can be obtained from the American Psychological Association, Book Order Department, Dept. KK, P.O. Box 92984, Washington, DC 20090-2984 USA. Orders from the United Kingdom, Europe, Africa, or the Middle East should be sent to American Psychological Association, Dept. KK, 3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, WC2E 8LU, England. For more information, e-mail order@apa.org or consult <http://www.apa.org/books/ordering.html>.
2. All submissions to *TESOL Quarterly* should be accompanied by a cover letter that includes a full mailing address and both a daytime and an evening telephone number. Where available, authors should include an electronic mail address and fax number.
3. Authors of full-length articles, Brief Reports and Summaries, and Forum contributions should include **two copies** of a very brief biographical statement (in sentence form, maximum 50 words), plus any special notations or acknowledgments that they would like to have included. Double spacing should be used throughout.
4. *TESOL Quarterly* provides 25 free reprints of published full-length articles and 10 reprints of material published in the Reviews, Brief Reports and Summaries, and The Forum sections.
5. Manuscripts submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* cannot be returned to authors. Authors should be sure to keep a copy for themselves.
6. It is understood that manuscripts submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.
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8. The Editor of *TESOL Quarterly* reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity or style. The author will be consulted only if the editing has been substantial.
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Informed Consent Guidelines

TESOL Quarterly expects authors to adhere to ethical and legal standards for work with human subjects. Although we are aware that such standards vary among institutions and countries, we require authors and contributors to

meet, as a minimum, the conditions detailed below before submitting a manuscript for review. TESOL recognizes that some institutions may require research proposals to satisfy additional requirements. If you wish to discuss whether or how your study met these guidelines, you may e-mail the managing editor of TESOL publications at tq@tesol.edu or call 703-535-7852.

As an author, you will be asked to sign a statement indicating that you have complied with Option A or Option B before TESOL will publish your work.

- A. You have followed the human subjects review procedure established by your institution.
- B. If you are not bound by an institutional review process, or if it does not meet the requirements outlined below, you have complied with the following conditions.

Participation in the Research

1. You have informed participants in your study, sample, class, group, or program that you will be conducting research in which they will be the participants or that you would like to write about them for publication.
2. You have given each participant a clear statement of the purpose of your research or the basic outline of what you would like to explore in writing, making it clear that research and writing are dynamic activities that may shift in focus as they occur.
3. You have explained the procedure you will follow in the research project or the types of information you will be collecting for your writing.
4. You have explained that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusing to participate, and that the participants may withdraw at any time without penalty.
5. You have explained to participants if and how their confidentiality will be protected.
6. You have given participants sufficient contact information that they can reach you for answers to questions regarding the research.
7. You have explained to participants any foreseeable risks and discomforts involved in agreeing to cooperate (e.g., seeing work with errors in print).
8. You have explained to participants any possible direct benefits of participating (e.g., receiving a copy of the article or chapter).
9. You have obtained from each participant (or from the participant's parent or guardian) a signed consent form that sets out the terms of your agreement with the participants and have kept these forms on file (TESOL will not ask to see them).

Consent to Publish Student Work

10. If you will be collecting samples of student work with the intention of publishing them, either anonymously or with attribution, you have made that clear to the participants in writing.

11. If the sample of student work (e.g., a signed drawing or signed piece of writing) will be published with the student's real name visible, you have obtained a signed consent form and will include that form when you submit your manuscript for review and editing.
12. If your research or writing involves minors (persons under age 18), you have supplied and obtained signed separate informed consent forms from the parent or guardian and from the minor, if he or she is old enough to read, understand, and sign the form.
13. If you are working with participants who do not speak English well or are intellectually disabled, you have written the consent forms in a language that the participant or the participant's guardian can understand.

Statistical Guidelines

Because of the educational role the *Quarterly* plays modeling research in the field, it is of particular concern that published research articles meet high statistical standards. In order to support this goal, the following guidelines are provided.

Reporting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should be explained clearly and in enough detail that it would be possible to replicate the design of the study on the basis of the information provided in the article. Likewise, the study should include sufficient information to allow readers to evaluate the claims made by the author. In order to accommodate both of these requirements, authors of statistical studies should present the following.

1. a clear statement of the research questions and the hypotheses that are being examined;
2. descriptive statistics, including the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes, necessary for the reader to correctly interpret and evaluate any inferential statistics;
3. appropriate types of reliability and validity of any tests, ratings, questionnaires, and so on;
4. graphs and charts that help explain the results;
5. clear and careful descriptions of the instruments used and the types of intervention employed in the study;
6. explicit identifications of dependent, independent, moderator, intervening, and control variables;
7. complete source tables for statistical tests;
8. discussions of how the assumptions underlying the research design were met, assumptions such as random selection and assignment of subjects and sufficiently large sample sizes so that the results are stable;
9. tests of the assumptions of any statistical tests, when appropriate; and
10. realistic interpretations of the statistical significance of the results keeping in mind that the meaningfulness of the results is a separate and important issue, especially for correlation.

Conducting the analyses. Quantitative studies submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* should reflect a concern for controlling Type I and Type II error. Thus, studies should avoid multiple *t* tests, multiple ANOVAs, and so on. However, in the very few instances in which multiple tests might be employed, the author should explain the effects of such use on the probability values in the results. In reporting the statistical analyses, authors should choose one significance level (usually .05) and report all results in terms of that level. Likewise, studies should report effect size through such strength of association measures as omega-squared or eta-squared along with beta (the possibility of Type II error) whenever this may be important to interpreting the significance of the results.

Interpreting the results. The results should be explained clearly and the implications discussed such that readers without extensive training in the use of statistics can understand them. Care should be taken in making causal inferences from statistical results, and these should be avoided with correlational studies. Results of the study should not be overinterpreted or overgeneralized. Finally, alternative explanations of the results should be discussed.

Qualitative Research Guidelines

To ensure that *Quarterly* articles model rigorous qualitative research, the following guidelines are provided.

Conducting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should exhibit an in-depth understanding of the philosophical perspectives and research methodologies inherent in conducting qualitative research. Utilizing these perspectives and methods in the course of conducting research helps to ensure that studies are credible, valid, and dependable rather than impressionistic and superficial. Reports of qualitative research should meet the following criteria.

1. Data collection (as well as analyses and reporting) is aimed at uncovering an emic perspective. In other words, the study focuses on research participants' perspectives and interpretations of behavior, events, and situations rather than etic (outsider-imposed) categories, models, and viewpoints.
2. Data collection strategies include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Researchers should conduct ongoing observations over a sufficient period of time so as to build trust with respondents, learn the culture (e.g., classroom, school, or community), and check for misinformation introduced by both the researcher and the researched. Triangulation involves the use of multiple methods and sources such as participant-observation, informal and formal interviewing, and collection of relevant or available documents.

Analyzing the data. Data analysis is also guided by the philosophy and methods underlying qualitative research studies. The researcher should engage in comprehensive data treatment in which data from all relevant

sources are analyzed. In addition, many qualitative studies demand an analytic inductive approach involving a cyclical process of data collection, analysis (taking an emic perspective and utilizing the descriptive language the respondents themselves use), creation of hypotheses, and testing of hypotheses in further data collection.

Reporting the data. The researcher should generally provide “thick description” with sufficient detail to allow the reader to determine whether transfer to other situations can be considered. Reports also should include the following.

1. a description of the theoretical or conceptual framework that guides research questions and interpretations;
2. a clear statement of the research questions;
3. a description of the research site, participants, procedures for ensuring participant anonymity, and data collection strategies, and a description of the roles of the researcher(s);
4. a description of a clear and salient organization of patterns found through data analysis—reports of patterns should include representative examples, not anecdotal information;
5. interpretations that exhibit a holistic perspective in which the author traces the meaning of patterns across all the theoretically salient or descriptively relevant micro- and macrocontexts in which they are embedded;
6. interpretations and conclusions that provide evidence of grounded theory and discussion of how this theory relates to current research/theory in the field, including relevant citations—in other words, the article should focus on the issues or behaviors that are salient to participants and that not only reveal an in-depth understanding of the situation studied but also suggest how it connects to current related theories.

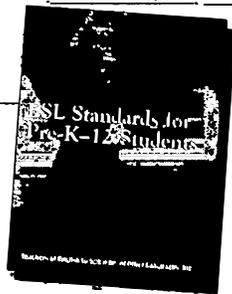
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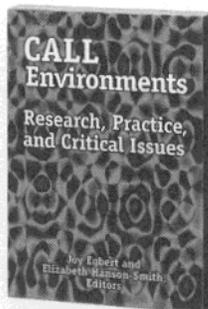
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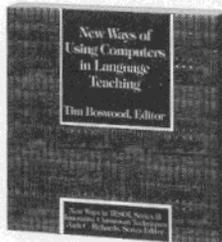


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