



*Educational
Linguistics*

Applied Linguistics and Language Teacher Education

Edited by
Nat Bartels



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Nat Bartels
Editor

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FOREWORD

Applied linguistics has a lot to offer language teachers. The field has produced a wealth of knowledge about language (KAL), from uses of a language's sound system to create meaning, to factors that affect language learning, to knowledge of how people structure conversations, to ways of using language to signal membership in particular language communities, among other issues. Courses on applied linguistics play a major and integral role in teacher education programs around the world and applied linguists are prominent in any discussion of language teacher education. However, any program conception, course, lesson plan, or interaction with learners of teaching can be seen as a theory of practice (van Lier, 1996); a theory of what language teachers need to know and what kind of learning experiences will help them develop this knowledge. Furthermore, while there has been much theoretical work on what teachers need to know about language and the role this knowledge might play in language teaching and learning to teach (e.g. Stern, 1983; Widdowson, 1990; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1997; Fillmore & Snow, 2002), there has been little systematic research on the effect of applied linguistics instruction on language teachers' knowledge and practice (Bartels, 2002; Borg, 2003). Not only might the relationship between applied linguistics knowledge and language teaching be more complex than theorized, it is also possible that we are, unwittingly and with the best of intentions, imposing practices of the applied linguistics discourse community on language teachers during teacher education which are not helpful for the practice of language teaching (Bartels, 2003; Bolitho, 1987; Clarke, 1994), something I refer to as *linguistics imperialism* (Bartels, in press).

Therefore, if we want to (a) avoid a situation where applied linguists are colonizing (Gee, 1990) novice teachers, however well meaning, by requiring them to apprentice themselves to the field of applied linguistics rather than to language teaching, and (b) defend our status as an applied science and make contributions to research questions shared by other disciplines, it is important for applied linguists working in language teacher education to investigate their theories of practice in a rigorous and thorough manner. This book is meant as a beginning to such an endeavor. It presents 21 studies by applied linguists investigating their own theories about language teachers' knowledge and language teachers' learning and use of KAL in pre-service or in-service programs. The purpose of this book is to provide teachers of applied linguistics with (a) state of the art knowledge about and insights on applied linguistics and language teacher education, (b) the tools needed to research their own theories of practice, and (c) an insider perspective of how a wide variety of teachers of applied linguistics perceive and investigate their own theories of practice. In order to accomplish the last goal, every effort has been made to preserve project the individual voices of the researchers within the book. The authors have been asked not only to situate their studies within the needs of the research community, but also to make clear their own personal reasons for pursuing their research questions and to make clear what they learned from engaging in their research projects. Furthermore, the authors have been encouraged to use a personal

tone in their chapters and their personal preferences in terms of the type of English they use, subject headings, length of bibliography, etc. have been preserved.

Furthermore, while this volume focuses on the relationship between applied linguistics and learning to teach languages, this is a much broader issue. In most university settings applied linguists actively teach knowledge about language to prepare people for a variety of vocations and tasks. While language teaching may be the most significant vocation in terms of numbers, KAL is also used in preparing people to be translators, interpreters, lexicographers, journalists, editors, formulators of policy on language planning, as well as to help people learn to diagnose and treat language disorders, examine linguistic issues in legal cases, etc. Therefore, I would propose that we also need a subfield of applied linguistics, *Metalinguistics*, devoted to investigating and theorizing about the acquisition and use of knowledge about language when learning any kind of vocation or task. Thus, the contents of this book should not only be important for those interested in a deeper understanding of the role of applied linguistics in teacher education and ways of investigating this role; the research methods and results in this book can also be used as a foundation for those interested in other *metalinguistic* topics.

The book is organized into 5 parts, the first of which is the most heterogeneous. Chapter 1 (Bartels) presents a wide variety of research tools that can be used for studies of learning and use of applied linguistics knowledge. The next chapters look at the impact of a particular KAL teaching activity, mini-language lessons, on novice teachers' knowledge and conceptions about language learning (Angelova: chapter 2), the use of an internet-based questionnaire to investigate students' post-hoc attitudes towards a sociolinguistics course (Owens & Edwards: chapter 3), and the extent to which the roles of language analyst, user and teacher are integrated in a language-focused course addressed to future non-native EFL teachers (Cots & Arno: chapter 4).

Section 2 focuses on changes in teachers' conceptions, attitudes and intentions due to educational experiences focusing on writing (Villamil & Guerrero: chapter 5), language variation (Attardo & Brown: chapter 6; Riegelhaupt & Carrasco: chapter 7), discourse analysis (Balocco, Carvalho & Shepherd: chapter 8), and second language acquisition (Lo: chapter 9).

The studies in section 3 and 4 investigate how teachers use their KAL in teaching. The studies in section 3 use a variety of laboratory-type tasks (analyzing and providing feedback on learner language, lesson planning) to look at what expert and/or novice teachers know and can do with their KAL on syntax and vocabulary (Andrews & McNeill: chapter 10), content-based teaching and grammar (Bigelow & Ranney: chapter 11), phonetics and phonology (Gregory: chapter 12), and orthography (Xiao: chapter 13). In section 4, however, the studies focus on teachers' use of KAL during actual classroom teaching, focusing on systemic-functional linguistics (Burns & Knox: chapter 14), pragmatics (Yates & Wigglesworth: chapter 15; Chaves de Castro: chapter 16), syntax (Hislam & Cajkler: chapter 17), and L2 writing (McKenzie: chapter 18).

Section 5 presents studies which investigate the complexity of teachers' knowledge about applied linguistics and the complexity of the process of using this knowledge for language teaching. This section includes studies focusing on knowledge of grammar (Borg: chapter 19), discourse analysis (Belz: chapter 20), systemic-functional linguistics and L2 writing (Hazelrigg: chapter 21), as well as an entire MA program (Popko: chapter 22). The final chapter in the book (Bartels: chapter 23) summarizes the findings from these studies, analyzes them using research and perspectives from fields such as education and cognitive psychology, and poses questions for future investigation in this field.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to those who made this book possible. I would like to thank the contributors to this volume who not only invested significant amounts of time to design, carry out, and write up research projects related to the theme of the book, as well as giving feedback on each others' chapters, but who were also very patient with all the mistakes that their novice editor made during the whole, long process, despite the strenuous circumstances in their own lives. I would also like to thank Leo van Lier for his impromptu suggestion to take the idea of a proposed conference symposium and make it into a book. I am very grateful to Julie Kerekes, Jennifer Ewald, and Lara Hermans for reading some of the chapters and providing insightful feedback to the authors. In addition, the comments of the two anonymous outside readers were very helpful in helping the other contributors and myself to tighten the focus of the book. Charlynn Christensen deserves special thanks for doing much of the formatting of the book manuscript. I am grateful also to Trevor Warburton for his work on the index and final formatting of the book. Finally, I would like to thank Henrike, Franziska and Marika Bartels for tolerating my many absences caused by work on this book and for taking over many of my family chores so I could complete this book. I could have not have done it without you.

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Friday, February 13, 2004
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Chapter 1

Researching Applied Linguistics in Language Teacher Education

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INTRODUCTION

That language teachers need to know about applied linguistic fields such as pedagogical grammar, discourse analysis, second language learning, etc. would seem to be self-evident (Flynn, 1994; Tyler & Lardiere, 1996). However, the knowledge that teachers use in their practice, however, is more complicated than just knowing facts, using facts, and general conceptions of language and language learning. In order to produce quality research on language teachers' learning in applied linguistics courses and their use of their KAL in teaching, we need to move away from folk psychology conceptions of the mind (Strauss, 2001) to a more sophisticated and complex view of knowledge, knowledge acquisition, and knowledge use. If a broader conception of what kinds of knowledge language teachers need and use it to be investigated, a great variety of research methodology will be necessary. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce to a wide range of data collection tools and indicate resources which can be used for those interested in investigating the theories behind their practices as teachers of applied linguistics. Lists of a number of studies using each research tool will be provided for readers who wish to familiarize themselves with ways that certain research methods have been used to investigate specific questions in order to deepen their knowledge of these research tools and, perhaps, to inspire their own research.

However, it will not be possible in the space available here for a complete presentation of various research perspectives or a full discussion of the task of researching teacher knowledge or each data collection tool. This has been done elsewhere and need not be repeated here. For summaries of research methodology in (a) applied linguistics see Freeman (1996; 1998), Hornberger & Corson (1999), Nunan (1992), and McDonough & McDonough (1998); (b) educational research see Bogdan & Biklen (1998), Byra & Karp (2000), Maxwell (1996), and Miles & Huberman (1994),

and Royer, Cisero & Carlo (1993); and (c) cognitive psychology see Cooke (1999), Patel & Arocha (1995) and Olsen & Biolsi (1991).

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

There are four main categories of data collection presented in this section: observation, documentation, reports and introspection, and tasks. Researchers seriously considering triangulating their research, i.e. using multiple sources of data to increase research credibility (Davis, 1995; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), might want to consider choosing data collection instruments from a variety of these four categories. Foss and Kleinsasser (2001) have shown that different types of data, such as questionnaire data or observation data, reveal different aspects of teachers' knowledge and so the use of a variety of instruments is necessary to get a fuller picture of teachers' knowledge. (See Johnson, 1992, 1994, 1996, Westerman, 1991, or Woods, 1996, for excellent examples of triangulation in studies of teacher learning and teacher knowledge.) Triangulation is seen as increasingly important in the study of teacher cognition, as many studies have found that reliance on single or similar sets of data can result in misleading research results (e.g. Foss & Kleinsasser, 2001; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981).

OBSERVATION

One of the most common ways of collecting data about teachers' knowledge and knowledge use is by observing them teaching (Borg, 1998; 1999; Lamb, 1995; Grossman, 1990; 1991; Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997, Carpenter et al, 1989). While this usually entails observation of school teaching only, it may also include observing all aspects of a particular practice such as informal conversation with colleagues on goals for a course, discussions with parents or administrators, etc. (Dunbar, 1995). An alternative to direct observation is to tape classes and then analyze the transcripts (Johnston & Goettsch, 1999; Villamil & Guerero, 1998). Observation is good for looking at whether teachers really use the knowledge from applied linguistics courses in their teaching practice, and also produces data for examining their routines and schemata. However, observation can be very time consuming so most researchers limit the number of visits they make and the number of teachers they observe, which then raises questions about the generalizability of the findings. One potential problem with observing classes of your students or former students is that they may feel compelled to do things they think you want to see, rather than teach the way they would if you were not there (Duffy & Roehler, 1986). Therefore, it is important to gain the teachers' trust so that they feel free to teach in any way they wish. You also may be able to get around this by having them observed by a co-researcher who has not been their teacher. For suggestions of how to record data while observing see Freeman (1998), Boglan & Bicklen (1992), and Day (1990).

If you want to investigate the learning of teachers or novice teachers in a particular applied linguistics class or in-service training meeting, these situations can be observed as well. If you teach the class, you can either have a co-researcher observe your class or record the class and later analyze the transcripts (Southerland & Gess-Newsome, 1999; see also Samway, 1994, for further suggestions). Using observation data from applied

Table 1: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from observation of teaching.

Observation of Teaching		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Borg (1998; 1999) Lamb (1995) Johnson (1992; 1994; 1996a) Johnston & Goettsch (1999) Pennington & Richards (1997) Woods (1996)	Grossman (1991) Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) Carpenter et al (1989) Sanders, Borko, & Lockard (1993) Kagan (1991) Borko & Livingston (1989) Leinhardt, Weidman & Hammond (1987)	Burns & Knox (Chapter 14) Borg (Chapter 19) Lo (Chapter 9) Chaves de Castro (Chapter 16) Xiao (Chapter 13) Hislam & Cajlker (Chapter 17) Popko (Chapter 22)

linguistics classrooms can give you more detailed information about what students are really learning in your applied linguistics classes and can also be compared with observation of teaching data to investigate the extent of transfer from the applied linguistics class to language teaching. It is also fairly convenient because, if you are the instructor, you have to attend the class anyway.

Table 2: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from observation of teacher education classes.

Observing or Recording of Teacher Education Classes		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Pennington (1995) Pennington & Richards (1997)	De Jong (2000) Ethell & McMeniman (2000) Southerland & Gess-Newsome (1999)	Angelova (Chapter 2) Riegelhaupt & Carrasco (Chapter 7) Wigglesworth & Yates (Chapter 15) Balocco, Carvalho & Shepherd (Chapter 8) Hazelrigg (Chapter 21) Cots & Arno (Chapter 4)

Some researchers use participant observation, meaning they use the knowledge they gained as a participant (usually the instructor) in the course (Bailey, 1996, Ramanathan et al, 2001; Belz, chapter 20; Bigelow & Ranney, chapter 11). Being a participant observer

can give you a richer, insider perspective on the learning taking place in an applied linguistics class, although the researcher may be so preoccupied in her view that important perspectives on the class are ignored. This can be alleviated by including data from other participants in the class, taping classes and analyzing transcripts, or by having an outside observer to compliment your perspective as participant observer. (See Byra & Karp, 2000, for descriptions of and guidelines for participant observation.)

Table 3: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from participant observation.*

Participant Observation		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Bailey (1996) Ramanthan et al (2001)	Oslin (1996) Macdonald & Tinning (1995)	Belz (Chapter 20) Bigelow & Ranney (Chapter 11)

DOCUMENTATION

A similar source of data are documents and artifacts from teaching, for example lesson plans, teaching materials, and student work. Such data provides a picture of teachers' knowledge in use, schemata and routines, especially when combined with data from observation and/or report data. It can also provide more detailed data than observation alone, for example if you want to look at teacher marking and comments on students' written work. However, this method can produce quite a lot of data, so it is wise to plan beforehand exactly what kind of documents you want to examine in order to reduce the volume of data to be analyzed.

Table 4: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from teaching artifacts.*

Teaching Artifacts		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Gutiérrez Almarza (1996) Tsui (1996) Woods (1996)	Artzt & Armour-Thomas (1998) Lederman (1999) Raymond (1997) Wilson & Wineburg (1988)	Borg (Chapter 19) Lo (Chapter 9)

Of course, you can also collect documents and artifacts from applied linguistics classes, too. Student work is a convenient source of data because you collect it anyway and then all you need to do, after getting the proper permission from the students and any research review board at your institution, is to copy the student work before handing it back to the students.

Table 5: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from artifacts from teacher education classes and programs.*

Teacher Education Artifacts		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Freeman (1991; 1993) Wallace (1996) Ramanathan et al (2001)	McAllister & Irvine (2002) Jones, Carter & Rua (1999) Jones, Rua & Carter (1998) Southerland & Gess-Newsome (1999)	Burns & Knox (Chapter 14) Wigglesworth & Yates (Chapter 15) Balocco, Carvalho & Shepherd (Chapter 8) Belz (Chapter 20) Hazlrigg (Chapter 21) Bigelow & Ranney (Chapter 11)

REPORTS AND INTROSPECTION

This category includes a number of data collection tools where teachers report or attempt to verbalize what they do, why they do it, what they believe, what they are or were thinking, and other reports of their cognitive activity. These methods can work very well to investigate propositional knowledge, procedural knowledge, and knowledge organization. This type of data is an ideal compliment to observation data because it focuses on the participants' "insider" perspective on what doing the task entails; perspectives which observation data seldom reveal. However, it is important to keep in mind that the participants verbalizations do not represent the actual thoughts of the participants, but rather their estimation of their thoughts (Freeman, 1994). For an in-depth discussion of introspective data collection methods see Ericsson & Simon (1993).

Interviews

Interviews are often useful for investigating teachers' insider perspectives on what they do and especially why they do the things they do. They also allow the researcher to focus on specific questions and to elicit attitudes and espoused conceptions, routines, agendas and scripts. Espoused knowledge, however, may vary from what is actually used when teaching. While most interviews are with individuals, focus groups can also be interviewed. (See Byra & Karp, 2000, for description and guidelines of both individual and focus group interviews.) A relative disadvantage of interviews is that they take a lot of time to conduct, transcribe and analyze, which usually limits the number of participants who can be interviewed. Interviews can focus on a specific body of knowledge (Alanen; 2003) or task (Strauss et al, 1999), be used to frame teachers' thoughts before and after teaching (Woods, 1996) or to investigate mental models (Gott

et al, 1993; Strauss et al, 1998). Table 1 presents a list of studies using interviews to research teacher knowledge and teacher learning. For more information on composing interview questions, see Foddy (1994) or Seidman (1998). For a finely detailed look at an interview tool see Kennedy, Ball and McDiarmid (1993).

Table 6: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using interview data.*

Interviews		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Alanen (2003) Borg (1998; 1999) Lamb (1995) Johnson (1992, 1994, 1996a) Sato & Kleinsasser (1999) Strauss et al (1998) Woods (1996)	Grossman (1990; 1991) Kagan (1991) Holt-Reynolds (1999) Strauss et al (1999) Gott et al (1993)	Burns & Knox (Chapter 14) Andrews & McNeill (Chapter 10) Borg (Chapter 19) Lo (Chapter 9) Wigglesworth & Yates (Chapter 15) Chaves de Castro (Chapter 16) Hazelrigg (Chapter 21) McKenzie (Chapter 18) Cots & Arno (Chapter 4) Popko (Chapter 22)

Questionnaires

There are several different kinds of questionnaires such as Likert scale questionnaires (where participants choose a response on a continuum), checklist questionnaires (where participants check of actions they do, values they share, information they are familiar with, etc.), and open-ended questionnaires (where participants write answers to specific open-ended questions). Likert scale questionnaires are convenient data collection instruments as they are easy to use with large numbers of participants and offer clear, numerical data which is easy to analyze. Questionnaires can focus on both specific knowledge about teaching and pedagogical content knowledge (for an excellent example see Kennedy, Ball & McDiarmid, 1993) or teachers' conceptions of and attitudes towards teaching and their content knowledge (Fang, 1996; Horwitz, 1985). When questionnaires are used to investigate teachers beliefs or conceptions of language learning, it should not be assumed that changes in these reported beliefs directly reflect changes in how teachers conceive of and carry out their teaching (e.g. MacDonald, Badger, & White, 2001) as studies have shown that general beliefs and those used for actual teaching are often divergent (Foss & Kleinsasser, 2001; Kennedy, 1996; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981)

In general, questionnaires should not be used alone, but triangulated with data from other sources in order to establish the credibility of the results (Fang, 1996; Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003; Kennedy, Ball & McDiarmid, 1993; Parajes, 1992). If used alone, they should have not only abstract, general questions, but should also include specific

questions on knowledge of classrooms and the teachers' classroom behavior (Attardo & Brown, chapter 5; Yaakobi & Sharan, 1985). Care needs to be taken when constructing questionnaire items and it is always a good idea to trial items, check if they are really testing what you want, and then revise items in the questionnaire (Brindley & Schneider, 2002, Yaakobi & Sharan, 1985). For example, the questionnaire used by MacDonald, Badger and White (2001) and Kerekes (2001) was not designed as a questionnaire tool and does not come from any data on teachers' beliefs, but was based on general ideas about language learning that Lightbown and Spada felt were important for teachers to explore in the context of SLA research (Lightbown & Spada, 1999). The items in the BALLI questionnaire developed by Horwitz (1985) were elicited from teachers. However, Horwitz only elicited general, context-less, espoused conceptions of language learning which are very different from the kinds of context-bound, in-action conceptions which shape teachers' plans and actions (Woods, 1996). One way of avoiding this problem is to use a questionnaire to provide information about a specific policy or document. For example, Allen (2002) investigated the extent to which teachers' conceptions of language teaching were similar to the standards for foreign language education. In this situation, revising the standards statements into questionnaire items is relatively easy. For more information on constructing questionnaire items see Converse & Presser (1986), Dörnyei (2003), or Fowler (1995). For more detail on the kind of knowledge questionnaires tap into and the influence of item construction on this see Tourangeau, Rips & Rasinski (2000) or Sudman, Bradburn & Schwarz (1996). The internet is also making questionnaires easier to distribute and fill out as well as to analyze the data. If you are interested in using a web-based questionnaire, Owen and Edwards (chapter 3) present and evaluate an example of a web-based questionnaire, while Dillman (1999) discusses ways of conducting survey research online.

Table 7: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using Likert-scale questionnaire data.

Questionnaires: Likert		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
MacDonald, Badger & White (2001) Kerekes (2001) Peacock (1998; 2001) Horwitz Pennington (1996) Johnson (1992)	Brindley & Schneider (2002) Ferguson & Womack (1993) Morris (1984) Tillema (1998) c Garet et al (2001) Allen (2002) Tatto, 1998	Attardo & Brown (Chapter 5) Owen & Edwards (Chapter 3) <i>(Internet Questionnaire)</i>

A variation of the normal Likert scale questionnaires is the Q-Sort procedure or Q-Methodology (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). The Q-Sort procedure begins with statements much like a questionnaire. However, instead of rating each statement independent of the other, participants are asked to rank the statements on a scale

showing the extent of their agreement with the statements. This ranking, however, has to take the form of a normal, bell-shaped distribution. For example, in the study by Corthran and Ennis the participants:

systematically rank-ordered a series of cards... [containing] 40 statements that reflected possible values for physical education. The participants were asked to sort the cards along a 9 point continuum from the most to least valued. The number of cards allowed in each of the 9 points along the continuum was 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 4, 4, 3, respectively. For example, the three most valued items were places on the farthest right hand column with the next four most valued items in the next column (Corthan & Ennis, 1998: 313).

This procedure produces data that is easy to analyze statistically (because of the bell-shaped distribution) and allows for easier comparison of the items against each other.

Table 8: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using Q-Sort data.

Q Methodology		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
	Cothran & Ennis, 1998 Boscolo & Cisotto, 1999 Lecouteur & Delfabbro, 2001	

An alternative to Likert scale questions is to provide participants with lists of activities they do (Dunn & Shriner, 1999) or reasons they have for certain actions (Li, 1998) and have them select all relevant items. Questionnaires can also contain open-ended questions in order to collect extended qualitative data. Pennington (1996), for example, not only had the teachers she was studying rank different aspects of their teacher education program, but also to comment on why they gave a certain ranking.

Table 9: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from check-list and open-ended questionnaires.

Questionnaires: Open-Ended		
Eisenstein-Ebsworth & Schweers (1997) Hughes-Wilhelm (1997) Li (1998) Pennington (1996)	Dunn & Shriner (1999) Gitlin et al (1999) Tamir (1992)	Wigglesworth & Yates (Chapter 15) Chaves de Castro (Chapter 16)

Journals

Data from journals or diaries kept for an applied linguistics class or during teaching is a common way to collect quality data on teachers' perspectives on their knowledge and knowledge use. Participants can either be requested to focus on particular topics (Angelova, chapter 2; Dunn & Shriner, 1999) or to simply reflect on their teaching and

learning (Numrich, 1996; Pennington, 1995). It can also be an excellent way of collecting longitudinal data (Hosenfeld, 2003). For teachers of applied linguistics, collecting journal data can be much less time consuming than other data collection methods, especially if learner journals are already integrated into the course or practicum you are investigating and the journals are submitted in electronic form.

Table 10: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from journals.

Journals		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Numrich (1996) Pennington (1995) McDonough (1994) Woods (1996)	Borko, Lalik & Tomchin (1987) Dunn & Shriner (1999) Hosenfeld (2003) Jones, Rua & Carter (1998)	Angelova (Chapter 2) Riegelhaupt & Carrasco (Chapter 7) Belz (Chapter 20) Villamil & de Guerro (Chapter 6) Hazelrigg (Chapter 21) Bigelow & Ranney (Chapter 11)

Metaphors

Metaphors have also been used to investigate teachers' knowledge and cognition. This includes metaphors which occur naturally in interview or other data (source) as well as data from tasks that specifically ask participants to produce metaphors. The theory is that the metaphors people create or chose to use reflect their conceptions of the phenomena they are using the metaphors to represent. The analysis can include identifying themes or attitudes contained in the metaphors.

Table 11: Studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using metaphors.

Metaphors		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Sakui & Gaics (2003) Block (1999) Kramsch (2003) Guerrero & Villamil (2002)	Cortazzi (1993) Cortazzi & Jin (1999) Johnston (1994)	Villamil & de Guerro (Chapter 6)

Narrative and Biographic Methods

As mentioned earlier, much of teachers' knowledge is bound up in stories of their experiences both as students and as teachers. An effective way of accessing this kind of knowledge is using narrative and biographic data collection methods. There are three general directions this can take. First, data can be either general stories ("How do you remember learning French?") or on specific aspects of teaching ("What happens when

you try to focus on fluency?"). Data collected from language learning/teaching autobiographies will be more filtered than just asking for stories, but it can produce more focused data because the participants explain how their experiences influenced their teaching. It is also possible to collect autobiographies at different points in a teacher's development in order to assess how their view of teaching has changed over time or due to the influence of a course in applied linguistics (Bailey et al, 1996; Poletini, 2000). Another advantage of the autobiographies is that many teacher educators use them as a teaching tool, so if you incorporate this into your teaching, data collection will be much easier. For data looking specifically at how experiences might have shaped a teachers' knowledge and conceptions of teaching, one can ask them to describe critical incidents in their lives where they learned something about teaching, language learning, phrase structure rules, or whatever you want to focus on (Flanagan, 1954; Kagan, 1993).

The caveat with such data is that such data represents teachers' interpretations of their experiences, not the actual knowledge itself. Wubbels, Brekelmans and Hooymayers (1992) showed that teachers' reports of instruction do not always match their actual behavior in those classes. However, analysis of ways experienced and inexperienced language teachers talk about teaching show that this does reveal differences in their knowledge (Meskill, Mossop, DiAngelo & Pasquale, 2002). For an introduction on using these methods see Clandinin & Connelly (2000), Kelchtermans (1994) or Solas (1993).

Table 12: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using narrative and biographical data.*

Teachers' Stories		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Johnson & Golombek (2002) Woods (1996)	Kelchtermans (1994) Kagan & Tippins (1991) Woods (1985)	
Autobiography		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Antonek et al (1997) Bailey et al (1996)	Cortazzi, M. (1993) Eick & Reed (2002) Poletini (2000)	
Critical Incidents		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
	Coelho (2000) Parker (1995) Sutherland & Dennick (2002) Watts, Alsop, Gould & Walsh (1997)	

Think Alouds

In think aloud tasks participants are usually asked to think out loud or to vocalize every thought that passes through their heads while they are engaged in a task in the domain under scrutiny. As Ericsson and Simon (1993) point out, however, these are, in many ways, two very different tasks. When participants do their thinking out loud, this focuses on verbal thoughts and perceptions and non-verbal thoughts and knowledge such as images and feelings will not be part of the data. However, if participants are asked to verbalize every thought, putting non-verbal thoughts such as images or feelings into words is a difficult task, so such data may be problematic. Think alouds can be easily adapted to most kinds of solitary activities such as lesson planning (Byra & Sherman, 1993), responding to written work (Cohen & Cavalcanti, 1990), or assessing information in specific situations (Lesgold, 1984; Sabers, Cushing & Berliner, 1991). However, it is difficult to apply this methodology to tasks which are interactive such as classroom teaching or conferencing. (See also van Someren, Barnard & Sandberg, 1994). Within applied linguistics, think aloud methodology has been mainly used in investigating processes of language learning (Gass & Mackey, 2000).

Table 13: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using think aloud data.

Think Aloud		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Burns (1992) Cohen & Cavalcanti (1990)	Byra & Sherman (1993) Chi & Bassok (1989) Hauslein, Good & Cummins (1992) Housner & Griffey (1985) Sabers, Cushing & Berliner (1991) Swanson, O'Connor & Cooney (1990) Wineburg (1998)	Xiao (Chapter 13)

Stimulated Recall

In stimulated recall tasks, participants perform a task (teach a lesson, mark a paper, consult with a student, etc.). Then they are presented with some kind of stimulus (usually a video or audio tape of them completing the task although the researcher may share notes taken during the activity) and asked to stop the tape (or interviewer) at any point in the task they think is significant and to say what they were thinking at that point. The researcher may also pose questions to elicit clues to the thinking behind certain actions or decisions during the task. One disadvantage is that this methodology requires a lot of organizational work. Besides coordinating recording and playback equipment for both the stimulus and the stimulated recall data itself, the stimulated recall task should be

done right after the teaching activity (Færch & Kasper, 1987), which can make data gathering in busy school contexts challenging.

Table 14: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using stimulated recall data.*

Stimulated Recall		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Burns (1992)	Byra & Sherman (1993)	Burns & Knox (Chapter 14)
Golumbeck (1998)	Ethell & McMeniman (2000)	Andrews & McNeill (Chapter 10)
Llinares (2000)	Leinhardt, Weidman &	Hislam & Cajlker (Chapter 17)
Gabonton (1999)	Hammond (1987)	Popko (Chapter 22)
Johnson (1992; 1994; 1996a)	Morinc-Dershimer (1989)	
Woods (1996)	Tjeerdsma (1997)	

Repertory Grid

The repertory grid originates from Kelly's Personal Construct Psychology (Kelly, 1955). (See Solas, 1992, for further discussion of the theoretical background to the repertory grid.) The grid measures the strength of the relationship between teachers' conceptions or "constructs" and the actions and ideas which could instantiate them. The study by Lehrer & Franke (1992) exemplifies the standard repertory grid process. They had teachers explain similarities and differences between a series of fraction problems. The similarities and differences described by the teachers were the "constructs", i.e. the conceptions and categories that, it was thought, these teachers used to analyze fraction problems. Then each problem was rated as to how relevant each construct was for that problem. This process, however, is not the only way to elicit constructs. Breen et al (2001) elicited their constructs from observations and interviews by asking teachers why they did certain actions in their observed teaching. Then they had the teachers rate the importance of constructs, for example: "Quieter students should have a chance to speak", with actions observed in that teachers' classroom such as "Accepts and encourages students' spontaneous suggestions" (high rating) or "Encourages students to write down new items of language" (low rating).

There are several advantages to this method of data collection. Since the constructs and ratings come from the student, it requires less interpretation from the researcher. Furthermore, the data is not restricted to a few a priori categories, rather the categories of data are what the participants find most relevant for their own understandings. In addition, this kind of data will not only reveal the conceptions teachers find important, but which conceptions are more important than others for particular aspects of the teachers' practice. A disadvantage to this method is that the data it produces is relatively abstract and general. Therefore, it is a good idea to triangulate grid data with detailed data of specific practices, for example, from observations, interviews or journals.

Table 15: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using repertory grid data.

Repertory Grid		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Block (1997) Breen et al (2001) Kramsch (1983) Senden & Roberts (1998)	Corporaal (1991) Lehrer & Franke (1992)	

TASKS

Observation classroom teaching and asking teachers about their thoughts and reasons behind their actions can provide a solid overall picture of the general types of knowledge teachers have acquired and use. However, if very specific questions are being investigated, these methods might not provide specific data on the topic being investigated. In this case, it is a good idea to triangulate these methods with some sort of task which is specifically designed to gather data on look at the type of knowledge you are looking for. While it is important to remember that these tasks are often somewhat artificial and may not represent exactly what someone would do when teaching, they do provide evidence for the existence of specific kinds of knowledge.

Problem Solving Tasks

The most common type of task is problem solving tasks, in which participants are presented with a problem and their solutions serve as data. Those interested in use of KAL in planning, can have participants do a lesson planning task (Palfreyman, 1993; Richards et at, 1995) and those interested in teachers' skill in writing instructions for Table 16: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from performance tasks.

Table 16: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using problem solving tasks.

Problem Solving Tasks		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Andrews (1997; 1999) Bartels (2003) Cajkler & Hislam (2002) Ma & Luk (1996) Morris (1999; 2002) Richards et al (1995) Palfreyman (1993) Williamson & Hardman (1995)	Carter et al (1987) Chi & Bassok (1989) Chi, et al. (1989) Boshuizen et al (1992) Wilson & Wineburg (1988)	Burns & Knox (Chapter 14) Andrews & McNeill (Chapter 10) Anglova (Chapter 2)

reading tasks (Ma & Luk, 1996) or explaining grammatical mistakes (Andrews, 1997; Morris 1999, 2002) can have them do these types of tasks. For more detailed data on the procedures teachers use in solving these tasks, you can have the participants engage in think alouds while they solve the problem or use stimulated recall after they are finished.

Reaction to Stimulus (cases, vignettes, videos)

Another task is to present some sort of stimulus (cases, vignettes, videos of teaching) and have the participants react to them in some way (Kagan, 1993). Unlike stimulated recall where each participant is asked to recall as much as they can of an incident they were involved in, reaction to stimulus tasks have participants respond in some way to a situation which they have not experienced personally before. They can be asked simply to explain what they saw (Copeland et al, 1994; Copeland & D'Emidio-Caston, 1998), evaluate what happened in the stimulus (Jacobs & Morita, 2002), or answer specific questions about the stimulus (Byra & Sherman, 1993). This is different from problem solving tasks in that there is no particular solution which the participants must come up with. While problem solving tasks allow you to focus on the procedures and knowledge used to work on a problem, data from reaction to stimulus tasks can reveal the kinds of recognition schemata teachers have and how these are used to interpret classroom or pedagogical situations. While this method does allow for the in depth data on particular actions the participants have taken (as stimulated recall does), but one advantage of this kind of task is that all the participants react to the same stimulus, so results from a number of participants are easier to compare.

Table 17: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from reaction to stimulus tasks.*

Reaction to Stimulus		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
	Byra & Sherman (1993) Calderhead & Robson (1991) Copeland, et al (1994) Copeland & et al (1998) Jacobs & Morita (2002) Opewal (1993) Swanson, O'Connor & Cooney (1990)	

Memory and Recognition Tasks

Memory tests were pioneered by deGroot (1965) and Chase & Simon (1973) in their studies on chess experts. They found that if they showed experts a picture of a chess board in the middle of a normal game for 5 seconds and then removed it, the chess experts could place all the pieces on a chess board as they were in the picture with great

accuracy. However, when shown a picture of a chess board with pieces randomly placed, they were no better than chess novices. This difference was attributed to the chess masters' well developed schemata for chess positions. Similar results have been found in other domains such as electronics (Egan & Schwartz, 1979), computer science (McKeithen, Reitman, Reuter & Hirtle, 1981) and music (Halpern & Bower, 1982). Recognition tasks have also revealed the superiority of experts' schemata for more than memory. Allard and Burnett (1985) found that, when shown diverse pictures of a volleyball game, expert volleyball players were no better than novices at remembering features such as players, the referee or the ball, but they did notice the location of the ball *much more quickly* than novices. In the domain of education, Carter and her colleagues (1988) found that when shown slides of classroom situations, experienced teachers' schemata showed evidence of deeper categorization than novice teachers' schemata. For example, while novices talked about "students around a table", experts saw "group work". Research findings with this method have shown strong general trends, but it is not yet clear if such tasks can reveal specific, detailed data on teachers' knowledge.

Table 18: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from memory tasks.

Memory Tasks		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
	Allard & Burnett (1985) Behets (1996) Carter, Cushing, Sabers, Stein & Berliner (1988) Peterson & Comeaux (1987) Sabers, Cushing & Berliner (1991)	

Knowledge Organization Tasks

The following data collection tools focus on knowledge organization. Generally, it is not difficult to set up the tasks and quantify the results. What is difficult is to designing tasks to give detailed data on the kind of knowledge you are interested in.

Sorting Tasks

Sorting tasks involve giving participants a number of cards with either concepts, such as categories in biology (i.e. "photosynthesis"), examples of the aspect of knowledge under study (i.e. examples of "Wh- questions"), objects or scenes pictured on them. The participants sort the cards into groups, name each group and describe the differences between the groups. The participants can also be asked to try to combine their groups into bigger groups or to subdivide each group into smaller groups. There are many

variations to this type of task. In their study of chess expertise, Freyhof, Gruber & Ziegler (1992) had participants circle groupings on pictures of chess games. Allard and Burnett (1985) showed participants a sketch of a basketball play, had the participants draw what they could remember, and then repeatedly showed them the play and gave them time to draw until the participant was finished. The trick here was that each time the participant had a chance to draw, a different color pencil was used, which left a clear record of what and how much was drawn in each cycle. Studies using this method have shown that experts have deeper categories for analyzing information in their domain than novices (Chi et al, 1981). In subjects such as basketball (Allard & Burnett, 1985), biology (Tamir, 1992), math (Leinhardt & Smith, 1985) and wh-questions (Strauss et al, 1998) sorting tasks have shown that teachers' knowledge is organized around the aspect of their subjects that they teach. A variation on this technique is to have participants rank the stimulus according to a specific criterion (Nathan & Koedinger, 2000). A downside is that the stimulus is chosen a priori and is not generated by the participants which might mean that important elements of the participants' knowledge may be missing from the data generated by these tasks.

Table 19: *Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from sorting tasks.*

Sorting Tasks	Educational Research	This Book
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>		
Strauss, et al (1998)	Allard & Burnett (1985) Chi et al (1981) Freyhof, Gruber & Ziegler (1992) Jones & Vesilind (1996) Leinhardt & Smith (1985) Llinares (2000) Nathan & Koedinger (2000) Stein, Baxter & Leinhardt (1990) Tamir (1992)	

Concept Maps

Researchers have used a number of ways to generate concept maps. One method is to have participants brainstorm on a topic to generate concepts that can be organized graphically, either as a mind map or in a hierarchy (e.g. Morine-Dershimer, 1989). Researchers can also begin with a series of concepts printed on adhesive cards, have participants affix these on a piece of paper and indicate the relation between the cards (von Minden & Walls, 1998). A final approach is to present the participants with pairs of concepts which are rated in terms of their relatedness and then use a computer program to analyze the relationships between concepts and generate the concept maps (e.g. Chen

& Ennis, 1995). The teachers in Morine-Dershimer's (1989) and Meijer et al's (1999) studies reported that being able to generate their own list of concepts made it easier to represent their own knowledge the way they conceived it, so even if an a priori list of concepts is used, this list should probably be generated by teachers in a pilot study first. Concept maps can also be used for tracking changes in teachers' knowledge organization (Jones, Carter & Rua, 1999). For a guide to analyzing concept maps, see Morine-Dershimer (1993).

Table 20: Sample studies of teachers' knowledge and learning using data from concept maps.

Concept Maps		
<i>Applied Linguistics</i>	<i>Educational Research</i>	<i>This Book</i>
Cumming (1989) Farrell (2001) Strauss et al (1998)	Beyerbach (1988) Chen & Ennis (1995) Gess-Newsome & Lederman (1993) Jones, Carter & Rua (1999) Jones, Rua & Carter (1998) Markham, Mintzes & Jones (1994) Meijer, Verloop & Beijjaard (1999) Morine-Dershimer (1989; 1993) Tan (1996) von Minden & Walls (1998)	

Tracking Resources

Another way to examine the knowledge organization for a particular task is to try and track the resources someone uses when working on a problem. Guthrie and colleagues created a computer environment where they could present study participants with tasks (such as a travel agency task where participants had to find optimal flights and accommodation given the client's wishes) and track the resources participants used during problem solving (Guthrie, 1988; Guthrie, Britten & Barker, 1991). Ronan, Anderson & Talbert (1976) studied the expertise of fire fighters with a tab test. The participants were given a hypothetical fire situation with description and maps and were asked to find the best course of action for fighting the fire from a series of solutions in a series of folders. Each folder had a tab with either a "yes" (i.e. solution correct) or a "no" (i.e. solution incorrect) covered in silver ink. When a participant chose a solution, they rubbed off the ink to check their answer and records were kept of the number of solutions the participants tried and the order with which they were chosen. This was taken as an indication of fire fighters' schemata for dealing with such fires. In a similar

vein, Hershey, Walsh, Read and Chulef (1990) provided expert and novice financial planners with information on a series of cards and then tracked the order and nature of the information the participants used when solving a financial planning problem. It might be very interesting to develop a computer program or a set of materials which looks at, for example, what information teachers use when planning for different kinds of lessons (e.g. theme-based, grammar-based, content-based, etc.).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the range of research methodologies which can be used to investigate questions about language teachers' acquisition and use of KAL and which can serve as models for further research. However, as can be seen from the tables in this chapter, there are a number of data collection tools which have not been fully utilized for looking at teachers' knowledge in our field such as Q methodology, critical incidents, think aloud protocols, stimulus tasks, sorting tasks, concept maps, and memory tasks. It is important that applied linguists begin to explore and evaluate how such data collection methods can be used to pursue our questions in the area of L2 teacher learning and knowledge use.

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Chapter 2

Using Bulgarian Mini-Lessons in an SLA Course to Improve the KAL of American ESL Teachers

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This research was inspired by some of the challenges I faced as an instructor of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) courses in an MA TESOL program with mostly non-traditional student population. When I started teaching four years ago I had just finished my Ph.D. in Foreign and Second Language Education. I remember how thrilled I was at the idea of designing my own syllabus and teaching my first SLA course. I vividly remember my first class and the question I asked my students after introducing myself: “I assume you are students in the TESOL program who are preparing to become ESL teachers”, I said. The answer came back like a blow: “No”, they said, “We already teach ESL students”. I tried to conceal my surprise and started handing out the syllabus that described the goals and assignments for the course. Students had to read numerous articles on SLA and do a presentation on a topic of their own choice. When I finished, they asked for more information because they were not familiar with some of the topics that they were supposed to select for their presentations. It was only then that I realized that even though my students were teachers, they had no background knowledge in either Linguistics or Second Language Acquisition. Needless to say I had a very difficult first semester.

Since that time I have completely changed my way of teaching this class. I have learned through both my experience and my reading of the research (van Lier, 1996; Bartels, 2002; Lo, 2001) that students need more than lectures on the theories of SLA in order to be able to understand these theories and apply them in their future teaching.

Teacher knowledge has three major dimensions: subject matter content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, and curricular knowledge (Shulman, 1986). All three dimensions are important in making decisions in actual practice. However, most of these decisions are also based on beliefs and assumptions, which seem to be an inextricable part of teacher knowledge (Woods, 1996). Courses of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) in language teacher education programs seem to emphasize only one aspect of

teacher knowledge, that of content knowledge. However, most of the time students enter these courses with certain well-established beliefs and attitudes about the concepts and processes of language learning. These beliefs play an important role in all aspects of teaching as they seem to consciously or unconsciously inform one's knowledge base.

Teacher trainers in SLA have their own hypotheses about what their students should be able to do as a result of taking a course. However, they do not always take as a starting point in their teaching the students' current knowledge of language and language learning. One's beliefs are usually a result of their current state of knowledge in a field. Most of the research on the role and importance of teacher beliefs and KAL in language education focuses on teachers' classroom behavior (Woods, 1996; Borg, 1998). Only a few studies examine the changes of teacher trainees' KAL over the course of study in a teacher education program (Peacock, 2001; Brown and McGannon, 1998 and Breen, 1991). The results from these studies indicate that studying pre-service and in-service teacher beliefs and knowledge base helps not only raise trainees' awareness of their current knowledge (Horwitz, 1985) but also target some incorrect beliefs and correct them through both the teaching method and content of the training courses. Breen (1991) suggests that in order to achieve any changes in the trainees' knowledge base, researchers need to promote teachers' reflections and ask them to evaluate their beliefs on the basis of "actual classroom events." Bartels (2002) talks about the double standards that seem to exist to date as "language teachers are expected to conduct research on their practice.... but KAL teachers are not expected to the same" (p.74). He suggests that KAL teachers should investigate the effect of their own teaching through different methods using quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis techniques.

There seems to be a need to look at the way teachers' knowledge about language (KAL) changes as a result of particular applied linguistics instruction that offers them actual classroom experiences. One way to achieve this in a SLA class is through offering teacher trainees language experience with lessons in a foreign language that they do not speak. Thus through their personal experiences in the process of language learning and reflecting on this experience, trainees can better internalize the concepts of language acquisition and later apply this knowledge in their future teaching practice.

The purpose of this study was to examine the use of mini-lessons in a language students did not speak as a pedagogical tool to demonstrate different language learning theories, concepts, and methods and thus facilitate learning about SLA.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The study was conducted with students from an MA TESOL program at a mid-western university during the Fall semesters of 2001 and 2002. Thirty teacher trainees took part in the study – twenty six women and four men. The majority of the students were native

speakers of English who had a very limited experience of studying a foreign language in high school and college. Eight students were bilingual. Only four students were pre-service teachers and had no experience in teaching but had tutored students privately in ESL.

Course description

The SLA course is one of the required courses in the TESOL program. The text that we used was *Principles of language learning and teaching* (Brown, 2000), supplemented by articles and chapters from Richards and Rodgers (1992), *Approaches and methods in language teaching*. The course focuses mainly on theories of SLA and factors that affect the acquisition process; towards the end of the semester we briefly discuss different methods for teaching ESL.

Students in this course usually have no theoretical background in the subject and often complain of not being able to relate the theories they study to their teaching practice. It seems difficult for them to find any connection between the concepts, constructs, and models they read about, and their own, or their students' personal experience of learning a foreign language. As educators we should strive to help them in the process of conceptualizing and operationalizing the concepts. One way of achieving this is to bring the abstract theories to life by illustrating how they work in the process of learning a foreign language. I have done this through teaching 15 minutes mini-lessons in Bulgarian, which is my native language and which my students do not speak. One can achieve the same result through constructing rules and a lexicon for a hypothetical language and teach those to the students. The questions I wanted to answer through this study were:

1. What do TESOL students know about language and language learning before taking a course in *Theories of Language Learning and Pedagogy*?
2. What is the role of the mini-lessons in Bulgarian as a pedagogical tool in teaching about SLA?
3. Do the mini-lessons help to bridge the theory to practice gap?

Data collection instruments and procedures

Several data collection instruments were used. In the fall of 2001 a pre-post survey on the students' knowledge about SLA was administered at the beginning and end of the course (Appendix A). The post survey asked students to explain how (if in any way) the mini-lessons in Bulgarian had helped them to understand each of the concepts or processes in the questions. Students were not given their initial survey at the end of the course so that they could not compare their answers. In the Fall of 2002 students were given a different survey on KAL (Appendix B). The survey was different from the one for 2001 since the focus of the study has shifted to investigating the effect of the mini-

lessons on KAL only and not on methods of teaching ESL. In addition, several group discussions were held to help in the data collection.

Both groups were taught Bulgarian mini-lessons (15 to 20 minutes long) during the semester as part of the regular classes. Students were asked to keep reflective journals and write about their experiences with the mini-lessons. They were free to focus on any aspect of the experience which they considered important in understanding the SLA concepts. These journals were required but not graded. In addition to these reflections, on several occasions students were given simple language exercises in Bulgarian and were asked to change the activities in view of their current knowledge of SLA theories. Classroom discussions after such activities were recorded in order to analyze the effect they had on elucidating concepts and changing the knowledge base of the students.

Bulgarian mini-lessons

Teacher trainees were first introduced to the Cyrillic alphabet, in order to sensitize them to problems students encounter when learning a foreign alphabet. Since Bulgarian is a phonetic language, it was not difficult for students to start reading Bulgarian words and do simple Grammar exercises soon after they learned the alphabet. In the lesson on reading, words in Bulgarian were grouped according to type of letters – same graphemes as the English ones, different graphemes, and false friends i.e. same graphemes but different sounds. The purpose of this lesson was to demonstrate concepts like positive and negative transfer, learning styles, and learning strategies in SLA. Bulgarian introductions and greetings were also taught to illustrate the role of sociocultural factors in SLA. Bulgarian, like many other European languages has two different forms for the 2nd person pronoun which provide speakers with a choice of formal and informal address forms. Issues in non-verbal communication were discussed after students were taught how to say “Yes” and “No” in Bulgarian. Bulgarian uses gestures opposite to the ones used in English i.e., to say “Yes”, one shakes his head, and to say “No”, one nods. Another lesson on Degrees of Comparison of Bulgarian adjectives demonstrated deductive and inductive reasoning. In addition, the instructor talked about different lexical and grammatical categories any time the students expressed interest in them. For example, when we discussed Prater’s (1967) Hierarchy of difficulty of language structure acquisition, we examined the category of Gender in Bulgarian and English as well as some phonological features of the two languages.

Some of the topics for the course did not lend themselves to this method of teaching and no activities were designed to accompany them. Examples are: the role of age in SLA, models of SLA, and the Natural Order Hypothesis. Some of these topics dealt with purely theoretical concepts, others required a more advanced knowledge of the language in order to be demonstrated through mini-lessons.

DATA ANALYSIS

Only the qualitative data from the surveys were analyzed to see if the mini-lessons facilitated the acquisition of SLA concepts. The recordings of the class discussions and the focus group discussions were transcribed and together with the journal reflections and the post survey comments were analyzed using qualitative methods of analytic induction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

RESULTS

The questionnaires, which were answered by subjects at the beginning of the semester tried to examine the pre-existing knowledge about language and language learning. The results from the surveys revealed that trainees enter the program with certain beliefs and attitudes towards SLA, which appear to be based on their current state of knowledge about SLA and their teaching experience. Every student in the class filled out the questionnaire. Eighty percent of the students in the 2001 class answered all twenty questions. One student (pre-service teacher, non-native speaker) did not answer the question on inductive/deductive methods of teaching probably because she was not familiar with these terms. Two other pre-service teachers, monolingual, native speakers of English, did not answer questions 1, 2, 3, and 5 given in Appendix A. While one of these questions asks about a specific concept in language teaching, the other three deal with one's experience in teaching and learning a language. It is not surprising then that the pre-service teachers were not sure how to answer the questions.

While in the class of 2002 the questions were answered in full by all participants, it must be noted that 27 percent of the answers fell under the category "never heard of this concept", 43 percent belonged to the second column, "sounds familiar but I cannot explain it or use it in my ESL classroom", and only 30 percent of the concepts were familiar to the students.

There is a difference in the manner in which the two questionnaires are constructed. While the first one uses a Likert scale and probes for KAL through statements that include almost no technical terms, the second one asks about particular concepts in SLA through naming the concepts themselves. It is not surprising then that while every one of the students expressed an opinion in the first survey, the students who were given the second survey did not recognize or were not able to explain 70 percent of the concepts. One should be careful when using surveys since as the results in this study show, participants' answers depend largely on the way questions are presented to them.

In answer to the first research question we may draw the conclusion that the TESOL students in this group (mostly teachers who had no training in SLA but had experience teaching ESL students) had some preconceived notions about how languages are learned. They were not clean slates on which the instructor could start writing. This made my job as an instructor even more difficult since it was obvious that if I wanted to engage these students in active learning I could not simply lecture on SLA. I had to constantly relate the theories we talked about to my students' experience in teaching

ESL. But there was one element still missing so that the teaching process could be successful. Seventy percent of my students were monolingual and had no experience in learning a second language. To make my teaching more effective I introduced the mini-lessons in Bulgarian as a kind of mediator between my students' experience in ESL teaching and their intuitions about learning a foreign language.

The second research question of the study tried to investigate the role of the mini-lessons in language learning. Examination of the answers in the 2001 pre/post surveys using descriptive statistics might have given us some insights in this respect. However, as Kern (1995) explains, such results are rather misleading since "many of the individual shifts cancel one another out in the averaging process" (p. 78). For example, in response to item 1 in the first questionnaire, the number of people agreeing or disagreeing with the statement in the pre/post surveys is almost the same, yet 6 students, i.e. 38 percent of all students are either more or less convinced that students' errors should be corrected on the spot. Qualitative data from the comments in the post surveys and the discussion transcripts, give us a much better idea about the role of the Bulgarian mini-lessons in changing one's knowledge about SLA processes. For example, one of the lessons was used to demonstrate the behavioristic and humanistic approaches to language learning with an emphasis on error correction. The students were taught how to introduce themselves in Bulgarian. During the first part of the lesson I taught them a mini dialogue in Bulgarian and then asked each student to stand up and repeat the dialogue. Every time a student mispronounced a word, I corrected him/her and asked them to repeat the word as many times as needed until they had it right. During the second part of the lesson, the same dialogue was used to practice introductions in Bulgarian, but this time the students were sitting in their places and tossing a stuffed toy to each other while practicing how to ask and answer questions about one's name. I did not correct their mistakes during that process. At the end of the activity I practiced the dialogue with several students and emphasized the correct pronunciation of each phrase. Here are some comments from the students' reflections on this lesson:

This activity also showed how important it is to be sensitive when correcting students. Although the first method was really intimidating, I noticed that I was not always sure about pronunciation when the teacher did not correct us during the second activity. I believe that it is important to let students speak without constantly correcting them, but I think that they need to know that what they are saying can be understood and need some correction along with positive reinforcement. At the same time, there are students who may stop talking if they are corrected; a teacher must be sensitive to the needs of the individual student and work with those needs always in mind.

One of the recurring themes in the data analysis was the role of the mini-lessons in demonstrating the effect of different language learning styles and strategies in SLA. What really came as a pleasant surprise for me while reading the reflections was the fact that students seemed to be able to analyze not only the effect of the cognitive strategies they used in doing different language exercises in Bulgarian, but also transfer what they

had learned to a situation in which their own students might be involved in the process of learning English. In the dialogue below two teacher trainees discuss their experience doing an exercise on Bulgarian pronouns:

A: Well I think doing this exercise in the target language lets us empathize how our students must feel. Because if I did it in English I wouldn't be very frustrated but doing it in a different language I was enormously frustrated. I couldn't, I didn't know what I was doing. And even after I had done it I couldn't say what I had done, so it helps me realize what it's like when you don't understand what's going on. And I felt that the whole time. Every time we did a Bulgarian lesson I wanted to just slink down in my seat.

B: And that's when I had fun.

A: And that's when you liked it. And so that's a thing as a teacher, too... to realize some people really love learning a new language and other people dread it and it's traumatizing.

B: When they don't like speaking and they get real nervous and they're insecure and they don't understand anything.

A: Or if it's the wrong learning style. If you need it visual and auditory and you're doing something that's tactile.

One of the mini-lessons demonstrated inductive and deductive reasoning through teaching a lesson on Comparisons of Adjectives in Bulgarian. The first part of the lesson presented the rule and examples of it on the blackboard. Students were then asked to practice the structure. Inductive reasoning was demonstrated through examples of the grammatical category using students from the class and comparing their height, age, and hair color. Students were then asked to come up with the rule on their own. In their reflections most students commented that this mini lesson helped them to conceptualize the two modes of thinking. What was more important for me though, was the fact that they were able not only to learn and retain the concept better (in later discussions any time we talked about deductive/inductive reasoning, they would mention this lesson) but that they could envision using this knowledge in their own teaching. For example:

Deductive and inductive reasoning was effectively displayed through the Bulgarian mini-lessons. Clearly, what we know about the brain implies that inductive reasoning should generally be more effective. By using examples and discussing familiar concrete issues, students are allowed to connect new information to existing schema. By constructing one's own rules, there seems to be a greater likelihood of retention and application.

Another concept that students seemed to have learned more easily through the mini-lessons was the concept of negative and positive transfer. There were several lessons that demonstrated this concept. In one of the lessons, after students learned the Bulgarian alphabet, they were asked to read words that were grouped according to the way the letters looked – same graphemes and sounds as the English ones; same graphemes but different sounds; completely different graphemes. For example:

1. Same graphemes and sounds:

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
MAMA	/MAMA/	MOM

2. Same graphemes but different sounds (false friends)

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
BAHA	/VANA/	BATH TUB

3. Completely different graphemes

<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
—	/YULIYA/	JULIA (name)

I was almost sure that, even though students were already familiar with the Bulgarian alphabet they would still experience transfer regardless of the fact that the words were grouped according to the three categories. This is exactly what happened:

Immediately, the letters that have the same shape and pronunciation as letters in English were very easy, because I could just transfer the sounds I already know. However, it was confusing to try to associate new sounds with letters that looked like English letters. I found myself using the English sound that corresponds to the shape. Learning to use these letters was even more difficult for me than using the letters that have completely unfamiliar shapes and sounds. I believe this was because I simply had to learn something new with those letters, rather than try to change a habitual concept in my mind.

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<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
—	/YULIYA/	JULIA (the name)

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Again, this lesson not only helped students in learning about transfer but also reminded them of the enormous effort ESL students have to put in learning a new alphabet and reading in English. Many students commented on the difficulty their Arabic or Chinese students might have in a similar situation since their alphabets are so different from the English alphabet. In her reflections on a similar lesson on Transfer and Controlled vs. Automatic processes, one of my students comments on the role of the lessons in elucidating metalinguistic terminology and her ability to use these terms to describe language acquisition processes:

The last Bulgarian lesson made me more aware of the systems at work when learning a new language as well as the terminology that coincides with those systems. I am now able to use my limited metalinguistic knowledge to put language acquisition into words. Initially, many in the class experienced negative transfer when they attempted to read the Bulgarian word using our knowledge of the English alphabet system. Yet, because similar symbols actually stand for different phonetic sounds, errors in pronunciation

occurred. As the instructor began to use repetition as a teaching strategy, students were better able to identify new words without the interference of negative transfer. Repetition has made the sounds more automatic, somewhat moving the practice from a controlled process to an almost automatic process.

In another lesson we were discussing the different models of SLA. Students were having particular difficulty with McLaughlin's (1983) and Bialystok's (1978) models. Even though we had a presentation from three students on individual models, when I asked the students whether or not they could apply the models to situations related to their personal experience as either teachers or learners of language, they were not able to do so. Then I did a mini lesson in Bulgarian and tried to demonstrate how a controlled process becomes automatic through a simple exercise on pronunciation and reading using groups of words that had similar sounds. At first I asked them to read the name of my home town "____". Almost everyone pronounced it as /pais/ or /rais/ as a result of negative transfer. I gave them the right pronunciation / ruse/ but did not spend much time explaining or correcting them. My next step was to practice the reading of a group of words that all started with the letter "P" which in my native language represents the English sound /r/

Example: ____, ____, ____, ____, etc. These words are pronounced as /rak/, /rom/, /rod/, /rolo/.

Once the process of associating the letter P with the sound /r/ became automatic, I gave them a second group of words in which they had to learn to associate the letter Y with the /u/.

Example: ____, ____, ____, etc. These words are pronounced as /mus/, /bus/, tur/.

After this process had become automatic, I asked them to read the word P__ again. This time everybody pronounced it as /ruse/. This mini lesson led to an interesting discussion on controlled versus automatic processes not only in phonology but also in grammar and vocabulary learning. Students' reflections on this lesson give us a better understanding of their experience:

In the exercise that we did in class last week when we first teamed to pronounce a set of words with the same beginning sound, PAK, POM, PACA, then another set with the same vowel, MYC, KYC, KYM, the students were learning a new skill, so the attention to the pronunciation was controlled. However, by the time we reached the end of each list of similar-sounding words, the attention of the students became more automatic. We got used to the new pronunciations and were able to transfer the pronunciations from one word to the next (provided that the words were fairly similar) with little difficulty. By the time we were asked to pronounce a word which combined elements of spelling from both lists that we had learned (PYCE), our attention was automatic and we pronounced it with no difficulty.

Another student analyzed her personal thoughts and feelings associated with learning Bulgarian up to this point with respect to the controlled and automatic processes involved. This quote seems to demonstrate the process of deconstructing one's experience to make explicit the implicit knowledge and intuitions one has about language learning.

Our recent Bulgarian lesson illustrated the concepts of controlled and automatic processes in language learning. I realized this type of exercise was exactly what I needed to feel more comfortable reading and pronouncing some Bulgarian words! Up to this point, trying to pronounce a written Bulgarian word was completely overwhelming because of negative transfer from English pronunciation and unfamiliar letters. I now realize that this overwhelmed feeling comes from too many controlled processes required at one time. When we are unfamiliar with certain letter sounds, we have to actively think about each letter, look up the sound of the letter, and try to put the entire word together, focusing on each letter. Without any implicit knowledge of letter sounds and our limited focal capacity, there are inevitable errors and frustration in pronunciation.

After repeating several words in Bulgarian with a common letter or combination of letters, those specific pronunciations became automatic. This was an enormous help in pronouncing more complicated words using those letters. We had fewer letters to focus on, and could concentrate on the rest of the word. I am now convinced that this is a key to learning a language with a new alphabet and different letter pronunciations than that of the native language.

It must be noted that not every concept in SLA lends itself to explanation through these lessons. It is difficult to demonstrate such concepts as backsliding or the Critical Period Hypothesis through teaching a language to adults for a short period of time.

In addition to the data from the journals, analysis of the transcripts from the focus group discussion revealed two other important effects of the mini-lessons on student learning. First of all these exercises provoked a lot of thinking and helped trainees to understand how their own ESL students felt. This is a common theme that emerged from the journal reflections as well. Almost every journal entry ended with comments on how ESL students must feel in a similar situation. The Bulgarian lessons were having an effect not only on the cognitive but also on the affective development of my students. For example:

It was confusing when the letters that looked like English had different sounds, not to mention the letters that looked totally different. It was overwhelming. I'm sure that is how my students feel. Sometimes it is just too much information and the students tend to shut down. We need to keep these factors in mind as teachers.... I wish this could be an experience for all classroom teachers so that they realize or are reminded of how difficult it can be for students!

Another recurring theme concerns the challenges of language learning that were revealed through doing exercises in Bulgarian. Trainees experienced first hand the effect of transfer, the role of translation in studying a language and often reflected on the positive

and negative aspects of different formats of presenting language structures to students. For example, on one occasion students had to do an exercise on Pronouns that demonstrated the traditional method of grammar teaching and then change it using other techniques that they had already studied. The exercise required using the Nominative or Dative form of the Personal pronouns in a subject or object position in a sentence. In the discussion that followed students reflected on the experience:

I loved doing it. This is like a puzzle. This is fun. You know... I mean ...but then what you realize too, is that you really don't need to know anything when you're doing a foreign language. If you know the basic rules. You memorize the table. Just plug it in, you can do it. And then eventually you'll get it. Which isn't really good, but sometimes if you get really confused, you just go, beginning of the sentence, is subject. Don't worry about it. And it's not good because you don't remember it and it really, it's not like you know it.

Through this experience the teachers were able to see what role the knowledge of grammar rules plays in learning a language. One's knowledge of phrase structure rules can help but also hinder one's language learning. Students were able to do the exercise correctly without knowing the meanings of any of the words in the sentences. This often happens in a language classroom where ESL students are able to complete their worksheets or even answer questions after reading a text in which they have unknown words. This is especially true of students with extensive knowledge of grammar whose communicative competence, however, is very low. Here is how one of the trainees commented on the usefulness of this type of exercises:

Also for me... I could put the right word in the space but I still don't know what the sentences say at all. Really... it... since they're in Bulgarian it made me realize that this is kind of a meaningless exercise since it's not going to help me communicate.

In order to make this activity useful for their ESL students, trainees suggested using TPR, role play, visual clues, pictures and realia, and described in details the way they will teach this grammatical structure to their students so that they can use it to communicate in different situations. The exercise also provoked a lively discussion on the role of deductive and inductive teaching in grammar presentations.

The third research question asked whether or not these lessons helped in bridging the gap between theory and practice. The data from the discussions and reflections indicate that students were able to better internalize the concepts that I illustrated through the Bulgarian lessons. In their journals trainees often wrote about their ideas for teaching ESL in light of the knowledge they had gained through a particular lesson. In the following quote a student reflects on the use of the exercise with similar sounds described above for his future work with ESL students:

This exercise illustrated the importance of automatic and controlled processes. I now believe that beginning language instruction should focus on transferring simple processes, such as letter pronunciation, from controlled to automatic. As the pronunciation of more and more sounds becomes automatic, rather than a controlled process, a language student will become more comfortable pronouncing words in their target language. This tactic can probably be used with some grammar rules, sentence structures, and simple phrases, as well. By going through this exercise ourselves in Bulgarian, the result was vivid and obvious to me.

Finally, even though most of the time students were excited to participate in these activities, in our final discussion they made several recommendations for improving them. Some students preferred to have the lessons at the beginning of the class rather than at the end, since as one of them said, "I always felt the anxiety mounting". As with any FL classroom, there were students who feared this experience and others who had fun with it. Students also suggested that starting with the lesson would have helped them understand the concepts better as they would have been able to relate the demonstration to what they have already read. Another idea was that students should define their learning style through some instrument at the beginning of the course so that later I could accommodate the different styles through different activities in the mini-lessons. Overall even the students who initially did not like the idea of "studying" Bulgarian were happy to have participated in it in the end.

The thought of learning a new language is exciting and overwhelming. As we began the "sounds" of the Bulgarian language I became flooded with negative thoughts. Visions of high school French and Spanish classes became alive. I quickly became lost and overwhelmed, feeling I wasn't keeping up.

I have learned, through this experience, how a foreign student may feel in an English speaking class. What an eye-opener! As I began practicum, and work with ESL students, this exercise will prepare me – get me in the mind set of the students.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the effect of the use of mini-lessons in a language not spoken by teacher trainees on their knowledge about language and language learning. The results are encouraging but should be interpreted with caution since the sample was very small. The mini-lessons in Bulgarian seemed to have provided the teacher trainees with a springboard to explore different aspects of the second language acquisition process and thus improve both their content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge. Their reflections and discussions on the language experience shed considerable light on the process of learning about language and learning how to teach language. It seems that the language experience proved valuable not only as a cognitive but also as an affective exercise. In addition to that, the experience seemed to have worked very well as a pedagogical tool. In the words of one student: "It was interesting to see how this exercise brought to life a usually sedate group of students. The challenge of learning something as a group, that none of us knows seemed to bring people out of their shells".

Findings from this study lead to several implications for future research on teacher beliefs and KAL. First, it would be interesting to study the change in teacher knowledge throughout the course of their teacher education program. Second, it seems necessary to use additional instruments besides questionnaires and reflective journals to study teachers' KAL. Classroom observations and interviews during the Practicum should help interpret patterns found in quantitative data. Finally, to achieve generalizability of the results larger samples should be used. It is hoped that replications of such studies will lead to a greater understanding of the complex process of teacher learning and will help teacher educators to improve their own teaching methods.

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APPENDIX A

Post-Survey on Language Learning and Teaching Beliefs: Sample Questions

Statements	agree..... disagree					Which of the BG lessons helped you to understand this? process or concept?
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. Learners' errors should be corrected as soon as they are made in order to prevent the formation of bad habits. ¹						
2. Most of the mistakes which second language learners make are due to interference from their first language.						
3. Teachers should teach simple language structures before complex ones.						
14. For language teaching inductive teaching is better than deductive teaching.						
15. Students who study under the same conditions will show little variation in their language skills.						

APPENDIX B
SURVEY ON SLA CONCEPTS: SAMPLE QUESTIONS

No.	SLA Concept	I have never heard of it	It sounds familiar but I cannot explain it	I know this concept and can apply it to my ESL teaching
1	Transfer			
2	Overspecialization			
3	Backsliding			
4	Affective filter			
5	Cognitive styles			

¹ Adapted from Lightbown, P. and N. Spada (1999) How languages are learned. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Chapter 3

The Impact on Teachers of Language Variation as a Course Component

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1. INTRODUCTION

We offer this paper as an example of how ‘impact study’ research and ‘programme evaluation’ can merge to give insights into the effect of, and attitudes towards, a specific aspect of the language teacher curriculum, and at the same time provide useful feedback for course planners. This paper therefore presents the findings of an investigation into English language teachers’ reactions to their in-service Master of Arts in TEFL, with a specific focus on one programme component, namely, the language variation section of a course on sociolinguistics.

2. SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

Language teacher education programmes typically include the topic of *language variation*, at least as an option and sometimes as a compulsory element. What this includes, and how much of any programme it occupies, varies greatly. It may be found as a named unit within traditional sociolinguistics modules (as at the University of Birmingham), or as a ‘topic’ or ‘theme’ in more enticingly named packages involving some combination of words such as ‘discourse’, ‘culture’, ‘society’, ‘social’, ‘context’, or more widely disseminated throughout a programme. In recent years, even introductory texts on language awareness aimed at pre-experience teachers have included the topic among their contents (see, for example, Arndt et al, 2000: 33-7 and 131 - 51). Instruction may address regional variation (accent, dialect etc.), standard and

non-standard forms, sociolects, creoles, speech/writing differences, variation according to social situation (formality/informality etc.), gender and literary vs. non-literary English. This is by no means an exhaustive list.

We assume that programme designers include these topics for good reasons. Possibly, they subscribe to the view of writers such as Llamas and Stockwell (2002:166), who assert that 'teachers who are aware of the sociolinguistic context have insights at their disposal which can make them better teachers', or McKay and Hornberger (1996:ix), who claim that teachers need 'an understanding of the relationship between language and society' in order to fulfil 'the challenging task of respecting linguistic diversity while promoting common standards'. It is more likely, however, that they are intuitively encouraged by the naturally high level of student-teacher interest in variation. What is the reason for this interest? Perhaps for the non-native speaker it is a matter of growing confidence. When we first approach a foreign language, it stands before us as a monolith; we are not interested in, still less worried by, variation because all our energy is absorbed by saying anything at all. When we get much better, we need to master what Campbell and Wales (1970) and Hymes (1970) so famously conceptualised as appropriateness, and the consensus is that this aspect of language is to a great extent culturally determined.

What about the native-speaker student-teacher? Whereas the non-native is confronted by cultural strangeness, the native-speaker student-teacher, immersed in native culture, needs to have the language made strange again, to borrow from Brecht (1951). Most native-speakers of any language are, almost inevitably, inculcated in childhood with limited and limiting views about their native language. After many years of thinking about language sociolinguistically, the specialist may find it hard to recapture that first enthusiasm at the most trivial of discoveries in the domain of variation; but, if we can manage that, then we should see reason enough to raise the awareness of the native-speaker. The desirability of so doing has never been more apparent than in these post-imperial days of international English. Ownership of English can no longer be said to rest exclusively with those echelons of native-speaker society to which the EFL teacher has typically belonged (Crystal, 1997:21, 130-135; Kachru, 1986; Pennycook, 1994:267-270). The very term 'native-speaker' is of questionable status in some contexts (Rampton, 1990). The ability to make balanced, sociolinguistically informed judgements on form and appropriateness, whether in Singapore, Stuttgart or Slough, must surely be a key component of professionalism.

It is widely assumed that most students will be able and willing to internalise instruction in language variation in such a way that it will be of practical value later. But this is a big assumption. One of our student respondents notes, 'I thought the ideas of the ... course were significantly important to my interests as an EFL teacher, but there was not much of a pedagogical focus there ...', and another, even more bluntly, confesses, 'Honestly I still cannot tell how I could apply these ideas to my classroom practice.' Could our course writers have taken greater pains to make pedagogical applications and

implications more explicit? It is clear that *how* language variation is taught is as important as *whether* it is taught.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This project set out to explore the extent to which English language teachers consider their instruction in language variation (as a component of a larger sociolinguistics course) has usefully impinged on their professional practice. The subjects were graduates and current (near-completion) students of the MA TESL/TEFL open distance learning programme at the University of Birmingham, an in-service programme for teachers employed around the world. What did they remember of their instruction on language variation? How did they rate this course against the others they were offered? Which specific language variation topics did they rate highly or poorly for qualities such as interest, relevance and ease of understanding? Were they conscious of these topics having made a difference to the way they taught English? What kind of difference? And as a result of our findings, should we reconsider our inclusion of language variation as a compulsory topic in their programme, or at least review how we present it?

4. METHODS

To evaluate the impact of a certain kind of teaching, we took the obvious route of asking the recipients of that teaching for their views. We approached 125 former and current students and analysed the responses of the 86 who replied. As we shall see, the overall student response to our teaching was, on balance, favourable. How far this reflects 'reality' is less clear. While students are very well qualified to give an opinion, they are not necessarily the only people whose opinions matter. As a cross-validating exercise, we also collected a number of opinions from academics on the value of teaching about language variation. Not surprisingly, they are all very much in favour. We have not approached employers, still less the English learners who are taught by our students. Would they consider it important for teachers to be informed about language variation? Do their views count? Such questions might be investigated in future work.

We chose as our subject group teachers who had participated in our open distance learning programme, since all cohorts had completed an essentially identical course in sociolinguistics. The course was delivered as a booklet and sets of supplementary readings to be worked through independently, free from any 'teacher effect' and the year-to-year variations inevitable in live classes taught on campus. This meant that our subject group comprised English teachers of various nationalities working in a number of countries around the world, and that a questionnaire that could function as a straightforward self-report instrument was the most practical option as a primary research instrument. Although self-report is notoriously unreliable for some purposes, it is perfectly appropriate for a study that asks for introspection into issues such as relevance of a topic to one's professional practice.

4.1. *Questionnaire Design*

The questionnaire was designed to elicit ratings for all the courses offered to the participants as part of their MA programme, partly in order to reveal how language variation was rated in relation to other course components, but also to disguise the true focus of the study. The meaning of questionnaire responses is notoriously hard to interpret. The 'leading question effect' is a particular source of unreliability; the wording of questions can easily predispose respondents to answer in certain ways. Asking subjects to comment on our teaching of language variation, without setting that topic in a broader context, would almost certainly be inadequate because perceptions of the worth of any course element are bound to be relative. In the light of these well-known problems with questionnaire research, our aim here was to disguise the focus on language variation by burying questions about it in a larger survey of responses to our courses, and many students did respond as if to a course evaluation exercise, in spite of it being clearly labelled 'research'!

The questionnaire comprised three sections: Section A, which asked for demographic information; Section B, which elicited a general course evaluation, and Section C, which itemised the detailed components of the selected course for rating against various criteria (sociolinguistics, with 10 sub-components including five language variation topics).

We designed our questionnaire to be completed on a web siteⁱ. This medium has advantages, not only for busy people living thousands of miles away but just as importantly for us, because the responses for analysis can be downloaded automatically to a database (Hewson et al., 2003:43). The practicalities of this web-based questionnaire were solved by a helpful computer officerⁱⁱ, but there were a number of difficulties along the way. Computerisation does not eliminate problems of partial or erroneous completion, and we have had to take the usual decisions about whether to include incomplete returns. We have not included partial returns in the quantitative analysis of data for Section C, but we have used some of the comments that help to illuminate issues from the 26 partially completed questionnaires. Validity of data is a concern, since remote administration undermines the ability of the researcher to judge the sincerity or genuineness of responses (Hewson et al., 2003:44), and the mechanics of selecting responses from 'pull-down' lists can result in inadvertent mis-selection. In Section A, six people gave incorrect programme dates, almost certainly caused by 'mis-clicking' possible responses. Given that much of the questionnaire used the same mechanism, all the results should be interpreted with the awareness that around five per cent of responses may not be the ones the respondents intended.

Despite these caveats, the web-based questionnaire yielded a good body of information, and we see this as a positive step forward in course evaluation. Furthermore, to maximise return rates, we incorporated a backup medium in the form of a word-processed version of the questionnaire that could be completed electronically and emailed back to us, or printed, completed by hand, and faxed. This procedure helped us

to remove any sample bias caused by lack of internet access or inadequate system requirements on the part of otherwise willing respondents.

5. RESULTS

5.1. *Return Rates*

Emails were dispatched to 125 potential subjects inviting response. This process yielded 86 partial and 59 fully completed questionnaires. Thus a total return rate of 69% (which we consider to be very satisfactory, given the remote locations of respondents and the time lapse of up to three years since many had last been contacted by us) was reduced to 48% fully useable returns.

5.2. *Questionnaire Results*

Section A allowed us to establish that before starting the programme, all 86 respondents had been teaching languages (all but one English) in a wide range of public and private sector institutions, at various levels and age-groups and in various countries, and on both part- and full-time bases. This finding suggests that responses in subsequent sections of the questionnaire would carry the authority of professional experience.

5.3. *Views of Sociolinguistics Compared with Other Topics*

Section B comprised four sub-sections designed to reveal how accurately respondents remembered the composition of their twelve-course programme, and to compare how they rated each of the courses they claimed to have followed in terms of personal importance, professional gain and general importance. There is not space to report our results for this section in detail here, but the key findings were:

1. The very small number of mis-responses (fewer than 3%) to the first question ('Which of the following courses constituted part of your MA programme ...?') reinforced our confidence in the genuineness and accuracy of other responses.
2. In response to the question, 'How important was it to you, as a language teaching professional, that these courses were part of your MA programme?' sociolinguistics fares reasonably well compared with the other eleven available coursesⁱⁱⁱ. 57.4% of the 54 respondents who completed this item rated sociolinguistics as having been 'essential', compared with the mean 'essential' score for all available courses of 69.3% (SD = 20.2, $z = 0.59$).
3. 'How much did you gain from each course in terms of your professional development?' also elicits an enthusiastic response, with 70.0% of respondents feeling they had gained 'a lot' or 'quite a lot' from sociolinguistics, compared with a mean for all available courses of 72.7% (SD = 14.3).
4. In terms of how important respondents felt each course to be in more general terms, i.e. whether they would include them if planning a similar programme, we found that subjects would be less likely to include topics they had not themselves

studied. Sociolinguistics once again gets a respectable rating with 40.4% including it in their 'compulsory course' list, and a further 45.6% rating it as 'important but should not be compulsory' compared with the all available course means of 65.2% (SD = 21.1) and 24.6% (SD = 13.8) respectively.

A number of respondents admitted to knowing little about Sociolinguistics until they took the course, which helps to explain why some currently unavailable courses, such as semiotics, were rejected as potential curriculum items: 'I even had to go away and check what semiotics is', confesses one confused respondent, while another writes, 'I am not actually sure what genre analysis is'.

The general conclusion we must draw thus far is that students found their courses to be, on the whole, appropriate, and are reluctant to trade satisfactory courses for those which they know little about. However, one frequent comment concerns the possibility of selecting options, or elective courses:

I didn't have any choice in what courses I took. I would have liked to take some of the others offered through the on campus program. ie. Psycholinguistics, Corpus Linguistics. etc

Many of these courses were not offered as part of the distance programme in Korea. I selected the "no opinion" option for all of these but would have certainly liked the opportunity to have taken a few of them in my course of study.

Since undertaking this study we have introduced options to the programme.

5.4. Further Views of Sociolinguistics

To further test opinion of Sociolinguistics, our first query in Section C of the questionnaire asked whether this topic should be retained as a compulsory course, redesignated as an option or dropped from the programme. Figure 1 shows the results:

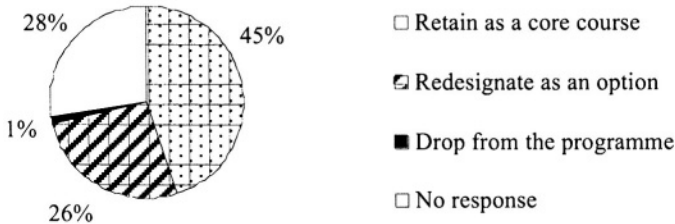


Figure 1. Respondents' views on the future status of Sociolinguistics. N = 80.

A range of reasons was given to explain these positive views:

I think that I found sociolinguistics as the part of the programme that gave me the clearest paradigm shift of the whole programme. It let me see how it infiltrates ALL aspects of TEFL. I also feel that sticking it at the end of the course makes it like an appendix and very unlikely for people to choose as a dissertation topic. It should be placed near the beginning of the course (presumably easier said than done) to give people an insight into the social PRINCIPLES of TEFL...

I think it is compulsory that EFL teachers, being in the forefront where different cultures meet, learn the importance of interaction between society and language.

It was useful in that it made me better able to see language teaching and learning as part of a larger sociological framework and not just as an activity in a classroom.

We see here a cluster of 'converts' who are in no way uncertain about their commitment to the topic. There were many others who wrote along similar lines, not surprisingly the same ones who indicated that sociolinguistics should remain as a compulsory, core subject. On the other hand, a second cluster is ambivalent:

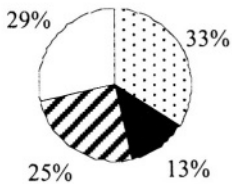
Sociolinguistics is not directly related to TEFL for all teachers in all teaching situations.

It wasn't essential for my interests or purposes and I would have gained much more and invested greater effort in a course like ESP or Psycholinguistics because I have a much greater interest in these fields.

I find it very interesting, but it is quite theoretical, and perhaps not as necessary for improving one's teaching per se.

These comments were all contributed by people who would redesignate sociolinguistics as an option, and are typical of the responses from this group, many of whom did seem to see TEFL 'just as an activity in a classroom'.

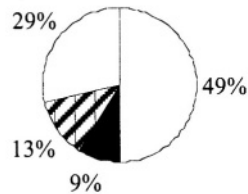
Were there clear links between sociolinguistics and other courses?



□ Yes

■ No

Was sociolinguistics related to overall programme aims?



▨ Can't decide

□ No response

Figure 2: How sociolinguistics related to other courses and to programme aims. N = 80.

This phenomenon of a divided camp is interesting. The comments from the more strongly pro-sociolinguistics sector suggest a more subtle and sophisticated understanding of the subject and its ramifications has been gained, while the less enthusiastic group focus almost exclusively on its direct and obvious (lack of) applicability, which could be a result of poor presentation of application in our course. Alternatively, it could simply reflect different perceptions of what the purpose of an MA TEFL programme should be: academic and mind-broadening, or mainly functional and of direct practical application. Responses to the next two questions throw further light on this issue.

A clear pattern emerges between those who would retain sociolinguistics as a compulsory course and those who agreed it was linked to other courses and also to the overall aims of the programme.

Table 1: Clusters of positive and ambivalent reactions to sociolinguistics

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Clear links to other courses</i>		<i>Relates to programme aims</i>			
Positive: Retain as core course	36	Yes	23	64%	Yes	33	92%
		No	4	11%	No	1	3%
		?	8	22%	?	2	5%
Ambivalent: Redesignate as option	21	Yes	4	19%	Yes	7	33%
		No	11	52%	No	9	45%
		?	6	29%	?	5	24%

Those who were ambivalent about the status of sociolinguistics, and would redesignate it as an option, were far less likely to perceive links to other courses on the programme (19% compared with 64% for strong supporters) or to see a relationship with overall programme aims (33% compared with 92%). This adds weight to the earlier suggestion that those who are seeking mainly practical outcomes will not see any relationship between sociolinguistics, including language variation topics, and more obviously practical courses, such as the universally popular language teaching methodology. Nor will they perceive links with programme aims that they believe to be practical in nature, regardless of the published aims, which are much wider ranging, and include:

to enable participants to make principled decisions on classroom methodology based on an understanding of research into second language acquisition, an understanding of recent approaches to language teaching, and an *awareness of the dynamics of language use* (italics added)

to provide an understanding of the *wider context of language learning as part of an educational, social and political system* (italics added)

We next asked whether respondents had written their module assignment on sociolinguistics or opted for another topic. Of the 'ambiguous' group, only 6 (29%)

reported having chosen sociolinguistics for their assignment, compared with 25 people (69%) from the supporters' group. Again, this reinforces the idea that there is one group who engaged fully with the course content and felt it worthy of the effort of writing a 4,000 word assignment and another smaller, but still substantial group, who were less convinced of its worth.

5.5. *Language Variation versus Language Planning*

The final part of the questionnaire focussed on the sub-components of sociolinguistics, half of which could be classified as 'language variation' topics and half as 'language planning'.

Figure 3. The ten components of the sociolinguistics course.

<i>Part A: Language variation</i>	<i>Part B: Language planning</i>
Accent and dialect	What is language policy / planning?
Pidgins, creoles and new Englishes	Why plan languages?
Language and use / register	Language planning and ELT
Language and gender	How EAL/EIL situations influence the
Cross cultural communication	ELT curriculum
	Linguistic / cultural imperialism

On being asked which of the two main areas – language variation or language planning – respondents had found most useful, the group was relatively evenly divided (see fig. 4).

The reasons the language variation supporters gave for their choice fall into four main groups: (1) Application or relevance to teaching, for example 'Knowledge of language variation can influence decisions I make in the classroom-syllabus, answers I give to student questions'; (2) Personal interest, e.g. 'Language variation is interesting for both teaching and learning'; (3) Knowledge improvement, e.g. 'Provided insights into the English language that I had never thought about directly - but after they were highlighted - it opened my eyes (!!) about other areas/topics of languages' and (4) Deficit views of language planning, e.g. 'Language planning is too broad a topic to handle in a practical situation'. It is curious that relevance to work is mentioned by as many as fifteen people as being a positive aspect of either language variation or language planning when previously this feature had arisen as being problematic in sociolinguistics.

5.6. *Views of Language Variation and Language Planning Topics*

Respondents rated each of the ten sociolinguistics topics in relation to five statements giving possible opinions of the topics, indicating on a four-point scale whether they strongly agreed (4), agreed (3), disagreed (2) or strongly disagreed (1) with each statement. The mean scores for each topic are presented in table 2 overleaf. (Note: The sub-group who had earlier indicated language variation to be most useful returned higher

mean agreement values for the five language variation topics than did the language planning supporters. The reverse was true for the five language planning topics.^{iv})

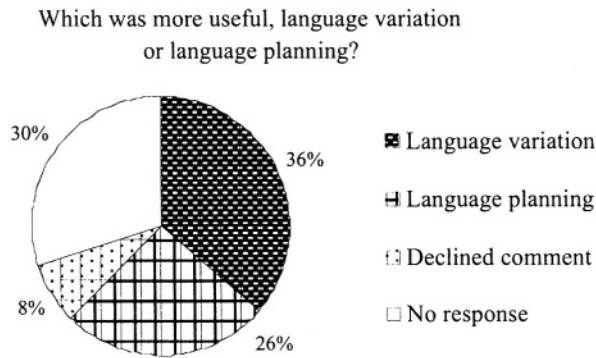


Figure 4. Relative usefulness of language variation and language planning. N = 80.

In general, interest in all the topics is encouragingly high (s for the ten mean rating SD = 0.2), with Cross-Cultural Communication being of particular interest to all respondents. (mean rating = 3.6). Language and Gender provoked the least positive response (mean rating = 3.6). Language and Gender provoked the least positive response (mean rating 3.1), with one teacher commenting ‘I am tired of hearing about sexism in the English language...’

The issue of relevance receives a slightly more mixed response (SD = 0.3), with ‘Cross-Cultural Communication’ again receiving the highest mean rating (3.5). Two of the comments go some way towards explaining how variation topics may be relevant or not: ‘I view “cross-cultural communication” with particular interest because of the way I have come to see culture as “encoded” in the language,’ and ‘Learning about creoles and pidgins was fascinating, but I highly doubt that I would cover the subject in class, since my students (Finns) don’t deal with any one part of the world in English as they might if I was teaching in Singapore.’

None of the topics were felt to be unduly hard to understand. In this case, an exceptionally high level of agreement with the prompt statement would have been as worrying as a very low score, as it would suggest that the materials were not challenging course participants sufficiently. Responses to the fourth statement, which proposed that all the ideas presented were new, revealed that ‘Accent and Dialect’, ‘Language and

Table 2. Mean agreement ratings for five opinions of sociolinguistics topics

Key: LV = mean scores for respondents who preferred language variation topics (n = 29)
 LP = mean scores for respondents who preferred language planning topics (n = 21)
 All = whole group (N = 50)

	I found this topic interesting			This topic is relevant to my work			This topic was easy to understand			The ideas presented to me on this topic were new			I can relate ideas covered by this topic to classroom practice			Means (Av) & standard deviations (SD) for all five statements					
													LV		LP		All				
	LV	LP	All	LV	LP	All	LV	LP	All	LV	LP	All	LV	LP	All	Av	SD	Av	SD	Av	SD
<i>Accent and dialect</i>	3.6	3.0	3.4	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.9	3.1	0.4	2.8	0.3	2.9	0.3
<i>Pidgins, Creoles etc</i>	3.1	3.0	3.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.8	0.4	2.7	0.4	2.7	0.4
<i>Language & use</i>	3.6	3.1	3.4	3.3	2.9	3.1	3.4	3.4	3.3	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.3	2.7	3.1	3.3	0.3	2.9	0.2	3.1	0.3
<i>Language & gender</i>	3.3	2.8	3.1	2.8	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.4	3.3	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.9	0.4	2.7	0.3	2.8	0.3
<i>Cross-cultural comm.</i>	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	2.5	2.2	2.4	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.3	0.5	3.2	0.6	3.2	0.5
<i>Language pol / plan</i>	2.9	3.6	3.2	2.7	3.4	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.3	3.4	2.3	3.0	2.6	2.9	0.4	3.3	0.2	3.0	0.3
<i>Why plan languages?</i>	2.9	3.5	3.1	2.6	3.3	2.9	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.5	3.4	3.4	2.3	3.0	2.5	2.8	0.4	3.3	0.2	3.0	0.3
<i>Lang plan & ELT</i>	2.9	3.7	3.3	2.8	3.6	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.4	3.3	3.3	2.4	3.1	2.7	2.9	0.3	3.4	0.3	3.1	0.2
<i>EAL / EIL & ELT</i>	3.0	3.6	3.3	2.9	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.3	3.4	3.3	2.7	3.3	2.9	2.9	0.2	3.4	0.1	3.1	0.2
<i>Ling imperialism</i>	3.1	3.5	3.3	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.1	2.8	3.0	2.6	2.8	2.7	3.0	0.3	3.1	0.3	3.0	0.3
<i>Mean of means</i>	3.2	3.3	3.3	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.8	3.0	0.2	3.1	0.3	3.0	0.1
<i>Standard deviation</i>	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3

Gender' and 'Cross-Cultural Communication' were the most familiar topics, but mean agreement ratings for even these, at 2.4 or higher, suggest that there was sufficient new material for most students.

The final prompt asked if topics related to classroom practice. Here we find Pidgins, Creoles and New Englishes get a low mean score (2.3), with Cross-Cultural Communication rated as the most clearly related to classroom practice (3.3). Language and Use / Register creates some disagreement, probably because this seems to relate well to classroom practice only in certain situations, e.g. one teacher says, 'my students are lower-level. Some of these things can be seen in principle but they don't affect my day-to-day teaching much', possibly implying that lower level students do not need to learn different registers.

5.7. The Most Relevant and Useful Aspects of Language Variation Study

Question 9 asked for respondents to nominate one topic as being especially useful and / or relevant, and to explain why they had made this choice. This revealed how conscious participants were of specific language variation topics having made a difference to the way they teach English, and in what way.

5.7.1. Cross-Cultural Communication

On cross-cultural communication, the most generally popular topic, some representative comments are:

1. Teaching EFL 'is' cross-culture and being made aware of culture-laden meanings to which the teacher is unconscious is valuable.
2. Often when students are learning / speaking, they are only aware of the dictionary meanings of the words etc, but speaking involves much more than just words - there are messages that go beyond the spoken/written word - i.e. nuances, feelings etc. These are important for students and teachers to be aware of - and students are interested in this too!
3. A classroom with a native speaker teacher is indeed a strong cross-cultural situation. I team-teach with one, and frequently feel the need for this field of knowledge. And, learning a foreign language is a cross-cultural experience. It's one of the most useful sub topic in the module. (Non-native speaker of English).
4. It helped me explain some of the breakdowns I have had in communication that I couldn't understand before (Native speaker of English).

Although most of these comments do not give concrete examples of how the topic has proved relevant or useful, we can see that for these teachers, it is not only an enriched view of language that has been gained (comments 1 and 2), but also that this knowledge has been of direct use in the teachers' own private and professional interactions (comments 3 and 4).

5.7.2. *Accent and Dialect*

Accent and dialect also proved a rich source:

1. Understanding what determines a dialect from a language helps me to teach 'standard English' without stigmatising 'non-standard' English.
2. It helped to remove some confusion I had about "correct" English and helped me to regain some confidence when answering students' questions about language items.
3. Useful / relevant because of the amount of foreign language teachers here in Japan ie USA, Canada, UK, New Zealand, Australia.
4. The discussion of accent and dialect and how one form is selected as a standard variety made me think carefully about which English accent my students want and expect to study and the coursebooks and materials that are available to teach these.

Here, recurrent themes are that prejudices concerning certain varieties of English have been challenged (comments 1 and 2) and practical issues such as being able to answer students' questions on different accents or choose an appropriate coursebook (comments 3 and 4).

5.7.3. *Pidgins, Creoles and New Englishes*

Pidgins, Creoles and New Englishes elicited fewer comments, but from these we can still see a common theme emerging, with teachers recognising the legitimacy of 'non-native' varieties of English. For the last two contributors, this seems to have been a confidence-inspiring realisation.

1. For more personal reasons, (ie out of interest) as it discussed the language developments in N. America.
2. Relevant / useful because it helped me to see language as dynamic and changing and for example to reconsider the legitimacy of Japanese English.
3. I became aware of the advantages of English education provided by non-native teachers. Before taking this course, I could have little confidence in my own ability to teach English as a non-native teacher.
4. I can encourage students by telling them the fact that there are varieties of English in the world and probably I can tell them they do not have to be worried about using 'correct' English.

5.7.4. *Language and Use / Register*

Language and use / register comments are interesting in that more than any other topic they include reference to the teachers' context, either in terms of class type (comment 1), course type (comment 2), or more often, the country in which they work (comments 5), suggesting that teachers can make concrete links between the topic and these situations. We also learn that although this is an area that can potentially present problems for students it is also, according to the author of comment 4, quite teachable.

1. Because I work with ESP, awareness of use and register is very important.
2. Students can experience problems using English register appropriately.
3. The issue of register is essential to an understanding of how language is used. It's my experience that many learners use the "wrong" language because they don't know how language varies in different situations. Register is an issue which is quite teachable.
4. I hadn't thought about register much before, so the course opened my eyes to it. The Korean language places a lot of emphasis on register, so it becomes relevant to teaching English here.

5.7.5. *Language and Gender*

Language and gender is the final variation topic in our course, and here we see how different individuals related it to their particular personal or classroom contexts. Comments 1 and 4 suggest greater awareness of gender issues in classroom texts, 3 and 5 are related to greater sensitivity to gender differences in student behaviour and needs, while 2 relates to features of their host country's language.

1. I can analyse the texts critically and comment on them to my students.
2. Directly related to hierarchy levels of speech and gender in Korean society.
3. It gave me an insight into why men and women respond differently in the classroom.
4. This unit opened my eyes to the bias often displayed in EFL text books and the English language in general towards women.
5. I teach in a single sex school and I was able to better tailor lessons to the needs of my students.

5.8. *Staff Views of Language Variation*

Many of the benefits of knowledge about language variation identified by our students and graduates were echoed in the responses we received from colleagues in the department. These are too lengthy to be reported in full here, but can best be summed up by this contribution:

I don't see how you could call yourself a trained and educated language teacher without taking on board the fact that language varies!

5.9. *Should Language Variation be a Compulsory Topic?*

A central purpose of the course evaluation aspect of this project was to decide whether we should reconsider our inclusion of language variation as a compulsory topic in the programme, or at least review how we present it. Judging from the significant minority who were not strongly appreciative of the subject, we should certainly consider making the course optional. However, the arguments presented by both staff and students for retaining the topic as a compulsory course are persuasive, and on balance, we feel that most students would benefit from the course even if it did not rank as their favourite. We

conclude, therefore, that language variation should be retained as part of a core course on our MA TEFL programme, while focussing on making more explicit the practical applications of the topic. This will displease a minority, such as the teacher who believed that language variation carried a political agenda, and wrote as his final comment:

It is not good to bring personal politics into the classroom (however unavoidable). If such activities are even slightly sanctioned by educational authorities such license is sure to be abused by those who have an agenda.

However, numerous others, such as the authors of these comments, will no doubt be delighted:

I'm wondering why you've focussed on sociolinguistics in this questionnaire. I hope that it won't be removed from the course. Not only did I personally find it very enjoyable and thought provoking, but it also challenged some of my own teaching practices, which is, I think, a very healthy thing. It also helped me to realise how far reaching what I do in the classroom can potentially be.

I understand why you put this course last - it helps spark new enthusiasm when one is about burned out.

More...more...more. I am so moved by this subject that I think it warrants my pursuing it as a PhD.

6. CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate whether one particular offering in a teacher education programme was perceived as beneficial by the recipients. At one level, we are doing no more than any good course provider should do, i.e. conducting quality control. So, we are pleased to be able to confirm the success of our measurement device in establishing that sociolinguistics is valued by our course participants. The majority do not see it as a marginal topic. To find only one or two from a cohort of more than eighty who have a strong dislike of the subject is an important finding, even taking into account our 'dwindling data phenomenon' (see section 4.1.) For the majority, whether native or non-native speakers, and regardless of teaching context, differences of opinion are a matter of degree rather than of nature.

Our study therefore confirms, non-trivially, that individual circumstance and interest play a major role in determining precisely which areas of sociolinguistics are useful or relevant to English language teachers. The issue of extrapolation arises. Would these results be confirmed by similar research on other programmes or are they to some extent an artefact of the particular culture at our institution? We see no reason why our results should not in principle be true of teachers on other programmes. It is likely that the substantial base-level of support for the topic will be typical and that our group of teachers are representative of a large population of trainees.

But we would also see our work as a contribution to, and reflection of, ongoing debates about the nature and purpose of applied linguistics. A recurring theme here has been the noticeable division between those respondents who tend to see their training

instrumentally and those who take a more holistic view. If someone is teaching in a clearly delineated social space, the need to consider variation does perhaps seem less pressing. Although these considerations apply to other parts of our programme, there are some elements which probably mark out the ethos of an institution more than others. All ELT training has to engage in pedagogic method, and all must surely deal at some point with issues such as curriculum or syllabus design, but it is not perhaps axiomatic that all should deal with variation, *pace* the comments of one colleague reported earlier (5.8)? From one point of view, one could argue that our study tells us what we wanted to hear, given the fairly broad social emphasis of our department. However, we do not feel defensive about this, because it is open to others to adopt our measurement technique to explore their own place in the very diverse training world we inhabit.

NOTES

- i The questionnaire, which is no longer live, can be viewed at <http://www.artsweb.bham.ac.uk/cels/questionnaire>
- ii We are grateful to Mr Mark Connop of the University of Birmingham School of Humanities for his help in creating the web-based questionnaire for this project.
- iii 'Available courses' refers to the twelve courses actually offered to participants. The scores for other, unavailable courses have been excluded from the calculations for items B2, B3 and B4, so that responses for courses actually experienced by respondents can be compared directly.
- iv The z-score for the two sets of 50 means = 7.2, well in excess of the critical value of 1.6 for a non-directional z-test at $p \leq 0.05$, demonstrating there is indeed a significant difference between the two sub-groups.

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Chapter 4

Integrating Language Teachers' Discipline Knowledge in a Language Course

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1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the profile of the non-native EFL teacher (see Medgyes, 1995). In particular, one of the questions that have received special attention refers to the scope of the teacher's professional competence. Thomas (1987), for example, describes language teacher competence (LTC) as consisting of two components: language competence (including both linguistic competence, i.e. accuracy, and communicative competence, i.e. the ability to communicate meaning appropriately), as well as pedagogic competence. Besides the language competence component, Thomas (1987) also advocates the need for language awareness (i.e. explicit knowledge), which has a role as an aid in both language and pedagogic competence. This component of teachers' learning, also referred to as 'knowledge about language' (KAL) among other terms, has been addressed in recent years by Andrews (1999), Bartels (2002), Borg (1999), Brumfit (1991) and Mitchell *et al.* (1994), among others. Other studies (Cullen, 1994; Edge, 1988; Wright, 1991; Wright and Bolitho, 1993), also concerned with the description of the components of LTC, clearly emphasise the presence and interrelationship of the three components of language, linguistics, and teaching. These descriptions are in turn used as the basis for proposals that entail a three-pronged approach to teacher training courses. Based on this view of language teacher competence, this study aims at finding out whether, and to what extent, these three

components are dealt with and interrelated in an undergraduate language development course, called "English language" (EL), addressed to future EFL language teachers.

In Spain, prospective secondary school EFL teachers are required to take a university degree in English Studies (ES), which includes three main areas of courses: language development, linguistics, and literature. The programmes do not include a teaching methodology component as part of their core subjects, and when they do, it is in the form of optional modules in the last two years. For this reason, future graduates who want to go into teaching are required to follow a six-month teaching certification programme before or after they graduate.

Particularly inspired by the framework proposed by Edge (1988) and later developed by Wright (1991, 2002) and Wright and Bolitho (1993), in our research we view the language teacher as a professional that fulfils the roles of user, analyst, and teacher, which implies the possession of the three types of competence mentioned above (language, linguistics, and teaching). These three roles are thus regarded as central to the competence of future graduates, since, in addition to language competence, they need to possess the necessary skills to analyse and understand language and to be able to report or explain certain language phenomena to others. In this sense, we think that university language development courses can serve as the interface between the three types of competence.

The goals of language courses combine explicitly the development of *user* and *analyst* competence. This should give us an opportunity to explore the extent to which these two types of competence are referred to in the construction of a 'pedagogic' discourse, reflected both through the instructors' teaching practices and through the views they expressed during an interview. Language development courses require students and instructors to analyse and verbalise their views of language, applying metalinguistic notions and descriptive frameworks from linguistics. At the same time, students have the opportunity to approach linguistics and methodology from practice (Cullen, 1994), which makes this metalinguistic work all the more relevant to students, as they can engage in reflective activities based on their own perceptions as language learners. The analysis of the discourse of instructors and students should result in a deeper understanding of some elements of the dominant 'linguistic ideology' in the training of future secondary school EFL teachers in Spain.

The second reason for focusing our study on language courses is that they provide not only the main body of knowledge that most ES graduates consider that they will need in their future career as EFL teachers (i.e. language competence), but also represent a particular model of what to teach and how to teach it. Students' gradual transition from language learners to language teachers leads to "the meeting point of two perspectives: that of the learner and that of the teacher" (Szesztay, 1996: 37) and enables students to observe their lessons from a teacher rather than a learner perspective (Cullen, 1994). Furthermore, their student experience will become part of their repertoire as teachers

(John, 2000). It is from this point of view that *teacher* competence becomes a relevant notion for our analysis of the discourse of university instructors and students.

The hypotheses that underlie the present study are the following:

- The dual definition of language courses in the ES curriculum in Spain, with elements of both analyst and user competence, is implemented in somewhat contradictory ways by different instructors.
- In spite of the initial dual definition of language courses in ES programmes, the academic context of the university will influence the discourse of both instructors and students towards a more analyst-oriented rather than user approach.
- Language courses provide an implicit (and, on occasions, explicit) model of language teaching and learning, based on a traditional view of language learning, which is transmitted from instructors to students and may thus become part of the ideology of future EFL teachers.

This study, thus, sets out to explore how the notion of *language teacher competence* is discursively constructed by instructors both in their classroom practices and in an interview. The ultimate goal of the study is to deepen our understanding of foreign language teaching as it is done in Spain by delving into the linguistic and pedagogic ideological basis underlying teacher-training practices.

2. METHODOLOGY

With the three types of competence in mind (user, analyst and teacher) we decided to carry out an ethnographic study concentrating on one of the compulsory first-year language development modules in a Spanish university. The participants in this study were two instructors (whom we will refer as Lisa and Monica, respectively), who taught two groups of the module “English Language 2”, a language development course addressed to ES students. One of the researchers attended classes regularly during a fifteen-week term—every week or every two weeks—with either group, observing, taking notes and recording them. The data for the study reported in this article include transcripts of one class session for each of the two groups and a semi-structured interview with each instructor.

Using an analytical framework which combines ethnography and discourse analysis, our research is intended to explore from a qualitative point of view the cognitive and interactional processes that are reflected in the classroom data and, more specifically, the presence and function of the different types of competence in the discursive practices of instructors inside and outside the classroom. For the purpose of this study, our analysis centres on two classes (one per group) and an interview with each group’s instructor.

Specifically, we seek to answer the following questions:

- To what extent are the three different types of competence present in language development courses in an ES programme in which a majority of graduates is likely to work in EFL teaching?
- What is the relationship between the three different types of competence?
- How is each type of competence approached in the course?

3. ANALYSIS

Our analysis includes, firstly, a presentation of the different categories derived from the analysis of the class sessions in terms of both the cognitive activity that takes place in them and the interactional framework in which this activity is embedded. These processes, obtained from the analysis of classroom discourse, can be associated with the user, analyst and teacher types of competence. Our analysis of the teaching practices concentrates essentially on (a) the types and structure of the teaching activities carried out in the classroom, and (b) the cognitive and interactional processes which are appealed to by the instructor. Secondly, we attempt to draw a tentative profile of each instructor taking into account the presence of the three types of competence in their teaching practices. In order to provide a complete picture of the presence of these types of competence in the course, these profiles are complemented with comments made by instructors during an interview.

3.1. Analytical Categories for the Analysis of Classroom Sessions

3.1.1. Cognitive Processes

Classroom discourse was analysed to identify those verbal moves by the instructor or the students through which it is possible to appreciate that the speaker is carrying out some cognitive activity or, especially in the case of the instructor, is eliciting this cognitive activity from the addressee(s). These categories, labelled as 'cognitive processes', are shown in table 1, and were refined as the analysis progressed. In order to ensure inter-rater reliability, the transcripts were coded by the two co-authors of this study, and any discrepancies were cleared up through discussion. According to the view of language teacher competence underlying this study, it was assumed that each cognitive process could be associated with a particular type of competence.

Table 1. Cognitive processes

<i>Cognitive process</i>	<i>Example from classroom discourse</i>	<i>Type of competence</i>
Discriminating between correct and incorrect	Some of these sentences are clearly correct for you, yeah?	User
Identifying errors	Try to identify the errors in the sentences	Analyst
Judging according to use (frequency, feasibility)	That's the normal word order in a way that's what most people would say	User
Prescribing (form and/or meaning)	We have to be grammatically correct and if you have to write something like this make sure you place the adverb in the seventh position	User
Analysing and labelling	What do you remember what we call this? now xx it has a name I mean this kind of structure has a name what's the name	Analyst
Working out a rule (form and/or meaning)	Why? Is there any reason? Why is it that sometimes we prefer to write 'how' first or the adverbial of manner first and other times we prefer to place the adverbial of place before the adverbial of manner anyone? no? have a look at the verb?	Analyst / User
Presenting rules as formulas	it's the verb 'to be' plus adverb of frequency and here it's adverb of frequency plus any other verb any other lexical verb mm?	Analyst
Producing samples according to a model or rule (e.g. exemplifying)	Can you give me a stronger word for 'although' a synonym of 'although' but stronger?	User
Translating	Ok? so both mean <i>para</i> translation of both is <i>para</i>	User
Referring to use / meaning	What's the difference between 'in case' and 'if'? 'if' means <i>si</i> you know that we use if for things that will possibly happen	User
Referring to a learning strategy	[Mnemonic rule (Very Soon A Train will come): it's one of those mnemonic things that you memorise and give you clues	Teacher
Making lesson procedures explicit	In order to (prepare) this list what I did was to look at different grammar books there was no grammar book in which I could find sixteen items	Teacher

3.1.2. *Interactional Processes*

In order to obtain a thorough view of how the cognitive activity is developed in the participants' discourse, we looked at the interactional framework in which it is embedded. The analysis of how the cognitive activity is realised discursively allows us to observe the interplay between the different types of competence in classroom discourse. Based on Coulthard (1985: 126) we distinguish the following basic types:

- Inform (supply)
- Elicit
- Reply
- Accept
- Evaluate
- Comment

Below is a sample extract illustrating some of these processes :

T what about that? <2> is that right? (ELICIT)

S no (REPLY)

T no? Sa_ what should we say? (ACCEPT-ELICIT)

S she would never have suggested that (REPLY)

T she: would never have suggested that | all right? [writing on the blackboard] she <4> would never have suggested <4> that | ok | <5> I have heard native speakers of English say what you have here | yeah? she would have never suggested that (ACCEPT-EVALUATE) what we have is a verb form which consists of two or more elements | what we do always is replace this adverb | and the same with adverbs such as always | sometimes | yeah? in second position | yeah?(INFORM)

4. INSTRUCTOR PROFILES

From the analysis of the lesson transcripts, the interviews to the instructors and the teaching materials used, we tried to draw a profile of each instructor. The first part of this section looks at the contents and procedures of the lessons, focusing on the approaches taken by the instructors—especially, as regards the types of competence they favour—as well as on the rationale underlying the teaching practices, as expressed by the instructors during the interviews. The second part analyses the cognitive and interactional patterns identified in the lessons, paying special attention to the ways instructors construct and interrelate the three types of competence through discourse. Finally, the third part focuses on the instructors' expressed views on language and learning.

4.1. *First Profile: Monica*

The first instructor, Monica, is in her late twenties and teaches English language development modules in the ES degree programme as well as in the Spanish and Catalan

Studies degree programmes. In addition to that, she teaches on-line English courses for university students. When these observations were conducted, she was about to finish her Ph.D. dissertation on pragmatics and second language acquisition.

4.1.1. *Teaching Approach*

The lesson is clearly defined by the instructor as being about connectors expressing ‘cause and effect’, as she announces the topic at the very beginning. The materials used, which include the same heading, contribute to this clear identification of the topic covered. The lesson may be divided into two phases (each lasting about half of the lesson): an explanation of connectors and a sentence-completion exercise. In the first phase, the instructor “explains” each of the connectors and refers to the materials students have, with sentences exemplifying each connector. She points out that she will explain each connector, one by one so that students know how to use them. This first part of the lesson is thus based on the presentation of explicit grammar knowledge. The second part involves a sentence-completion exercise in which students must suggest a possible connector for each sentence. The division found in the lesson transcript is confirmed by the instructor’s views elicited through the interview, as she defines her task as basically involving two types of activities: “explaining the theory topic, which takes me half of the lesson” and “asking students to do the exercises”, which include fill-in the gaps, transformation, and, especially, translation exercises.

4.1.2. *Cognitive and Interactional Processes Used in the Development of the Lesson*

The development of the lesson as regards the cognitive processes deployed and its interactional structure can be illustrated by the extract below, corresponding to the first phase of the lesson, in which the instructor introduces cause-effect connectors by explaining a list of them one by one:

Class 5 – Monica

T: we have ‘although’ <6> can you think? | please | what do we write after ‘although’? <3> in | terms of syntax

S: sometimes xxx

T: so we write a subject plus a verb | right? [writes on the blackboard] <7> ok? | for example | what does it mean? | let’s do the translation | also

S: ‘*tot i que*’

T: ‘*tot i que*’ | I’ve got the Spanish translation | that’s x <4> xxx cause and effect <2> good | ‘I’m going to continue with my English although I know I’m not the most gifted linguist’ <1> so we could use the_ <2> yeah | the the examples are the ones which you have here | so ‘I’m going to continue with my English | although I know I’m not the most gifted linguist’ | ok? < 1 > which is the opposite of [‘although’?]

S: ‘however’

T: the opposite <7> [writes on the blackboard] <7> you have in that page | the opposite of 'although' | is <8> nobody? <8> 'because' <4> [writes on the blackboard] <8> 'porque' | yes? so | 'aunque' | 'porque' | for example | 'I'm going to continue with my English | although I know I'm not the most gifted <1> linguist' | and the opposite | 'I'm going to continue with my English language_ with my English because | I like language | because I am the most gifted linguist' <1> yes? so these words are opposite <2> clear? <2> good | <2> can you give me <2> a stronger word for 'although'? <9> a synonym of 'although' | but stronger <10> it's all that list | that you have here | cause and effect | is_ everything is here | in this list

S: 'even though'

The analysis of the transcript reveals that, in the first phase of the lesson, Monica follows a fairly stable pattern in “explaining” each connector. This pattern includes three cognitive processes that can be associated with the user type of competence:

- *Translating*: what does it mean? | let's do the translation
- *Producing samples according to a model or rule*: for example | 'I am going to continue with my English in spite of the cost of these lessons' |
- *Referring to use or meaning*: can you give me a stronger word for 'although'? a synonym of 'although' | but stronger

Although in her presentation of the topic the emphasis is mainly on the user type of knowledge, she also sporadically appeals to processes associated with the analyst type of competence:

- *Presenting rules as formulas*: can you think, please? | what do we write after 'although'? in | terms of syntax
- *Analysing and labelling*: 'which' refers to a word or a group of words in the preceding sentence || it is usually the subject

From an interactional point of view, the *informative* type of move dominates the first phase of the lesson. *Elicitations* are rare in this first phase because the instructor is mainly “explaining” the different connectors. The instructor's discourse involves mainly *informative* turns. The few *elicitations* found involve exclusively processes related to the user type of competence: translating, producing samples, and referring to use / meaning.

In accordance with the prominence of the user type of competence in the instructor's explanation, there is also very little use of specialised metalanguage: word (16), opposite (10), sentence (8), subject (6), synonym (6), vocabulary (5) manner (3), noun (3), number (3), pronoun (3), question (3).

In the second phase, a sentence-completion exercise, the instructor's participation takes the form of brief turns through which she evaluates or comments on the replies of the students. Such comments often involve one or both of the cognitive processes that we have defined as *prescribing forms* or *translating*:

'in order | not to' <1> 'para no | tener que hacerlo mañana' | 'in order | not to' <1> so instead of | 'in order to' | 'in order not to' <1> 'so as | not to' <3> yes? <2> clear? good <1> four<7>xxxx

'on the contrary' | that's it <1> 'al contrari' | 'on the contrary' | 'I hate football' <6> 'I hate football' | mm | most people_

From an interactional point of view, the second phase includes even fewer elicitations than the first one since this type of move is already implicit in the activity: the students know that when it is their turn they must suggest a possible connector for the sentence in question. They use this move to realise a cognitive activity that we have identified as *producing samples according to a model or rule*. Therefore, the most frequent types of moves are *reply*, on the part of the students, and *accept*, *evaluate* and *comment*, on the part of the instructor.

4.1.3. Monica's Views of Language and Learning

In order to explore the views of language and learning that underlie Monica's practice, we looked at the teaching process as well as at the views she expressed during the interview. The lesson observed develops according to the Presentation-Practice-Performance model, with a significant emphasis on declarative knowledge. Monica adopts a deductive approach whereby declarative knowledge constitutes the basis for the development of procedural knowledge. As for its orientation, the lesson seems to fluctuate between the analyst and the user type of competence—with special emphasis on the latter—while there are no references to the teacher type of competence. According to this instructor, “giving” or “explaining the theory” consists of the following aspects: (1) describing the form, (2) how it functions and (3) when it is used. Thus, the definition she gives during the interview suggests an unsophisticated *analyst* type of competence, oriented to language *use* rather than mere description.

apart from explaining how a passive is formed, which in the end is nothing but a mathematical formula, because they are all done in the same way, one explains how it functions, when it is used. This is the difference maybe between a language school and what we try to do

This dual orientation towards the *analyst* and *user* type of competence becomes even more evident when the instructor compares ‘language’ with ‘linguistics’ modules in the ES degree programme. She establishes clear differences between the “practical” level of analyst competence required in language courses, and the sophistication of the analytical skills required in linguistics courses:

(...) the language subjects, first, are much more practical and general. You deal with all the language. The goal is to reach a level of language to be able to use it. The linguistics subjects are obviously linguistics; **we are now talking of analysis**.

In sum, the views expressed by Monica and the analysis of the lesson suggest that, for her, ES programmes approach the analyst type of competence in two levels or stages, which would coincide with the division between language and linguistics modules:

this [language module] would be a foundation to later take syntax and morphology [linguistics modules]

Accordingly, the first stage—i.e. language courses—could be defined as grammatical awareness, with the purpose of (a) improving the student's performance (user type of competence) and (b) preparing them for developing sophisticated analytical skills (analyst type of competence). The second stage, in which linguistics modules would be included, is entirely devoted to the analyst type of competence. In this sense, she views language development courses in the ES degree programme as courses focusing on how to use the language as well as how to explain its use. Monica, thus, emphasises the analyst type of competence that an ES graduate should attain, which involves the capacity to reflect upon language, as a linguist. As she puts it, an ES graduate should be able “to speak about the language” or “to carry out a study on the language”. In the instructor's view, the role of language development courses in the ES degree programme is precisely to contribute to both developing students' level of performance as well as to raising their awareness of language.

4.2. Second Profile: Lisa

The second instructor, Lisa, is in her early thirties. She teaches both English language development and linguistics modules and is taking doctoral courses in linguistics. In addition to that, she also teaches English phonetics and language development modules at the university's teacher-training college as well as general English courses for non-specialists at the university's school of languages.

4.2.1. Teaching Approach

The whole lesson is based on the completion of an exercise on word-order phenomena in English sentence structure: order of pre-nominal adjectives, position of different types of adverbials, emphasis, etc. Like Monica, Lisa clearly states the topic at the beginning of the lesson, which is reinforced by the main heading of the materials used.

T: ok | shall we start with this | it's x exercise, right? it says | word order <3> word order
xxxxx in your mother tongue and how much you xxxxx |right?

The exercise consists of a list of sentences, each of which contains an error related to word order, except for one sentence which is correct. Lisa asks the students to read one sentence each and identify and correct the mistake. After each sentence, Lisa opens an episode in which she either supplies or elicits what she considers to be the necessary systematic knowledge to explain the mistake as well as the correct alternative.

The type of activity and its development are in accordance with the views declared during the interview, in which she expresses her preference for transformation or error-

correction exercises, always including some systematization of the grammatical knowledge that is necessary for the satisfactory resolution of the exercise. She also mentions her preference for translation exercises, because they are useful for students to show that they are familiar with grammatical structures and to avoid interference errors in productive skills.

4.2.2. *Cognitive and Interactional Processes Used in the Development of the Lesson*

The extract below, which focuses on one of the items in the error-correction exercise, corresponds to a typical episode in the development of the class activity. This episode illustrates how the different cognitive and interactional processes are deployed and, thus, how user and analyst types of competence are interrelated through Lisa (the instructor) and her students' discourse.

Class 3 – Lisa

T: 'it was a such big breakfast that nobody could finish it' |

S: 'such a'

T: 'such a' | yeah? 'it was such a big breakfast | that nobody could finish it' | right? 'it was such a big breakfast that nobody could finish it' | right? could someone rephrase this sentence | using 'so' instead of 'such'? <4> say the same thing | but instead of 'such' || use | 'so' | <3> honestly | you'll have to change several things | xxxxx | xxxxx <6> anyone got it?

S: 'it was so big that' _

T: 'the breakfast was so big' | all right? 'that nobody could finish it' | yeah? [writing on the blackboard] so we have | 'it was | such a good || breakfast <3> that | etcetera' | and then we have | 'the breakfast <5> was | so || big | that | etcetera' | right? we have 'such' <4> before the noun || and we have 'so' || before the adjective | all right? 'such' plus noun | 'so' plus adjective | this is_ this is the general rule although there are other cases | yeah? take into consideration | the main word here is the noun | what we have in front of the noun is an a_ an adjective and a determiner which is premo_ or which are premodifying the noun | mm? what we have right after 'so' is the adjective | right? in this case we have 'breakfast' | all right? we could have other things | yeah? we could have uncountable nouns | such as | 'it was such good weather' | yeah? in this case || [writing on the blackboard] you would say | 'such | good | weather' | yeah? xxx | so xx | right? we could have a plural noun | such as <3> I don't know | [writing on the blackboard] 'he was such good | people' _ | all right? 'that_ etcetera' | yeah? and this x the noun xx | in this case the noun is singular | and countable | right? 'it was such a good book | that I couldn't stop reading it' | mm? and here we have noun | singular | countable | but in all cases || what we have 'is | such' plus noun | 'such' plus noun | 'such' plus noun | and we have different types of nouns | right? instead of 'a' | we can have 'an' | [writing on the blackboard] such as | 'it was such an | interesting' <2> right? (...)

Like Monica, Lisa follows a recurring pattern of cognitive processes for each item. This pattern involves a brief first stage at the *user* level and a clearly more extensive second stage at the *analyst* level. From the limited participation of the students, almost

exclusively in the first part, we can deduce that we are again in front of a teacher-centred approach, more oriented towards declarative rather than procedural knowledge. Given the nature of the activity, an error-correction exercise, the most common process is *identifying errors*. The pattern of cognitive processes that characterises Lisa's lesson is described in table 2.

Table 2. Pattern of cognitive processes in a classroom sequence

Stage 1: User type of competence	
a.	<i>Identifying the error</i> How should it have been?
Stage 2: Analyst type of competence	
b.	<i>Analysing and labelling</i> These are nouns all right? which you place right immediately before the main noun the head of the noun phrase and which function as premodifiers in the same way as adjectives do right?
c.	<i>Working out a rule</i> On many occasions what you do is to enclose a comma there
d.	<i>Presenting rules as formulas</i> We have 'such' plus noun 'so' plus adjective this is the general rule although there are other cases
User type of competence	
e.	<i>Producing samples</i> ='not to'= yeah? //remember? how we form the negative forms of infinitives and gerunds? yeah? 'not being' 'not to do' 'not do' yeah? all right? 'you'd better not take the exam if you're not sure that you're going to pass it' all right? 'I asked him not to speak so rudely' right? etcetera 'would you mind not smoking here please'?

The interactional structure of the lesson is influenced by the task that is carried out, an exercise in which students have to correct a series of sentences. The instructor initiates each episode by asking students to identify and correct the error. When students provide a corrected version of the sentence, the instructor moves on to an *inform* move in which she analyses the language sample. Then, after a sequence of *inform* moves dominated by cognitive processes related to the analyst type of competence, the instructor *elicits* students to produce further samples of the structure described.

A distinctive feature of Lisa's discourse is the regularity and relevance of episodes in which she introduces processes related to the *analyst* type of competence (b, c, d) in between processes related to the *user* type (a, e). Instructor and students solve the task at the *user* level (i.e. correcting the error) and then the instructor provides an explanation of the grammar topic illustrated by the error in question (e.g. order of adjectives, position of adverbs, etc.). This explanation is always accompanied with samples which are often

directly supplied by the instructor, although sometimes she elicits them from the students. In her explanation of the grammar topic, the instructor goes beyond the particular instance and attempts to systematise the knowledge involved in each language point. The pattern seems to be based on an inductive-deductive approach starting with language use, continuing with language analysis, and followed by the application of rules to further language samples. Thus, there is a dominance of cognitive processes related to the *analyst* type of competence. However, these processes are always ‘anchored’ to the *user* type; the instructor uses each language point illustrated by the task as a springboard to analyse it systematically as a separate independent topic.

In the development of the class activity, Lisa adopts an inductive approach whereby students are first confronted with usage problems and from there she introduces the declarative knowledge she is interested in. Looking at the amount of talk-time by the instructor which is devoted to cognitive processes related to language analysis, we can say that the emphasis of the lesson is clearly in favour of declarative knowledge, appealing mainly to the analyst type of competence.

Lisa’s emphasis on the analyst type of competence is manifested not only through the number of processes related to it that she uses throughout the lesson, but also through the greater presence in range and number of specialised metalinguistic items (e.g. ‘noun’: 63, ‘verb’: 62, ‘adjective’: 53, ‘number’: 46, ‘sentence’: 43, ‘adverb’: 36, ‘object’: 30, ‘order’: 29, ‘adverbial’: 21), as compared with Monica.

4.2.3. *Lisa’s views of language and learning*

The inductive approach identified in Lisa’s practice is reflected in the views she expresses during the interview, when she describes her lessons as moving from the user to the analyst competence. Whereas in Monica’s lessons ‘explanations’ precede ‘exercises’, Lisa’s classes involve

doing exercises, correcting them and giving them grammatical explanations on the blackboard.

Lisa’s orientation towards the analyst type of competence is manifested throughout the interview. On the one hand, she mentions her preference for a teaching style that is closer to the methodology used in linguistics modules than to that of regular language development courses. This orientation may be related to her background in linguistics and to the fact that she also teaches linguistics modules.

I have a way of giving classes that may be more typical of subjects like syntax or morphology, at more advanced levels, than of first-year English Language

I prefer to give grammatical explanations rather than get students to talk in pairs for 15 minutes or to write a short composition.

On the other hand, she considers that language development modules in an ES degree programme are different from other language courses (i.e. instrumental or “skills courses”) and that they should constitute the foundation for further linguistics courses.

one thing is instrumental language and another thing is what we do (...) what I'm doing now is not instrumental [language]

This connection between the analyst and user types of competence is corroborated when she emphasises her orientation towards language analysis, although showing its connection with language use. According to Lisa, these language modules are, in fact, grammar awareness courses oriented towards language description, but this explicit knowledge should be applied or related to actual use. Probably as a result of the ambiguous nature of the course, situated between the communicative approach of a language development course and the analytical orientation of linguistics modules, she expresses the belief that this course should deal with grammar contents but approached from a communicative perspective. In fact, the views expressed during the interview thus indicate a certain tension between a language course based the analyst type of competence and a desirable approach to grammar oriented to communication.

We should find a way of teaching grammar in a more communicative manner.

You have to relate [form and meaning]. They have to be related. For example, you teach the theory of the passive voice—I always use the passive voice because I like it a lot—and you cannot simply ask them to make transformations from the active to the passive; you have to give them contexts in which this structure is used and explain them.

As for the teacher type of competence, a few references can be found in Lisa's discourse--in contrast to Monica, who does not refer to this type of competence. Specifically, Lisa mentions lesson preparation procedures and learner strategies. Below is one example of each:

so here is a list of sixteen elements <2> 'in order to' | xx this list | what I did | was to look at different grammar books | yeah? there was no grammar book in which I could find sixteen items | yeah? some of them gave me eight nine ten twelve | yeah? and what I did was just like _ go through to them | get them together | yeah? sometimes | they were like x number twelve and number eleven | where one is the other | shape for colour and colour for shape | but what I did was just to look at | how much they agreed | yeah? and if three of them said that shape came before color then I chose this order | all right? yeah? so here you have it | er | (*lesson preparation procedures*)

origin | and the next one which is material | yeah? er | so here you have something on which you can rely | to remember the order of some of them | but obviously not all of them | but these ones here | for instance | are important | yeah? age | temperature | color | origin and material | all right? is something that you should remember | yeah? (*learner strategies*)

In order to understand Lisa's views of the relationship between user, analyst and teacher types of competence in future ES graduates, we looked at her views on the goals of ES programmes. Her arguments develop from what could be described as a pragmatic to a humanistic point of view. In the first place, she refers to language competence, placing clear emphasis on writing skills, so that graduates can produce texts with grammatical accuracy, correct punctuation, clear rhetorical structure, and sophisticated vocabulary. Oral skills are mentioned only after the interviewer has insisted; in this aspect she is

interested in fluency, vocabulary and, especially, pronunciation. In Lisa's view, emphasis should be placed on the productive skills, as the receptive skills are implied in them ("if they can write and speak, they obviously can understand").

According to Lisa, after language competence, the goal of an ES program is to familiarise students with specialised descriptive frameworks in linguistics. She presents this as an encyclopaedic type of knowledge which, in spite of its little practical use, is a distinctive mark for an ES graduate.

and they should even have some notions of different types and schools of grammar, especially functional and generative grammar. This must be included in an ES program (...) an ES graduate should have more than some basic notions about language, even though he/she may not use at all the grammatical theories s/he knows. But as an ES graduate s/he should know them

Perhaps to justify this imposition of encyclopaedic knowledge, Lisa resorts to the image of the competent "teacher", which she immediately replaces by that of "professor", as what used to be the goal of ES programs. Nevertheless, she immediately adds, the situation has changed and nowadays ES graduates have many more professional opportunities than becoming a teacher. Ultimately, to justify the abundant presence of encyclopaedic knowledge in ES programs, the instructor resorts to the benefits of having received a humanistic education:

This type of [ES] programs also provide with a view (...), they help you to think, they educate you as a person

5. FINAL REMARKS

In this paper, we have proposed a framework for analysing language classroom practices in terms of three components of language teacher competence and the cognitive and interactional processes that can be identified in instructors' discourse. This framework has allowed us to systematically describe the different orientation adopted by two instructors teaching the same language module and following exactly the same programme. From the analysis of the lessons, it is possible to draw two teaching profiles characterised mainly by (a) a shared teacher-centred interactional format, (b) a different approach to describing the language system (deductive, in the case of Monica vs. inductive, with Lisa), and (c) a different set of processes employed (user in Monica vs. analyst in Lisa). The two profiles may be summarised in table 3.

Table 3. Summary of the instructors' profiles

	<i>Monica</i>	<i>Lisa</i>
<i>Teaching activities</i>	Deductive approach: from systematic knowledge to language use.	Inductive approach: from language use to systematic knowledge. Greater discourse space devoted to analysis
<i>Cognitive processes</i>	Dominance of processes associated with <i>user</i> competence: translating, producing samples, referring to use/meaning). Teacher-centred interactional format (instructor informs, elicits, accepts evaluates and comments; students reply).	Dominance of processes associated with <i>analyst</i> competence: analysing and labelling, working out a rule, presenting rules as formulae and producing samples. Sporadic presence of teacher competence. Teacher-centred interactional format (instructor informs, elicits, accepts evaluates and comments; students reply).

The analysis of the interviews (see table 4) reveals that the two instructors construct the classroom activity in a teacher-centred interactional format, as a combination of declarative knowledge, supplied by the teacher, and procedural knowledge, through usage exercises. In the interview, Lisa is consistent with her classroom practice and defines classroom activity as consisting of procedural knowledge followed by declarative knowledge. Both teachers lean towards the analyst type of competence as the distinctive feature of this language course. This competence is seen as instrumental for developing user competence and more sophisticated analyst competence. As for the goals of an ES program, teacher education is scarcely mentioned. The instructors present KAL as essential encyclopaedic knowledge for an ES graduate (knowing concepts and descriptive frameworks to take language as an object of study), not necessarily related to any of the other two types of competence.

Table 4. Analysis of the interviews

	<i>Monica</i>	<i>Lisa</i>
<i>Definition of classroom activity</i>	declarative > procedural knowledge	procedural > declarative knowledge
<i>Analyst vs. user</i>	Unsophisticated user-oriented analyst type of competence (form + function + use)	Analyst competence (similar to what is done in linguistics courses).
<i>Goals of ES</i>	Analyst competence.	User + analyst + encyclopaedic / humanistic education

In order to conclude, we can return to the initial hypotheses in the study.

5.1. Dual Definition of Language Courses

Our first hypothesis was that the dual objective of language development courses in developing both the analyst and user types of competence will result in a discourse in which instructors and students try to reconcile what may be seen as contradictory goals. English language modules can be seen as occupying an ambiguous position between linguistics courses and “instrumental or skills” courses. When compared to linguistics courses the emphasis is on the user type of competence; in front of instrumental or skills courses, the emphasis of English Language courses seems to shift toward the analyst type of competence. In the classroom practices, this ambiguous position can be seen in the fluctuation between user and analyst cognitive processes, with different intensities in each type depending on the teacher’s academic orientation. The analyst type of competence becomes prominent through the amount of discourse space devoted by the teacher to KAL, making rules of usage explicit. Both instructors, Monica and Lisa, reconcile this fluctuation in their definition of language courses as user-oriented KAL, limited to grammar, and as a necessary foundation (they refer to this idea with the word “base”) for both proficient language use and sophisticated linguistic analysis.

5.2. Specialists’ knowledge of the language

The second hypothesis that was put forward at the beginning of the study was that the academic context of the university will influence the instructors’ practices and discourse towards a more analyst-oriented rather than user-oriented approach.

During the interviews, both instructors refer to an external examination based on skills (FCE, Cambridge First Certificate in English) in order to define the level of proficiency expected at the end of their course. This is paradoxical considering that the program is limited to the study of morpho-syntactic aspects of English and there is no mention of specific skills included in the external examination to which the instructors refer. This discrepancy is acknowledged by Monica.

The notion of a language course as a foundation KAL course for future specialised academic work in linguistics becomes relevant again when we consider that, according to the instructors, the goal of an ES programme is not only to use the language competently but also to be able to talk about or explain it and teach it. Furthermore, according to one of the instructors, there is a body of encyclopaedic knowledge that an ES graduate must know, even though, as the instructor herself reckons, it is of very little practical use. The two instructors refer to the function of English language development courses in relation to the rest of courses in the ES programme and especially in relation to linguistics courses. The introduction of KAL directed to explaining language use, together with a more encyclopaedic type of KAL, contribute to defining a distinctive specialist’s knowledge of language for ES graduates.

6. 3. *A Model of Language Teaching and Learning*

Both instructors define their lessons and the course as a combination of 'theory' (in the form of rules of grammatical usage put forward by the instructor through comments and explanations) and 'practice' (in the form of exercises). The analysis of the lessons and interviews reveals that the two instructors studied approach language teaching and learning from the point of view of the traditional PPP model (presentation > practice > production). Lisa introduces a variation of this model in adopting an inductive approach, going from practice to presentation. In either case, production seems to be excluded from the module.

In this model of language teaching and learning declarative knowledge has a dominant role and this is so at the expense of procedural knowledge. This state of affairs comes into conflict with the dominant communicative approach in language teaching. Perhaps, for this reason, we notice a certain tension in both instructors between wanting to introduce more 'communication / skills work' and stating that ES language courses should be different from regular EFL courses for non-specialists precisely in the higher level of declarative knowledge of ES graduates.

We believe that our analysis confronts those of us involved in the provision of language development courses as part of a programme including training in linguistics with two issues that, we think, deserve to be considered in the future. In the first place, the analysis reveals a distinction between unsophisticated, user-oriented KAL, associated with language courses, and sophisticated scientific KAL, represented by linguistics courses. This is probably a reflection of the type of structural linguistics that is still dominant in many teacher-training programs at the expense of educational linguistics more geared to the needs of future teachers.

The second issue that is raised by the study in connection with the provision of language development modules in teacher-training programmes is that, as we said in the introduction, they may become part of the methodological repertoire of future language teachers. Our experience tells us that the unresolved dualism between conscious and subconscious learning (McCarthy and Carter, 1994: 161) that characterises the linguistic ideology of the two instructors is inevitably projected onto the next generation of EFL teachers. The analysis carried out reveals a teacher-centred model of teaching and learning that, while paying lip service to the importance of subconscious learning, it still relies mostly on conscious learning, characterised by the dominance of explicit learning about language and declarative knowledge. In general, the view that pervades this pedagogic approach is that of language as a static product. We believe that this traditional tendency in language teaching may be still reinforced in some teacher training programmes that are characterised by the central role they assign to 'lecture-and-notes' teaching methodology and to a KAL curriculum based on a structural descriptive approach. These findings coincide with the situation outlined by authors such as Wright and Bolitho (1997) who advocate for the implementation of in-service teacher education programmes that, based on graduates' highly developed user-analyst dimensions, take an

experiential approach to boost the teacher dimension. Their claim is that such programmes may boost teachers' confidence so that they are better equipped not only to adopt a stronger position in relation to materials and policies, but to move towards their own development as practitioners.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

M	Monica (instructor 1)
L	Lisa (instructor 2)
S1...	Student 1
—	Short pause
—	Long pause (max. 1 second)
<2>	Pause of 2 seconds
text_	Unfinished utterance
xxx	Incomprehensible speech (x represents one syllable)
<i>text</i>	Code switching
[text]	Extra-linguistic information
'text'	cited word or utterance

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Chapter 5

Constructing Theoretical Notions of L2 Writing Through Metaphor Conceptualization

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INTRODUCTION

During the last forty years, the teaching of writing, both in the first language (L1) and in the second (L2), has been affected by constant shifts in theoretical approaches (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996; Raimes, 1996). An important question is how teachers internalize all these changes and what beliefs they develop as they are exposed to the different approaches to writing. As ESL teacher educators, we are particularly interested in the process by which student teachers form and develop ideas about the teaching of L2 writing in the course of their training. We are also very interested in observing the processes and outcomes of instruction when learning is viewed as a first interpersonal—then intrapersonal phenomenon, subject to the intervention of various forms of social and self mediation. In this study, we examine the impact of intervention in the construction of theoretical notions of writing and the teaching of L2 writing among a group of MA-TESL students. Specifically, we analyze the effects of using metaphor conceptualization as the chief mediator in the fostering and challenging of beliefs on L2 writing among the participants.

Sociocultural theory, based on the work of Vygotsky (1986, 1978) and others (Lantolf, 2000; Wells, 1999; Wertsch, 1991) provides a theoretical rationale for intervention in the construction of metaphorical conceptualizations of writing. Three important sociocultural theory concepts inform our research. One is an “enlarged” notion of the zone of proximal development (ZPD) as a site of potential learning that is created

when participants of all ages and levels—and not just children and adults, or novices and experts—collaborate in understanding a concept or solving a problem (Wells, 1999, p. 331). This enlarged notion of the ZPD suggests that teachers, both in practice and in training, can develop an understanding of teaching through reflective practice and collaboration with other teachers. Furthermore, as Wells (1999) put it, an enlarged notion of the ZPD implies that mediation is not limited to assistance by other human beings but may come in the form of socially constructed semiotic artifacts, such as books, maps, and diagrams (p. 331). We believe metaphor is one of these semiotic artifacts that can serve as a mediational tool in helping teachers progress in their thinking about writing and the teaching of writing.

Another sociocultural theory concept that is relevant to our research is the notion of internalization, that is, the process by which intermental functioning in the form of social relations among individuals and interaction with socially constructed artifacts is turned inwards and transformed into intramental functioning (Vygotsky, 1978). According to Ball (2000), teachers internalize theoretical concepts as they appropriate what others say and make it their own. Internalization implies going beyond the mere parroting of others' words to adopting positions of commitment to action and to envisioning the application of new theoretical concepts to practice (Ball, 2000, p. 246-248). One way of studying internalization among teacher trainees is through the observation of teachers' changes in discourse practices (Ball, 2000, p. 229).

A third related idea is that higher intellectual processes are mediated by psychological tools (Wertsch, 1991). The view of metaphor as a mediating psychological tool is consistent with the approach to metaphor as cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which holds that metaphors are more than just ornamental ways of using the language; they are ways of knowing and thinking. Metaphors organize and shape the way we perceive our world by consistently linking one mental domain to another. Metaphors are also excellent tools for comprehending what is complex and incomprehensible in nature and experience (Gibbs, 1994). Recognizing the critical role metaphors play in conceptualizing fields of knowledge, educational researchers have been using metaphor as a research tool to investigate teachers' cognition (Cameron & Low, 1999). Studies have shown that metaphor is a useful way of bringing implicit assumptions to awareness, encouraging reflection, finding contradictions, and fostering change in educational beliefs and practices (see, for example, Guerrero & Villamil, 2000, 2002; Munby, 1987; Tobin, 1990).

To sum up, metaphor, in this study, functions as the chief mediator in the formulation and reformulation of notions on writing. An enlarged notion of intervention within the ZPD suggests, however, that internalization and progression in cognitive development are also accomplished through reading and reflection, making beliefs explicit, and sharing ideas among classmates. Intervention, in our study, is thus seen as the whole of those principled actions and resources taken up in order to foster change, reorient thinking, and broaden the understanding of writing. With this notion in mind, we asked

ourselves the following question: What is the impact of intervention, through metaphorical conceptualization and reflection, on student teachers' theoretical beliefs about L2 writing? We pursued this objective by means of collecting data from two perspectives: (a) our own observations as teachers and researchers about the students' changes in their original, alternate, and adopted metaphors and (b) the participants' own views about the impact of metaphor on their conceptualization of writing.

COURSE CONTENT AND PARTICIPANTS

A graduate course on writing theories, taught by one of us, was designed to incorporate the necessary techniques (an introspective learning log, simile completion exercises, class sharing) that would allow us to observe and gather data on the impact of intervention through metaphorical conceptualization. The purpose of the course was to analyze prevailing theories and methods of teaching writing (e.g. process approach, writing across the curriculum, etc.) and examine their practical application to the teaching of ESL. At the end of the course, students would be able to understand better the nature of L2 writing and make informed decisions as to the pedagogical approach to embrace according to their specific contexts. The course was offered for a period of 15 weeks at a major university in an MA-TESL program in Puerto Rico.

As indicated on biographical data sheets submitted at the beginning of the course, all the participants ($N = 10$) had previous or current experience as ESL teachers in Puerto Rico (where Spanish is the vernacular) or in the US mainland. Their teaching experience varied: Six participants had 1 to 5 years of experience, two had 6 to 10, and two had more than 11. Four participants worked at the elementary level and 5 at the secondary. Only 1 participant worked at the college level. The participants reported little or no formal training in the teaching of writing.

DATA COLLECTION

One of the requirements of the course was to write an Introspective Learning Log in which participants would analyze their assumptions and beliefs about the teaching of writing. As part of Entry I, participants were asked to complete the similes: "An ESL writer is like. . ." and "An ESL writing teacher is like. . ." and identify various elements entailed in their metaphors (teacher, writer, teaching writing, learning to write). In Entry 2, they had to explain the underlying theories and assumptions in their metaphors as well as the implications for daily practice. Half way through the course, in Entry 3, participants were requested to create new metaphors for both the ESL writer and writing teacher taking into consideration what had been learned through class discussions, readings, and personal reflection. On the tenth week, participants were invited to share with their classmates the metaphors they had previously proposed in their entries and explain their rationale. The intention was not only to make participants voice their views on writing and teaching writing but also to consider other stances. After this sharing,

participants were asked to examine the metaphors generated by their classmates and select those they considered congruent with their perception of the writer and writing teacher in Entry 4. At the end of the course, participants were requested to submit Entry 5 with an overall evaluation of how the process of conceptualizing theory through metaphor had helped them understand the writing process and how these insights could be used to improve classroom practice and writing development among learners.

DATA ANALYSIS

A qualitative approach was employed to analyze the written discourse of our participants as our data (See Cameron & Low, 1999, for procedures to conduct metaphor qualitative analysis). We made a list of the metaphors (original, alternate, and adopted) about the ESL writer and the ESL writing teacher supplied in Entries 1, 3 and 4 (See Tables 1 and 2). We first compared the original metaphors in Entry 1 to the alternate metaphors in Entry 3. We then compared both original and alternate metaphors to the adopted ones in Entry 4. In order to analyze the participants' changes throughout the course, we focused on their explanations of the elements compared in the three groups of metaphors in terms of the concepts "writer," "teacher," "teaching writing," and "learning to write." We also looked into the participants' elaboration and inclusion of novel elements in their metaphors to see whether their new conceptualizations were congruent to those previously proposed. Additionally, we took into account comments that would provide evidence of increased levels of awareness, new theorizing, and internalization of writing concepts. Further analysis of the data included inspecting responses to Entry 5 to determine the participants' view of the impact of metaphor as a tool in understanding and conceptualizing writing. We conducted this analysis side by side at first, with two students' logs as samples, to develop a working method. Then we proceeded separately and met regularly to compare and discuss our analyses. In the ensuing discussion, the following notation system is used:

italics: to indicate metaphors produced by the participants

"double quotation marks": to enclose words used by the participants in their logs.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Our first focus was to observe significant changes in our participants' metaphorical conceptualizations by means of comparing the original metaphors in Entry 1 to alternate metaphors in Entry 3 and adopted metaphors in Entry 4. This comparison allowed us to observe the following. As Table 1 presents, five participants (Myrna, Maggie, Angie, Doris, and Norma—names are pseudonyms) revised their view of the ESL writer from someone passive and highly dependent on the teacher to someone who has the potential to grow and develop as a writer. Norma's change from *a baby bird fed and taught to fly*

by *mother bird* in Entry 1 to *an inventor that works patiently and persistently on an invention* in Entry 3 is a good example of this development in conceptualization. Interestingly, as shown in Table 2, the same participants modified their vision of the teacher, departing from a view of teacher as dispenser of knowledge to that of being a guide or leader in a shared activity. Myrna's movement from a metaphor of teacher as *an expert in putting a 500 piece puzzle together* to *an art teacher supervising artists* demonstrates progression in her conception of the writing teacher. Her new metaphor envisaged both the teacher and the writer as co-creators of meaningful texts, a view that takes into account current instructional writing approaches.

Some students proposed alternate metaphors in Entry 3 that depicted the same vision of a passive ESL writer as in the earlier entry: Carmen's *lost airplane* and *stone in the rough*, Pat's *young soldier* and *soil in which farmer works*, or Laura's *Ms. Pac man* and *baby eagle waiting for mama*. However, their perspective of the ESL writer changed in their adopted metaphors in Entry 4. All of them chose metaphors—*artist*, *inventor*, *mountain climber*, *dancer* and *trumpet player*—that gave the student a central role in his/her own learning. These participants (Carmen, Pat, and Laura) who had also proposed similar metaphors to portray the teacher in both Entry 1 and Entry 3, changed their view of the teacher in Entry 4. Their adopted metaphors—*mountain climber*, *orchestra conductor*, *art teacher*, and *choreographer*—show that the teacher has evolved from the sole provider of knowledge to someone who can lead writers through the writing process and enhance their learning. The participants' views expressed in these metaphors acknowledge the social nature of the process as well as the cognitive and affective dimensions of learning to write. These preliminary results, mid way through the course, led us to think that there was some development in the participants' way of thinking about the teaching of writing.

An examination of the adopted metaphors revealed that the *inventor*, *mountain climber*, and *trumpet player* metaphors were the most popular for the writer and that *orchestra conductor*, *mountain climber coach*, and *art teacher* were the most favored for the teacher. The adoption of these metaphors implies the internalization of two important aspects related to writing conceptualization. First, these metaphors delineated a congruent vision of learning and teaching writing. For the participants, learning to write meant: (a) working actively in a community toward the creation of knowledge/text; (b) having the potential capabilities to reach their goal; and (c) transferring L1 processes and strategies to a new medium, as the *trumpet player learning to play the tuba* metaphor suggests. Teaching writing meant: (a) leading students to achieve their goals; (b) collaborating in the co-construction of text; and (c) recognizing students' cognitive efforts as well as the social contexts for writing. Second, the above theoretical notions on learning and teaching writing reflect a cognitivist view of the process of writing (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996). Participants were thus able to demonstrate, via metaphor, the influence of theoretical paradigms and approaches discussed throughout the course.

This study also provided data from the participants' perspective on their own views

of conceptualizing writing. Analysis of the metaphors adopted in Entry 4 gave clues as to the reasons why students adopted certain metaphors proposed by their classmates. In most cases, the participants' process of selecting metaphors from their classmates' repertoire was based on agreement with the ideas expressed in the metaphors. Frequently, the participants recognized important elements in their classmates' metaphors: "I adopted these metaphors because they gather many of the characteristics that L2 writers have" (Norma). Sometimes, the classmates' metaphors captured ideas the participants could identify with: "My peers wrote metaphors that adequately represented my feelings about being an ESL writing teacher and an ESL writing student" (Maggie); "the metaphors depict the student in a way that I can actually perceive and accept" (Pat).

In some cases, the classmates' metaphors helped the participants clarify their ideas about writing teacher-student relations and about the process of writing. For instance, the idea of the emotions involved in writing became very clear for Samuel in his classmate's metaphor of the ESL writer as a *mountain climber*. "It [the idea] jumps out at me and helps me to relate to how an ESL writer might feel." For Laura, her classmates' metaphors (teacher as *orchestra conductor* and *choreographer*) helped her "refocus" her vision: "The writing teacher must first be in the position of student."

Other times, the metaphors adopted from classmates' examples helped students see new dimensions of the ESL writing classroom. Doris, for example, became more aware of writing as a creative endeavor as she reflected on her classmates' metaphors of the ESL writer as an *inventor* and of the writing teacher as an *orchestra conductor* who to help my students envision themselves as these images describe." Similarly, Samuel envisioned himself as a new teacher: "I now see the role of the teacher as that of a person who introduces students to the process of writing and then allows them the freedom to create and write. I want to be that kind of teacher."

The process of sharing metaphors among the students led to appropriation as students made their classmates' metaphors their own: "I decided to adopt them as my own and I wrote them on my teacher's desk in order to read them constantly and remind myself why I decided to become an ESL teacher . . . I adopted these metaphors because they reflect what my goal is as an ESL writing teacher" (Laura). Appropriation of others' metaphors seemed to be motivated in some cases by the participants' identification with the classroom situations reflected in their classmates' metaphors. Carmen, for instance, liked her peers' metaphors of writer as *artist* and writing teacher as *art teacher* because she could relate them to her deaf students, who "have so many talents inside; they are just waiting to come out. In my classroom, I let them express those feelings they have inside in English."

Table 1. Metaphorical Conceptualizations of the ESL Writer

<i>An ESL writer is like . . .</i>			
<i>Participant</i>	<i>Original Metaphor</i>	<i>Alternate Metaphor</i>	<i>Adopted Metaphor</i>
	<i>Entry 1</i>	<i>Entry 2</i>	<i>Entry 3</i>
Sara	a lightning bug that lights up where darkness prevails	a caterpillar which weaves itself into a cocoon	a young soldier
Myrna	a 500 piece puzzle waiting to be put together	an artist with a bag of tools for painting	an artist
Maggie	particles of sand and dust that use the wind, water and sun to travel and grow	a photographer working on a photo shoot for his portfolio presentation	a mountain climber; An inventor
Carmen	a lost airplane in the middle of a storm waiting for directions to land	a stone in the rough waiting for the designer to polish and reveal the precious gem it really is	an artist; An inventor
Pat	a young soldier facing the battlefield, listening to and learning from the commander as he/she prepares to survive the battle	the soil in which the farmer has worked hard to obtain a good harvest	a mountain climber; An inventor
Angie	a roller coaster rider	the participant of a marketing research	a stone
Samuel	a trumpet player learning to play the tuba	a young artist who is discovering the joys and feelings that come with making art	a mountain climber
Norma	a baby bird fed and taught to fly by mother bird	an inventor that works patiently and persistently on an invention	(combination of) a trumpet player , a photographer, a mountain climber
Laura	Ms. Pac man gobbling all the dots in order to go to the next level	a baby eagle that is high in a nest waiting for mama eagle to nourish it so it can grow strong and fly away	a trumpet player; a dancer

Table 2. Metaphorical Conceptualizations of the ESL Writing Teacher

<i>An ESL writing teacher is like . . .</i>			
<i>Participant</i>	<i>Original Metaphor</i>	<i>Alternate Metaphor</i>	<i>Adopted Metaphor</i>
	<i>Entry 1</i>	<i>Entry 2</i>	<i>Entry 3</i>
Sara	an octopus with lots of tentacles to gather and provide food	a white dove from Noah's ark	an orchestra conductor
Myrna	an expert in putting the 500 piece puzzle together	an art teacher supervising artists	an art teacher/supervisor; a marketing analyst
Maggie	a farmer that helps the seeds grow and prosper during droughts and diseases	an orchestra conductor that helps guide all the musicians to create beautiful music	an orchestra conductor; a mountain climber coach
Carmen	a rainbow after the rain, a clear reminder of God's promises	a bulldozer digging for a hidden treasure inside a goldmine in a forgotten cave	a flashlight; an art teacher
Pat	a personal trainer	a farmer who carefully studies the land to prepare it for cultivation	a mountain climber coach; an orchestra conductor
Angie	a baker preparing the best cake he/she has ever made	a marketing researcher	an octopus
Doris	a choreographer that transforms with practice the dancers' steps into a full performance	a coach to the mountain climber that provides time, guidance, feedback, and materials to complete journey	an art teacher; an orchestra conductor
Samuel	an ancient philosopher who challenges students to think in different ways	an art teacher who allows students to create and produce art	a mountain climber coach
Norma	a mother bird who feeds and teaches birds to fly	a skilled and experienced politician who has clear goals	a runner on skates
Laura	a runner on skates in a supermarket that resolves any indispensable necessity in the marketplace to serve a customer	a flashlight in a dark tunnel that gives hope to a student that is lost and wants a way out	an orchestra conductor; a choreographer

According to Ball (2000), appropriation involves reconstruction and reflective commitment and not mindless repetition of others' words. In this study, there was evidence of reflection and reconstruction as students oftentimes saw new meanings in their classmates' metaphors or interpreted them differently. For example, Myrna adopted the metaphor of teacher as *marketing analyst* but she expanded the concept of

investigating population needs to include the idea of cultural issues not present in her classmate's metaphor: "Students come from different cultural backgrounds and the ESL writing teacher needs to investigate and know which they are."

Furthermore, as Ball (2000) indicates, internalization among teachers also implies the articulation of plans of action reflecting personal commitment (p. 253). In this case, internalization was evident as participants not only reconstructed or transformed their classmates' metaphors but also formulated plans of action based on newly adopted roles or insights. For example, adoption of the metaphor of teacher as *mountain climber coach* prompted Samuel to say: "Students need freedom to grow. I can see this in both climbing and writing. I would like to apply these concepts by allowing my students more freedom in their writing activities." Norma stated a series of classroom strategies to be implemented in the classroom based on the idea that writers, like mountain climbers and trumpet players, need to learn to write by writing and not just by being told how to do it.

To observe the participants' own views on the impact of metaphorical conceptualization on their understanding of writing and the teaching of writing in the L2 classroom, Entry 5 was analyzed. All students stated that the metaphor exercise had been insightful and beneficial. Most students elaborated and explained how the exercise had helped them. Conceptualizing and reflecting through metaphor moved students to concretize beliefs and make them explicit. In Norma's words, "writing metaphors and explaining them is like playing with abstract and concrete levels at the same time." As this participant "looked for the best metaphors," she reflected on the process of writing and on her daily practices. She also pondered whether her beliefs matched her practices. Metaphor conceptualization helped students "crystalize and condense thinking" (Samuel); it forced them to "look for exact words to say many things in one sentence" (Carmen). And, as Pat said, "by establishing a comparison to other elements, I acquired a perspective of what I was doing as a teacher." Interestingly, the process of conceptualizing through metaphor evoked visual images in the participants which helped them concretize and synthesize their thoughts. Several participants reported that using metaphors helped them "visualize" concepts. For instance, for Samuel, metaphors "help you to express your thoughts in visual pictures that everyone can understand and relate to."

Most of the participants indicated in their final entry the ways in which the metaphor exercise had contributed to a different view of writing in the ESL classroom. Maggie, for example, realized that her original metaphor of the writer as "particles of sand and dust that use the wind . . . to travel" portrayed the student as too passive and thus changed it [in Entry 3] to a more active image as "a photographer working on a photo shoot." Angie explained how her view of the writing process changed throughout the course:

When we started the semester, I viewed the writing process as a train in a one-way rail or a one-way non-stop ticket to perfect writing. Now I know that writing is indeed a process but it may take a few stops before arriving to the final destination. Writing cannot be a one-way rail because the student should have the confidence that he/she may

go back and then continue the travel. But the most important lesson I learned is that every student is riding in a different 'train caboose' (writing phase).

In this reflection, the participant has changed her view of writing as an inflexible, straightforward movement directed by the teacher to recursive, multiple-stop movement directed by the own learner.

The act of reflecting on metaphors throughout the course and, in particular, the social process of sharing and considering classmates' metaphors was critical for the students to progress within their ZPDs. As they wrote and shared their metaphors and reflections, the participants "learned from each other" (Samuel). For Myrna, the metaphor exercise represented a personal growing experience. In Entry 5, she voiced her realization that she had always viewed writing as "a complicated process that can cause headaches and frustration." She had always been "afraid to write." This view was expressed in her first-entry metaphor of the writer as solver of a *500 piece puzzle* and of the teacher as an *expert puzzle maker* who knows and can fix everything. Her new metaphors (writer as *artist* and teacher as *art teacher*) offer a "totally different" view: "Writing is not cold . . . difficult or frustrating anymore. Writing is creation now. Writing metaphors [in the class] was very important. Metaphors created by the students allow them to realize how they view things."

Pat renders an eloquent account of her progress throughout the course and the impact of metaphor in her reconceptualization process:

My concept about the writing process has evolved through this semester. I used to see it as a way students had to produce texts that evidenced their skills in the language. I used to focus on the final product. I wanted perfection and accuracy from the very beginning . . . I never even thought of asking my students for more than the final, polished version of their writing . . . As I participated in class discussions about the chapters in the book I realized how much I had to change as a teacher. There were moments when I felt bad about the harshness with which I had graded my students. As the semester progressed so did my concepts of teaching writing . . . The thing that helped me most in this growing process was the exercise on metaphors. By looking at [my classmates'] list of metaphors I could venture an analysis of each participant's style of teaching. Those metaphors reflect who we are as teachers and what we think about our students. The metaphors [I adopted] reflect the way I see myself now as a writing teacher.

CONCLUSIONS

The 15-week long exercise on metaphorical conceptualization resulted in a variety of realizations that helped the teacher trainees understand, clarify, reconsider, expand, and/or change their own concepts of learning and teaching writing. Through metaphor, participants were able to link different conceptual domains to arrive at a better understanding of the ESL writer and teacher. Metaphors helped connect prevailing concepts of writing and pedagogical approaches as participants imagined themselves teaching from a particular metaphor or tried to identify with corresponding stances/paradigms. Through metaphor, they were able to recognize their classmates' style of teaching or their perspectives of writing and teaching writing and expanded their

repertoire of metaphors as they appropriated their classmates' conceptualizations. Participants were also able to modify and/or change their conceptions of writing. The exercise further enabled participants to develop their own voice and formulate plans of action to implement their new views in their classrooms. Metaphor was thus an effective mediator in our participants' learning of writing notions.

Although conceptualizing through metaphor was a beneficial exercise for our participants, one of them, Sara, remained somewhat static during the intervention. Her metaphors for the ESL writer—*a lightning bug that lights up, a caterpillar, a young soldier*—portrayed the same passive learner awaiting instructions. Her adopted metaphor for the teacher (*orchestra conductor*), at the end of the course, suggested, however, the onset of change. Because Sara was the teacher with more than 15 years of experience, some questions arise. Can we say that she did not benefit from the experience because she did not change her views? Are her metaphors reflective of highly entrenched conceptions of the learner among teachers? What kind of conceptual restructuring did Sara experience? As we try to look for responses, we should bear in mind that the transformations that occur in the ZPD may not only lead to change but also “reproduce existing practices and values” (Wells, 1999, p. 133). Perhaps, in Sara's case, there was more perpetuation of old beliefs than real change.

As we evaluate the methodology of the study, we find that conceptualizing through metaphor proved to be a useful strategy because it allowed us to see development in our participants' beliefs about writing and teaching L2 writing. However, KAL teachers interested in metaphor conceptualization might want to complement the technique with two other instruments: literacy histories and interviews. Asking participants for a literacy history, in which to include how they learned their notions of writing and their experience as learners and teachers of writing, would give insights into the participants' prior knowledge and shed light on the rationale for choosing their original metaphors. Interviews would prove useful not only for the researcher to clarify doubts but also to probe deeper into the participants' set of beliefs.

Finally, through our study, we were able to witness the impact that intervention in the form of metaphorical conceptualization had on our students' belief systems. To review, metaphorical conceptualization (a) promoted reflection and initiated changes at the theoretical level, (b) encouraged examination of beliefs and practices, (c) contributed to appropriation and internalization of socially shared concepts of writing, (d) aided in the formulation of teachers' roles and plans of action, and (e) fostered a deep understanding of the social context of learning.

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Chapter 6

What's the Use of Linguistics? Pre-Service English Teachers' Beliefs towards Language Use and Variation

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The recent recommendation by Fillmore and Snow (2002) that, given changes in United States schools, all teachers need to know quite a bit about language has revived old debates (Menyuk, 1991) about the role of linguistics in educating teacher trainees. The recent imposition of standardized testing (via the Praxis Test) on the teacher certification/licensure process has further brought knowledge of language into the foreground of teacher preparation, insomuch as candidates are being tested on core linguistic principles. For these reasons, and doubtless more, English (as L1) Education majors at our university are required to take one of two introductory linguistics courses, English 2651 (Introduction to Language) or English 3755 (Principles of Linguistics). The courses used to be fairly different, but recently we have made them the same all but in name, in part due to the fact that we have been using our own co-authored textbook (Brown & Attardo, 2000) to teach the classes and in part due to external pressure from the interested departments. Both courses now cover the same material and are virtually indistinguishable; technically, the former is required for prospective elementary and middle school teachers and the latter for prospective high school teachers (and for English literature majors not on the prospective teacher track). Throughout this paper, we will make no distinction between the two classes.

The courses meet three hours per week for 15 weeks. The mandate is to teach the basics of linguistics, with a heavy emphasis on sociolinguistics. Most of the students will eventually find themselves in public school classrooms. As public school teachers of

language arts, they will need to have some idea about issues of prescriptive and descriptive grammars, language use and variation, language structure and the history of English. They will probably not directly teach most of the subjects but will use them as background in making educational decisions while teaching reading, writing, and oral communication. The classes are lecture/discussion format and students are assessed through both objective quizzes and essay exams.

Socioculturally, the region is mixed. The university's service area includes several medium-sized deindustrialized cities with significant African American populations. The cities are ringed by suburbs formed partially by "white flight." The southern part of our service area is part of the federally defined Appalachian region. There are also agricultural areas, including some Amish pockets. Teachers teaching in the area confront language diversity daily.

THE PROBLEM

Students in linguistics classes bring with them lots of beliefs and prior knowledge. Because they all come using at least one (usually only one) language, they think they know about language and have folkloristic beliefs that we feel will not serve them well as teachers. It has been noted (Richardson, 1996; Pajares, 1992) that students bring their own beliefs¹ to class, beliefs that may facilitate, but often impede, learning. These beliefs may come as a result of life experience or as a result of experience with school, including experience with subject matter taught there. Joram and Gabriele (1998) show, for example, how students in an educational psychology class bring with them a set of beliefs about teaching and learning that often hinders learning because, at least in some sense, students think they already know the course content. Joram and Gabriele show how understanding this fact and teaching the class accordingly may lead to small but important shifts in learners' perspectives. Peacock (2001), following Horwitz (1985), conducted a three-year longitudinal study of teacher trainee beliefs about second language learning. He showed there were marked differences between the beliefs of trainee teachers and experienced teachers as to the roles of vocabulary and grammar learning and the role of intelligence in language learning, and these beliefs tended to change little over time. Peacock claims it is important for trainees to have beliefs that more closely mirror those of experienced teachers, lest the trainees use their own (in this case non-communicative-language-learning-oriented) beliefs once they become teachers themselves.

That's what some of the literature says about prior beliefs. Perhaps an anecdote from our teaching will serve to more finely point out the problem. On a final essay exam several years ago, in response to a question about African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a student wrote a beautiful answer outlining the structure of the variety and the educational implications of linguistic research on it (in other words, she perfectly regurgitated the book and lecture). At the end of the essay she wrote, "Ha!" which we took to mean, "You can make me say it, but you can't make me believe it."

We became interested in the interaction between prior beliefs and what students got out of our classes a number of years ago. In 1996, in order to assess the effectiveness of our courses, we decided to periodically measure student attitudes, and changes in those attitudes, as students became exposed to core linguistic concepts in our classes.

HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis that we set out to test was simply that successfully completing a course in linguistics effected a change in attitudes and/or beliefs of the students. In other words, we decided to divide our students in two groups: those who had not previously been exposed to linguistics (Pre-linguistics) and those who had (Post-linguistics). We wanted to find out if the two groups differed significantly in their beliefs about language. Anecdotally we knew that some students resisted change and we were also aware of the fact that some of our students changed some of their beliefs, at times radically, but it was far from clear that a statistically significant number of them did so.

PILOT STUDY

We developed the pilot study in 1996 by examining a number of surveys (chiefly Taylor, 1973; & Shuy, 1970) that covered relevant (or nearly so) areas, and we selected 42 questions pertaining to a variety of subjects. We appended four questions aimed at eliciting some biographical data, such as students' majors, gender and age range. Most significantly, we asked the students to list the number of linguistics courses they had been exposed to. We collected a total of 172 responses, from courses taught by all three faculty members who were teaching linguistics courses in 1996. The results, analyzed with a statistician and an undergraduate statistics major, were reported in our pilot study (Brown, Attardo, Holcomb, & Badger, 1997). The statistical analysis of the data showed that there was a set of 17 questions that tended to co-vary. That is, while the answers to the other questions are not necessarily useless, those in the set of 17 were significant in the sense that they showed statistically non-random variation *as a group*. They lumped together. Clearly something was going on.

Since administering a 50-question test had proven taxing for the students and often required an entire class period, we decided to shorten considerably the test by focusing on the questions that accounted for most of the variance in the original questionnaire. Seven out of the 17 co-varying questions pertained to African American Vernacular English or AAVE (out of a total number of 9 questions in the entire survey) and most of the other co-varying questions concerned prescriptivist issues. We added a few more questions to lessen the impression that the questionnaire focused exclusively or primarily on AAVE, thus arriving at the current 27-question version.

THE CURRENT STUDY

Subjects and data collection

At bottom, we wanted to see if the group of students who had taken no linguistics courses (the Pre-linguistics group) differed in their answers from those students who had taken one or more linguistics courses (the Post-linguistics group). Data labeled as the Pre-linguistics group were collected via questionnaire at the beginning of English 2651/3755 before students had any exposure to linguistics. Data for the Post-linguistics group were collected in two ways: at the end of 2651/3755, after the Pre-linguistics group had been exposed to linguistics and in other linguistics courses for which 2651/3755 are prerequisite: sociolinguistics, language and culture, language acquisition, TESOL methods, etc. Total number of responses was 269: 97 pre- and 172 post-linguistics.

All these classes are offered in our department, and although they have been staffed by a number of instructors, during the two years in question, due to scheduling vagaries and faculty leaves, all the sections in which the students were tested happened to be taught by either of us. Let us emphasize that in the pilot study, which shows roughly the same results, data were collected in classes taught by two more colleagues, thus ruling out the possibility that the changes recorded in the data are due to our charming personalities.

The teaching of the introductory courses was entirely disassociated from the questions on the survey; none of the questions was ever used on a test, or quiz, and no classroom activities were directly planned to address these issues, although class discussion, if initiated by the students, could address the issues and relevant attitudinal complexes. This was not done out of any particular political or pedagogical reasons, or because of an attempt at experimental control, but simply because time pressure to cover the material on the syllabus precluded extended discussion of attitudes.

The instrument and analysis

The data were collected between 2000 and 2002. The questionnaire is available as Appendix A. On the advice of a statisticianⁱⁱ, we chose the Chi-square Two-sample Test to test the statistical significance of our findings. This is a standard statistical tool to measure the degree of significance of the variation between an expected result and the actual results found in the survey, experiment, etc. We chose a significance level of .05, which means that there is a five percent or less possibility that chance played a role in the difference found.

THE RESULTS

Are there significant differences between the two groups?

There were indeed significant differences in the responses to some of the questions, but not others.ⁱⁱⁱ The two groups, pre- and post-linguistics, had different patterns of answers

to questions 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15, 20, and 21. Questions 3, 5, 7, 10, and 20 all concern attitudes toward or elements of AAVE. Question 21 concerns a feature found in AAVE but also present in other American dialects. Question 11 focuses on the use of grammar. Question 15 addresses the ability of adults to learn a foreign language. We hypothesize the differences in responses came about as a result of the linguistics class(es) taken.

The central result reflected in our data is the significant shift in attitude of our students toward AAVE and its forms. This is in no way surprising, since the selection of the questions was dictated in part by our finding in the pilot studies that precisely in these areas there were the most significant attitudinal shifts. Two groups of questions examined attitudes toward AAVE: questions 7, 17, 18, 20, and 23 directly mentioned AAVE, whereas questions 3, 5, 10, and 21 addressed grammatical features present in AAVE, without mentioning AAVE. Questions 12 and 14 addressed features present in AAVE but not exclusively. Appendix A lists all 27 questions.

The most blunt question (20) "AAVE has a faulty grammar system" shows the greatest attitudinal shift: the conflated agreement figures (i.e., "agree" plus "strongly agree") diminish by about 8.5 percent but the disagreements are augmented by nearly 23.5 percent. Similarly, question (7) "AAVE is a misuse of Standard English" sees a decrease of agreements by more than 14.5 percent and an increase of disagreements by more than 16.5 percent. Questions 17, 18, and 23 have similar results, but with smaller shifts, however all in a direction favorable to AAVE.

When we move to the grammatical forms, we find the same pattern: in question (5), which features the aspectual marker *been*, the students who find it acceptable increase by about 12 percent, and those who find it unacceptable decrease by about 25 percent. Question (10), on the aspectual marker *be*, shows almost identical results: an increase of more than 11 percent of acceptable judgments and a decrease of unacceptability of about 24 percent. Questions (3) and (21) also show similar patterns, with lower percentages.

Interestingly, while question (12), on the acceptability of the object form of the pronoun in subject position (*it's me*), shows a limited shift toward acceptability (7 percent), question (14), on the double negative, shows about 3 percent more students giving the "logical" interpretation of the double negative (as canceling one another), rather than the natural (reinforcing), thus showing a worsening of attitudes.

From these data we conclude that even a limited exposure to linguistics and sociolinguistics (only one semester/course) effects significant changes in the reported attitudes of the students, as far as AAVE goes. The fact that the changes are about the same in percentage in the questions in which AAVE is mentioned directly as in those that concern grammatical features of AAVE but in which AAVE is not mentioned seems to imply that the students are not being "politically correct" and simply aping political views that they would assume are standard in academe. The hypothesis that our students can see through the grammatical questions and interpret them as veiled questions on AAVE to which they would then provide "politically correct" answers strains credulity

(and fails to explain why double negatives and object pronouns are not also treated “politically”).

Table 1. Answers to the substantive questions, divided by Pre- and Post-linguistics status.

#	<i>Pre-linguistics</i>						<i>Post-linguistics</i>					
	A	B	C	D	E	NA	A	B	C	D	E	NA
1	17	47	12	19	2	0	27	60	36	43	6	0
2	1	29	29	29	9	0	5	40	43	53	31	0
3	55	29	5	7	1	0	53	61	33	22	3	0
4	23	55	18	1	0	0	55	96	13	5	1	2
5	3	5	9	43	37	0	3	32	37	63	35	1
6	9	30	24	29	5	0	14	46	37	58	17	1
7	9	25	17	38	8	0	8	27	26	76	34	0
8	25	47	18	5	2	0	50	83	25	14	0	0
9	2	16	34	29	16	0	6	20	49	60	36	1
10	1	5	8	45	38	0	3	27	36	76	30	0
11	12	35	18	28	3	1	48	79	19	21	5	0
12	15	43	23	15	1	0	27	81	30	27	7	0
13	15	56	13	12	1	0	35	93	22	19	3	0
14	3	10	7	43	34	0	14	16	15	82	45	0
15	11	32	16	34	3	0	29	72	23	40	7	1
16	2	8	34	38	15	0	1	19	65	54	33	0
17	12	46	25	12	1	1	22	74	41	24	10	1
18	6	40	25	22	3	1	17	80	34	33	8	0
19	3	17	20	45	11	1	7	18	30	91	24	2
20	8	24	36	21	7	1	7	35	39	71	19	1
21	40	40	8	5	3	1	43	72	41	15	1	0
22	2	7	28	36	23	1	5	19	47	63	38	0
23	2	16	24	38	16	1	3	20	33	79	37	0

This result strikes us as highly significant, since affecting up to 25 percent of our students' attitudes toward AAVE must surely qualify as an important educational result. One may wonder why we are not addressing the issue of learning (after all, that's what classes are for). This is due to two main reasons. The first is that attitude modification does not correlate in an obvious way to learning. Specifically, while it is impossible to have attitude modification without learning, it is perfectly plausible to have learning

without attitude modification (after all, a Democrat can probably describe the Republican platform without changing party affiliation). The second is that, of course, learning is assessed directly by the testing and grading that takes place regularly in the classroom. Our students are assessed as having learned at least a little when they receive a grade of C or better.

Are the effects of exposure cumulative?

Having established support for the hypothesis that exposure to one linguistics course affects students' beliefs/attitudes, we wondered if such an effect might be cumulative. In other words, we investigated if exposure to more than one course in linguistics had a greater effect than exposure to a single course. Twenty-five students in our sample had completed at least two courses in linguistics (specifically, 19 had taken two courses, five students had taken three courses, and one four). We will refer to this group as "advanced" students. While this is a much smaller sample, corresponding to less than 10 percent of the original sample, it is still large enough to draw a few tentative conclusions.

Table 2. Respondents subdivided by number of linguistics courses taken.

<i>Number of courses</i>	0	1	2	3	4
<i>Students</i>	97	147	19	5	1

In the questions concerning AAVE, the advanced students scored slightly better than the overall one-or-more group, although, strangely, in question 18 a greater percentage of advanced students disagreed with the claim that AAVE and SAE are equally expressive. Turning to the grammatical questions, in question (5) the advanced group shows an insignificant increase of more than 3 percent in agreement over the overall group of students exposed to linguistics, but more significantly, the disagreements drop to 44 percent (from a high of 82 percent of the students without exposure to linguistics). In question (10), the agreements go from a low of 6.19 percent in the Pre- group, to a remarkable high of 44 percent in the advanced group. In question (21), the advanced students who agree that a double negative should be corrected drop to 46 percent, contrasted with the circa 82.5 percent of Pre- students who felt it warranted correction. Conversely the number of advanced students who disagree on the same question nearly doubles (8.25 percent pre-, 16 percent advanced; compare with the mere 9.3 percent of students having taken at least one linguistics course).

In some cases the responses of the advanced students are clearly different: for example, in question (16) only about 10 percent of all students agreed with the ludicrous claim that American Indians have trouble learning English given the lack of complexity of their culture and language. In the advanced students, none agreed (although more than 56 percent were undecided). In question (1), only 28 percent of the advanced students

agreed that teachers should require formal English in class, contrasted with the almost 66 percent of Pre- students and the 50 percent of students who have taken one course.

Thus we conclude that the effects of exposure to linguistics are indeed cumulative and that more exposure to linguistics courses increases the positive shift in attitudes and beliefs that we have seen for the broader population of students with exposure to linguistics.

Table 3. Respondents subdivided by gender

	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Other answer</i>
<i>Pre-linguistics</i>	82	14	1
<i>Post-linguistics</i>	123	45	4

Are other factors at work?

The data for gender show a statistically significant) difference: the students without exposure to linguistics have a much higher ratio of females to males (84.54 percent females, 14.43 percent males) than the students with at least one term of linguistics (71.51 percent females, 26.16 percent males). A few of the questions (9 out of 23) show statistically significant differences (χ^2 test, $p = .05$) between the women's and the men's answers, but we failed to find any meaningful pattern explaining them. We plan to return to gender and age differences in further studies with a broader battery of measures.

Table 4: Respondents subdivided by age groups

	<i>Under 25</i>	<i>25-35</i>	<i>35-45</i>	<i>Over 45</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>Pre-linguistics</i>	70	16	6	3	1
<i>Post-linguistics</i>	131	29	7	1	4

In the meantime, we note further that the students in the two groups (Pre- vs. Post-linguistics), do not differ significantly by age groups, as can be evinced from question (27): our student population has a fairly large non-traditional component, but we see that

Table 5. Respondents subdivided by major

	<i>English</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Humanities</i>	<i>Social Sciences</i>	<i>Science</i>
<i>Pre-linguistics</i>	70	16	6	3	1
<i>Post-linguistics</i>	131	29	7	1	4

Note: there were 7 students in the post-linguistics group who did not fit in any of the majors (e.g., undecided, graduate students, etc.)

while the students in the pre-exposure group are divided 72.16 percent traditional (under 25) and 26.8 percent non-traditional, the students who have had at least one course of linguistics show only 4 % more traditional students (76.16 percent against 23.84 percent non-traditional) showing a slightly greater attrition of non-traditional students. Finally, no significant differences between the two groups in terms of majors have been found (the largest difference is less than 2 percent).

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

What is striking is that student beliefs change based on a rather passive approach on our parts. As Richardson (1996, p. 104) notes, "Beliefs are thought to drive actions; however, experience and reflection on action may lead to changes in and/or additions to beliefs." In fact, Richards and Lockhart (1994), among others, would put reflection at the center of teacher education and change.. Our results seem to imply on the contrary that mere exposure to factual data, without any particular critical reflection focused by the teachers, leads to belief and/or attitude change, in measurable quantities.

In this study we chose to work on cohorts of students. It certainly would be possible to match individuals rather than look at cohorts of students, that is, follow individuals rather than look at Pre- and Post-linguistics groups of students. We felt that looking at things in aggregate served our purposes.

It would be interesting to replicate our study using different, multiple measures including qualitative techniques, as called for in Richardson (1996) and Pajares (1992). Other measures of beliefs might include pre- and post-class interviews, journals kept by students during the class that react to the lectures and discussions, and case studies of teachers as they move out of the role of student and into their own classrooms. Such qualitative data would certainly offer a richer, more nuanced picture than our quantitative data allow. Questionnaire data do, however, have the advantage that they can be kept anonymous, thus allowing more "honest" responses. They also have the advantage of being easy to communicate to administrators. Indeed, an unexpected benefit to our pilot study was the realization that our findings were usable in our departmental Outcomes Assessment Report, a yearly-required accounting of how departments have met their announced goals. Data such as we have gathered here are perceived as useful indices that we are "doing our job."

Any study is only as good as its data. Because we have chosen to use a questionnaire-based, quantitative analysis, we almost necessarily see only the product of change. It would probably take qualitative data to begin to show the process of change, how people experience it, when and so on. Having the product and not the process limits the application of our findings to the classrooms. We don't know how to change our teaching because we don't know *how* what seems to have worked in fact worked or therefore why the method was successful. That frankly doesn't trouble us too much now. We think we've taken the necessary first step but recognize it is indeed only that.

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Appendix: The questionnaire

Linguistics Evaluation Survey

We are asking these questions as a way to find out how successful we are in our teaching about language. Your answers will not affect your grade and will be kept strictly confidential. We will not identify individual students in any way and the data will be used only in aggregate form.

Answer Key: a) strongly agree, b) agree, c) undecided, d) disagree, e) strongly disagree.

- 1) Teachers should insist on formal English in the classroom, both in speaking and in writing.
- 2) Linguists look upon their work as that of controlling the language, of keeping it within bounds.
- 3) A student who says *I be done finish before you know it* in the classroom should be corrected.
- 4) Every speaker of English uses at least one dialect, often more than one.
- 5) *He been there before* is an acceptable sentence in the classroom.
- 6) Written English is the foundation on which spoken English rests.
- 7) African American English (Black English) is a misuse of Standard English.
- 8) Splitting the infinitive may sometimes enable the writer to express his/her ideas with greater clarity and force than otherwise.
- 9) Languages in Africa, and American Indian languages, are often primitive and simple in structure.
- 10) Saying *She be late all the time* is acceptable in the classroom.
- 11) Someone can learn how to speak correctly without ever studying grammar in school.
- 12) Even though *It's me* is accepted in informal English, the expression *It is I* is really right.
- 13) Both African Americans and European Americans use slang for the same reasons: sometimes for fun, and sometimes to prevent others from understanding what they are saying.
- 14) To most people, *He's not going nowhere* means that the person spoken about is going somewhere.
- 15) Adults can rarely learn to speak a foreign language like native speakers.
- 16) American Indians have great difficulty learning English because their own language and culture are so much less complicated.

- 17) The kind of English spoken by African American children does not in itself handicap them in learning to read.
- 18) African American English (Black English) and Standard American English are about equally creative and expressive.
- 19) Minority dialects in America generally show a lack of logic and poor organization of thoughts on the part of their speakers, as demonstrated by their frequent grammatical errors.
- 20) African American English has a faulty grammar system.
- 21) A student who says *I don't speak no French* in the classroom should be corrected.
- 22) The sign language used by many deaf children and adults has no grammar and is just a series of gestures standing for concrete objects.
- 23) African American English is an inferior language system.
- 24) How many courses in Linguistics have you taken? (Engl. 2651 and 3757 count as Linguistics courses) Mark the letter corresponding to the courses you have taken: 1 = a, 2 = b, 3 = c, 4 = d, 5 = e. (If this is your first course in Linguistics, do not mark any letter.)
- 25) Major: mark a) if English, b) Education, c) Other Humanities d) Social Science (Political Science, Sociology, Business) e) Sciences (including Engineering, Computer Sciences).
- 26) Gender a) Female b) Male
- 27) Age range: a) Under 25, b) 25 - 35 c) 35 - 45 d) above 45

ⁱ In the literature there is considerable confusion over the terms "attitude" and "belief." Some take attitudes to be solely concerned with affect, and beliefs to be concerned with cognition. In practice, the distinction is very seldom clear, so here we will use the two terms interchangeably.

ⁱⁱ We would like to thank our colleague Guang-Hwa (Andy) Chang from the Department of Mathematics & Statistics at Youngstown State for his help. Needless to say, he is not responsible in any way for what we did with his advice.

ⁱⁱⁱ For those uncomfortable with statistics, let us point out that we tested statistically the significance of the differences between the two groups, but we chose to report the data in terms of percentages, which are grasped more intuitively. In other words, while it is nice to confirm your results statistically, good work can be done also without the safety net of statistical significance measures.

Chapter 7

The Effects of Training in Linguistics on Teaching: K-12 Teachers in White Mountain Apache Schools

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to report on how the linguistic training for teachers of White Mountain Apache children affected teacher attitudes and also resulted in pedagogical changes. Eighteen teachers participated in a Title III, Northern Arizona University-Whiteriver ESL and Bilingual Education Teacher-Training Program (Carrasco and Gilbert, 2000). Evidence of teachers' pedagogical and psychological paradigm shift as a result of linguistic knowledge is presented.

Language learning takes on different forms depending on the context for such learning. In mainstream United States educational settings, it is expected that English is the primary language required to convey content. As in the White Mountain Apache Reservation, there are many U.S. communities whose members speak dialects of English that have not been considered appropriate for use in educational settings. This became publicly apparent when the debate over Ebonics took place several years ago. The linguistic situation of Apaches on the Fort Apache Reservation in the White Mountains of eastern Arizona is similar. Few White Mountain Apaches are bilingual in Apache and English. The majority speaks a rule-governed dialect of English, but it differs from what has been called "standard" or textbook English and is not accepted as "legitimate" English. In fact, when children in the Whiteriver United School District were tested using the LAS (Language Assessment Scale), 90% were diagnosed as LEP (Limited in English Proficiency) even though English was the only language for most of these

children. Knowledge about this linguistic situation on the Apache community has tremendous pedagogical implications.

The particular dialect of English, "Apache English," used on the reservation is considered substandard and wrong by many educators on the reservation. They attribute its differences from standard "textbook" English to an inability of the children to distinguish between Apache and English, therefore mixing them up, since they are unable to speak either one. They did not understand that the "other language" their Apache students speak was indeed a dialect of English. Once they realize this, a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1970) in their approaches to teaching English and other subject matter can occur. This article presents evidence of change in attitudes and approaches to teaching as a result of this linguistic knowledge about Apache English. It is proposed that training in applied linguistics can have a direct impact on teaching.

2. TEACHER PARTICIPANT SELECTION

The participants were full-time teachers, administrators, or counselors at elementary, middle, or high schools in Whiteriver, Arizona. Participants were taking graduate courses leading to official Arizona Endorsement in Bilingual Education or ESL. In this chapter, we focus on the 27 participants (19 women and 8 men) who were involved in the first year (2001 - 2002) of this three-year program. Of these participants, 12 completed requirements for their Arizona bilingual/ESL Endorsement.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data collected as part of the training grant include teacher interviews, weekly journal entries, videotapes of their classrooms, and comments from class discussions. In this chapter, we focus on the journal entries since they provided the most robust source of data on the relationship between applied linguistic knowledge and changes in attitudes and pedagogical approaches.

3.1 Weekly Journals

Each program participant kept a weekly journal in which comments about the relationship between knowledge acquired in class seminars and teaching were emphasized. A typical journal entry included specific concerns about linguistic issues and how they were dealt with by the teacher. The journals allowed teachers to express themselves about the relationship between applied linguistic knowledge and instructional approaches. Selected quotes from journals are included in this chapter.

Data were coded for information that specifically referred to the relationship between newly acquired applied linguistic knowledge and teaching. Whenever teachers made an observation in their journals that directly pertained to linguistic knowledge acquired and how such knowledge influenced their attitudes and subsequent pedagogical approaches, the exact quotation was selected and incorporated into this paper.

The present analysis includes class members' journal entries. In our analysis, we demonstrate the relationship between certain types of linguistic knowledge and language pedagogy. Linguistic knowledge includes a discussion of the relationship between oral and written language, the formation of regular English plurals and past tense, and sociolinguistic information on bilingualism, bidialectalism, register variation, codeswitching and languages in contact. Such information is contextually based on the linguistic reality of the reservation. Teachers' linguistic knowledge and its effects on their pedagogy have both immediate and long-term consequences.

4. THE WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE TRIBE: SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

The White Mountain Apache Tribe, with over 12,000 members, is located in the east central region of Arizona on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Whiteriver, the capital, is the largest community with a little over 3,000 residents. It is a young community with approximately 2,739 K-12 students enrolled in the White River Unified School District No. 20 which is composed of three elementary schools, one middle school and one high school. Of the total number of certified K-12 teachers in Whiteriver Unified School District schools (N=194), only 29 are Native White Mountain Apache. More than half of the districts' teachers have not been trained nor endorsed to teach using ESL and bilingual instructional approaches.

According to a school and community needs assessment done in the White River Unified School District (Title IX Needs Assessment, 1999-2000) there is a clear need for ESL and bilingual instructional approaches. The priority list of needs includes improving academic instruction, language and culture enrichment, cultural sensitivity, parent involvement, attendance improvement, drop-out prevention, counseling, social development, and self esteem. Official ESL teaching endorsement in the State of Arizona requires 21 university/college credit hours of specialization in ESL and bilingual instruction. A specially designed course, Apache Language, Applied Linguistics and Apache Culture, taught by both authors at Alchesay High School in White River, was designed by Carrasco to include instruction in the Apache language, and in applied linguistic and cultural information immediately relevant to the linguistic reality of the school and surrounding community.

5. APACHE LANGUAGE, APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND CULTURE SEMINARS

As a part of the Apache Language, Applied Linguistics and Apache Culture Seminar offered in the fall, special instruction in linguistics and how it can be directly applied to teaching Apache monolingual and bilingual children is included. It was through this course that participants received linguistic knowledge grounded in the linguistic reality of the Apache community. Knowledge of these areas resulted in attitudinal changes and a paradigm shift in pedagogy. The course content includes various theories and instructional models and approaches that are grounded and tested in actual practice in the

spring semester. The team instructors, Carrasco and Riegelhaupt, help to process theoretical knowledge by encouraging teacher trainees to put such knowledge into practice; they are involved in directly training, assisting and observing teachers in their own classrooms, in their milieu during the spring semester when these NAU professors serve as participant-observers as teachers begin to explore and apply innovative strategies related to linguistic knowledge acquired in the Language and Culture Seminar. These observations also serve as areas of discussion for the seminars using etic (outsider) and emic (insider) perspectives.

6. THE EFFECTS OF LEARNING LINGUISTICS ON LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

In this community, where Apache English is spoken and the Apache language is fluently spoken by fewer and fewer Apaches every day, there is a definite need for an understanding of sociolinguistic issues related to bilingualism, bidialectalism, dialects of English, with specific training in the Apache English dialect, second language and dialect acquisition, the effects of language loss and shift to English, revitalization and stabilization of Apache, languages in contact, and other relevant sociolinguistic topics. In addition to sociolinguistic knowledge, it is essential to understand basic linguistic concepts in phonology and phonetics, morphology, syntax, semantics and the lexicon. A short lesson explaining linguistic reasons for what teachers consider to be errors highlights regular plural and past tense formation since morphological variations found in Apache English differ from those in standard English (Leap, 1992). Neither native English nor second language English speaking teachers were able to explain why their students formed plurals and past tenses as they did, both in speech and in writing. Such knowledge cannot be acquired in isolation, as is often the case in university Introduction to Linguistics courses; it must be grounded in the sociocultural and sociolinguistic reality of the Apache family, community and schools. Below, we describe the linguistic and sociolinguistic content of lessons taught by Riegelhaupt. Comments about topics covered and their effects on teachers' pedagogy will be integrated into the discussion.

7. SOCIOLINGUISTIC TOPICS COVERED

Below is the handout outlining topics covered by Dr. Riegelhaupt in two lessons totaling approximately 6 hours (see Tables I & 2). These topics were selected due to their immediate relevance for these teachers and their students. The handout also includes questions that were addressed orally and/or in writing prior, during and following the lessons.

Table 1. Sociolinguistics and Language Use

1. In Search of Definition of Bilingualism
2. Code Switching, Code-switching or Codeswitching?
3. Borrowing, Loanwords, Language Interference, Influence and Transfer

4. Pidgins, Pidginization, Creoles and Creolization
5. Language Stabilization and Revitalization
6. Regional and Social Dialects, "standard vs. non-standard?"
7. Language Acquisition/Re-acquisition/Further Acquisition
8. Language, Register, and Dialect Attitudes
9. Language Varieties in the Multilingual/Multicultural Classroom
10. Sociolinguistics and Sociolinguistic Repertoires
11. Questions and other relevant topics
Follow-up questions
1. What linguistics-related courses have you taken? How has knowledge of linguistics influenced your teaching?
2. Have your attitudes toward the speech of your students changed since you learned about dialect differences and characteristics of Apache English? How? Why?
3. What are the characteristics of oral and written Apache English? What are their origins?
4. What languages do you speak? Where did you learn them? Recall your language acquisition/learning experiences.

Table 2. Oral versus Written Language

1. Examples of words whose spelling does not reflect an exact sound-letter correspondence, e.g. thought, though, rough, through.
2. Formation of English regular plural of nouns /-s/, /-z/ and /-iz/): The importance of the phenomenon of voicing in English.
3. Formation of English regular past tenses /-t/, /-d/, /-id/ using above information about the importance of voicing in English.
4. The Game of Mad Gab: "It's not what you SAY. It's what you HEAR!"
Follow-up Questions
1. Given our discussion how would you explain the formation of the regular plural in standard English to your students? Be sure to use language geared to the correct ages and stages of your students.
2. How would you explain the formation of the regular plural in English for writing?
3. How do speech and writing differ for regular plural formation?
4. How do your students form the English regular plural (or do they)? In writing? In speech?
5. Answer the above questions related to the formation of the plural in Apache. If you don't know, find out from your Apache speaking colleagues, students and/or their parents.
6. Do you think the way students utilize plurals in English has anything to do with its formation in Apache?
7. Answer these same questions for the formation of English regular past tense.
8. Explain in detail why the card(s) you picked when playing MAD GAB presented difficulties. How did you finally figure them out?

8. LESSON ABOUT FORMATION OF PLURALS AND PAST TENSE AND THE RELATIONSHIP (OR LACK THEREOF) BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

In addition to presenting sociolinguistic information related to bilingualism, bidialectalism, codeswitching, linguistic borrowing, languages in contact, etc., Dr.

Riegelhaupt also discussed 1) the differences between oral and written language and 2) the formation of standard English plurals and past tenses and their corresponding oral and written forms in Apache English. The presentation was done in a participatory manner; students related a personal vignette about linguistic situations they had experienced. Non-Apache teachers had moved great distances from home; some were from the eastern and southern United States and one was an ESL learner herself, from Korea. Stories about how dialects from certain parts and/or populations were totally unintelligible, and how funny people sound, were frequent.

One of the most shocking and immediately effective lessons for this population of teachers was about the various differences between spoken and written English, in all areas including phonology, syntax, the lexicon, discourse organization, levels of formality, etc. For example, teachers always insist that the plural is formed by adding the letter “s” and that the past tense is formed by adding “-ed” (Leap, 1992) Sometimes, teachers who are second language learners of English have learned themselves that this is just not the case. After presenting a short lecture on the role of voicing, and allowing them to experience vibrations in their throats, when pronouncing voiced consonants in voiced and unvoiced consonant combinations, they begin to develop an understanding about plural and past tense formation in English based on linguistic rules rather than written, prescriptive grammatical rules. For example, the plural in English, according to these teachers, is produced by adding either an “s” or an “es” to the end of a noun. We challenge that by having them find out the truth about the formation of the English plural in speech. We present them with a list of words and have them listen carefully to their plurals. They soon hear the difference between a final /s/ a final /z/ and a final /iz/. We then have them discover the rule for themselves. They are shocked. One teacher shared with the class how she had reprimanded her students more than once for not paying attention to how a word sounded; she told them that if they’d only listen they would hear the distinct sound of an “s” at the end of a word when made plural. What she now realizes, and what was an immediate “ah ha” was the fact that she was totally wrong and so sure she was right. This teacher did return to her class to share with them this new found knowledge; they had been right in their analysis that written language was not a replication of oral language, at least not in English! Another student with a similar reaction said, “You mean we’ve outright lied to our students. No wonder they’re all mixed up. How can they trust us? How come we never learned this stuff before?”

After processing the importance of voicing in English, teachers were encouraged to uncover how to form the regular past tense in English. Again, they were shocked to find out that what they thought they knew about the language they had been speaking all their lives was not true.

Students were asked to investigate the phenomena of voicing and its relevance to the Apache language. They also were asked to find out how Apaches formed plurals and past tenses. This information, brought to the next class, served to further illustrate both characteristics of Apache English and bilingualism and languages in contact.

As a final step to this lesson, participants were given a game called MadGab, a game where combinations of letters are divided into “what appear to be words” on cards. The cards must be read aloud rapidly to one or more other players, according to how they are spelled. MadGab is a great way to illustrate the difficulty in expecting that English writing has an exact sound/letter correspondence.

The comments found below are reactions to this lesson.

8.1 Teacher A

Proofreading student work will never be the same for me after the lesson when Dr. Riegelhaupt used the cards with clever sayings to demonstrate the creative ways to read copy that would otherwise be unintelligible. Many times my students have written their ideas in ways that made perfect sense to them, but were like Greek to me. I now know that I was looking for their “mistakes” without really looking for the meaning of what they were trying to say. I caught the obvious attempts, but really didn’t look for any meanings that might be more obscure. Each time I find such examples in the future, I will see it as an opportunity to help them improve their “academic English” skills.

8.2 Teacher C

Our conversations about language have caused my students to ask, “Why don’t we write like we talk?” To help answer this question I have purchased the game that Dr. Riegelhaupt demonstrated in her lecture. I’m hoping the game will help prove some of the reasons why verbal language is different than written language.

8.3 Teacher I

The one other thing that interested me in the last lecture was the difference between written word and spoken word, and the “correctness” of each. What I hear sometimes in school is not correct; a lot of what I see is not written correct. It kind of goes along with the “Rez” talk mentioned above. Our kids need to learn that it is important to speak correctly and write correctly, depending on the situation, e.g., job or college interviews and writing letters or resumes.

8.4 Teacher L

The last thing I will mention is the complexity and weirdness of the English language. Dr. Riegelhaupt’s example of ghoti, pronounced fish, and the way sounds can affect the spelling of words, was enlightening. In the class following this lesson, one high school English teacher reported that she had totally changed her attitude about her students’ English. She confessed to them what was really going on in the formation of English plural and past tenses. Since her attitude began to change, she reported that her students written production had dramatically improved and that their oral participation had increased considerably. “They knew I understood them now,” she shared with the our class, “Now we can laugh together at how difficult English really is! And they know that they have to learn the standard if they want to go to college.” This dream was far closer to becoming a reality now.

9. TEACHER OPINIONS, ATTITUDES, AND MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THESE STUDENTS ENGLISH

Observations made by the researcher during their discussions with teachers, community members, students and parents reveal that teachers are concerned with their students' success. Many feel that students' lack of knowledge of standard English has prevented them from succeeding in school. Students' parents often were punished for using Apache and were forced to learn English. They do not want their children to suffer through the humiliation that they experienced when they used Apache, especially in boarding schools. They were faced with harsh punishments, such as having soap placed in their mouths, having to stand in the corner, and other types of sanctions (Riegelhaupt and Carrasco, 2002). During discussions, it was revealed that teachers, whether Apache natives or not, believed that their students English was non-native and deficient. They also believed that students were unable to speak Apache. Many espoused a theory of semi-lingualism (Cummins, 1981; Edelsky et al, 1983; Skuttnab-Kangas, 1984), stating that their students spoke neither Apache nor English. Never did any of them consider the possibility that students may speak a dialect of English that in and of itself warrants respect, and attention. School statistics indicate that their students were limited English proficient. That may be the case as far as their knowledge of an academic, standard English is concerned. Neither the administration nor the teachers tested students' linguistic abilities for what they knew rather than for what they did not know. These issues prompted discussion and community/teacher information was shared. Native Apache teachers informed others about their own linguistic experiences. These discussions led to increased respect and understanding about the linguistic and cultural circumstances of Apache students in their classrooms.

In this section, we provide quotations from teacher journals kept throughout the fall semester, during the course of the Language and Culture Seminar. They indicate that many of these teachers, whether originally from the community or not, had negative attitudes about their students' English. These quotes also demonstrate what teachers had to say about dialects, bilingualism, code switching and other sociolinguistic phenomena discussed in the seminar.

9.1 Negative Attitudes toward Apache English

Below we provide teacher journal commentaries that illustrate teachers' negative attitudes toward their students' dialect of English. According to some, their students do not have a language. These teachers, and many members of the community, believe in a deficit theory about their students' linguistic abilities.

9.1.1 Teacher A

In this first quote, Teacher A clearly demonstrates her initial negative attitude toward her students' English. This quote also illustrates that she has experienced a change in attitude toward her students' English, and now recognizes, values and respects it for the

important functions it serves: as a communication tool among students in and out of school.

I have been guilty, in the past, of thinking of “reservation English” as “bad English”. It had not occurred to me that reservation English could be of value, and that it has value as a form of communication.

9.1.2 Teacher B

Teacher B, quoted below, by admitting that she understands why to reject the possibility that her students are “semi-lingual,” demonstrates her own and other teachers’ prejudices toward Apache English.

Perhaps the most valuable thing I learned in these lectures was the rejection of the theory of semi-lingualism. I have heard teachers say, “It’s hard for our children to learn because they have no language.”

9.1.3 Teacher K

Teacher K, an Apache born in Whiteriver, comments on the fact that she, like many people from Whiteriver, was criticized for speaking the way she did. Harsh punishments were launched against the use of Apache, and reservation English was considered to be “broken” and bad. This provides historical and personal evidence for long-term negative attitudes toward this community’s English.

She helped me to understand that each dialect is important and that we here at Whiteriver have our own dialect. We have always been told that we speak “Broken English or Rez talk” and that it is bad.

9.1.4 Teacher L

In the following quote, Teacher L calls the dialects spoken by Hispanics, Blacks and Apaches and other Native Americans “improper English.” Prior to the seminar, Teacher L did not understand the important fact that we all speak dialects, and that the determination of the status of one dialect over another changes over time. From a sociolinguistic perspective, such a determination is related to extra-linguistic factors, e.g. role and power relationships.

I have always known there are different dialects of all languages, but have not thought of the “improper” English spoken by Hispanics, blacks, or groups like the Apaches as being a dialect.

10. INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTERS, DIALECTS, CODESWITCHING AND BILINGUALISM, SCHOOL VERSUS HOME LANGUAGE

In this section, teachers offer their knowledge and observations about bilingualism, Apache English, and Apache. They also demonstrate their growing appreciation of the linguistic abilities of their students.

10.1 Teacher C

I have learned that the Apache dialect is similar to the English dialect in that depending on where you live the pronunciation changes. Even distances as close as an hour make a difference. Cibecue is an hour away from Whiteriver, but yet there are differences in the pronunciation of simple words such as Dahgotah.

10.2 Teacher D

Finally, I was especially interested when she talked about school language versus home language. For so many years I have felt that people don't realize that Rez English, Spanglish, or Ebonics are languages. They are seen as incorrect. But they are all languages, that may have their time and space. They may not be the school norm language or what is accepted in certain circumstances, but they are language.

10.3 Teacher F

Apache adults I encounter, mostly the assistants at our school, use code switching. They will be speaking in Apache and often throw in a word in English. Often it is a modern word, like computer. Hearing that one English word has always made me wish I could understand the rest, but I do not begrudge Apaches doing this. I think it is wonderful that they are bilingual and capable of code switching. I do not see it as a bad thing. My students do not code switch. They are mostly monolingual in English. So this component of bilingualism has not affected my teaching in any way, it has just helped me to better understand Apache adults.

10.4 Teacher G

I have become aware of a very distinct "Rez" language. The students certainly have terms and expressions that are distinct to the community and the school. The "Rez" is kind of like a big neighborhood, divided into specific sections. "Dry" and "cheap" are two examples that come to mind. They are not used in the definition of the word, as I know it. It reminds me of an East Coast term I sometimes use, "wicked".

11. ATTITUDE CHANGES AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

One of the objectives for presenting sociolinguistic information about language use, dialects, registers, bilingualism, etc. was to help to change teacher attitudes so that they could more effectively teach their students both English and the content delivered in English. It is often difficult to document attitudinal changes. However, these teachers

were very open about commenting on their misconceptions and subsequent paradigm shifts in class and in their journals.

The following comments reflect the relevance of these linguistic and sociolinguistic topics for these teachers. They demonstrate how their attitudes began to change indicating a paradigm shift from a somewhat deficit model of student intelligence and linguistic abilities to an acceptance and respect for their knowledge and linguistic skills. The paradigm shift in some teachers occurred because they didn't realize that the community spoke a rule-governed English dialect, in which rules sometimes differed from those of standard English as presented in textbooks, proficiency tests and as spoken by many of them. The teachers, even native teachers, commented that they had been correcting their students' Apache English, even telling them that it was NOT GOOD English. They reported that they had been spending enormous amounts of time correcting what they considered to be errors. Riegelhaupt discussed in her lectures the nature of language use in the classroom and in the community. She also defined the terms dialect and registers and provided examples of dialect characteristics of English in various areas of the United States and the English-speaking world. Teachers were asked to describe characteristics of their students' Apache English dialect. This led to the important teacher realization that the English that the Apache children and the community speak is really another dialect of English just as we have Southern English and Bostonian English and Black English.

The Apache people are native speakers of English, Apache English. We sensed a paradigm shift in some teachers because they didn't realize that the community spoke their own dialect of English with its own rules. This rule-governed dialect of English differs from "standard English," especially in its formation of plurals and past tenses. It also differs in certain aspects of the lexicon where frequently Apache words are adapted to the English phonological system, or are inserted into Apache English as codeswitches. After the lectures by Riegelhaupt on these linguistic and sociolinguistic topics, teachers provided self-reports on their perspectives as a result new insights about Apache English. Some of these paradigm changes/shifts were also reported in by Carrasco, Riegelhaupt and Gilbert (2002).

These paradigm shifts are extremely important because teachers were naively correcting Apache native speakers of Apache English. With this teacher perspective, the students in turn were reluctant to express themselves and to learn English for academic purposes. Their variety of English was not being recognized. Instead, it was being mocked and treated as incorrect. Teachers felt that it was their responsibility to eradicate dialectal features rather than to use them as a source of prior knowledge to be valued and built upon. This new insight on the part of the teachers already has had pedagogical implications for language, and content learning, and cognitive development. It also has assisted in the acquisition of standard English and register expansion, while developing a respect and acceptance of the local dialect of English.

11.1 Teacher A

Before Dr. Riegelhaupt's lecture, I had heard many times that cultural languages should be maintained. I heard it over and over this past summer at the symposium for indigenous languages at NAU. I am not being patronizing when I say that Dr. Riegelhaupt's way of presenting the issue convinced me of the need for our students to learn the Apache language. Perhaps it was fertile ground because of the passionate lessons previously presented by Mr. Perry.* (See Notes in 14.1 below)

11.2 Teacher B

Teacher B comments about the fact that she had been told that the children at school did not have any language at all. She wondered how that could be possible, but assumed that these seasoned teachers knew more than she did. She had not taken a linguistics course at that time she arrived at Whiteriver, but the few linguistics lessons that she learned were eye-opening and had an immediate impact on her and her teaching.

I wondered about that (that teachers said that kids didn't have a language), because our students come to school able to communicate. They do have a language, and we need to acknowledge it as such. Our challenge is to help them acquire a "school" language as well, and to learn when and where the use of each is appropriate.

11.3 Teacher E

Teacher E talks about her previous attitudes toward accepting the dialect spoken by her students.

Through Dr. Riegelhaupt's lecture this finally dawned on me. My job as an English teacher is not only about teaching right -vs.- wrong "standard" English, but about teaching my students different forms of appropriate English along with when, where, and how to use them. This allows me to still teach Standard English while it removes the negativity of don't say/write that way because it's wrong.

In the following commentary this teacher admits to coming to the important realization that her students speak a perfectly viable dialect of English that serves them well in communicating with each other. She now believes that it is essential for her to recognize and respect their dialect, while still incorporating standard English in the curriculum.

Another issue raised in Dr. Riegelhaupt's lecture that I hadn't thought about, it goes along with the above issue of appropriate language use, is the idea of being bidialectal. While bilingualism is not a difficult concept to understand and accept, bidialectal was for me. I struggled with this label as a possible excuse to condone mistakes and non-standard English. I feared it was an excuse not to teach Standard English usage and grammar. But as I thought about it I remembered Mr. Perry's workshop* and the differences in the Apache language between Whiteriver and San Carlos. For Apache speakers those are distinct and recognizable dialects of the Apache language. In English there are different dialects, so why not recognize Apache-English as a dialect of English with its own structure, vocabulary, and legitimacy?

Teacher E continues by admitting that she had been confusing her students because of her verbal and non-verbal (cringing) reactions to their use of English.

What Dr. Riegelhaupt said about dialect made sense. There are consistent differences between the English spoken in Whiteriver and what I know is standard, for example the use of mines for mine, for example, the book is mines. The English teacher in me cringes at this “mistake”, but I now see that it is a consistent mistake that’s not considered a mistake in Apache-English. It is a part of that clear and effective communication I assumed possible only through Standard English. By trying to remove elements of the local dialect from my students, I was the one creating the confusion.

12. EVIDENCE OF EFFECTS OF LEARNING LINGUISTICS ON TEACHING

It is often difficult to document attitudinal changes. The quotes presented above indicate that the teachers we worked with were aware that they had experienced changes in attitudes. What is even more important is the fact that they immediately began to incorporate their new linguistic knowledge into their pedagogy. The quotes below illustrate the direct application of sociolinguistic theory to their teaching.

12.1 Teacher A

In the first example, one of the teachers shared information learned in the seminar with other faculty members. This unexpected outcome allowed additional teachers to begin to understand the complex sociolinguistic situation found on this reservation. Teacher A began to feel very strongly about the importance of understanding the value of the local dialect and its usefulness in the community.

Last weekend, at a faculty workshop, I told the group that I think we need to help our students understand that reservation English is not “bad English”, but that the English we use at school is another form of English that they need to learn in order to be successful academically. In fact, I told the faculty group that I believe our students need to become trilingual. They should know the Apache language, reservation English, and the English of academia.

12.2 Teacher C

Teacher C below comments on how she changed her behavior by avoiding correcting her students. She now realizes that this may inhibit them from communicating with her and/or with others in and out of class. She admits to learning from her students and now uses a form of “teacherese” that resembles caretaker talk, the language used by parents and other caretakers with children. It has been shown that parents, rather than correcting their children’s speech, tend to reformulate their responses using the correct form themselves. This demonstrates a focus on the message’s content rather than its form.

I’ve stopped correcting my students when they talk to me. For example, if a student tells me that he or she has gone to “make woods”, I don’t correct him, I simply respond by saying, “Oh, who did you go with to cut wood?” I validate their language while at the same time letting them know that different people have different ways of saying the same thing; a lesson that I’m learning through my students.

12.3 Teacher E

Teacher E admits that her students know far more than he/she does about how to communicate in their community. She describes an approach that she plans on taking to facilitate their acquisition of a “school dialect” of English that is more appropriate for academic contexts. She reports that this linguistic knowledge is valuable and will be applied immediately. It may not be stated, but Teacher E will demonstrate her changed attitudes in her behavior and pedagogy.

So how does this influence me and my teaching? It gives me a new perspective in my role as an English teacher and a better awareness and understanding of just what ‘Standard English is. I want my students to be able to use language effectively, appropriately, and clearly. To do this I need to realize and accept that my students know more about what’s appropriate language in their community than I ever will. By accepting, and not negating, the community’s dialect, with all of its differences and quirks, I can teach my students how to adapt and learn another dialect of English appropriate to school and, in some cases, work. I’m sure I will never stop cringing when I hear, “It’s mines”, but I can recognize it as an accepted norm of local dialect and help my students distinguish between when to use it, when not to, and what options exist.

12.4 Teachers K and L

In the following quotes, Teacher K and Teacher L provide a commentary about the importance of being bi-dialectal. Both teachers realize the value of recognizing the dialect of English that their students bring to class. Armed with new knowledge on these topics, they shared their growing respect and positive feelings about bilingualism and bi-dialectalism with their students. This discussion provided stimulating content, allowing students to express themselves in whichever dialect and/or registers of English that they felt most comfortable with, while still making the point that there was a time and place for using more academic or formal varieties of English.

I really worked hard with my Media Arts students about the use of language because we were doing video work with audio plus we did school wide skills which are Daily Oral Language and Daily Reading Practice. I worked with them over the fact that we all need to know various dialects of English to survive today and we need to learn to know when it is appropriate to use which dialect. Standard English which I called School English is appropriate but so is being able to communicate with the people in our community in Rez talk. We take it for granted that people understand this idea but many of my students did not and we had some good conversations on the uses and appropriateness of the different dialects that we face daily. It was good discussion, which can be hard to find in high schools sometimes (Teacher K).

I have always known there are different dialects of all languages, but have not thought of the “improper” English spoken by Hispanics, Blacks, or groups like the Apaches as being a dialect. I have incorporated this into my teaching by explaining to the kids that the English they speak on the Rez is fine, but that there are other types of/dialects of English that need to be learned for various purposes. It is easy to give examples in business; business letters, presenting in front of the board of directors, presenting to the tribal council (Teacher L).

13. CONCLUSIONS

There was a clear and direct impact of training in applied linguistics for the teachers involved. As evident in some of the teacher quotes, when they began the course they held negative attitudes toward their students' language abilities. They believed that their students were unable to express themselves in English. They did not understand that their students spoke a dialect of English with rules that differ from those found in standard English. One example is the fact that their students seldom formed plurals or past tenses as prescribed in English grammar textbooks. Once they realized that, perhaps, some of their students were using an Apache language model for plural and past tense formation, their attitudes toward what they had considered a serious error began to change.

It is essential for teachers, especially those who are not aware of or familiar with the dialect of their students, to understand it and learn to respect it for what it is: a perfectly viable, rule-governed dialect of English that has historically been influenced by contact with Apache much in the same way as English has been influenced by contact with other languages. It is important that teachers understand the sociolinguistic circumstances of language use in the community and schools in which they work. In this case, training in applied linguistics that was based on the linguistic reality of Whiteriver Apaches directed teachers to shift paradigms from a deficit model to an additive one, one where their students' dialect is respected and accepted, while efforts toward achieving bi-dialectalism and bilingualism continue to take place.

NOTES

* Mr. Edgar Perry, an Apache Language and Culture specialist, teacher and tribal elder, taught a Apache language and culture workshop for teachers as part of the course. This was followed by the school-community linguistics lectures by Drs. Riegelhaupt and Carrasco.

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Chapter 8

What Teachers Say When they *Write* or *Talk* about Discourse Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

The post-graduate Diploma course for EFL teachers at the Rio de Janeiro State University has been designed for practicing EFL teachers working at secondary schools, both public and private, as well as for private language schools teachers. The course syllabus includes topics such as Applied Linguistics, Phonology, Lexicology, English Grammar, English for Specific Purposes, all of which from a practical perspective. Two semi-theoretical modules on Written and Spoken Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) have also been recently included, which was motivated by our belief, as course planners, that an awareness of discourse ought to have a certain impact on the student-teachers' (henceforth STs) knowledge of English itself and, in turn, on their ability as teachers and materials developers.

The Written discourse module has thus been structured to enable STs to recognize those features which contribute to the “unity of texture” (cohesive items), those which

contribute to the “unity of structure” (schematic structure) and those which give a text its “contextual unity” (register variables). The Spoken module is a survey of existing frameworks for the analysis of spoken interaction, specially spoken materials in EFL coursebooks adopted in Brazil, which are evaluated during the course.

However, we first needed to investigate to what extent the inclusion of these Discourse modules might cater for the STs’ needs vis-à-vis the realities of EFL classes in Brazil. Informal course evaluations have shown that although STs claim to perceive changes in their knowledge of the English language, their classroom practices were rarely influenced by their newly-acquired awareness of DA. A systematic evaluation of the potential usefulness of the modules on Discourse was therefore needed. The results of this formal empirical research is the subject of this paper.

2. METHODS

Our research participants are eleven students enrolled in the Diploma course in the year 2000. Ideally, changes in classroom practice should be analyzed from the classroom itself. However, given the lack of access to the STs’ classrooms, we opted to investigate the STs’ verbalizations of their perceptions of the impact (or lack of impact) of the DA modules on their classrooms. The questions which served as research impetus related to whether they were aware of any changes in their classroom practices, and how they verbalized these perceptions in both writing and speech.

The investigation was carried out in two subsequent stages. The first stage was concerned with the collection and analysis of written data, in the form of extended essay-like answers produced by the STs. The data were digitised and probed with a computer software program. The analytical focus at this stage was the language of Appraisal, part of the theoretical framework developed by Martin (2000 and 2002), which addresses the various ways in which something or someone may be depicted in text. In contrast, the second stage consisted in the collection and analysis of spoken data elicited in two focus groups (Barbour & Kitzinger, 2001) and subsequent manual mapping of categories derived from Spink’s (1994) framework for qualitative content analysis of oral discussions (see reasons for this decision in 3.5). More information on methodology and theoretical approaches is provided in the sections below.

3. WHAT TEACHERS SAY WHEN THEY WRITE ABOUT DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

3.1 - Compiling the written data

At the onset of the investigation, it was decided to study teachers’ opinions by departing from the usual patterns of tightly controlled answers used in questionnaires. An obvious alternative methodological tool would have been the unstructured face-to-face interview, as it caters for respondents’ openness and individual expression and is, on the whole, more sensitive than questionnaires. However, the difficulties entailed in the method in

question, namely interviewer-interviewee bias and the time-consuming process of audio-transcription, limit the number of interviews that can be included in any research.

This research was started, therefore, with a method of data collection which would ensure full-length, naturally-occurring data, resulting from reflection. A series of open-ended questions was devised in which the respondents were asked to provide an evaluation of the two DA modules, bearing in mind their possible influence on four major areas:

- a) their knowledge of English;
- b) their ability to select and exploit spoken and written texts for TEFL;
- c) their ability to choose tasks and activities for EFL learning;
- d) their confidence as TEFL practitioners.

The very nature of the task (evaluating a course) called for an analysis of the language of evaluation, that is, “the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations” (Martin, 2000:145). However, the analysis of such resources in lengthy written answers is not devoid of problems. In an attempt to enable patterns to be traced in the data, it was also decided to digitise the texts and probe them with a computer software program.

3.2 - *Why a corpus?*

As Hunston (2002: 3) has said, “a corpus by itself can do nothing at all, being nothing other than a store of used language”. However, if organized under the right conditions, a corpus has significant advantages over other kinds of data. To begin with, a corpus is made up of real language rather than idealized examples. In addition, a corpus provides evidence of what is typical, as well as of what is exceptional. In order to substantiate intuition and claims, this evidence can actually be quantified, but only if the corpus is machine-readable. Once a computer can read a text, it allows a number of easily manageable software tools to identify, sort, count and group words in a particular text and across texts, making it easy (even for the most junior of researchers) to visualize lexical frequency and usual or unusual phraseology and collocations, a task that would be practically impossible if done manually. Therefore, digitized texts may be approached from a variety of entry-points and the results are easily stored and retrieved.

The first step in the data collection was to ask the student-teachers to write an evaluation of the two DA modules. Their appraisal was to be done in English and e-mailed as an attachment to one of the course tutors. It was hoped that the essays were the result of reflection outside class hours, and thus had been edited before submission. Out of the 13 teachers regularly attending the course, 11 submitted their evaluation in English as required but 2 wrote in Portuguese. Unfortunately, these latter answers had to be set aside because the software can only yield results if it reads strings of the same language. The eleven attachments were subsequently saved as text documents;

misspellings and typos were first checked in order to minimize interference with the computer programme. Grammatical mistakes were kept as in the original.

The next step was to identify the most frequent words or clusters of words in the data, so as to verify whether there were signals of recurrent patterns of attitudinal language. To this end, we used WordSmith Tools, a software for lexical analysis (Scott, 1986).

3.3 - Treatment of the data

The analytical focus of the written data was the language of Attitude, part of the theoretical framework developed by Martin (2000 and 2002), which addresses the various ways in which something or someone may be depicted in text. The system is divided into three different categories, namely, AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. The semantics of AFFECT is typically construed within a cline ranging from positive (enjoyable, to be welcomed) and negative (unwanted, to be avoided). JUDGEMENT encompasses meanings which evaluate human behaviour by reference to a set of cultural norms. APPRECIATION evaluates objects (manufactured and natural), texts, and more abstract constructs such as plans, policies, and processes.

Patterns such as *I love/hate X*, *X interest/bore me*, adverbials such as *sadly*, *unfortunately X has happened*, or adjectives as in *I am happy that X*, and through nominalizations as in *My fear was X*, or *I was overcome with joy/despair* are clear signals of AFFECT. Because JUDGEMENT involves assessments of cultural codes of behaviour, which have either been adhered to or broken, it is signaled by items of the same semantic field as *immoral*, *virtuous*, *unjust*, *fair-minded*, *law-abiding*, *murderous*, *cruel*, *brutal*, *compassionate*, *caring*, *dishonest*, *honest*, *deceptive* and *fraudulent*. Finally, APPRECIATION is thing or process-oriented and may thus be further sub-divided into REACTION, SOCIAL VALUE and COMPOSITION. This division depends on whether things/objects/processes are viewed in terms of the reaction or interest they inspire, in terms of the degree to which they are seen as beneficial or socially valuable, and in terms of their composition. Thus, the lexical signals for APPRECIATION may range from *X is beautiful*, *X is valuable* to *X is well-built*.

In view of our input questions, all of which focussed on a particular interface between the course taught and the research subjects' ability both as EFL users and teachers, the category of APPRECIATION was foreseen as being particularly prevailing in our data.

3.4. Findings

The result of the lexical frequency count showed that the student teachers used more closed-set words in the top 30 positions; the first 30 items also included, in small proportions, the lexical items *students*, *language*, *discourse*, *analysis* and *English*, as well as the personal pronouns *I* and *we*. The item 'discourse' was the third most frequent content word.

The next step in the analysis was to investigate the item ‘discourse’, the focus of the written evaluation submitted. It was believed that evaluation was spread throughout each and every text submitted, thus making it necessary to separate the most obvious chunks. By collating the most frequent collocates for discourse, or words which appear in its vicinity, it was found that there were seven instances of a cluster made up of *discourse analysis* plus *is*. In these seven clusters, one was seen to include a formulaic expression, *As far as teaching discourse analysis is concerned*, and four were worded so as to imply that the subjects simply adhered to answering the probing questions, as in

...Discourse analysis is therefore of immediate interest to us teachers...

...and I sincerely believe that Discourse Analysis is worth studying...

...discourse analysis is the ultimate/ highest stage of the English Language learning...

...at least I understand that my knowledge on discourse analysis is highly dependable.

The remaining two clusters were, interestingly, attempts at definition, as in

Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between ...

Because discourse analysis is not a method, but a way of describing...

These attempts at definition, not part of the rubric given to the teachers, will be discussed at a later stage in this study.

A subsequent step was to classify the concordance lines displaying the core word, by applying the analytical system developed by Martin (op.cit). Within the context of this part of the research, the input questions somewhat determined what the focus of the answers would be. Thus, the respondents’ answers were worded as APPRECIATION: SOCIAL VALUE (how important/beneficial the DA modules had been). Typical answers, mostly positive, follow the patterns below:

Therefore, I can say that discourse analysis classes have given us insights into how texts are structured beyond sentence level, how talks follow regular patterns in different situations, how discourse norms differ from culture to culture. (text 3)

Actually, almost everything that was told in Spoken and Written Discourse Analysis classes was very important for my professional progress. (text 5)

In the Discourse Analysis Course we had the opportunity to learn how to give focus on ordinary language, to analyse meaning as use in the language, the language-game and context, function, speech activities, the connection of language to our students’ daily life, the role of customs and rule- governed activities; and also to adapt all these knowledge to our students’ needs and interests as learners of English and according to their reality, (text 6)

...principally the contribution of the Oral Discourse Analysis course. It made me become more aware that not always what people want to say is what we understand from their speech. (text 11)

There was, however, one example of negative APPRECIATION: SOCIAL VALUE as in

At the moment, I am not working in any language school. For this reason, the part of Spoken Discourse Analysis was not appropriate to my reality (text 5).

Interestingly, the respondent opted to word his/her negative comment in terms of SOCIAL VALUE (“not appropriate to my reality”), rather than simply as APPRECIATION: REACTION (“notinteresting”)

Although uncalled for, attempts at definition, or in Martin’s terms, APPRECIATION: COMPOSITION, were also provided, as in the texts below:

Although discourse analysis has come to be seen as a subdiscipline of linguistics, it is of immediate interest for us EFL teachers because we are language teachers, therefore we are interested in language in use. (text 6)

One such area is discourse analysis, which is interested in language in use, in how real people use real language, as opposed to artificially created sentences. (text 3)

Discourse Analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is produced. (text 3)

One possible explanation for these inclusions is that the respondents may have felt that the written essays were not meant to evaluate the course proper, but were rather a means of checking whether they had learned anything about the content of the courses.

3.5. Preliminary conclusions

It was found that a software-assisted analysis of the written answers was enlightening in so far as it is a way into the data. The software pinpoints which lexical item appears most often, where it appears and which its collocates are. However, the method of actually tagging certain lexical items with specific attitudinal categories is unsuitable when research subjects provide answers such as that of respondent number 8, who dotted around the task of evaluating a course on DA, without once mentioning the item *discourse*.

In addition, it was found that the research questions which served as our starting point, namely whether our respondents were aware of any changes in their classroom practices as a result of two academic terms of discourse analysis, were hardly tackled, either because our subjects had avoided the topic altogether or because the written medium was an impediment to the expression of more personal issues. As a result of both limitations derived from methodological choices, it was decided to change two of the research variables, namely the data collection methods and the data treatment.

4. WHAT TEACHERS SAY WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Given the lack of revealing findings obtained through the collection and treatment of data described in the previous section, a decision was made to collect a different corpus and to adopt different analytical procedures in the treatment of the corpus data. Thus, in the second stage of the research, spoken data was collected, obtained from two focus groups. The choice of data and method of data collection is justified on two grounds.

First, it was hoped that, in peer-mediated discussion groups, research participants would be more forthcoming in terms of what they perceive as the impact of the DA modules on their classrooms, since “focus groups are ideal for exploring people’s experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns” (Barbour & Kitzinger, 2001: 5). A second consideration refers to genre expectations: the essay-like format of the written text, handed in to one of the course tutors, may have constrained what could be said. It was thus decided to use a method of data collection which would ensure texts resulting from reaction, or spontaneous response.

Another very important decision was made, at this point, regarding the analytical focus of the research. As the exclusive concern with the language of Attitude, in the first stage of the research, yielded limited results, it was felt that a broader focus would ensure more enlightening findings. It was thus decided to widen the scope of the research to include the study of the respondents’ representations of *discourse*, of *discourse analysis* (as a discipline), and of what it takes to use *discourse analysis* in the classroom.

The methodological decision meant going beyond analysis of how respondents verbalize their perceptions of eventual changes in their classrooms, and tackling the issue of what is verbalized in their speech. This required a theoretical framework for the study of social representations and a methodological framework for content analysis, both found in the work of social psychologist Mary Jane Spink.

Social representations, to Spink (1994:118), are a form of practical knowledge through which we make sense of the world, and on the basis of which we interact with others. It is through analysis of individuals’ concrete social and discursive practices that we have access to these representations, or practical knowledge.

Thus, in the second stage of the research, we set out to probe into FL teachers’ practical knowledge, or representations of discourse and discourse analysis. It was believed that analysis of these representations would throw light on the factors involved in the perceived changes in their classrooms (if any), among other relevant issues.

4.1 - Compiling the spoken data

The eleven students enrolled in the Diploma course were invited to take part in a 15-minute Focus Group discussion session, to which they should bring pedagogic materials/coursebooks adopted at their schools. In order to ensure more spontaneous interaction, the sessions were mediated by one of the STs, specially trained by the researchers. This training was an attempt to ensure that the discussants did not stray from the topic suggested in the prompt (see below) and also that they illustrated, as often as possible, the points they were making.

The STs were allocated in two separate groups according to whether they taught at secondary schools or at private language schools. This was yet another ploy to ensure plenty of opportunity for the participants to exchange ideas, this time delving into a possible relationship between the kind of school where they worked and the nature of the

constraints on their teaching practices. Both discussion sessions were tape recorded and then transcribed in their entirety. However, given the research focus on content rather than on interaction, no coding system was adopted for pauses, hesitation or overlap.

The following prompt was given to the participants:

Our research hypothesis is that Discourse Analysis, as a discipline, has a strong impact on: 1) your knowledge of the English language; 2) your ability to select and exploit spoken and written texts for TEFL; 3) your choice of tasks and activities for EFL learning; 4) your confidence as practitioners of EFL. However, this impact may not necessarily translate as changes in your pedagogic practice.

If you believe this hypothesis is TRUE, talk about what prevents you from changing your pedagogic practice.

If you believe it is FALSE, give at least one concrete example from your coursebook, of 1) a task or activity that you explored in class using knowledge of discourse analysis; 2) a task or activity that you found lacking using knowledge of discourse analysis; 3) how knowledge of discourse analysis helped you plan further lessons; or 4) any other example you find relevant to this discussion."

4.2 - Treatment of the spoken data

Once transcribed, the spoken data was manually tagged in terms of Spink's methodology for qualitative content analysis. Spink posits (op.cit:131) that talk around a very specific theme is best analyzed through the identification of what she has labelled "daily routines", "cognitive elements", "affective investment" and "emergent themes". These four broad semantic categories may be perceived, according to the author, by means of lexicogrammatical signals.

In the particular case of this research, what Spink has termed "cognitive elements" was encompassed by the STs' perceptions of Discourse as a discipline, the part they play in it, as well as their roles as teachers at the institutions where they work for. Descriptions of their practical procedures both in their capacity as EFL teachers and as post-graduate students were also targeted. "Daily routines" were seen to be related to the practical procedures they adopt as either students or teachers and, in our informants' exchanges, these routines were signalled by expressions such as *I try to...*, *This is what I generally do when...*, *I am used to doing X...* "Affective investment" corresponded to our subjects' attitudes towards the discipline, their jobs as teachers, and their institutions, and were signalled by inherently evaluative lexical items such as *It is often hard to...*; *One problem I often face is...* but also, by inference, in clauses such as *You have to have a lot of patience in such cases*. For the mapping of "affective investment", it was felt that Martin's (op. cit.) markers of Appraisal discussed above would reveal our subjects' attitudes towards their pedagogical practices and the course under focus. Finally, as the label suggests, "emergent themes" are those which had not been foreseen at the onset of the research, but are recurrent across different respondents' talks.

4.3 - Findings

As the category “daily routines” very often overlaps, in several extracts, with that of “affective investment”, the findings of the analysis of the two categories are presented *in tandem* in the next section.

4.3.1 - Daily routines and affective investment

When STs talk about their daily routines, they often use the lexical item *try* (mostly as a collocate of the verbs *use*, *apply* and *work*) to refer to the practical procedures employed in order to introduce the study of discourse in their classrooms, as in:

I tried to use, apply, in one of the language schools I work for, the difference between [...] what kind of language is used in dialogues and what kind of language is used when you write.

I've been trying to guide them, in a way using a bit more of textual cohesion, I try to pass on to them some linkers[...] So, what I have been trying to pass on to them is really textual cohesion, that's what I manage to do with my students.

In the data, STs frequently state that they have been applying the contents acquired in the DA modules, as well as experimenting with specific discourse activities, so as to examine whether or not they are adequate and useful. However, these recounts are worded, revealingly, as attempts.

By the same token, practical procedures are seen to be constrained by STs' perception of the potential difficulties which hinder innovation in their classes:

There's not much you can do, first because we cannot teach the same group of students the following year, and sometimes you teach a seventh grade which has not had English in sixth and fifth grades and you have to start from scratch...

Besides this, this [working with authentic texts that need photocopying] is also against the school's policies, because we work with texts and students have to run copies of them.

Yes, and this too... My school, for instance, doesn't provide students with copies for free.

Mine doesn't either.

These recurrent negative perceptions might be viewed as reflecting and reiterating the discourses circulating within the group teachers belong to. Of particular interest is the use of war of my own in the fragment below, which can be understood as evidence of a permanent conflict between the teacher's desire to change and the institutional constraints affecting her.

... but this is a war of my own, as coordinator, against Faetec [a federal college of further education] who do not want me to use that, because for them it is more of an advantage if students buy the coursebooks.

However numerous, not all perceptions are negative. STs tend to be positive about the

impact of the modules on their performance by emphasizing transformations undergone. They word their positive reaction, for example, by means of comparatives and superlatives, seen by Martin (op.cit: 160) as indicators of APPRECIATION:

... the benefits are a lot greater for us as professionals, and even at those moments when we act as students: when you sit down to write a paper, an academic paper, this has a lot more value because you're more aware of the discourse markers you're supposed to use, your text has to be a cohesive text, you have to be more concerned with the reader, with whom is reading your paper;

Now, something that was very real, that really happened to me, it [the course] made me more critical towards the pedagogic material.

The best thing was that our view [of language] has at least broadened.

I try to observe in the texts I'm using what I should show them in terms of grammar, so in relation to this, I guess it [DA] helped me a little.

In the excerpts above, the STs report that the study of language as discourse has helped them become more aware of academic conventions, which they try to incorporate into their own academic writing tasks. Thus, the most conspicuous impact of the discipline DA may be seen as one of *personal improvement*, since the utterances in which this representation is found all carry the pronouns *I*, *me* or *my*.

Some STs, on the other hand, pointed out that their DA course *lacks* practical application:

... in this course we took, something I missed right at the beginning was [the teacher's] clearly showing the purpose of its straight application, because a lot of theory...

... But, and this is what I think, how are we to apply this in our classrooms? I guess [the course] lacked this sort of guidance right from the start, even for us to become more motivated.

One ST feels so strongly about the inadequacy of the modules that she suggests that the group “exert pressure” so that the syllabus is changed to reflect their actual teaching realities:

Now, learning theory, theory, theory, this leads nobody nowhere. So I think we should exert pressure so that these courses become better thought of [...] [and] include a bit more of our everyday practices in our [DA] classroom.

Summing up, the STs complain that they are subject to varied institutional constraints, but also mention their attempts at adopting new pedagogical practices despite these difficulties. In addition, they complain that their DA course lacks practical application, but their own accounts of those same attempts show that the course was not as fruitless as it might seem at first. These two instances of contradictory stances, present in the data, may signal what Spink (op.cit. :138) argues are valuable guides to help us understand the role of “affective investment”. In other words, either the course did allow

them to somehow bridge the gap between theory and practice, or their being experienced teachers counted as the key factor that enabled them to do so, or both.

4.3.2 - Cognitive elements

Here we focus on participants' perceptions of the discipline DA, of what it means to use *discourse analysis* in the classroom, of their roles as teachers, as well as any perceptions not anticipated by the researchers ("emergent themes").

4.3.2.1 - Representations of discourse and discourse analysis

Whereas mapping of "affective investment", for example, was carried out through the identification of markers of Appraisal in STs' talk, there is no sole phenomenon associated with cognitive elements. A particular representation may be identified on the basis of implicit assumptions, as in the following fragment:

I work at a public school, but I teach only elementary school, so I have no opportunity to work with discourse (...) because my students in 5th grade they are immature, "un-prepared" and when I teach them in 8th grade, the last grade in elementary school, they have had no previous preparation".

The resulting relationship underlined above carries the implicit assumption that previous preparation is required if one wants do discourse analysis, a representation which features in other subjects' talk and in both focus groups:

Obviously I do not succeed in putting into practice everything I learned because (...) students are not prepared, they come from first grade without any notion of anything, ...

The notion that DA is applicable only if students have had previous knowledge of the target language is closely linked with (or perhaps dependent upon) another notion that sees language as a series of separate components, hierarchically organized (phonology, syntax, semantics, discourse), with discourse as a higher-level component:

I don't know where I read that discourse, discourse analysis, would be the highest level [component], the top level [stage] in learning a language, but very few people study this, incidentally hardly anybody studies this....

If language is seen as comprising separate elements, and not as an organic system, whose different dimensions are inextricably intertwined, then doing DA presupposes previous work on lower-level components. In this sense, our research subjects often draw a distinction between *grammar* and *discourse*:

So we have to ask [other teachers to give students grammar in 1st grade], so that when they get to 2nd grade, they have already studied grammar before, they have to give [them] grammar, so I can't change this.

In spite of the misconception which sees work in DA as requiring previous exposure to "grammar", participants seem to be aware of the distinction between *sentence grammars* and *discourse grammars*:

I believe that discourse, that is, working with texts in the classroom, with the use of our knowledge, is combined with ESP, because the two disciplines are tools [if we want to] use texts in the classroom.

This ST introduces a particular representation of “discourse” (that is, working with texts in the classroom), based on the notion that discourse is language above sentence level. The association with ESP, which is based on the theoretical premise that students’ attention should be drawn to the texts they are required to read in their specific areas of interest, reinforces the notion that discourse is language above sentence level. Another ST reveals a similar conceptualization of discourse as language above sentence level, but goes beyond that when she introduces the issue of *generic aspects* of texts:

Now in second grade, I work with texts, and I found that [DA] helped me a little with respect to... it showed me what grammar is relevant to the text [I am working on].

In the fragment above, the notion that DA “shows [us] what grammar is relevant to [a] text” suggests awareness that different texts (or *genres*) function in different ways and thus draw on different grammatical resources. Part of the study of DA, for this ST then, presupposes the study of the *generic aspects* of a text.

To conclude the discussion of representations of *discourse*, the following excerpts are introduced in an attempt to draw attention to how participants are aware of the nature of discourse as interaction, and as language in use, or authentic language:

So I think that discourse, for example, helped me not to work those dialogues that are made up of questions and answers only, questions and answers, but to try to change, to see that a dialogue is good or the dialogue is not good, to show [it] as interaction really, in conversation, not just questions and answers, but as it is in a real dialogue. So this I think helped me.

While discussing practical procedures adopted in her classes, this informant indicates that she encourages students to go beyond the analysis of the grammatical features of question and answer pairs, so as to cover the functional features of question-answer pairing as interactive units. In the next fragment, attention is drawn to the nature of discourse as language in use:

Another thing that I think was clear to us was the use of authentic material: authentic texts, texts from magazines, from newspapers, (...)

In this excerpt, the ST demonstrates awareness that studying discourse requires attention to the features that characterize authentic texts, that is, language used on a specific social occasion to carry out a specific social function. In the fragment below, the notion of language in use is expressed by way of a contrast between “real English” and the English found in pedagogic materials:

It is an opportunity for us to use written material from newspapers, from magazines, of course depending on the level of our students, instead of using pedagogic material and fooling the student who will think that [he or she] is dealing with English.

The contrast drawn by the ST suggests that she is aware of the occurrence of made-up examples in a great number of pedagogical books.

4.3.2.2 - *Beliefs about EFL teaching/learning in Brazil*

Among the “emergent themes”, some representations of *teaching and learning*, of *public schools* in Brazil and of *private EFL courses* in Brazil were identified in the STs’ utterances. A recurrent theme in the discussions is the notion that one of the main obstacles to applying DA in the classroom has to do with the impositions of a grammatical syllabus:

...because we also have that school syllabus, which we have to teach, that grammar...

And, exactly because of a very tight syllabus to be followed, which is the greatest obstacle, perhaps even greater than time constraints, because of this tight syllabus we have to follow...

The constraints imposed are not limited to the syllabus they must follow, as in the previous fragment, but include also the textbooks that they are supposed to use, as well as the pedagogical approach:

Besides, I have a syllabus to follow and I am obliged to use the material the school requires me to

... my [teaching] time is limited, I am obliged to use that material.

I have to follow not only the same content as they [other teachers] do, but also more or less the same approach; otherwise, the grades are very low.

The use of signals of the notion of duty in association with “syllabus” and “material” clearly point to external factors which prevent teachers from using discourse-oriented teaching and which seem to be perceived as institutional obstacles or even as threats to practitioners’ identities as professionals. In this respect, it is worth noting that I (standing for the speaker) and we (standing for teachers in general) often occur in the same fragment displaying a metonymic relationship of part/whole:

So, what I have been trying to pass on to them is really textual cohesion, that’s what I manage to do with my students. Why? Because we work for a language school, I mean, with a specific pedagogic material and real time constraints; so I can’t create anything, we end up following the textbook syllabus the way it is.

That’s why I said something can be done, but to a certain extent. There’s no way we can go deeper [into this] because of the students’ level, their knowledge.

In these examples, the smooth shift from *I* to *we* might signal that the individual and the group share the same frame of reference — that is, although voiced by the individual, these are the obstacles that bear on the work of a community, virtually impairing changes in teaching practices.

5. DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis of the spoken data obtained from the peer-mediated discussion groups show that our informants were much more forthcoming in terms of what they perceived as a positive outcome from the two discourse modules. They claimed to favor the study of texts, rather than isolated sentences; to adopt authentic materials in their classrooms, rather than made-up texts; to address the question of text variety in a consistent way, choosing different *genres* for classroom work, thus suggesting an awareness of the nature of discourse as language above sentence level; of the interactive nature of discourse and of the notion of genre. In addition to these professional gains, our informants also mentioned having developed an awareness of academic discourse conventions. These, however, were not felt to have a direct bearing on their classrooms, but rather on their lives as students. In spite of these positive results, our informants also verbalized serious misconceptions of the nature of language and of FL teaching. One such misconception is the ingrained notion of language as a hierarchical structure, comprising separate components, a topic which will be discussed in the Conclusion.

The differences between the two methods of data collection may account for the contrast in findings. Whereas contact with the researchers was minimal in the focus groups, the written answers were e-mailed as attachments to one of the researchers, which may have constrained what could be said. Another important factor may be related to the distinct generic features of the two methods of data collection. Unlike the focus group, which elicits texts derived from reaction, or spontaneous response, the written essay allows for reflection, revision and pruning. Finally, the written data were produced in a foreign language, which in itself may have been a further constraint to what was said. These three variables, namely, researcher/respondent bias, genre expectations and the language adopted, may have contributed to varied expression of attitude on the part of the teachers.

All in all, a positive inference from the results obtained is related, therefore, to the methods of data collection used. The peer-mediated focus group seems to provide research subjects with more room for voicing their beliefs and attitudes. However messy the spoken data produced may seem, the focus group opens up the possibility of an *emic* perspective, that is, the participants' own perspective on an area investigated. The open essay-like question, on the other hand, seems to favor the researchers' particular foci (an *etic*, or outsider's, perspective).

6. CONCLUSION

Our respondents' initiatives to change the profile of their classrooms, as a result of exposure to the discipline DA, are very limited. This is the conclusion we draw from the consistent characterization of their classroom initiatives as *attempts at* introducing elements learned in the DA component of the Diploma Course. This seems to be

motivated, not by their attitude towards the discipline, which is overall positive, but rather by the *perceived* degree of effort required to face institutional constraints. At least this is what is *voiced* in their discourses.

It is not our intention here to minimize the institutional constraints faced by EFL teachers in Brazil. However, the perceived obstacles may *also* be seen as the result of informants' misconceptions about the nature of language/discourse and the nature of FL language teaching and learning. If this is the case, then, both as syllabus planners and teachers of the DA modules, we should address: 1) the nature of *language* (or *discourse*) as a system of interconnected layers of meaning, rather than a system made up of separate components, organized hierarchically, with the implicit assumption that learning a language means covering the lower-level components first; and 2) the nature of language teaching and learning as a *formative* enterprise, whose most important aim is broadening students' cultural horizons.

By addressing, and trying to change, these social representations, we would be intervening in an important dimension of our STs' classroom practice, inasmuch as the representations carry outdated assumptions about teaching and learning. One of them is the assumption (related to 1 above) that learning has to be organized in a clear sequence, from "simple" to "more complex" elements. The other implicit assumption (related to 2 above) in these representations has to do with the misleading notion that FL teaching should emphasize linguistic competence, neglecting the nature of language as a cultural system. Teachers of a FL in public schools in Brazil should move beyond an emphasis on linguistic competence and take on the responsibility of making their students aware of the importance of the FL as a cultural system.

A possible contribution of the Diploma Course, in this sense, would be to encourage student-teachers to adopt a critical attitude towards the syllabus and classroom practices in these public institutions, with a view to constructing a syllabus and a methodology that would reflect the specific needs and interests of public school students.

An important contribution of this research lies in the claim that if we want to improve our teacher education courses, we must pay attention not only to the "contents" we teach but also to the social experiences of student-teachers, including the social representations that are brought to bear on their classroom practices.

Had we not begun by discourse itself, i.e., by viewing language as social practice, we would have missed the fact that language is used to construe 'worlds' that reflect socially-situated identities and activities at play in specific situations. The tools of Discourse Analysis enabled us to investigate our STs' knowledge, practices, beliefs and values which affect how they write, talk and eventually act.

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Chapter 9

Relevance of Knowledge of Second Language Acquisition:

An in-depth case study of a non-native EFL teacher

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INTRODUCTION

A large number of non-native English speakers (NNSs) are enrolled in MA TESOL programs in the United States every year (Kamhi-Stein, 2000). According to Liu (1999), of the students admitted to the TESOL teacher education programs in North America, Britain, and Australia (NABA), approximately 40% were NNSs. In addition, the majority of these NNSs will return to their home countries to teach after they complete their MA TESOL programs (Liu, 1999).

However, several studies point out that MA TESOL programs have failed to accommodate NNSs' perceived needs (e.g., England & Roberts, 1989; Polio, 1994; Kamhi-Stein, 1999, 2000; Liu, 1999; Lo, 2001a, 2001b; Johnston, 1994), including, in particular, their demand for more appropriate L2 acquisition theories for their FL context (Babcock, 1993; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Carver, 1988; Heiman, 1994; Kubota, 1998; Li, 1998). For example, in Liu (1999)'s study of NNSs in an MA TESOL program, only 34% (20) considered the acquisition theories and teaching methodologies they had learned to be useful. Liu stated, "the dominant acquisition theories and teaching methodologies currently taught in NABA are based on data gathered from either immigrants or international students studying in NABA. Many L2 acquisition theories and teaching methodologies, without major adaptation, may be impractical or ineffective in non-NABA countries because of significant socioeconomic and cultural differences" (p. 200). In other words, to what extent can acquisition theories hold true in non-NABA countries, such as in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts?

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is one of the required core courses in the majority, if not all, of Master's programs for teachers of English as a Second Language (MA TESOL) in the United States. Often, this is also one of the essential sites where

MA TESOL students are introduced to the dominant acquisition theories of L2. This leads us to ask: How do non-native EFL teachers make sense of SLA while they are taking the course in NABA-based MA TESOL programs? What does the knowledge of SLA mean to non-native EFL teachers after they return to their home countries to teach?

Several gaps exist in response to the above questions. While quantitative studies have attempted to understand NNSs' opinions of L2 acquisition theories (e.g., Liu, 1999), few studies have been conducted to understand NNSs' processes of learning and understanding SLA (Bartels, 2002). Secondly, few studies have incorporated the perspective of SLA instructors to understand why the course is designed and delivered the way it is and what SLA instructors expect teacher-learners¹ to do with the theories supported by the course. Lastly, few studies have examined the relevancy of SLA after NNSs return to their native countries.

This study was designed to bridge the gaps. The purpose of this in-depth case study was to document a NNS, Peiling's (a pseudonym) process of developing an understanding of SLA from a course in a mid-western university in the United States, both inside and outside of her coursework, and her subsequent teaching practices upon returning to teach English in an elementary school in Taiwan.

The study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What salient issues emerged for Peiling in the process of learning and making sense of SLA in an MA TESOL program in the US?
2. What was the impact of taking the SLA course on her subsequent EFL teaching practices in Taiwan?
3. How does an understanding of the salient issues in the process of learning and making sense of SLA and in subsequent teaching practices contribute to a new perspective on SLA?

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Two major participants were involved in this study: the teacher learner, Peiling, and the instructor of an SLA course. Peiling, a female Taiwanese student enrolled in a Master's language teacher education program in a mid-western university in the US, agreed to participate in this in-depth case study. Prior to her study in the US, she had taught EFL in an elementary school in Taiwan for three years. The SLA instructor² had had previous experience in designing and teaching the SLA course twice a year for fifteen years in the same department before Peiling took the course.

¹ In this study, "teacher-learners" refer to those who take the courses in MA TESOL programs. This term is particularly chosen, as opposed to others (e.g., teacher candidates, pre-service or in-service teachers) based on one premise: that is, teachers, with or without teaching experience, are required to "learn" in order to teach.

² The instructor asked the researcher to particularly point out that this course was regularly taught by another instructor, who was on sabbatical in the semester Peiling took the course.

Instruments and Procedures

Data was collected at two sites in two phases. The first phase took place at a mid-western university in the US from August 2001 to December 2001. The researcher sat in as one of the students attending the SLA class in an MA TESOL program. The class met twice a week, and each class meeting lasted 75 minutes. Peiling was interviewed weekly after class meetings³. The instructor of this course was interviewed twice, once in the middle of the course and once at the end of the semester.

The second phase of the study took place in an elementary school in Taiwan from February 2002 to June 2002. Daily classroom observations and weekly interviews were conducted to understand how Peiling dealt with her knowledge of SLA in her EFL classrooms. Along with the daily classroom observations and weekly interviews, conversations were taped and transcribed, and field notes were taken.

Documents, such as the textbook for SLA, the course packet of relevant articles, e-mail correspondence between the researcher and participants, guidelines for reports, course handouts, and questions on the final exam sheet were collected for inspection and data analysis.

Data Analysis

This study was inspired, both theoretically and methodologically, by Kagan's work (1993), "Laura and Jim and what they taught me about the gap between educational theory and practice," in which Kagan compared the rhetoric of professors with the rhetoric of classroom teachers and the functional value of each perspective of classroom teaching. Data analysis focused on comparing and contrasting the instructor's and the participant's perceptions of SLA and how their perceptions affected the instructor's ways of designing and carrying out the SLA course and the participant's learning and her subsequent EFL teaching.

Data were analyzed based on two analytical frameworks: the constant comparative method (Creswell, 1998) and analytic induction (Bodgan & Biklen, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Following the constant comparative method, I continually analyzed the data during the research, proposed hypotheses, confirmed and/or disconfirmed the hypotheses, supplemented more detailed data from all possible sources, and raised new perspectives and interpretations throughout the whole research process. Through analytic induction, I read all the data several times and looked for emergent patterns and themes throughout the entire study.

Context of the Course

An SLA course was required in this MA TESOL program. Students had to have taken a class in linguistics prior to this course. Each week, students were assigned a topic (e.g., a logical problem in language acquisition, interlanguage and interlanguage development,

³ Only one meeting was scheduled in November in order to accommodate Peiling's academic load.

and the influence of SLA) along with topical articles, ranging from 3 to 11 each week. Additionally, students were required to submit four research papers, each no longer than 5 pages, reporting on a second language learner whose nationality was different from theirs, throughout the semester, and a final 15-20 page paper at the end of the semester. A final examination was held at the last class meeting.

FINDINGS

Research Question 1: What salient issues emerge for the non-native EFL teacher in the process of learning and making sense of SLA in an MA TESOL program in the US?

Three themes emerged in Peiling's process of learning of SLA: (1) a mismatch of theoretical orientations, (2) a sense of alienation, and (3) a sense of resistance. The three themes are intricately interrelated. Examples of one theme can be discussed interchangeably in terms of the other two themes. The purpose here is to demonstrate the salient issues Peiling encountered in the process of learning and understanding SLA, rather than to categorize the data to certain themes.

Theme One: Mismatch of Theoretical Orientations

The table in the Appendix contrasts the underlying beliefs of the instructor and those of Peiling. Based on a comparison and analysis of the beliefs, the fundamental difference leading to the theoretical mismatch between the instructor and Peiling was that the instructor believed that, in reality, researchers and teachers belonged to two communities (Clarke, 1994) because "it [the SLA field] gets kind of separated" (Interview with the instructor, 10-13-01). SLA researchers' (as opposed to pedagogical researchers') job and their major interests, in her opinion, were to document what people do when they learn languages, make sense of the data, and test theory rather than to apply ideas to classroom situations. SLA was a course for addressing theory.

On the contrary, Peiling believed researchers and teachers should belong to one supportive community. For Peiling, "researchers are [a] kind of help for teachers. Researchers should provide more information about teaching and learning to teachers" (Interview, 11-20-01). She believed that theory and practice were like two facets of one coin that cannot be separated. For Peiling, theory without practice was useless and meaningless, and therefore theory should entail the notion of practice. She came to her SLA course expecting that this course would be helpful for her teaching in the future (Interview, 01-09-02).

Analysis of data suggests that the theoretical orientation of the instructor influenced, to a large extent, how she designed and delivered the course and what she expected teacher-learners to do with the SLA knowledge after taking the course. By the same token, Peiling's theoretical orientation determined the kind of approaches, methods, and materials she preferred to see in the SLA course and what she expected to learn from the

course. Peiling's need for a different way of approaching reading materials and desire for a different kind of reading materials reflected the mismatch.

Desire for a Different kind of Reading Materials

Prior to each class meeting, teacher-learners were required to read from three to eleven articles on a given topic. The selected readings for the course reflected the instructor's view of what SLA is and what counts as SLA research (see Table 1). That is, many of the readings for this course were about "what people do when they were learning languages..." For the instructor, "testing linguistics . . . and trying to make sense of data before coming to a coherent theory" (Interview, 10-13-01) is what counts as SLA research (Interview, 10-13-01) rather than classroom application.

There were also two other purposes for the readings. First, the readings provided detailed information and various perspectives on second language acquisition. Second, the readings could also be used as supplemental materials for the instructor as she could not "cover everything" in class during the limited time. The instructor stated,

... But at least from these readings they know where to look and find things if they want to... I just cannot cover everything [in the lectures]. So the readings, especially [since] this is a graduate class, the readings can go into much better detail about some of the topics and show how things are done and different ways of thinking about things. (Interview, 11-13,2001)

Peiling did not appreciate the kind of readings selected for this course. Often classroom applications or even practical implications were not included in the reading materials. For Peiling, these readings merely addressed "how [learners] acquire a language" rather than how "[teachers] can use such knowledge to teach kids" (Interview, 11-08-02). For example, while the instructor expected that readings could show the teacher-learners how SLA research was conducted and had them reflect upon different ways of thinking about different aspects of SLA, Peiling felt that the most research-oriented papers were simply different experiments that had little to do with the real classroom situations. She explained:

Because OK those [types of] research [feature] different kinds of experiments. I think it's not something happening in our real world. It's just OK I want to test something and I have those experiments... But I think the world is not like that. (Interview, 10-11-01)

The kind of reading that Peiling preferred reflected her theoretical orientation (see Figure 2). In addition to research- and experiment-oriented papers, Peiling wished that her SLA course could have included readings with more personal connections and meaningful contexts (Interview, 10-11-01). By "personal connections," Peiling meant something related to "real classrooms" for teaching as opposed to labs for experimental research. She elaborated further later:

I personally prefer research . . . [when] it's more related to real teaching situations. It's just like what happens in daily classrooms. (Interview, 11-08-01)

Natural settings (e.g., “real classrooms” vs. labs) provided a meaningful context for Peiling to make sense, draw connections, and thus made her reading easier.

Most of the time for me there is a meaningful context. For example, this article talks about what students do in the classroom and what they talk about...because I used to be elementary school student and I taught in elementary school. OK, I can understand more easily. (Interview, 03-15-02)

In other words, without the so-called “meaningful context,” Peiling felt that she had to spend more time making sense of the readings because the texts did not make much sense to her based on her background knowledge. She claimed:

When I go through the readings [with a meaningful context], if I don't know the meaning in the first paragraph and I can read, read and read and I can figure out what the article is about. I figured that I could not [read] that way for the SLA readings because even though I went through [reading it] ... several times, ... I don't even know what it's about. I have to read it in detail. It takes a lot of time. I don't understand at all if I ... read it only ... one time. (Interview, 03-15-02)

Need for a Different Way of Approaching Reading Materials

The class met twice a week, each class period lasting 75 minutes. It was mainly a lectured-oriented class, as the instructor looked at class meetings as a space and time for her to get across the core knowledge of SLA—“what people do when they are learning languages” (Interview, 10-13-01)-- to her teacher-learners. The instructor maintained that knowledge of SLA was another tool for making active pedagogical decisions and it “[could] help each [teacher learner] to decide how to solve certain problems and how to anticipate certain problems.” She spent most of the time in class covering the readings and illustrating the important theories in SLA through research findings.

Addressing classroom application in relation to SLA theory was not the focus in class meetings for several reasons that were intricately related to the instructor's perceived relationships between SLA theory and practice (Table 1, see Appendix). The instructor contended that “there are different competing theories” and “there is more we don't know about second language acquisition than we do know”; therefore “you cannot possibly have a theory telling you what you ought to do in the classroom” (Interview, 11-13-01, see Table 1).

The instructor expected the teacher-learners to finish their readings before they came to her class. During the class meeting, the instructor tried her best to “cover everything” (Interview, 11-13, 2001) from the readings. Occasionally, there was some interaction between the instructor and the teacher-learners, when the instructor posed a question and elicited answers from the class, but rarely did the teacher-learners have any interaction between themselves (Classroom observation 08-31-01 to 12-11-01).

In contrast to reading alone and listening to lectures, Peiling wished to have guided questions for the readings assigned prior to the class. She believed that guided questions would have facilitated her reading and understanding of the articles. She also believed that guided questions could have served as a basis for discussion with her peers in class

(Interview, 03-15, 2002). In addition to the lectures, Peiling wished to see her questions about the readings resolved through discussion. “At least she [the instructor] could have given us time to talk about what kind of questions we had for the readings...”(Interview, 03-15-02). Peiling believed that discussion in class helped her understand the articles more (Interview, 01-09-02).

More essentially, Peiling did not think knowledge of SLA alone would necessarily influence or help her know more about teaching (see Table 1). Peiling wanted to see the class take a further step to address the significance of the assigned readings from the perspective of teachers through discussion. She said,

I think most of the students in that class will be teachers or we are or we were teachers and I think she could have let us talk about what these readings and research findings mean to us. (Interview, 03-15-02)

Theme Two: Sense of Resistance

A great sense of resistance was found in the process of Peiling’s learning and understanding of SLA in the course. The term *resistance* refers to Peiling’s questioning of, dislike, or opposition to what was given, presented, or required by the course. The sense of resistance, due to the mismatch between her and the instructor’s theoretical orientations, was reflected in Peiling’s dislike of or opposition to what she was required to do in the class. This sense of resistance could also be observed in Peiling’s feeling unconvinced of the ideas presented in readings and in class.

Not feeling Convinced

The instructor of the SLA class believed that most teacher-learners came to her class with certain preconceived notions about SLA. She believed that most teacher-learners felt (1) that people learned L2 by “repetition and practice” and (2) that it was their “teaching order” and (3) that students’ L1 would make a difference in their learning of L2. The instructor wanted to demonstrate to the teacher-learners that, based on SLA theories, it was the “internal order” rather than the “teaching order” that would make a difference in SLA. She indicated,

I assume that people come into that class thinking that people learn second languages through *practice* and *repetition*. Whatever they hear, that’s what they’ll learn and L1 is gonna make a big difference in their learning. That’s kind of what I am assuming what people think... Students do a lot of stuff that doesn’t have a whole lot to do with the *teaching order* but has to do with their own *internal order*. (Interview, November 13, 2001)

The instructor believed that one of the best ways to convince the teacher-learners was through giving them different examples from research and using many illustrations. She further said:

And there are all of these different examples and illustrations of what these learners do no matter how much language and what language they hear and so forth and I feel that it takes a lot of convincing to convince my students. (Interview, November 13, 2001)

For example, in order to illustrate the point that L2 learners, no matter their age, gender, and linguistic background, go through a similar acquisition order/path for morphemes, the instructor gave examples using data from several empirical studies conducted by different researchers at different research sites. She also illuminated the point on the blackboard by drawing figures and lines corresponding to different acquisition rates (from 10% to 100% on the Y axis) and with generally the same curves and shapes for each group (with different morphemes labeled on the X axis) to demonstrate that they share a similarity in acquisition order (Classroom observation, from 10-04-01 to 10-18-01).

Unfortunately, Peiling was not convinced even with a variety of examples based on empirical studies and with the instructor's efforts in class. Part of the reason was that Peiling, as an EFL learner herself, was not sure whether she had gone through the kind of acquisition order/sequence suggested by the developmental patterns. Because she had learned the rules first, she perceived that her EFL learning did not follow the kind of process suggested by the theory. In other words, Peiling questioned the extent to which SLA theory held in EFL settings.

[I didn't go through the sequence] because I learned the rules first and most of the time I didn't make such mistakes like [in] those examples. I don't know. It seems not so bad to learn such rules first... I think ... that you have to go through such [a] process. You have to make some mistakes [in order to] then learn something. I don't know. (Interview, 09-20-02)

Testing linguistic theory in labs (not necessarily in the classroom) was seen by the instructor as the principle job for SLA researchers. However, Peiling perceived that the given examples were mainly conducted in experimental, controlled, and structured laboratory environments (vs. natural, uncontrolled and unstructured classroom settings) and therefore felt that the theory was developed "under some kind of conditions" and "[SLA] researchers control those factors." Peiling had serious reservations about the validity of the findings, which, she believed, might not be the same when experiments are conducted in natural settings.

I think even if there are a lot examples and a lot of numbers but I don't know why it still does not convince me...But I don't know why even though there are so many examples. I think because... maybe it's because that all of the research are under some kind of conditions...I think the researchers control those factors (Interview, 10-11-02)

Lastly, having the fundamental belief that "researchers should [make] some contribution to our real world by providing some basic suggestions to educators or teachers (see Table 1), Peiling also questioned the value of experiment-based SLA research by saying, "Why do you [develop] those theories? Why do you do such research? Then you don't have to do research" (Interview, 10-11-01) since SLA researchers' priority, as the

instructor saw it, was not about classroom application. She felt that “knowledge about language does not mean that it helps [her] know more about teaching” (Interview, 09-26-01). How to relate SLA theory to her teaching was what counted as the main focus of an SLA course for Peiling.

Conflicting Roles: Researcher versus Teacher

As part of the requirements for this course, teacher-learners were required to submit four short papers throughout the semester, each less than 5 pages long, reporting on the linguistic development of an L2 learner whose nationality was different from the teacher candidate’s and a final paper that was no longer than 20 pages. The teacher-learners could draw on data from their small papers to complete their final paper.

From the instructor’s point of view, the SLA course was both for researchers and for teachers (Table 1). There were several purposes for the teacher-learners to conduct research on an L2 learner whose nationality was different from the teacher candidate’s. First, the instructor thought that in this way, teacher-learners would be able to examine the L2 learning process from a researcher’s perspective.

.... I want people to have experience observing someone learning a language. So I want them to be outsiders. I want them to be able to look at people who are not from their own L1, just so they cannot make certain assumptions... So they have an idea what’s happening when they are learners and their next step data gathering sort of speaks to that... (Interview, 11-13-01)

Secondly, this requirement was also viewed as research training to learn how to conduct language acquisition research for those who wanted to go on to pursue their Ph.D. She said,

There is a percentage that would want to go on for Ph.D, So that’s certainly one of the purposes of the paper. (Interview, 10-13-01)

Thirdly, the instructor believed that the experience of conducting research would be “useful” even for those who didn’t want to go for their Ph.D. because it would help teacher-learners find out answers through research and better understand research papers.

Finally, the instructor assumed that the experience in conducting SLA research provided an opportunity for teacher-learners to examine L2 production objectively, as researchers do.

Most people probably won’t be researchers or have a chance to stand back and sort of objectively look at some learning language without worrying about tomorrow’s lesson plan and grades for these papers. (Interview, 10-13-01)

While the instructor required the students to play the role of a researcher by being an “outsider” observing someone learning a language objectively and by coming up with more data gathering instruments to respond to what they had observed, Peiling, from the perspective of a teacher, thought this requirement was “funny, useless, and meaningless” and resisted playing the role of a researcher. What concerned Peiling most was how to

help her participant as a teacher rather than giving her participant test after test as a researcher. “I feel guilty and that I have to ask him to do [the tests]. I think it’s a torture for him,” said Peiling. She thought it was “kind of funny to look for various experiments to dig [out] someone’s errors” (laughing) (Interview, 10-07-01).

The instructor felt it was useful for the teacher-learners to learn how to “speak to data,” like researchers, by using different instruments to come up with hypotheses on the kind of errors that learners make. With a teacher’s mentality, Peiling did not think she had to learn about her students’ errors through using different instruments in addition to her EFL curriculum. She believed she would be able to detect her EFL learners’ errors/mistakes through her observations or their L2 production in class. She said:

I think I can easily know what kind of problems they [my students] have just in class or when I look at their writing. I don’t think I need to do such tests or experiments to look for their mistakes or evidence. (Interview, 10-07-01)

In retrospect, Peiling remembered vividly that she spent a great deal of time counting the rate of accuracy (the obligatory occasions versus correct production) (Interview, 01-09-02). However, as scientific and objective as the rate of accuracy would sound, and as authentic as the instructor wanted the experience to be, Peiling thought it was not useful for her as a teacher. She said:

I think what I should say is that what we teach now is a tiny piece of language. As a teacher, you will know what kind of mistakes your students will be more likely to make. I don’t think I will need to know how well their learning is through that [rate of accuracy]. I don’t think I need to count the rate of accuracy in order to understand mistakes and the pattern of their mistakes. (Interview, 04-12-02)

Peiling felt that the course was merely for researchers. “They, [the researchers], look at grammar and phonology. They separate things into pieces and try to look at language from different perspectives. They focus more on theory...” indicated Peiling. Assuming that researchers were helpers to teachers, and that the purpose for doing research was to improve practice (see Table 1), Peiling’s focus was on how to connect research findings to her teaching. Peiling’s resistance to the requirement was evident in her description of the experience as “funny, meaningless and useless.” Her negative feelings demonstrated her resistance to playing the role of researcher. With a teacher’s orientation, she cared more about how to improve L2 learning.

I don’t think there is any point to count the accuracy rate. So what? How will you help your students? I don’t think accuracy rate will help your students. (Interview, 04-12-02)

Theme Three: Sense of Alienation

A strong sense of alienation is also worth noting in Peilings’ learning and understanding in the SLA course. Alienation, in this case, refers to the disconnection between theory, belief, and practice and the disintegration of past, present, and future.

Disconnection between Theory, Belief, and Practice

The instructor had a set of perspectives on the relationship between theory, belief, and practice. She asserted that it would be irresponsible for researchers to draw implications for teaching or give suggestions to teachers based on research findings. When asked whether SLA researchers should draw implications for teaching, without hesitation the instructor responded:

No! No! No! I don't think we know enough to know what it is that people do that influences learners and in a way people are influenced in the classroom. I just don't think we know. I would be pretending to know something I don't know as a researcher (Interview, 12-10-01).

For her, most SLA researchers don't involve themselves much in teaching and don't know much about teaching. This is what the instructor saw as the difference between pedagogical researchers and SLA researchers. She explained:

A pedagogical researcher has one ... major intention - to find out what things happen in the classroom both in terms of what teachers do and what learners do, whereas SLA doesn't. Its major interest is not classroom application. It really isn't. (Interview, 12-10-01).

The instructor did not think SLA researchers had built up enough knowledge to be able to provide any practical suggestions to teachers. She used "input" as an example to illustrate her view on the relationship between theory and practice. She stated:

We still don't know how much correction is necessary even with that order. We don't know. This is what I mean about it. It would be too risky to say what you ought to do in the classroom. You know the whole thing about input is very up in the air. We don't know still how much, what kind, when -- we don't know any of those. If anyone tells you they do, they don't know what they are talking about. (Interview, 11-13-01)

Moreover, the instructor believed that "there are competing theories... Then you cannot possibly know what you should do in the classroom based on that theory." She associated practice with "formula" and "a set of rules," as seen in her statement: "I am not giving them formula. I am not giving them a set of rules to go out and do things" (Interview, 10-13-01)

Peiling perceived the relationship between theory, belief, and practice quite differently than did the instructor. While she understood that "theory won't [hold true] forever..." she believed that "at least during this period I think we should [or] we could do something based on those theories" (Interview, 10-11-01). In fact, what Peiling needed from the SLA course was not a "formula," or "a set of rules." She did not expect SLA researchers to provide "very clear steps to tell teachers [how] to apply those research findings, [rather]... some simple suggestions [or implications] to educators [or teachers]" (Interview, 10-11-01).

Peiling understood that by nature SLA theories could be messy and contradictory, but she felt this did not give SLA researchers the right to step away from application. She perceived that SLA researchers' real contribution to the world was the practicality of

SLA research. Without addressing implications for application, SLA researchers, for Peiling, were more like “examiners” who analyzed the result of teachers’ teaching rather than “helpers” who could provide useful information to teachers (Interview, 11-20-01).

Disintegration of Past, Present, and Future

Prior experiences and personal beliefs and expectations were a powerful source for learning-to-teach (Kagan, 1993) that helped Peiling create ways of thinking about understanding and interpreting SLA. There were also sites/sources for ambiguity, inconsistency, and messiness, which often brought contradictory viewpoints and put her in an ambivalent position, as shown in this study.

Peiling’s comment that “there is no connection [in class] to me as a former [EFL] student and teacher” (Interview, 03-23-02) crystallized her sense of alienation due to the disintegration of her previous learning and teaching experiences as they came into contact with the current knowledge in SLA. The in-depth classroom observation seemed to suggest that the format (lecture-based) and the focus (research and theory-based) of the course did not allow her voices, struggles, issues, and problems derived from the contradictory viewpoints and the ambivalent positions to be heard, discussed, validated, or resolved in the SLA course.

For example, the instructor devoted most of the class time to demonstrating how certain linguistic features (e.g., yes/no question formation, negation, relative clauses etc.) were acquired by different groups of L2 learners (classroom observations, from 08-30-01 to 12-11-01). Peiling questioned the validity of L2 acquisition based on her EFL background and said,

[I didn’t go through the sequence] because I learned the rules first and most of the time I didn’t make such mistakes [in] those examples. I don’t know. It seems not so bad to learn such rules first. (Interview, 09-20-02)

However, she never thought that her questioning was valid and was worth bringing up for further discussion in class with her peers (the majority of whom were EFL learners) in the lecture-oriented class.

Should Peiling believe in the “internal order” suggested by the theory and supported by the instructor, or should she follow her “personal practical knowledge” (Golombek, 1998, p. 447) gained through years of experience as an EFL learner [and teacher?]? In the SLA class, unfortunately, Peiling was not encouraged, asked or given any time or opportunity to talk about what acquisition order meant to her as an experienced L2 learner and teacher (Classroom observation, 08-29-02 to 12-11-01).

Peiling’s instructor believed that SLA knowledge can “help each teacher to decide how to solve certain problems and how to anticipate certain problems” because knowledge of SLA is “another tool for helping [teacher-learners when] making decisions.” As for exactly what to do with the knowledge, the instructor assumed that “it’s up to individual teachers” whose “years of practical experience” would give

teacher-learners “pretty good ideas what to do in class” (Interview with the instructor, 11-13-01).

Priior to taking the course, Peiling had 13 years of practical experience as an EFL learner and 3 years of practical experience as an EFL teacher. However, 16 years of “practical experience” did not give Peiling “pretty good ideas what to do in class” (Interview with the instructor, 11-13-01) as assumed by the instructor. Peiling commented,

I just don't know how to relate the readings or the theories to the experience I have. I don't know. (Interview, 01-09-02)

Peiling had difficulty relating her current understanding of SLA to her previous experience to aid in her future teaching. Her problem, she felt, was that she was never required or guided to make this connection through the design of the SLA course. The instructor perceived that application was not the major focus for the course: little time was used for addressing application in class and rarely was Peiling asked to address application in her assignments. The design of the course, therefore, was consistent with the theoretical orientation of the instructor, who did not perceive a necessary link between theories of SLA and their classroom application.

In contrast, a series of questions raised by Peiling revealed her own concerns about the practical implications of SLA theories (e.g., developmental patterns). She asked,

Does it mean that we (L2 teachers) need to follow those orders to teach our students? Do I need to start from the easiest part? What if I teach the more difficult first? What will be the result? (Interview, 09-14-01)

Acquisitional order or developmental patterns were not merely theoretical but implied an extremely messy notion for her future teaching. On the one hand, she thought knowing orders of morphemic acquisition gave her a different perspective on looking at her students' development. She said,

Well, I think the impact of knowing acquisition order is that it lets me know that it's ok. Kids have their development of language even though they are still making some mistakes (Interview, 09-14-01)

On the other hand, however, she did not know how to resolve the tension between theory and practice. Below are two examples.

Actually I think the main reason is that there isn't much time. Of course I hope them to be target-like as soon as possible...I wonder how long it would take for students to construct their own knowledge of language...(Interview, 09-20-01)

...I don't know if I will feel OK even though I know such [an idea] theoretically when I teach. When I teach something several times, students still have such mistakes. I will still feel very angry (laughing). Yeah! So I mean I think theoretically knowing something does not mean you can feel it's OK. (Interview, 10-07-02)

Peiling commented on her SLA class, saying, “In SLA, I could not see the instructor trying to invite us to use those theories to apply to teaching.” Hence, Peiling had a deep

sense of alienation coming from the separation of SLA knowledge and future teaching. She stated,

Knowing more about language [development] does not mean that it helps me know more about teaching. I don't think it influences me on teaching. The knowledge is for me, not for students, or how I am gonna teach. (Interview, 11-20-01)

All the while Peiling was pondering many issues that were not addressed in class. To her surprise, therefore, in her final exam she was given the essay question below:

Given the findings in SLA regarding the rule of an LAD [Language Acquisition Device] and natural acquisition orders, what claims have been made regarding pedagogical applications? Do you agree with such claims? Should, for example, a syllabus reflect the natural orders discovered, but ordering the introduction of structures in the order of natural acquisition? Why or why not? Give an example. What advantages and disadvantages do instructed (classroom) learners have in comparison to those in 'natural' contexts? Can we change the order of acquisition with teaching? What effect can teaching have for the SLA learner? In your answer, be sure to distinguish those who are learning the language as a second language (in the community where he target language is used) and those who are learning it as a foreign language (no TL in the surrounding community). (Question on Final Exam Sheet, 12-10-01)

Although Peiling thought the exam was very practical, she wondered why such practical issues were not addressed in class and were, rather, held back until the final exam.

While the course instructor expected that the design of the course (lecture-oriented, research-oriented term papers and readings) and "years of practical experience" of teacher-learners might enable them to address the question, Peiling's response to the final exam also provided evidence counter to the instructor's assumption:

I should say that [the exam question is] related to our daily life but actually I don't know why because she seldom mentioned [such practical issues in class]. Actually I don't think she made such connections in her class most of the times. (Interview, 01-09-02)

Table 2 summarizes the salient themes and related issues in the process of Peiling's learning and making sense of SLA.

Table 2: Salient Themes and Related Issues in the Process of Peiling's Learning and Making Sense of SLA

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Issue 1</i>	<i>Issue 2</i>
Mismatch between theoretical orientations	Desire for a different kind of reading material	Need for a different way of approaching reading material
Sense of resistance	Not feeling convinced	Conflicting roles: Researcher versus teacher
Sense of alienation	Disconnection between theory, belief, and practice	Disintegration between past, present, and future

Question 2: What was the impact of taking the SLA course on her subsequent EFL teaching practices in Taiwan?

Peiling took the SLA course in the last semester of her Master's program. She returned to teach EFL in an elementary school in Taiwan the following semester after one and a half years of study in the United States. Data collection in Peiling's EFL classroom lasted about four months. The major data collection devices were weekly interviews and daily classroom observations (7 AM to 5 PM, five days a week).

What did SLA knowledge mean in Peiling's EFL setting? What impact did it have on Peiling's subsequent EFL practices? To answer this research question, I examined Peiling's EFL classroom from two perspectives. First, how did Peiling perceive the relevancy of her knowledge of SLA in relation to her EFL practices? Second, what change was made in Peiling's EFL class in relation to the salient messages supported by the course? Prior to addressing the questions, it is important to understand the situation in which Peiling was teaching EFL.

Peiling's EFL teaching context

English had become an official subject in elementary school in Taiwan one semester before Peiling's return. She had to teach 23 classes every week with only one period (40 minutes) per week allocated to EFL for each class. The official number of students in each class was 35; therefore, she had approximately 805 students each week during the course of the semester. Peiling was required to teach using prescribed textbooks.

The first challenge Peiling faced was a wide range of English proficiencies in one class. Based on the results of a survey (Lo, 2003) administered to 210 of Peiling's students, 8.8% of the 204 students who responded (18 out of 204) indicated that they had started learning English before kindergarten; more than half of the students (52.0%, 106 of 204) had started learning English in kindergarten; 22.1% (45 out of 204) started when they were in grades 1 and 2; and 12.3% (25 out of 204) started in grades 3 and 4. However, the remaining 2% (4 out of 204) started in the upper grades, 5 and 6. This means that in a sixth grade class, the widest range of experience with English could be ten years, from age 3 prior to kindergarten to age 13 in the sixth grade. This wide range of experience also indicates a wide range of English proficiencies in one class.

In addition, nearly half of the students responding to the survey (47.1%, 96 of 204) reported that they were currently learning English in cram schools⁴. More than a fifth (22.1%, 45 out of 204) indicated that they had attended cram schools in the past but had stopped attending extracurricular English classes. However, approximately thirty percent (29.5%, 60 out of 204) reported that they had never been to cram schools. For Peiling, therefore, sixteen of her average 35 students in one class would be receiving extra

⁴ Cram schools are privately-owned, after-school learning and enhancement institutes.

instruction in English, while another eight would have had experience with cram schools in the past. The remaining eleven would never have had the advantage of cram schools.

As a result, students who had had years of learning felt what Peiling taught was too easy for them but those who had just started to learn felt the content was too difficult for them. The remaining third could not concentrate on their learning because the bored or frustrated students played and talked to each other during her class. Peiling was confronted with discipline problems constantly. She was very frustrated with this situation and sometimes lost her temper when the students were out of control (Classroom observation from February to June, 2002).

Perceived Relevancy of SLA in the EFL Context

During our weekly interviews, when repeatedly asked what she thought of the challenges she encountered in relation to the knowledge of SLA she had gained in the MA TESOL program, Peiling's typical response was "Will they care about these issues?" (Interview, 04-15-02). She explained:

I don't think SLA can tell me how to manage students and how to motivate students. I don't think [that] stuff, such as acquisition order or UG [Universal Grammar] can help me deal with the issues I am facing right now. (Interview, 04-15-02)

Her response suggested that knowledge of SLA was irrelevant to her EFL situation. Peiling felt that what she learned in SLA and what she had to deal with in her EFL classes were "like two different worlds" (Interview, 02-22-02).

What about Acquisition Order or UG?

Knowledge of acquisition order or Universal Grammar (UG) was strongly emphasized in Peiling's SLA course. Many of the articles in the course packet were assigned for teacher-learners to learn about the arguments in support of the UG theory and against UG theory from biological (Lightfoot, 1982), linguistic (Bley-Vroman, 1989) and acquisitional (White, 1989) perspectives. The instructor devoted much of the class time to demonstrating the "predictable stages" of L2 learners that led to the so-called "pace and path" of acquisition (Classroom observation, 09-13-01). This was also why much of our weekly interview time was also allocated to allow Peiling to express what the concept of "biological destiny," as defined by the instructor, meant to her as a former EFL learner and EFL teacher. Peiling was, furthermore, expected to address this theory from a pedagogical perspective in her final examination.

Peiling did not feel that the knowledge of UG could make any difference or have any kind of impact on her EFL teaching given the fact that she was required to teach from textbooks. Peiling did not feel there was much she could do or she would like to do in terms of the knowledge she gained from her SLA course since the textbook had already prescribed the order in which Peiling had to present language points to her students.

Actually if there is [a] so-called UG, would there be any difference [in] my teaching? I have to teach anyway. I think even though there is [a] so-called UG, it won't influence

how I teach in any way. If there is no UG, it does not make any difference. So, what? [She doesn't care.] We always say, [that] order? So what? I have to teach according to the textbook even though they learn according to some order. So what? I have to teach anyway even [if] they have [that] order. (Interview, 03-15-02)

What about Repetition and Practice and L1?

One of the myths that Peiling's SLA instructor tried to dispel from the teacher-learners was that L2 learning was not simply the result of "practice" and "repetition." As discussed earlier, she spent a great deal of class time trying to convince her students that this was not the case. However, based on my classroom observations (02-18 to 06-4, 2002), repetition and practice were the two teaching techniques Peiling relied on most in her EFL class. When I asked her why she repeated and asked the students to practice in this way so many times in class, she responded:

English is a foreign language in Taiwan. In addition, there is only one period of English (40 minutes) a week allocated to EFL. Students don't have any contact with English in their daily lives. (Interview, 03-13-02)

Despite having knowledge of internal order, Peiling still believed that repetition was an effective way for her EFL learners to produce language in an EFL context. She gave an example:

Maybe after repeating several times, maybe it can remind them [of] the right pronunciation. Maybe [the] next time ... they pronounce the words they will pay attention to the words. Maybe it's helpful. It's a reminder. (Interview, 03-29-02)

Another myth that the instructor wanted to dispel was the influence of L1. This was also why Peiling was required to have a research subject whose nationality was not Taiwanese. The instructor wanted teacher-learners to see that L2 learners were very likely to go through the same acquisition order no matter what their L1 was.

However, the instructor's efforts seemed not to have had much impact on Peiling. In many cases, the influence of L1 still served as an explanatory framework for what she saw happening in her EFL classroom. For example, when asked to explain why many of her EFL students pronounced the word, "shopping" [_ p _] as [sap _]

I think in our Chinese there is no such sound as [_]. Basically, they will try to find similar sounds [in Chinese] to make connections and this sound [sa] is similar to [_] (Interview, 03-29-02)

This is not to say that the influence of L1 could never be used to explain the L2 production of Peiling's students. However, it seemed to me that Peiling did not make other speculations or harbor alternative perspectives when confronted with the phenomenon. Knowledge of SLA did not seem to play the role expected by her instructor.

Why did Peiling fall back to her pre-existing teaching paradigm? Why did the knowledge of SLA seem to exist in a different world that had no impact on Peiling's

EFL teaching? Peiling's words crystallized what she had experienced in her SLA course in contrast to what was needed in the context of EFL teaching in Taiwan.

I think what the teacher needs is not... knowledge about language because ... language [teaching] also needs ... knowledge about students...actually teaching is more like interaction with people. I don't think we need very advanced knowledge about linguistics. I don't think those things help so much. I think what teachers need more is that how they could teach and how they get along with students... (Interview, 11-20-01)

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Question 3: How does an understanding of the salient issues in the process of learning and making sense of SLA and in subsequent teaching practices contribute to a new perspective on SLA?

Woods (1996) proposes that one's knowledge, assumptions, and beliefs about teaching and learning are intertwined in a very complex way. The results of this case study demonstrate that one's theoretical orientation toward SLA theory, belief, and practice plays an essential role in designing and delivering the SLA course. This case study also suggests that what teacher-learners expect to learn and gain from an SLA course may also be greatly influenced by their theoretical orientations. What complicates the notion more is that "congruence between teachers' and trainees' beliefs is one factor that affects change" (Gupta & Saravanan, 1995, p. 347). Due to the mismatch between Peiling's and her instructor's theoretical orientations, a great sense of resistance and alienation was observed throughout the study. In other words, such mismatches are very likely to lead to ineffective understanding of SLA no matter how much information about SLA is given and how knowledge of SLA is packaged. SLA instructors need to be aware of the possibility of mismatches and should not overlook their negative impact. Further, together with teacher-learners, SLA instructors should think of ways to minimize the negative impact resulting from mismatches.

Peiling's case reminds us that in addition to research-based and experiment-oriented readings, teacher-learners might also benefit from papers that address knowledge of SLA situated in "meaningful contexts" that include real classroom situations that teacher-learners are likely to confront. Peiling's situation also makes us aware of the significance of discussion to teacher-learners. Although it was not clear in the study what benefits class discussion could have brought to Peiling, her negative response to teacher-oriented lectures suggests that the delivery of SLA-related issues should be diversified. An open classroom discussion on a given topic, instigated through and inspired by collaborative reflection and interaction (Bailey, 1996) as well as use of practical case studies (for more, see Richert, 1991) might be a way to share, validate, interrogate, and transform the conflicting knowledge of SLA.

It is hoped that classroom discussion would have alleviated Peiling's sense of alienation. This study illustrates that when teacher-learners are not given the time and space to integrate their previous experience/knowledge, they may have difficulty making

sense of SLA theory as it is currently introduced to them. In the case of Peiling, evidence shows that she had difficulty making the active decisions that the instructor assumed she would make when her past experience and current knowledge were in conflict (Schulman, 2000).

Peiling's resistance to lab-based, experiment-oriented SLA production and her resistance to playing the role of SLA researcher (as opposed to that of teacher) as required in her term paper suggest that some fundamental issues need further investigation. These issues include (1) What counts as SLA? (2) What is the purpose of studying SLA? (3) How is knowledge of SLA produced? (4) What is the role of SLA researchers? (5) What should be the relationship between SLA researchers and language teachers? Through systematic and in-depth investigation, both parties, the instructors and the teacher-learners, may become more aware of the theoretical assumptions each party brings to the class. This awareness might ease teacher-learners' sense of resistance and alienation both during and after the course. Johnson (1996) stated,

Theory often fails to inform practice because the problems that arise in practice are generally neither caused by nor the result of teachers' lack of knowledge about theory. Instead, the problems that teachers face are generally caused by constraints imposed on them within the social, cultural, economic, and educational contexts in which their practice takes place, namely, the school and classroom. (p. 766)

While it is essential to address the place of SLA theory in language teacher preparation (Bardovi-Harlig, 1997), this case study suggests that when SLA theory is introduced without taking future teaching contexts into account (Freeman & Johnson, 1998), teacher-learners might feel knowledge of SLA is irrelevant. In the case of Peiling, she quickly fell into the pre-existing, pre-SLA course explanatory framework (e.g., repetition and practice) that was most familiar to her. Little impact of her knowledge of SLA was observed in her EFL practices.

Finally, the results of the study also demonstrate that "years of practical experience" did not automatically provide the missing link between theory and practice for Peiling, as assumed by her instructor (Freeman, 1989; Richards, 1998). While taking the course, she had problems making sense of the theories in relation to her future teaching. After she returned to teach, when being overwhelmed by the challenges in her EFL context, Peiling felt the irrelevancy of her SLA knowledge. It is suggested that further studies are needed in order to examine and understand how SLA theories and researchers can contribute to teachers' practices (Kerekes, 1999) in order to bridge the gap between SLA theory and practice.

CONCLUSION

This case study examined the relevance of SLA knowledge through (1) investigating the process of learning and understanding SLA knowledge, (2) comparing and contrasting the theoretical orientations between the instructor and a teacher-learner, and (3) documenting the impact of the knowledge in a given context. The results show that one's

theoretical orientations have profound influence both on designing and delivering an SLA course and on learning and understanding SLA knowledge. These orientations, in turn, determine, to a great extent, the degree of impact SLA has in a given context. More case studies need to be conducted to understand the relevance of SLA knowledge through (1) investigating different processes of learning and understanding, (2) comparing and contrasting teacher-learners and instructors with diverse theoretical orientations, and the various combinations of (mis)matches, and (3) documenting different impacts of different processes and theoretical orientations in different contexts.

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APPENDIX

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Instructor 's view</i>	<i>Participant 's view</i>
What is SLA for?	Much of the work in SLA is continuing to document what people do when they were learning languages... and trying to make sense of data before coming to a coherent theory.	I want to know what researchers know about SLA... and I wonder if it would be helpful for me to my teaching.
For whom is SLA?	Both researchers and teachers	I think actually this course is ... for researchers but not for future teachers.
What kind of research do SLA researchers do?	They are testing linguistics theory, psycholinguistics, that kind of thing. Some people do but you don't have to be in the classroom at all to do this kind of research. You can do what these lab things people are doing. That counts as SLA research.	They look at grammar and phonology. They separate things into pieces and try to look at language from different perspectives. They focus more on theory...All the research is under some kind of conditions. I think the researchers control those factors.
Is teaching SLA researchers' first priority?	A pedagogical researcher has one of the major intentions to find out what things happen in the classroom both in terms of what teachers do and what learners do whereas SLA doesn't. Its major interest is not classroom application. It really isn't.	Sometimes linguists just want to know how [learners] acquire a language but I don't think their concerns are how we [teachers] can use such knowledge to teach kids. Why do I bother to know such [a] thing? I don't think it's very related to language teaching.
What is the perceived relationship between SLA researchers and teachers?	Ideally, researchers would also be teaching a language and also doing research. The university sets things up so that it gets kind of separated.	[Ideally], I think researchers are [a] kind of helper for teachers. Researchers should provide more information about teaching and learning to teachers. Those [SLA] researchers are examining the result of teachers' teaching. It's not ... the kind of research that will help teachers teach better. For me [SLA] researchers are more like examiners.

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Instructor's view</i>	<i>Participant's view</i>
What is the perceived relationship between theory and practice?	<p>There are different competing theories. We still don't know what we are doing. You cannot possibly have a theory telling you what you ought to do in classroom. You don't even know what else is going on in acquisition. Then you cannot possibly know what you should do in the classroom based on that theory.</p> <p>You can know in terms of practical experience if you have taught for years and you have pretty good ideas what to do in class.</p>	<p>I think at least during this period I think we should [or] we could do something based on those theories. Or if you just think OK theory won't exist [hold true]... then we don't need to apply those theories or those research findings. So why do you [develop] those theories? Why do you do such research? Then you don't have to do research. I think researchers should [make] some contribution to our real world.</p> <p>In SLA, I could not see the instructor trying to invite us to [apply] those theories to ...teaching.</p>
What is the perceived relationship between knowledge of SLA and teaching?	<p>I think the knowledge can help each teacher to decide how to solve certain problems and how to anticipate certain problems.</p> <p>However, I think it's up to the individual teachers. I am not an opponent of any one special technique. I think the culture of the teacher, the language involved and all those mean that the teacher needs to be active making pedagogical decisions. My idea is that this is another tool for helping them making decisions.</p>	<p>Actually what I learn in SLA is more like OK, I have the knowledge about language. I don't think it influences [my] teaching. For me, the knowledge is for me, not for students, or how I am gonna teach. It's like OK ... basic knowledge about language. Knowing more about language does not mean that it helps me know more about teaching.</p>
Should SLA researchers draw implications for teaching?	<p>No! No! No! I don't think we know enough to know what it is that people do that influences learners and in a way people are influenced in the classroom. I just don't think we know. I would be pretending to know something I don't know as a researcher.</p>	<p>I think at least they [SLA researchers] should have some basic suggestions for educators. It's not necessary to have very clear steps to tell teachers [how] to apply those research findings, but I think they should have some simple suggestions [or implications] to educators [or teachers].</p>

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Chapter 10

Knowledge about Language and the ‘Good Language Teacher’

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BACKGROUND

Both of us have extensive involvement in ESOL teacher education, working mainly with non-native speaker teachers of English, but also with native-speaker teachers. In our work, we have encountered a variety of attitudes towards Knowledge About Language (KAL) among the pre-service and in-service L2 teachers with whom we have worked. For some, their perceived lack of KAL is a source of considerable anxiety: words like ‘fear’ and ‘panic’ are not uncommon when they discuss their feelings about grammar, for example. At the same time, we have also frequently observed L2 lessons given by pre-service and serving teachers where the object of learning, the language itself, appears to have received far less attention than issues of methodology and classroom management. As a result, the lesson has often seemed, to the observer at least, to be presenting learners with confused and confusing messages about the language to be learned. Since messages about language mediated by the teacher constitute a major part of the input for learning within any lesson, we have become increasingly convinced that the extent and the adequacy of L2 teachers’ engagement with language content in their professional practice is a crucial variable in determining the quality and potential effectiveness of any L2 teacher’s practice.

Arising from these experiences, our own research interests in recent years have led us to investigate various aspects of L2 teachers’ KAL, with particular reference to grammar (see, for example, Andrews 1994; 1997; 1999a; 1999b; 2001) and vocabulary (McNeill 1996, 1999), and to explore the impact of those teachers’ KAL on their

professional practice. In our work, we have tended to refer to teacher language awareness rather than KAL, and that former term is the one we shall use in our discussion of the present research. Teacher language awareness has been defined by Thornbury as ‘...the knowledge that teachers have of the underlying systems of language that enables them to teach effectively’ (Thornbury 1997:x). Our own conception of teacher language awareness goes beyond Thornbury’s definition to incorporate beliefs as well as knowledge, since the two are so closely intertwined (Pajares 1992:312-313). In our view, teacher language awareness also encompasses awareness of language from the learners’ perspective, and awareness of the learners’ interlanguage, both its present state and its potential developmental path. As teacher educators, we have been centrally concerned not only with the declarative dimension of teacher language awareness, i.e. the nature, breadth and depth of teachers’ knowledge, beliefs and awareness of the language systems, but also with the procedural dimension, i.e. how teachers’ knowledge, beliefs and awareness impact upon their pedagogical practice.

Our own growing interests in teacher language awareness have developed in the context of a greater appreciation worldwide of the importance of teachers’ subject-matter knowledge as a component of their pedagogical content knowledge (see, for example, Shulman 1986, 1987; Brophy 1991; Gess-Newsome and Lederman 1999; Turner-Bisset 2001). Teacher language awareness has itself been described as a sub-component of the L2 teacher’s pedagogical content knowledge (Andrews 1999a, 2001). This increasing emphasis on the teachers’ subject knowledge base can be observed in many parts of the world and across subjects, as governments seek to create ‘benchmarks’ of teacher competence in a range of areas, including subject-matter knowledge. The Hong Kong Government’s introduction of the LPAT (Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers) tests is just one example of this trend (see Coniam and Falvey, 2002 and forthcoming for discussion of the LPAT tests). In L2 teacher education, this emphasis has been especially evident in, for instance, the changes to the assessment requirements and criteria for the RSA/Cambridge teachers’ schemes for ESOL teachers (CELTA and DELTA¹).

In the research on teacher language awareness up to now, attention has mainly been paid to teachers with relatively limited experience and training. In the case of Andrews’s research (for instance, Andrews 1999a), most of the subjects whose teacher language awareness was investigated had less than five years’ teaching experience and none had professional training. As a result, comparisons between those subjects and the ‘model’ language-aware teacher generally found the performance of the former wanting in a

¹ CELTA and DELTA are the Certificate and Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults. The CELTA is a short (100+ hour) course of very basic initial training, while the DELTA is for teachers (normally graduates) with a minimum of two years’ full-time TESOL experience with adult learners. Within the TESOL profession in many parts of the world, the DELTA (formerly known as the DTEFLA) is recognised as a professional qualification.

number of respects, not only in their mediation of the language that was made available to learners as input for learning, but also in terms of the extent to which they were willing or able to engage fully with grammar-related issues in their teaching (see, for example, in Andrews 2001:84-88). Much of the discussion in those studies reflects a tendency elsewhere in the literature on teacher language awareness to focus on teachers' deficiencies. Thornbury (1997), for instance, sets out a number of potential consequences of such deficiency, including an inability to anticipate learners' learning problems and therefore to plan lessons pitched at the right level, and '...a general failure to earn the confidence of the learners due to a lack of basic terminology and ability to present new language clearly and efficiently' (Thornbury 1997:xii).

This 'deficit' perspective seems to be based upon a widely held assumption that in order to be a 'Good Language Teacher' it is essential to have a high degree of language awareness. This is akin to the more general perception in education that a high level of subject-matter knowledge is an integral part of a teacher's professionalism. Shulman (2000), for example, reflects this latter view when he speaks of '...the recognition that professional teachers must be well educated, especially in the subject matter content they teach, and that their career-long professional education experiences must continue to be grounded in the centrality of that content' (Shulman 2000:xiii).

The assessment criteria for the RSA/Cambridge DELTA (UCLES 2001) illustrate the expectations in relation to teacher language awareness of at least one branch of the TESOL profession. In the teaching part of their coursework assignments, for example, successful DELTA candidates have to be able to demonstrate, where relevant, their understanding, knowledge and awareness of language by a) adapting their own use of language to the level of the group, b) providing accurate and appropriate models of language use, c) giving accurate and appropriate information about language form, meaning and use, and d) responding to and exploiting learners' contributions. To gain a Distinction, a candidate must show exceptional sensitivity, creativity and skill in these areas.

Although the L2 profession sets such criteria, and the characteristics of idealised language-aware teachers have been described (see, for example, Leech 1994), there has been little or no research to examine the language awareness of flesh-and-blood 'Good Language Teachers'. The language awareness of such teachers is of direct interest to both of us because a number of the students we admit to our respective Master's programmes possess certificates identifying them as 'Good Language Teachers' (for instance, a Distinction for the Practical component of their professional training). In spite of such qualifications, it is our experience (supported by feedback from the teachers themselves) that such teachers benefit from courses aimed at enhancing their teacher language awareness. In other words, L2 teachers identified as exceptionally good practitioners by the level of their professional certification are by no means the 'finished article' as far as their teacher language awareness is concerned. The present study therefore represents a first attempt to investigate the language awareness of the 'Good

Language Teacher'. Although teacher language awareness applies in principle to the full range of a teacher's language knowledge and awareness, this study limits attention to teacher language awareness as it relates to grammar and vocabulary.

Research Questions and Methodology

The study set out to investigate the following three questions:

1. Do 'Good Language Teachers' possess highly developed levels of declarative knowledge of the language systems?
2. Do 'Good Language Teachers' exhibit highly developed levels of teacher language awareness in their pedagogical practice?
3. What are the characteristics of the teacher language awareness of 'Good Language Teachers'?

In order to shed light on these issues, data were collected over a three-month period from three highly experienced graduate non-native speaker teachers of ESOL. Each of them could be classified as 'Good' according to the criterion mentioned above: having been awarded a Distinction for the practical component of their professional training. In other words, their classroom L2 teaching had been rated as exceptional on the basis of at least two observed lessons. Two of the teachers work in secondary schools in Hong Kong, while the third teaches in a tertiary institution in the UK. All three subjects are female. All of them are highly proficient users of English both in speaking and writing. In the following discussion, the three subjects have been assigned pseudonyms (Anna, Bonnie and Trudi) in order to protect their anonymity. Anna and Bonnie are the Hong Kong teachers, while Trudi is based in the UK.

The data took various forms. In relation to the first question, the data comprised results on a test of Language Awareness, focusing specifically on grammar and vocabulary. The grammar component was the test previously used by Andrews (1999). That test was largely based on Alderson, Clapham and Steel's test (see Steel and Alderson 1995; Alderson et al, 1996, 1997), which in turn drew on Bloor (1986). This grammar component was in two sections, the first focusing on grammatical metalanguage (three tasks requiring the recognition and production of grammar terms) and the second on the identification of grammatical errors (involving correction and explanation). The vocabulary component of the test was specifically produced for use in the present study, and was designed to parallel the structure of the grammar component. It therefore also consisted of two sections, the first focusing on vocabulary metalanguage and awareness (three tasks examining the ability to: recognise vocabulary terms, divide words into morphemes, and describe the lexical relations within sets of words), and the second on vocabulary error identification (involving correction and explanation) (see Appendix 1 for examples of some of the test items). The subjects were given ten minutes to complete each of the four sections of the whole test.

Lesson observation, interview, and stimulated recall (see, for example, Gass and Mackey, 2000) were the sources of data relating to the other research questions. Each subject was observed teaching two lessons, which were videotaped. Before they planned the lessons, subjects were given the following instructions:

For each lesson, we would like you to remain as true as possible to your normal teaching style. However, we would like to ensure that the observed lessons have a strong language focus. Please therefore include:

Revision of previously learned grammar

Introduction of some new grammar

Introduction of some new vocabulary (6-12 items)

Incorporate this within a task-based/communicative framework, as appropriate to your normal teaching approach.

The scheduling of the observations was initiated by the subjects, who identified language-focused lessons likely to occur in their normal teaching sequence.

The subjects were interviewed twice. Each interview was audiotaped. The interviews were semi-structured: the interviewer worked from a set of prompts, but the questions based on those prompts were not necessarily asked in the same sequence. Unscripted questions were also posed as appropriate in the context of the specific interview. Interview 1 was conducted some time before the first observed lesson, and focused on the role of grammar and vocabulary in L2 teaching and learning, and approaches to handling grammar and vocabulary in the L2 classroom. Interview 2 took place immediately after the first observed lesson and concentrated on eliciting the subject's rationale for her planning of the lesson, her perspectives on events taking place during the lesson, and potential follow-up.

The stimulated recall was rather different, in that it was totally unscripted. Gass and Mackey (2000) describe stimulated recall as a means of attempting to explore subjects' thought processes and strategies, one that '... is carried out with some degree of support, for example, showing a videotape to learners so that they can watch themselves carrying out an activity while they vocalize their thought processes at the time of the original activity' (Gass & Mackey, 2000:37-38). In this instance, each subject was shown a videotape of herself teaching. As soon as practicable following the second observed lesson, the interviewer and subject sat together and watched the videotape of that lesson. The subjects were invited to comment on the lesson at any point, pausing the videotape as necessary. On occasions, a pause led to an extended interchange. The interviewer also posed spontaneous questions relating to incidents in the lesson. Like the interviews, each stimulated recall was audiotaped.

RESULTS

‘GOOD LANGUAGE TEACHERS’ DECLARATIVE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE SYSTEMS

The first research question focused on the declarative dimension of teacher language awareness, and whether ‘Good Language Teachers’ possess, as one might anticipate, high levels of knowledge of the language systems. The data shedding light on this particular question were the subjects’ Language Awareness test papers. As mentioned above, the test focused specifically on grammar and vocabulary.

Table 1 below shows the performance of the three subjects on the grammar component of the test. All the figures in the table are percentages. For purposes of comparison, the mean scores of a large group of subjects who took the same grammar test (Andrews 1999a) are also shown in the table. In Andrews (1999a), 187 serving teachers of English in Hong Kong secondary schools, all graduates without professional training, took the grammar test. The scores in Table 1 are arranged in order of the relative difficulty of the four tasks (as indicated by test scores in Andrews 1999a), starting with the easiest: identifying and correcting errors. As argued in Andrews (1999c), this sequence of mean scores reflects the cognitive burden associated with each of the four tasks, error correction and the recognition of metalinguistic terminology being perceived as cognitively less demanding than the production of metalanguage or the explanation of errors (Andrews 1999c:152). It is, however, interesting to note that Bonnie’s results pattern differs from the norm, since her score for the task requiring production of grammatical terminology is actually higher than her score for the task requiring mere recognition of such metalanguage.

	<i>ANNA Hong Kong Secondary</i>	<i>BONNIE Hong Kong Secondary</i>	<i>TRUDI UK Tertiary</i>	<i>Mean scores (n = 187) from Andrews (1999a)</i>
<i>Correction of Errors</i>	93.3%	93.3%	100%	80.6%
<i>Recognition of Metalanguage</i>	83.3%	77.7%	94.4%	75.1%
<i>Production of Metalanguage</i>	70.8%	87.5%	75%	63.2%
<i>Explanation of Errors</i>	46.6%	43.3%	36.6%	38.9%
<i>OVERALL SCORE</i>	71.4%	72.4%	74.3%	65%

Table 1 : Performance on the Grammar Component of the Language Awareness Test

From Table 1, we can see that all three 'Good Language Teachers' achieved scores several percentage points (between 6.4% and 9.3%) above the mean of the teachers in Andrews (1999a). What is perhaps most noteworthy about this, however, is that the performance of the 'Good Language Teachers' is not more markedly above the mean. The subjects in Andrews (1999a) all lacked a professional qualification, and the vast majority had relatively few years of teaching experience. As the results in Andrews (1999a) reveal, quite a large number of the 187 subjects achieved scores on the Language Awareness test well above those of the subjects in the present study. For instance, among the main study group in Andrews (1999a), i.e. those teachers whose language awareness in relation to grammar was investigated in depth, eight out of 17 (47%) scored better than the 'Good Language Teachers', the top score among those 17 being 90%.

Apart from this, it is also noticeable that all three 'Good Language Teachers' performed to a very similar level overall. The unusual pattern in Bonnie's test scores has been noted above, but there are nevertheless major similarities in the subjects' performance. All three, for example, performed very well on the error correction task. This is not surprising, since the task is primarily a test of language proficiency, and these are subjects with very good English. All three, however, performed poorly when required to explain their correction of those errors, with Trudi (the UK-based tertiary teacher) obtaining a score below the mean for the 187 teachers in Andrews (1999a). Given the relevance of the task to pedagogical practice, and the relative simplicity of the errors to be explained, this is a worrying finding.

For the vocabulary component of the test, there was no previous large-scale administration that might have allowed for comparison. Table 2 below therefore records just the results of the three 'Good Language Teachers'. Although there are no data for comparison, Table 2 reveals some intriguing patterns which could usefully be investigated further by administering the test to larger populations, each constituting a representative sample of teachers with a homogeneous background (linguistic, educational, and professional). For instance, while the two Hong Kong secondary school teachers, Anna and Bonnie, performed to a similar level overall, their performance is in marked contrast to Trudi, whose score of 85.7% was more than double that recorded by Bonnie. Anna and Bonnie both performed far worse on the vocabulary component of the Language Awareness test than on the grammar component, whereas Trudi obtained a higher score on the vocabulary component. Most worrying from the teacher educator perspective is the fact that two teachers labelled 'Good Language Teachers' by the award of a Distinction grade at the end of their professional training should score so low on the task involving the explanation of errors, since (as noted above in relation to the grammar component) this is a task which forms part of the L2 teacher's routine practice in most settings. Anna, for example, could correct all but one of the 15 sentences containing a vocabulary error, but was able to score only 23.3% for her explanations of those same errors. Bonnie, meanwhile, managed to correct only ten of the 15 sentences,

but performed marginally better in her explanation of those corrections.

	<i>ANNA Hong Kong Secondary</i>	<i>BONNIE Hong Kong Secondary</i>	<i>TRUDI UK Tertiary</i>
<i>Correction of Errors</i>	93.3%	66.6%	100%
<i>Recognition of Metalinguage</i>	60%	35%	85%
<i>Word Structure</i>	50%	50%	100%
<i>Production of Metalinguage (lexical relations)</i>	20%	40%	100%
<i>Explanation of Errors</i>	23.3%	26.6%	66.6%
<i>OVERALL SCORE</i>	47.3%	40.7%	85.7%

Table 2: Performance on the Vocabulary Component of the Language Awareness Test

In attempting to explain these patterns, one can only speculate. The relatively consistent similarity of the performance of the two Hong Kong teachers is noteworthy, however, and calls for some comment. One might hypothesise, for example, that Anna and Bonnie's low performance on the vocabulary component of the Language Awareness test (and markedly better performance on the grammar component) is associated with the emphasis traditionally placed on grammatical competence in L2 teaching and learning in Hong Kong, and the relative lack of attention paid to vocabulary. Trudi's high vocabulary score, on the other hand, might be seen as a reflection of her educational background in Germany, the nature of her philological studies, and her strong personal interest in words. As mentioned above, further research will be required before any generalisations can be made.

THE LEVEL OF TEACHER LANGUAGE AWARENESS EXHIBITED BY 'GOOD LANGUAGE TEACHERS' IN THEIR PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE

The second question the study attempted to address was whether these three 'Good Language Teachers' all exhibited highly developed levels of teacher language awareness in their pedagogical practice. The two lesson observations and three interviews referred to earlier constituted the data relating to this question. On the evidence provided by those data, the answer must be a qualified yes. There were a number of generally similar ways in which these 'Good Language Teachers' revealed themselves to be language-aware, for instance their willingness to engage with language and language-related issues, and their ability to control their own language to the level of the class. At the

same time, however, each of the subjects also revealed certain limitations¹ in her teacher language awareness, a finding which lends support to the suggestion above that ‘Good Language Teachers’ are by no means the ‘finished article’ in terms of their teacher language awareness. These limitations became apparent in the ways in which the subjects mediated the input being made available for learning. The following paragraphs provide examples of some of these limitations. Because of space constraints, the examples in this section are drawn only from the data gathered from the two Hong Kong-based teachers, Anna and Bonnie. In relation to the third subject, Trudi, such limitations as were apparent were primarily concerned with the selection of the vocabulary to be drawn to the students’ attention, for instance, the introduction of the names of different types of shellfish to a group of Chinese students following an elementary/lower intermediate EAP course. In the case of both Anna and Bonnie, the examples also involve vocabulary.

Both of Anna’s lessons were with students possessing a very high level of English proficiency. These students were nearing the end of their penultimate year (Secondary 6, or Year 12) in an English-medium girls’ school. The school, in a middle-class district on Hong Kong Island, generally has a highly academic intake. The observed lessons both had a study skills focus, with the specific skills being closely linked to those which would be tested in the public examinations towards the end of the following academic year. Both lessons had a strongly metacognitive dimension, with students being encouraged to reflect upon the skills they would need for examination success, and the strategies they might employ to develop those skills.

There were a number of ways in which Anna revealed a high level of pedagogical content knowledge in the two lessons. For instance, her knowledge of the curriculum, and in particular of the examination syllabus, was evident throughout both observations: not in any narrow obsession with the examination format, but rather in Anna’s awareness of the precise nature of the skills the students needed to develop and of the performance levels in those skills which would be required for exam success. This aspect of her teaching was also indicative of Anna’s knowledge of the students and her understanding of the context in which she was working.

At the same time, however, there were certain aspects of Anna’s teacher language awareness, specifically in the ways she made language input available to the students, which revealed limitations, both in terms of her knowledge of subject-matter and her apparent unawareness of the potential for student misconceptions arising from the input presented to them. These limitations were more apparent in the first lesson, and were in part a consequence of the decontextualised way in which language was presented. In this

¹ It should be noted that these were limitations in our subjective judgement as researchers. In some cases, a subject’s behaviour was judged to reveal limitations in teacher language awareness if, for example, the input she made available to learners contained inaccuracies of form or erroneous information about language. In addition, when a subject made content-related decisions that we considered inappropriate given, for instance, the level of the learners, we also took these to be indicative of teacher language awareness limitations.

lesson, the students were invited to reflect upon their problems in learning English at Secondary 6, and to suggest things they should do more and less in order to improve their learning. To help them in their discussion of learning strategies, the students were given (via a Powerpoint slide) a list of fifteen verbs conveying the idea of increasing and improving, and another list of ten verbs concerned with reduction.

The potential difficulty overlooked by Anna related to the attempts students might make, following the presentation, to use these verbs to express their recommended strategies. None of the verbs was presented in context: each was treated as an isolated item, with certain pairs of verbs being highlighted as synonymous. Anna's explanation of the denotation of each verb was perfectly adequate. However, when presenting on her slide the pairs of synonyms, Anna gave no indication to the students that there were differences in the patterns of complementation associated with each verb in the pair. Thus, for instance, *increase*, which can be used both transitively and intransitively, was presented as synonymous with *augment*. *Augment*, however, can only be used transitively. A similar problem arose with *decrease* (transitive and intransitive) being presented as synonymous with *abate* (intransitive). Anna also presented *hold back* as synonymous with *restrain*, with no indication that the two verbs could not be used identically.

In the post-lesson interview, Anna made it clear that although a number of these words were being taught primarily to increase students' receptive knowledge, her hope was that students would ultimately be able to use a wider range of vocabulary: *'They will usually use improve this, improve that ... I want them to enrich their knowledge ... I mean the lists of vocabulary would help them to use other vocab ... other words which are similar to the meaning that they want to say'*. The production task in the lesson was relatively brief and did not provide any examples of learner misconceptions of the type mentioned above (or at least any example for which there was evidence audible or visible to the observer). However, Anna's Powerpoint files were a resource students could consult at any time. There was therefore a continuing potential for misconception.

Bonnie's students were rather different from Anna's: a Secondary 3 (Year 9) class in a co-educational school in an industrial district in the New Territories with an intake of average/below-average academic ability. As with Anna, however, Bonnie's highly developed pedagogical content knowledge was clearly in evidence throughout both videotaped lessons, in particular her knowledge of the students and her awareness and understanding of the challenges English language learning poses for them.

One of the strategies Bonnie frequently employs in her teaching is that of using authentic texts, particularly recent articles from the 'Young Post', an English language newspaper aimed at readers of secondary school age. Bonnie made use of such texts in both observed lessons. In the first lesson, however, Bonnie's treatment of vocabulary in her chosen newspaper article set up the potential for both misunderstanding and false hypotheses on the part of the students. As with the examples from Anna's teaching, the potential problem arose primarily as a result of dealing with vocabulary items in

isolation. The difference in Bonnie's case was that this occurred even though the students encountered those vocabulary items within a text.

The theme of Bonnie's first observed lesson was pets, and the advantages and disadvantages of keeping different animals as pets. Shortly after the lesson began, the students were asked to read a letter to the Editor extracted from the 'Young Post'. The letter was headed *Treat your pets with love and respect*. Bonnie had underlined seven words in the text, including *treat* and *respect* in the headline, and had written seven definitions in speech bubbles surrounding the text. The students' task was to match each word to its meaning.

Bonnie said to the students that she had herself looked up each word in a dictionary, and used the dictionary definition in the speech bubble. It was this strategy, however, which led to potential confusion for the students, because Bonnie had taken each word in isolation, without seeming to have paid much attention to its meaning in the text. For example, the definition provided for *respect* in the headline *Treat your pets with love and respect* was *a feeling of admiration*. Leaving aside the question as to whether students who do not understand *respect* would understand the word *admiration* any more easily, there is clearly something odd about treating a pet with a feeling of admiration. Bonnie's linking of *admiration* to *looking up to* and *wanting to copy* made the application to pets even stranger. However, this oddness was overlooked, because the words were dealt with as separate tokens rather than as forming part of a sentence or a text.

A similar problem occurred with the word *treat* in the same headline. The definition provided by Bonnie was *to behave in a nice way*, which again failed to fit the headline very well. Its inadequacy as a definition was clearly shown in the second sentence of the letter, which began '*If you treat your pets badly...*'

Immediately after the vocabulary matching task, Bonnie focused the students' attention on the following pairs of words: *obey/disobey* and *treat/mistreat*. In the post-lesson interview, Bonnie confirmed that she would often try to make her students aware of the meanings associated with particular prefixes and suffixes, not as the main focus of a unit of learning but opportunistically in the context of tasks with a different primary focus. In this particular instance, Bonnie asked the students to spot the pattern in the pairs of words, which she then demonstrated on the blackboard by putting ticks next to *obey* and *treat* and crosses next to *disobey* and *mistreat* to indicate positive and negative respectively.

Bonnie's focus on the negative meanings associated with the prefixes *dis-* and *mis-* was not in itself confusing. The potential for student confusion arose from Bonnie's treatment of the meaning contrast as if it were the same in each pair, rather than between positive and negative in the case of *obey/disobey* and neutral/negative in the case of *treat/mistreat*. In the post-lesson interview, Bonnie acknowledged that there was something potentially confusing. She said of her strategy '*I guess when I did this ... all I wanted to do was to point out the positive and negative ... But I did realise that with this*

particular line here [the sentence beginning If you treat your pets badly...] the smarter ones would think 'OK, there's something wrong here' ... So they can come and see me'. Unfortunately, the data provided no evidence of either learner confusion or of learner initiatives to resolve such confusion by consulting the teacher.

In relation to both Anna and Bonnie, it should be emphasised that the alleged limitations in each of the lesson extracts above relate specifically to teacher language awareness and the mediation of input for learning. In each case, those limitations could be considered as relatively minor, and there is no intended criticism of the pedagogical strategies themselves. It is interesting to note that such limitations in teacher language awareness as were evident in the pedagogical practice of both these teachers were mainly vocabulary-related rather than grammar-related. This is perhaps hardly surprising given that on the Language Awareness test both teachers performed less well on the vocabulary component than the grammar component, and that when interviewed both revealed a lack of confidence about vocabulary. Anna, for instance, said twice during the first interview '*I myself am not very good at vocabulary*' and blamed herself for the limitations of her students' vocabulary knowledge: '*I may not have given them a good model to stimulate them to know enough. So I still think that they have not enough [vocabulary knowledge] because of me to a certain extent*'.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEACHER LANGUAGE AWARENESS OF 'GOOD LANGUAGE TEACHERS'

The third question sought to identify the characteristics of the teacher language awareness exhibited by these 'Good Language Teachers'. The discussion of this question draws on all the data: the tests, interviews, and lesson observations.

The first, and perhaps most striking characteristic of the teacher language awareness of all three subjects is their willingness to engage with language, i.e. with the content of learning. In Andrews (2001) it is argued that teacher engagement with content-related issues in the classroom is a significant variable influencing the application of teacher language awareness in practice (Andrews 2001:83-88). The interviews with all three subjects show how central the content of learning is both to their thinking about language pedagogy and to their classroom practice. Each 'Good Language Teacher' engages with content in her own individual way, but for all of them content issues form the core of their thinking, planning and teaching. Trudi's approach to engagement is offered as an illustration.

Trudi characterises herself as a teacher who tries to be both communicative in everything she is doing and '*very well structured at the same time*'. She claims that her overall approach to L2 pedagogy is based upon her own school experiences as a learner of Latin and a student of her L1, German, together with her subsequent studies of linguistics, language acquisition, and humanistic psychology. She sees her knowledge of linguistics and psychology as going hand in hand, with the latter helping her to understand how best to draw on her linguistic knowledge to assist learners. With the

students she currently teaches (post-secondary and adult learners in a tertiary institution) Trudi firmly believes that in order to learn the L2 they need explicit knowledge of grammar as a base on which to build up their implicit knowledge: *'We know this intrinsic structure exists from psycholinguistics ... so we must give students all possible support to build it up ... If we teach the implicit way, then it makes the process so much longer ... If we try to use both the creative and the conscious way, then it helps ... They're old enough to learn deliberately'*. Trudi's teaching in the two observed lessons is noteworthy for its attention to both the cognitive and affective/creative domains, as well as for the way in which she 'scaffolds' learners into using the language forms she is teaching: *'... visualising the rules in the first instance ... giving very carefully selected examples in the beginning ... make it clear what I'm talking about, and then go over to structured exercises, less structured exercises following, and ... to come more and more to a transferred situation in which they can speak freely'*.

Trudi makes an interesting comparison between herself, as an experienced non-native speaker teacher of English with a study background in modern and classical languages, linguistics and psychology, and some of her native-speaker teacher colleagues with non-relevant degrees and basic TESOL training. She observes in one of the interviews that a number of those colleagues have said to her *'Why are you doing tenses again?'* Trudi comments that as a non-native speaker she is constantly aware of her own mistakes and of the complexity of tenses in English. She suggests of her colleagues: *'Maybe they don't understand the difficulties the students face. So some of them said 'Why do you teach tenses again?' Sort of tick, tenses done, must understand them ... They don't know that there is more behind ... especially behind the English tenses than 's' in the simple present ... It's how to use it'*.

A second characteristic of the teacher language awareness of all three 'Good Language Teacher's is their self-awareness, in particular their awareness of the limitations of their own knowledge. As the Language Awareness test scores suggest, there are a number of areas of subject-matter knowledge, just in relation to grammar and vocabulary, which could be improved. Anna's and Trudi's comments above are indicative of the extent to which these teachers are aware of their limitations. At the same time, among these 'Good Language Teachers' such self-awareness does not have the effect (noted among some of the subjects in Andrews 1999a, for example) of inhibiting their engagement with content-related issues or causing any of them to adopt avoidance strategies. These are highly experienced teachers, all with very different classroom personalities but with very similar levels of self-confidence and self-belief. They all therefore confront language issues head on, with (as Trudi's remarks suggest) self-awareness enhancing their sensitivity both to the challenges facing their learners and to those learners' interlingual development. Their self-awareness is also linked to a quest for self-improvement. All three subjects reveal in their interviews the time and effort spent consulting grammars, dictionaries, and other reference materials in order to enhance their subject-matter knowledge to support their teaching. As a further

illustration of these subjects' recognition of the need for continuing professional development, it is worth noting that at the time of writing one of the two Hong Kong 'Good Language Teachers' had just begun a Master's in English Language Education while the other had been accepted on to a Doctor of Education programme.

Associated with their self-awareness is the willingness of these subjects to engage in reflection about the content of learning, and the extent to which they engage in such reflection as part of their pedagogical practice. From their interview responses, for example, including their stimulated recall comments about observed lessons, it was evident that for all three subjects the content of learning, and how best to make input available for learning was central to their reflections, both their reflection-on-action (before and after teaching) and their reflection-in-action (while teaching) (see, for example, Schon, 1983, for discussion of reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action).

There are a number of characteristics of the classroom practice of all three 'Good Language Teachers' which could be attributed to their teacher language awareness and the quality of their reflections about the content of learning. As noted earlier, they all engage fully with the content of learning, and share a belief in focusing on form¹ at appropriate points in their teaching. Anna, for example, describes her own practice as follows: *'I will make the language as a core in the language lesson, and then I think of contexts, situations for them to use the language'*. In the same interview she discusses her own pedagogical approach in relation to task-based learning, the approach upon which the most recent English Language syllabuses for Hong Kong schools have been based. She describes task-based learning as *'old wine in new bottles'*, and says that for her *'Language learning is central ... I mean there is some central element we need to learn: the grammar, the sentence patterns, the vocabulary, the writing, the reading, the listening. Whatever term we give, we still have to teach them [the students], we've to motivate them, to stimulate and engage them into purposeful discussion and purposeful tasks'*.

In focusing on form, whether grammar or vocabulary, all three 'Good Language Teachers' appear to have an intuitive understanding of the importance of 'input enhancement' (see, for example, Sharwood Smith, 1991), making salient within the input the key features of the language area in order to enhance the chances of the learners' 'noticing' as a prerequisite for subsequent 'intake' (Schmidt, 1990). The three subjects adopt different strategies to this end. Anna, for instance, uses a range of colours on her Powerpoint slides, to highlight particular lexical items, and to indicate contrasts of meaning, such as positive and negative personality traits. Although Anna does not use the term 'noticing', it is clear that this is her goal: *'Only for familiarisation. If they want to use it, they use it. If not then at least they have seen it before, it's not something totally new ... Because it's sometimes scary to find there are so many new words, but by*

¹ No distinction is implied here between 'focus on form' and 'focus on formS' (see, for example, Long and Robinson, 1998).

association, by thinking 'Oh, I've come across this' ... then it will make them feel better'. Meanwhile, Bonnie, relying on rather more basic technology, makes use of the blackboard and different colour chalks to highlight patterns. Trudi, too, relies on the blackboard. Like Bonnie, she frequently builds up patterns on the board at the beginning of the lesson, and leaves them there throughout the class in an attempt to promote assimilation by the learners. When interviewed, she talks of her very deliberate use of a combination of drama, colours, gestures and voice to help anchor the patterns she is teaching and to help set up appropriate associations. Bonnie attributes her current practice to observing and reflecting upon the practices of other teachers: 'I've always thought that the organisation on the board is very important for the students ... When I go for classroom observations, I've seen teachers who, when they explain things, they write on the board and they write everywhere ... and when they don't have enough space, just clear up one patch and write on it. I thought that what the teacher writes doesn't stay long enough for the students to absorb ... so I've made a point to be organised when I write on the board'.

The motive underlying Bonnie's use of the blackboard is illustrative of another characteristic shown by all three 'Good Language Teachers': their awareness of learners' potential difficulties. This awareness shows itself in the strategies that these subjects employ to make input available for learning: their strategies for input enhancement, the support they all give individual learners, based on knowledge and understanding of their specific problems and needs, and also the way in which they all skilfully control their own language so that it presents an appropriate level of challenge for the learners. Whether the students are at an advanced level, as in Anna's case, or elementary level (as with Bonnie and Trudi), the teacher-mediated input in each case is pitched at precisely the right level.

It could, of course, be argued that many of these characteristics are part of the pedagogical content knowledge of 'Good Language Teachers', rather than specifically their teacher language awareness. We would respond to any such argument by emphasising the close relationship between pedagogical content knowledge and teacher language awareness, and by suggesting that the characteristics outlined above are all either facets of teacher language awareness or aspects of pedagogical content knowledge which impact upon teacher language awareness in operation. As noted earlier, the model of teacher language awareness proposed in Andrews (2001) sees teacher language awareness as a major sub-component of the L2 teacher's pedagogical content knowledge, which interacts with the other sub-components (Andrews, 2001:79). Recent reconceptualisations of Shulman's pedagogical content knowledge construct have proposed that pedagogical content knowledge is an amalgam of various knowledge bases which interact and intermesh in the process of teaching (Turner-Bisset, 2001), and have portrayed pedagogical content knowledge as an 'integrated body of knowledge' (Tsui, 2003:247). It therefore seems appropriate to include the points mentioned above in the discussion of the characteristics of the teacher language awareness of 'Good

Language Teachers' because of the close interrelationship of these different facets of teacher knowledge and their impact on the procedural dimension of teacher language awareness, i.e. how teachers' knowledge, beliefs and awareness of the language systems affect their pedagogical practice.

CONCLUSIONS

From the present study, we feel that we have learnt a considerable amount about 'Good Language Teachers' and their teacher language awareness. First, the study provides support for our hypothesis that 'Good Language Teachers' are not the 'finished article' as far as the declarative dimension of their teacher language awareness is concerned. All three subjects have gaps in their subject-matter knowledge, according to their test performance, and to a varying extent these limitations were seen to impact upon the procedural dimension of their teacher language awareness, as noted in the analysis of their pedagogical practice. At the same time, the study has revealed a number of other characteristics of language-aware behaviour which might be hypothesised as generalisable in relation to the teacher language awareness of 'Good Language Teachers' worldwide: willingness and ability to engage with language-related issues; self-awareness (with particular reference to awareness of the extent of their own subject-matter knowledge) accompanied by a desire for continuing self-improvement of their teacher language awareness; willingness and ability to reflect on language-related issues; awareness of their own key role in mediating input for learning; awareness of learners' potential difficulties; and a love of language. As suggested above, these characteristics of the language awareness of 'Good Language Teachers' form part of their broader pedagogical content knowledge and are closely interrelated with various aspects of pedagogical content knowledge. Not surprisingly, these characteristics also resonate with the findings of studies of teacher expertise. Tsui (2003), for example, identifies three dimensions as critical indicators of the extent to which any teacher is an expert:

- how teachers relate to the act of teaching, and the extent to which they integrate or dichotomise the various aspects of teacher knowledge in the teaching act;
- how they relate to their specific contexts of work, and the extent to which they are able to perceive and open up possibilities that do not present themselves as such in their specific contexts of work; and
- the extent to which they are able to theorise the knowledge generated by their personal practical experience as a teacher and to 'practicalise' theoretical knowledge (Tsui, 2003:247).

The evidence gathered for the present study would suggest that in most respects all three subjects are experts according to Tsui's criteria, despite the apparent limitations in their subject-matter knowledge.

In relation to our own teaching, this study raises a number of questions, concerning both the needs of 'Good Language Teachers' such as those taking part in the research, and the priority given to teacher language awareness in L2 teacher education programmes more generally, from pre-service onwards. These subjects all acknowledge their personal need for greater subject-matter knowledge, which would seem to lend strong support to the idea that teacher language awareness should form part of continuing professional development for L2 teachers at all stages of their careers, with such professional development opportunities being available in variety of modes, including self-access. These subjects also have a very clear conception of the central importance of language content in their own pedagogical practice. This, on the evidence outlined above, seems to be one of the defining characteristics of the teacher language awareness of the 'Good Language Teacher', and is an aspect of teacher language awareness which, in our view, needs to be fostered from the beginning of any pre-service L2 teacher education programme.

In attempting to foster an active awareness of content issues, however, it would seem sensible not to isolate teacher language awareness from broader aspects of teacher thinking and teacher reflectivity. Instead, the development of teacher language awareness could be promoted as part of an endeavour to encourage reflection across the broad spectrum of pedagogical concerns. The teacher language awareness component of such a programme would have as its objective increasing teachers' understanding of the need to engage with content issues, and enhancing their own awareness of the potential impact of teacher language awareness upon student learning, as well as encouraging teachers to strengthen their language systems knowledge-base. By incorporating attention to teacher language awareness in an L2 teacher education programme aimed more broadly at fostering reflective teaching, the objective would be to develop content-related reflection as part of a generally enhanced reflectivity, and to foster the development of qualities such as sensitivity, perception, alertness and vision, noted elsewhere (see, for example, Andrews 1999a:172-177) as being essential both to teacher language awareness and to general teaching competence. Ideally, the reflective practitioner would then, as her career develops, focus as much attention, in both teaching and reflection, on content-related issues (and the improvement of her knowledge and self-awareness in that regard) as on methodology (and increasing her repertoire of teaching skills and activities).

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APPENDIX

Sample Test Items from Language Awareness Test

GRAMMAR COMPONENT

A. Metalanguage production

Look at the twelve sentences below. What grammatical terms would you use to describe the item underlined in each of the sentences? NOTE: For each item provide a full description.

Examples:

1. It was the most exciting film she had ever seen.
superlative adjective
2. I saw Jenny last Saturday.
verb in past simple tense

B. Grammatical error correction and explanation

This section consists of fifteen English sentences, each of which contains a grammar mistake. For each sentence:

1. Rewrite the faulty part of the sentence correctly. (There is only one part that is wrong.) Do NOT rewrite the whole sentence.
2. Underneath each sentence explain the error.

Example:

I often goes to the cinema.

Correct version: go

Explanation: The verb must agree with the subject

[Do NOT write : Change 'goes' to 'go']

VOCABULARY COMPONENT

A. Word Structure

Divide the following words into morphemes (as in the examples) and say how many morphemes each word contains.

Examples:

Superman: *super|man - 2*

Anticlockwise: *anti|clock|wise - 3*

B. Lexical Relations

How would you describe the lexical relations between the words in italics:

Example:

Musical instrument – guitar : *super-ordinate and subordinate*

C. Vocabulary error correction and explanation

This section consists of fifteen English sentences, each of which contains a vocabulary mistake.

For each sentence:

1. Rewrite the faulty part of the sentence correctly. (There is only one part that is wrong.) Do NOT rewrite the whole sentence.
2. Underneath each sentence explain the error.

Example:

I need some informations.

Correct version: information

Explanation: "information" is uncountable and has no plural form.

Chapter 11

Pre-Service ESL Teachers' Knowledge about Language and its Transfer to Lesson Planning

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1. LEARNING TO TEACH LANGUAGE THROUGH CONTENT

The present research grew out of a desire to learn more about why our students, who are native English speaking preservice language teachers, struggled to apply the knowledge they were learning in their English Grammar course to the lesson plans they wrote in their pedagogy courses. We saw that they were learning the content of the grammar class, but few linguistic objectives appeared when they were writing lesson plans, especially plans that originated from authentic content materials or tasks. We argue that while all teachers need KAL (Fillmore and Snow, 2000), it is central to the work of ESL teachers. They need to develop and apply KAL to make decisions in the classroom, from issues of curriculum design to the question of whether and how to offer corrective feedback. ESL teachers must be skilled at gathering linguistic information from their students to choose suitable linguistic structures to teach and to assess students' linguistic development. They have to be able to predict what language will be problematic in a text or class activity and then decide how to address the language in the lesson. They need to decide whether instruction should be proactive (i.e., planned instruction) or reactive (e.g., recasts), implicit or explicit, inductive or deductive (see Doughty and Williams (1998) for full discussion on decisions related to focus on form). KAL informs what materials, tasks and assignments are best suited to students according to their global literacy skills and their syntactic development. KAL is core to the everyday work of language teachers.

Despite its important role, little is known about how language teachers come to acquire KAL and transfer this knowledge to decisions related to instruction. While there has been a fair amount of research on grammar teaching techniques, tailored to specific forms and to specific teaching contexts very little is known “about the actual difficulties of novice teachers who embark on the venture of CBI or the problems of experienced teachers who are being retrained to do CBI” (Brinton, 2000, p. 50). Additionally, while there has been an impressive amount of research on language teachers’ metalinguistic knowledge and beliefs about grammar instruction and their match to classroom practice (Andrews, 1999; Borg, 1998, 1999a, 1999b), there needs to be more research on how KAL develops and transfers to teachers’ planning decisions, specifically in the preservice ESL teacher. Just as language learners may know the conventions of a language in a formal sense and yet not be able to apply these conventions to meaningful language use, we have observed that teachers often possess KAL yet are not able to apply it to their teaching practice. This study explores the process of achieving that transfer in a teacher education program.

We chose to examine KAL transfer specifically for content-based language instruction (CBI) because we have noticed that our students struggle with using their KAL to find language objectives when teaching with academic content. There are many benefits to teaching with content, all of which are strongly represented in our program. CBI presumes that language is best learned through meaningful, communicative and experiential content instruction. CBI allows for form-meaning connections that are important for language development and gives ESL students access to grade-level content as soon as they enter the school system. Furthermore, teachers who focus learner attention on linguistic form during communicative interactions are more effective than those who never do so or who only do so in decontextualized grammar lessons (Larsen-Freeman, 2001). Nevertheless, CBI presents some tensions for ESL teachers. Language instruction in CBI often does not match ESL teachers’ preconceptions of how language should be taught. Teachers often believe that language instruction must be explicit and use teacher-led explanations, followed by student practice (Short, 2002). CBI, on the other hand, often involves choosing implicit rather than explicit approaches for targeting a grammatical form. This is not an issue that is limited to the K-12 context or to novice teachers. Pica’s (2002) study of experienced ESL teachers of adult classes using literature, film and American culture as content found that teacher-fronted discussions were the most frequent interactional activity and that this format did not tend to focus learner attention on form. We have observed in our classes and concur with Short that “most teachers address content objectives in their lessons but less frequently include language goals. For English language learners, this is a critical area for increased teacher attention” (2002, p. 22). Often in CBI, the teacher’s focus moves almost entirely to content. However, we agree with the proactive stance Master (2000) takes: “It is ultimately the CBI instructor who must make sure that grammar is sufficiently covered, both in terms of range and explanation” (p. 102). The ability to integrate content and

language begins at the planning level (Met, 1994; Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1992), so our analysis of transfer centers on lesson-planning assignments. Defining language-learning outcomes can be a difficult skill for preservice teachers (Brown, 1995; Graves, 2000). This was confirmed in our program in a yearlong study of our preservice language teachers' development of planning skills (Bigelow & Ranney, 2001). We found that when they tried to integrate language-related objectives, those objectives were mainly related to vocabulary or the broad skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing. Language objectives targeting linguistic forms in an integrated fashion were uncommon. Moreover, the range of forms the group chose was extremely limited. While we would argue that engaging and relevant content should be at the center of effective language instruction, we also would argue that ESL teachers need to develop their KAL alongside their skills in choosing, planning and assessing language-learning tasks. This will have a direct impact on the development of students' language skills.

We see that teachers who use academic content in their lessons begin their planning roughly from one of two places: the content or the language. Figure 1 illustrates these two paths. A teacher may begin by identifying a linguistic issue in a structural syllabus or one that students are struggling with and then choose relevant content to contextualize the form, finally arriving at the language objectives of the lesson (Path 1). On the other hand, the teacher may begin with content materials. In this case the materials or tasks are analyzed for challenging linguistic items and then the language objectives are developed (Path 2).

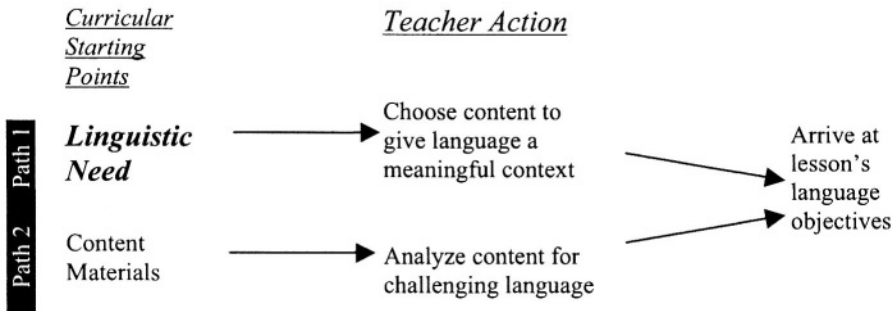


Figure 1. Outline of typical steps language teachers go through to formulate language objectives.

KAL is needed to follow either path and ESL teachers must be prepared to follow both paths as they plan for instruction. They require this flexibility because there is a frequent alternation between using materials from mainstream classes and designing lessons to focus on specific and troublesome structures. In this study, we wished to explore the processes involved in transfer as well as how our own practice interacted with these processes. Specifically, we formulated the following questions to guide our research:

1. What evidence of transfer of KAL do we see in preservice teachers' lesson planning?
2. What are the main obstacles to transfer of metalinguistic knowledge to planning for CBI?
3. How can we facilitate transfer of metalinguistic knowledge to planning for CBI?

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Students and Learning Context

The Masters of Education program in Second Languages and Cultures at the University of Minnesota allows novice teachers to earn an ESL license, and often an extra license in a world language, after 15 months in the program. (For more information on this program, see González and Darling-Hammond (1997) and Bigelow and Tedick (in press). In this program, students take classes and engage in student teaching throughout the academic year. Before this study began, the participating students took introductory courses in linguistics and language acquisition. We began the study at the beginning of the academic year in the courses we teach – a 3-credit English Grammar class (Ranney) and a 6-credit pedagogy seminar (Bigelow and Ranney).

The data for this study came from 20 participants. The program uses a cohort model and during the year of this research the group numbered 25 students, of which 22 agreed to participate in the study. Two were eliminated from the data pool because they were not pursuing an ESL license. The average age was 27, with 18 women and 2 men in the group. They were native speakers of English; however, all of them spoke at least one other language at a high level of proficiency. The participants averaged 1 year and 2 months of prior classroom teaching experience, excluding tutoring and volunteer work. All but one student had lived, studied or worked overseas, with an average of 1 year and 5 months abroad, excluding one student who spent the first 14 years of her life in Germany. In general, we would describe the students in the program as mature, reflective, and with a wealth of intercultural, linguistic, and life experiences.

While we knew from previous years that students entering this program have varying amounts of KAL, we wished to gather information on what they knew before and after the English Grammar course in a more systematic fashion. We designed a task that asked participants to identify examples of 20 different metalinguistic terms in a short reading text. The results at the beginning of the semester showed the group mean to be 44% with a standard deviation of 3.02, which is lower and with greater variability than we had imagined, given their skills in their second language proficiencies. The same instrument, given at the end of the grammar class, showed an improvement of 25% to an average of 69% correct with a standard deviation of 2.84. Comparing means using a paired samples t-test showed that the group improved significantly ($p = .000$) at the $p < .05$ level. This statistic simply shows participants improved in their ability to identify certain grammatical forms within an authentic text. Of the items that gave participants particular

difficulty, both on the pretest and the posttest, were phrasal modals, adverbial clauses and non-referential pronouns. We were not surprised with these results because the course did not give a great deal of attention to these three items. Almost all of the participants could identify examples of superlatives, past progressive verb forms, prepositional phrases and direct quotes. The skill this instrument tests was only one of many aims of the English Grammar course. Other evidence, such as course assignments and quizzes, also suggested that participants were developing their knowledge about syntax as well as their skill in identifying student errors and their ability to identify the structures focused on in the course.

2.2 *Description of the Classes*

The English Grammar class aims to build students' explicit knowledge of English syntax as well as grammar pedagogy. It is tailored to the students in the licensure programs. The main textbook is Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's *The Grammar Book* (1999) and students also read articles about grammar pedagogy. Following the Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman approach, the course emphasizes the dimensions of form, meaning, and use for grammatical structures. The course follows the philosophy that grammar instruction should focus on grammar use, in that grammar must be presented in meaningful contexts and that ESL students need to learn to use grammatical structures rather than simply learning about them. For each grammatical structure addressed in the course, preservice teachers are exposed to authentic texts containing those structures and are asked to analyze samples of ESL student errors related to the structure.

At the same time participants were enrolled in the English Grammar course, they took six credits of pedagogy focusing on teaching ESL at the elementary level. (They completed another six credits of pedagogy focusing on the secondary context during the following semester.) In these courses, CBI and literacy instruction are emphasized. Students take part in workshops on objective writing, linking objectives to assessment, designing lesson plans in phases, and developing engaging activities. They also study the CALLA approach (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994), processes of reading and writing, and national and state standards.

2.3 *Data Sources*

2.3.1 *Journals and Reflections*

To examine the processes participants experienced as they were learning, as well as their feelings about what they were learning, we collected journals and reflections. The journals were written at the end of 6 class meetings of the grammar class. These pieces were allotted approximately 15 minutes at the end of the 6 classes when they were collected. We do not see them as reflections *per se*, because they were not done at the participants' leisure. We do feel that there was sufficient time to obtain clear articulations of students' initial reactions and feelings, which is what we were interested in collecting. Therefore, our choice of the term *journal* is loosely applied. The journal

prompts asked participants explicitly to connect new information learned in class to the K-12 classroom setting, and to explain points of confusion. The prompts had a slightly different focus each time, depending on the lessons of the day so while students were journaling, Ranney documented what occurred in class that day and what prompt was used. The reflections were collected from the thematic units written for the pedagogy course. The reflections required participants to write about the process of creating their thematic units in their pedagogy course, implementing them, and how their choices were informed by their course readings. While the reflections were a required part of the thematic units, participants were not specifically asked to discuss grammar integration. Therefore, we limited our analysis of these reflections to instances where they specifically discussed integrating language and content.

2.3.2 Lesson Plan Assignment

In the English Grammar class, participants were required to create a lesson plan that taught a specific linguistic form using content. Note that this process followed the first path described in Figure 1 because the form was the point of departure.

2.3.3 Content-Based Lesson Plan Assignment

Participants completed a content-based lesson plan while student teaching in elementary ESL and most used this plan in their student teaching. Note that this process tapped the second path described in Figure 1 because the content was the point of departure.

2.3.4 Content-Based Thematic Unit Assignment

While participants were in their secondary school ESL student teaching placements, the semester after they had finished the English grammar course, they created a thematic unit using content. Units covered roughly 10 hours of instruction and were aligned with the TESOL Standards (1997). Like the content-based lesson plan, this assignment also follows Path 2.

We would like to note that this study concentrates on participants' perceptions of what they were learning in the grammar course, seen through the journals, and how this informed their ability to create content-based lesson plans, examined through the assignments described above. These lesson-planning assignments were chosen as data sources because they can reveal participants' attempts to apply concepts learned in their classes, albeit on paper. The fact that most participants used these lesson plans in their student teaching placements does provides an opportunity to examine how the plan unfolds in the classroom, but this analysis was beyond the scope of this paper.

2.4 Data Analysis

The journals and reflections were analyzed qualitatively. In particular, themes related to acquiring and applying KAL in CBI were identified. The procedures sections of the lesson plans and the thematic units were examined for whether, when participants had a

language objective, they were able to create lessons with a concurrent focus on content and language. To facilitate this analysis, we developed a list of criteria (Table 1) that was the result of examining various lesson plans that we felt were outstanding examples of the ways in which language and content can be integrated.

Table 1: Criteria for effective integration of language and content.

1.	The language instruction (implicit or explicit) is contextualized in content.
2.	The language objectives articulated are carried out in the procedures.
3.	The language objectives are assessed in a way that also included content.
4.	The tasks in the lesson require that the form be used appropriately.
5.	The tasks require that the form be used in a natural way, not in a contrived way.
6.	The language lesson fits well with an overall curriculum that would be based on content.

To gain a better understanding of what participants considered language objectives, we sorted their objectives into the following categories: vocabulary, form, reading, writing, speaking and listening. For the modalities, we also sorted according to macro-level (e.g., *Students will be able to read a folktale*) or at the micro-level (e.g., *Students will be able to use skimming skills to understand the main idea of a folktale*). We used a simple tally to survey the range and frequency of forms targeted in the assignments.

3. FINDINGS

To learn about the obstacles to transfer (research question #2) from the participants' perspective, we examined the participants' reflections in journals and in written reflections from their thematic units. In this analysis we were interested in participants' development of both KAL and their ideas about application of the knowledge. Because of the goals and pedagogy of the English Grammar course, participants were challenged to acquire KAL and at the same time apply KAL to teaching. This deliberate interface between practice and theory provided an opportune context for observing the obstacles to transfer our students faced.

3.1 Journals from the English Grammar Course

3.1.1 Challenges and Disequilibria

A predominant theme in the first set of journals, written in the second week of class, was the realization that grammar is more complex than participants had imagined. The descriptive approach reduced the certainty of grammar rules found in the prescriptive approach participants were familiar with. Also, the notion that grammatical structures have form, meaning, and use dimensions (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999) was

new, and contrasted with the commonly held view that grammar is one-dimensional. This complexity challenged the participants and induced anxiety in several. Twelve out of 19 participants expressed some degree of anxiety or confusion about the new material, the most extreme version of which was found in the following quote:

Before the readings and discussion I was "scared" of grammar. Now, I'm terrified. I see a lot of things I don't know and they just don't seem to stay in my mind. (B.V., journal, 9/12/01)²

They also wrote about how the new approach would influence their teaching, as in the following:

Before, I really liked grammar, but my idea was that it was always taught in a rules-based manner. The readings and discussion are helping me open my mind to the possibilities in making grammar meaningful for my students. (L. B., journal, 9/12/01)

Some participants were concerned about the challenges of teaching grammar to English language learners (ELL) given this more nuanced view of grammar:

I have only gotten more interested in how to teach grammar. The problem is that now I'm thinking about the way grammar can be prescriptive and descriptive and as a result am beginning to feel more confused which way to teach ELLs. (G.M., journal, 9/12/01)

While this view opened up grammar as a more interesting subject to learn and teach, it also brought out feelings of disorientation because it was inconsistent with most of the participants' prior experience with grammar.

3.1.2 Applying KAL to Teaching

The journals written the second and fourth weeks of class are characterized by questions about how to apply KAL to teaching. Some show emerging comfort with formal linguistic analysis, intended to develop their metalinguistic knowledge, as exemplified in the following excerpts:

I think that slowly I'm gaining a better understanding of simple grammatical terminology. ...As a result, I'm not falling into the same patterns of learning grammar that I'm used to using. In other words, my frustration level is kept lower. (G.M., journal, 9/19/01)

However, transfer of KAL to teaching was seen as problematic. Participants expressed confusion about how formal analysis helps in grammar teaching, with five participants specifically bringing up that issue in their journals and four others writing that they wondered how they would explain grammar to young children without using metalinguistic terminology. This concern can be explained by the fact that the participants were beginning their elementary ESL student teaching placements and were largely concerned with how to make what they were learning the English Grammar class applicable to teaching children. Conversely, many participants specifically commented on the benefits of the activities carried out that day in class that linked the formal analysis of verb forms to an explanation of sample student errors. This was a connection

between formal aspects of language and everyday classroom practice that worked for some. The question of teacher explanations is exemplified in the following excerpt:

What gives me confidence to teach a structure to learners would be knowing that I truly understand it (not just intuitively but well enough to articulate it). That's where I lack confidence actually with a lot of this. Sure I know simple past and past progressive, but can I explain it so it actually makes sense? What helps is practice. (M.L., journal, 10/3/01)

By the fourth week of the class, participants had been introduced to many new concepts and grammatical structures. The journals reflected a growing confidence with their understanding of the course material, yet there were still concerns about applying the new information to their teaching. Class activities were designed to meet this need by presenting grammatical structures within authentic texts that ESL students would use and by providing opportunities to practice explaining the structures in small groups. Participants described various class activities and individual learning strategies that contributed to their learning, while still expressing concerns about their ability to apply KAL, as noted in the following journal excerpt:

It's all a blur! In general I feel like this class has given me a general overview of the grammar structures..., but I think that in all cases I will need to do a lot more studying and research more student-friendly how-to books before tackling the task of explicitly teaching grammar....I would want to consult other resources geared to students to develop a better understanding of how to present the ideas to my students. What metalanguage will I use, for example, to teach grammar?(S. J., journal 10/3/02)

3.1.3 Issues in Application

The trend of growing confidence in KAL and mounting concerns about pedagogy continued into the seventh week of the course. Many participants (8 of 20) addressed issues related to specific structures, and all of those named particular structures that had been explained in class as structures they felt confident in explaining. No responses mentioned a lack of confidence in their knowledge about grammatical structures. Many pedagogical issues were raised in response to prompts about integrating grammar into teaching. Participants (14) specifically mentioned problematic issues in applying their knowledge to teaching. They said that it was a struggle to keep explanations comprehensible for students' levels but still accurate, that it would be hard to work with externally set curricula, knowing when explicit grammar instruction is appropriate, knowing how to sequence instruction of structures and learning to use error correction. Participants moved from the disorientation of learning that grammar is more complex and less prescriptive than they previously believed, to the disorientation caused by learning about an approach to teaching grammar that was unlike all their previous language learning and teaching experience. One participant reflected on that shift in the following journal excerpt:

I'm realizing that through my own past education I've been engrained in more traditional grammar approaches of worksheets and exercises devoid of context. I'm

excited about a more contextualized and meaningful approach, but starting to see how difficult it might be to retrain myself and how I think about learning grammar. (B.T., journal, 10/17/01)

3.1.4 Choice of Form

Later in the course, after several other structures had been taught, participants were asked to write in their journals about their decision-making processes in choosing grammatical forms to target. Their responses showed concern for ESL students' needs, with nine participants responding that they would focus on structures that students avoid or make errors in and nine mentioning the criteria of students' age and proficiency. Only five reported that they would start from the content in choosing structures that are prevalent in a reading text or necessary to understand the text. Other responses, such as choosing structures based on the cooperating teacher's objectives or those given in an ESL grammar textbook, were only mentioned by one participant each. Some comments also reflected the challenges to integrating grammar in content based instruction, such as:

I would also want to use a lesson that provides a meaningful context for the grammar structure, so if I couldn't think of a meaningful context-embedded way to include grammar, I probably wouldn't. (B.T., journal, 10/31/01)

3.1.5 Becoming Confident in KAL and Transfer of KAL

After the final session of the grammar class, 17 of 20 participants expressed increased confidence in their knowledge and ability to teach grammar, while the other three did not comment about their confidence level. One participant summed up her individual progress as she looked back over her previous journals in a way that matches our analysis of the trends for the class as a whole:

I can see a progression in my journals from worry about being able to master the structures, to worry about being able to make that knowledge accessible to students to finally using the knowledge I have gained as I see the need arising in class. (M.J., journal, 12/12/01)

Several other participants wrote about how the course emphasis on seeing grammar in context had led them to view greater potential for context-embedded grammar instruction and they mentioned ideas about using student writing or children's literature as sources for their grammar lessons.

Many aspects of the course were mentioned as contributing to participants' learning: the class discussions, small group activities, examination of grammar structures in authentic texts, examination of sample ESL student errors, and the course tests, which one person said focused her learning. Many of the applied aspects of the course (analyses of student errors, highlighting of particular grammar structures in authentic texts, presentation of teaching activities) were mentioned as helping them to apply their knowledge to teaching. Eleven out of the 20 offered some suggestions for improving the course. Ten out of those 11 called for an expansion of the applied aspects of the course

either by asking for more discussion of teaching suggestions and looking at grammar in context. Some asked for a new project that involves analysis of the grammar needs of the ESL students in their student teaching placements. These expressions of appreciation for the links between KAL and its applications to teaching, as well as the desire for even more of that instruction, tell us that participants wanted practice applying their developing KAL.

In conclusion, the journals suggest that participants face many challenges when learning to use their KAL to integrate language and content. The first obstacles included overcoming anxiety and learning the technical grammar terminology. Given that this group of participants had extensive language-learning experiences, we had not expected these problems. Prior experience with language learning often reinforces traditional views of grammar and does not prepare participants for the view of grammar as structures whose meaning varies according to context. As they grew more comfortable with their KAL and this new view of grammar, participants expressed some anxiety about how to adapt this knowledge to instruction for young, beginning-level ESL students. The applied features of the course seemed to play an important role in building participants' confidence in learning the material as well as using it in teaching. Overall, the progression shown in the journals indicates that by the end of the course participants felt much better equipped to analyze grammatical structures and to teach them in meaningful contexts.

3.2 Reflections from the Thematic Units

Thematic units were written toward the end of the program in the second semester of the pedagogy courses. The units were created with the participants' secondary ESL contexts in mind. In this analysis, we were able to examine only a subset (13) of the thematic units because not all participants chose to contribute them to our study. Nine of the 13 thematic units we examined included discussions about integrating content and language in their reflections, suggesting that this issue was still on their minds. For two (K. N. and M. L.), *language* included use of one or more of the four modalities. For the remaining seven, *language* meant linguistic forms. Four participants voiced specific challenges to teaching language through content. One participant (S. J., reflection, 4/02) expressed the difficulty of separating content objectives from language objectives conceptually in the planning phase. She went on to say that CBI is "exciting and fun when it all does actually come together – I only wish it didn't have to be so time-consuming!" Another participant explains the archetypal challenge of CBI:

My main difficulty was incorporating language into the lessons. I found myself continually so wound up on the idea of poetry that focusing on a grammar form was a sort of barbed wire fencing me in. In reality, of course, structures can be highlighted and incorporated into nearly any lesson, but for me it was a struggle to lone down the poetry content and focus on language skill development necessary for my students. (G. K., reflection, 4/02)

Another participant found a solution to the challenge of integrating meaningful and contextualized grammar objectives. She candidly admitted, "I got around this challenge by simply not integrating them. Again, if I were to go through and re-work the unit *again* I would attempt to integrate grammar more effectively" (M. L., reflection, 4/02). The challenge of integrating functions was articulated by this participant:

I think I got so wrapped up in the topic and content part of the lesson that I forgot to add these valuable language functions in order to teach the students to be successful in these areas. The students did well with the lesson before I added this, but I understand how much more rich I could have made it! I definitely learned a valuable lesson in how to integrate content *with* language functions and not *just* content. (K. G., reflection, 4/02)

Two participants noted that a starting point in their planning was the language-learning task, exemplified here: "The tasks I decided to focus on lent themselves to studying the grammatical concepts" (D. B., reflection, 4/02). Another said that sometimes she started her planning with the activities, but said "overall I find it easier to write the objectives first (using a standard or learning strategy occasionally) as a starting point" (M. L., reflection, 4/02). This indicates that preservice teachers may need practice with finding language aims not only in content materials, but also in the content tasks.

The reflections from the thematic units centered on the challenges of doing CBI. Participants discussed the struggles of balancing content and language, keeping language in focus and the intense amount of planning required to accomplish this. This indicates to us that the struggles are in the application rather than the acquisition of KAL. The challenges of engaging both their pedagogical knowledge and their KAL are reflected in the following analysis of the lesson plans.

3.3 Application of KAL in the Assignments

3.3.1 Integrating Content and Language in Grammar Lessons: Path 1

The lesson plan was an assignment in the grammar class and it followed Path 1, beginning with a language focus and then adding the integration of content. The integration of content and language in the grammar lessons (using criteria in Table 1) was seamless in the best examples. An example of this caliber of work is a lesson developed by a participant (B.V.) who chose the grammar structure of non-referential *it/there* pronouns. The content that she chose to use was the geography of Ecuador. The lesson presented the structure first with a taped dialogue that was an advertisement for Ecuador, which included many natural instances of the targeted structure. This part of the lesson required students to listen to the text, try to write down structures, and then listen again while underlining the targeted forms. This introduction was followed by some explanations of the form, and then students were given an opportunity to practice the forms in a meaningful way by taking written information about Ecuador and writing sentences about geographic regions, and then presenting information to the class. The students were required to use non-referential *it/there* in their presentations, and the task was designed so this would be a natural fit. Finally, students were asked to write about

traveling to a particular region of Ecuador, a task that would naturally elicit the targeted structure (e.g., There are many mountains in Educator. It is a country on the Pacific Ocean).

While most of the participants (15, or 75%) were able to achieve integration to varying degrees on this assignment, four participants (5 or 25%) we characterized as not succeeding in making the connection. This was because they used disjointed topics and the tasks were less well-designed for eliciting the structure. Typical problems were lessons that did not use a unified content throughout the lesson but instead jumped from one topic to another, used tasks that did not naturally call for the targeted structure, or imposed artificial restrictions on the communicative task.

3.3.2 Integrating Content and Language in CBI: Path 2

The thematic unit assignment, completed for the pedagogy course, followed Path 2, beginning with content and then optionally integrating a language focus. (Optional because not all content-based lessons will have a linguistic focus.) We chose to compare the grammar lessons to the thematic unit to ascertain any difference in successful integration according to path chosen. This was an interesting comparison to us because the two assignments were carried out at the beginning and end of the program, respectively, and by design asked participants to follow different planning processes. We expected to see many excellent examples of integrating language and content. We were surprised, however, to find that three of 13 units analyzed, although they included instruction related generally to the language modalities, did not include any form-related objectives, thus no examples of integration. Yet, when participants chose to include language objectives in their unit (Path 2), the success with which they integrated them was comparable (within 7 percentage points) to the grammar lesson following Path 1, with these main differences: a.) Path 2 lessons were more successful at including tasks that required that the form be used in a natural uncontrived way (77% versus 50%), b.) Path 2 lessons were more successful at fitting the form into the overall curriculum that would be based on content (89% versus 75%), and c.) Path 2 lessons were weaker on whether the language objectives were assessed in a way that also included content (80% versus 90%).

3.3.3 What Language is Targeted and How Often?

We analyzed the two CBI assignments in two ways: first to find out what general language objectives participants chose to include in their planning and second, the forms they chose to target when grammar was included in an objective. It was important to examine the types of language objectives participants chose to target because this is how language development is guided and tracked in CBI. Additionally, these are assignments following Path 2, where planning begins with content materials and we were curious about how beginning with the content might matter in terms of integrating language.

Figure 2 illustrates that the language objectives that participants wrote changed during the academic year and according to the context of different assignments. In the elementary level CBI lesson, participants targeted speaking skills, followed by vocabulary and form most often. Beyond macro-level skills, least targeted were the writing and listening modalities. The thematic unit differed somewhat from the lesson plan. Reading and writing were targeted most often, followed by form, vocabulary and speaking, respectively. Like the earlier lessons, macro-level objectives were few, and listening was virtually ignored. We would like to note that we urged our students to formulate micro-level objectives, because we believe such objectives tend to focus the lesson better and are more observable/assessable. From our perspective, the fact that participants wrote few macro-level objectives was positive because it showed that they were able to conceptualize clear and precise language objectives.

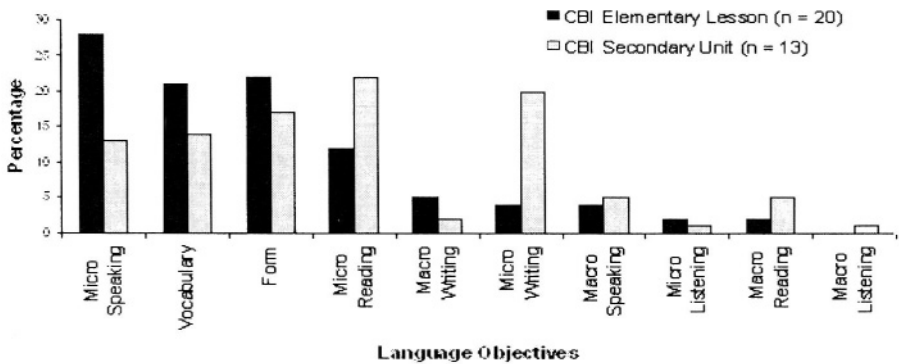


Figure 2. Language objectives targeted in fall lesson plan and spring thematic unit assignments

Our final analysis was conducted to examine more thoroughly participants' choice of linguistic form in the two CBI assignments (Path 2). If participants were developing and applying KAL as we hoped they would, we would anticipate a healthy range of forms chosen besides the micro- and macro-level objectives targeting the modalities seen in Figure 2. This was not what we found (Table 2). Note that Grammar lessons were not included in this analysis because the forms were assigned by the instructor (Ranney) and therefore are not representative of the participants' KAL. In the CBI lesson plan for elementary ESL, only 11 different forms were targeted and only 16 form-related objectives were written by 9 different participants. Therefore, more than half the participants did not choose to include any grammar objectives in their CBI lesson. In the secondary thematic units including 130 lessons, one in four of the lessons included a grammar objective and while 16 different forms were targeted in 52 form-related objectives, the frequency of a grammar focus in such a large quantity of planned

instruction seems low. Of the grammatical forms targeted, verb tenses received much attention, especially in the thematic units.

In summary, participants included form-related objectives fairly infrequently, and when they did, the range of forms they chose was limited, compared to all they had learned in their grammar class. In a post hoc analysis, we found that there was a weak, but insignificant, correlation between scores on the metalinguistic task and number of form-related objectives integrated into content-based lessons. KAL, as the ability to identify metalinguistic terminology in a passage, had very little to do with how many linguistic objectives appeared in the lesson plans. Finally, while we are not claiming that there is an ideal number of linguistic aims in a unit, nor that syntax should always be the primary language focus, it is of some concern that linguistic development is given so little attention and that the range of forms targeted is so narrow.

Table 2. Forms targeted in planned instruction.

<i>Forms Targeted</i>	Content-Based Lesson for ESL Elementary Classes (<i>n</i> = 20)	Content-Based Unit for ESL Secondary Classes (<i>n</i> = 13)*
	Instances Form was Targeted	Instances Form was Targeted
Related to Verb Tense		
Unspecified	--	3
Verb Tense		
Modal Verbs	1	6
Present	3	1
Progressive Verbs		
Past Tense Verbs	2	2
Conditional Construction	--	8
3 rd Person	--	1
Conjugation		
Subject-Verb Agreement	1	1
Present Tense Verbs	--	3
Imperative	--	4
<u>Other Forms</u>		
Negation	1	--
Adjectives	2	8

Question Formation	3	8
Relative Pronouns/Clause	--	2
Comparatives/Superlatives	3	1
Gerunds	--	2
Articles	1	1
Adverbials	1	--
Prepositions	1	1

***Of the 13 units (130 lessons) analyzed, three participants did not target any linguistic forms in their entire unit.**

4. DISCUSSION

From the journals and reflections, we gained an understanding of the challenges involved in the transfer of KAL to CBI. The narrative data showed that teaching language through content, and an expanded view of grammar instruction meant a departure for participants, on many different levels, from what was comfortable to them. The emphasis on CBI in all of their coursework gave them many opportunities to think about and practice CBI and the grammar course supported participants' learning and application of English grammar. The journals in the grammar course revealed the importance of application and although the linguistic material itself was sometimes technical and demanding, the participants were more concerned about such applications of this knowledge to teaching than with mastering the material. Their reflections lend doubt to the assumption that it is enough to provide separate instruction on grammar and instruction on pedagogy with the expectation that preservice teachers will then be able to put the two together. Even with a grammar course that was especially designed to make these connections, the issue of how to apply the knowledge to teaching was the major concern that participants expressed.

In looking at the lesson plans to see how KAL was applied, we saw places of success as well as holes that needed to be addressed. The lesson plans for the grammar course showed an encouraging trend to implement the principles of CBI into grammatical instruction, yielding many plans that were richly contextualized and focused on meaningful use of the targeted structure. The successful integration of language and content in most of the grammar lesson plans demonstrated that participants were able to shift into the new paradigm of language instruction and to transfer their KAL into meaningful content in the lesson planning stage. When handed a grammatical form, most participants were able to contextualize language in content very well. We attribute some of their success in integration in the grammar lesson plans to the narrowly focused planning assignment where the goals were quite manageable. But, we also see their

success as evidence of transfer *from* the methods course, where CBI was emphasized. We had expected transfer to flow in one direction, from the grammar class to the pedagogy class, and yet this shows there was bidirectionality in how transfer was operating in our program.

On the other hand, in the CBI lesson plans and units, we saw less use of KAL. The plans most often addressed content and general language skills but not grammatical structures. In other words, beginning with the content (Path 2) brought into play the classic struggle of CBI: The content often eclipses the language objectives of the lesson. Because we knew from the grammar lesson plans that participants were capable of integrating language and content successfully, we wondered why the transfer seemed limited in these assignments. One factor may have been the demands of the assignments. The grammar lesson plans required the language structure to be the major focus of the lesson even though it was presented through content. In the thematic units, we encouraged participants to consider grammar points to include, but that was not a focus of the assignment. Based on the newness and complexity of the approach, the cognitive load produced by going from content to language (Path 2) seems greater than that produced from going from language to content (Path 1). It appears to be easier to *contextualize* language, as in Path 1, than to *decontextualize* language, as in Path 2. Path 1 requires building content and meaningful tasks around a given structure. Path 2 requires the teacher to first identify the language structures required to comprehend texts or perform tasks, thus adding another cognitive layer to the planning process. While grammar instruction that works from language to content differs from traditional grammar instruction, it still uses grammatical structures as a starting point. Instruction that develops from content to language may be a new way of teaching language for novice teachers, meaning that for many, learning to plan language lessons that begin with content will take longer and require more models.

To further add to the complexity involved in creating the thematic units, the grammar objectives were not the only possible language objectives, because we also wanted participants to plan instruction that developed fluency, skills and strategies in speaking, listening, reading and writing. In addition, they needed to align their plans with national and state standards. We suspect that the TESOL Standards may have led participants away from formulating specific grammar objectives. They are written to address language functions and they do not specify the grammar needed to perform language functions. This is left to the teacher to uncover. This could explain why our students often designed content-based lessons/units that targeted language skills in a general sense but neglected specific linguistic forms. A final challenge in the thematic units was the need to think about curriculum on a broad scale rather than focus on a single day of instruction. The reflections from the units support the idea that participants experienced cognitive overload and the neglect of grammar was probably due to the pressures of other competing task demands. The weight of these competing demands may explain the general trend of neglecting grammar instruction in CBI as well as the results in this

particular study. Moreover, no one has determined an optimal level of grammar integration in CBI, and the vague admonitions to bring in grammar instruction in an integrated way when it arises naturally from the content may be driving the trend to neglect grammar in this approach to language instruction.

5. CONCLUSION

The study raised several issues related to language teacher education. How can we best support the development of KAL in preservice teachers and its applicability to CBI? More fundamentally, what constitutes successful integration of language and content in CBI? What is the ideal amount of grammar instruction in CBI in any given context? To more effectively prepare our preservice teachers to meet the challenges of CBI, we need a clearer idea of what that instruction should entail. Presently, there seem to be competing notions: Masters' (2000) position that CBI instructors need to make sure that they adequately cover grammar versus the suggestion to teach grammar only as it arises from the content on a "need to know" basis (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994). While any definitive answer to the question of ideal grammar instruction depends on the particular learning context, the loosely defined role of grammar in CBI may be responsible for the observed lack of attention to that aspect of language in classes using CBI. To ensure that ESL students get instruction in grammar, it may be advisable to encourage teachers to take Path 1 (language to content) when appropriate. While the general assumption in CBI is that teachers should derive the grammar from the content rather than vice versa, it may be necessary at times to start from the language needs and then fit content to grammar instruction. This would be important to address problematic structures as identified by learners' errors/omissions, as well as externally set standards and curricula. The reality of the K-12 context in the U.S., however, is that teachers also need to be particularly skilled in the planning process of Path 2 (content to language), because schools are increasingly instituting inclusion and collaborative models, which require the ESL teacher to base instruction on grade-level content. Even pull-out models are moving their curricula toward alignment with the grade-level content and skills to support students' success in the mainstream. Therefore, the challenges of Path 2 need to be addressed more extensively in ESL teacher preparation.

This research has shown us that transfer of KAL to instruction does not happen automatically simply because students take a grammar class, even one that focuses on pedagogy. Integration of language and content needs to be a deliberate goal and teachers must develop language analysis skills in order to decide what structures to teach when. As teacher educators, our role is to provide many and varied scaffolds to teachers new to CBI. As we reflected on what we learned from this research, we identified several areas where we could expand on our existing practice:

1. Analyze texts. Analyzing oral and written texts for challenging vocabulary, structures and discourse is an important step for teachers to take in assuring that language features are not forgotten in CBI. To some extent, the English Grammar course

practices this skill through the use of authentic texts. However, we now see a potential benefit of bringing more of this linguistic analysis into the pedagogy courses to encourage students to attend to language while planning their content-based lessons.

2. Analyze tasks. In addition to analyzing texts for linguistic features, it is important to be aware of the linguistic demands of the tasks that teachers give language learners. We could encourage novice teachers to investigate what language is needed to complete the tasks they design. This goal could be reached by asking teachers to do the ESL learner task themselves or role-play it with a classmate. Another possibility would be for teachers to analyze recordings and task artifacts for whether the language they believed they targeted was actually used.

3. Analyze language functions. It would be useful to provide teachers with more practice in making the links between the functions in the TESOL Standards and specific linguistic features.

4. Use assignments that require integration of content and language. As we reflected on the different patterns of attention to language in the lesson plans for the grammar course and those for the pedagogy courses, we realized that the demands of the assignments were very different. The lesson plan for the grammar course started from the primary requirement that the lesson would involve grammar instruction, whereas that was an optional feature in the lesson plan assignments in the pedagogy courses. Therefore it was not surprising that grammar lessons included specific linguistic objectives while the content-based lessons were less likely to do so. The fact that the grammar lessons were generally successful in contextualizing the linguistic instruction demonstrated that students could plan for integration when asked to do so. Based on this observation, we have begun to rethink the requirements for the content-based lessons, i.e., require attention to language in content-based lesson assignments.

5. Provide examples of effective integration. A common problem in teacher education programs is the gap that students perceive between the theory they learn in their coursework and the practice they see in their student teaching placements. This gap is especially apparent in our experience with CBI. Our students sometimes do their student teaching in settings where the syllabus is grammar driven and there is little use of content-based instruction, or conversely in settings where CBI is used without any deliberate attention to developing language. The disparity between what we advocate and what the students see in their placements may also account for some of the lack of integration in their CBI assignments. Ideally, we would like to provide student teaching experiences that embody our goals. However, if this is not possible, perhaps as teacher educators, we need to provide more and varied examples of lessons and programs that integrate language and content so that novice teachers are able to envision themselves teaching this way. (See Bigelow, Ranney and Hebble (in press) for an example of a sustained content-based program.)

The question of how novice teachers learn to use their KAL in planning CBI, then, involves not only questions of teacher development but also questions fundamental to

the practice of CBI. It would be helpful if, as a field, we would explore further what effective integration is. We have put forth a list of criteria (Table 1) as one possible starting point. There has been work that recognizes the shortcomings of the implementation of CBI without attention to language (e.g. Short, 2002) and that calls for a balanced approach to grammar instruction (e.g. Larsen-Freeman, 2001). To help both novice and experienced teachers achieve a more balanced approach, we need to provide more specific guidelines and examples of how integration works in practice. If we want our students to transfer their KAL into planning for CBI, we need to present it as an approach that can incorporate deliberate, yet not traditional, grammar instruction, and we need to make that integration a criterion in our assessments. If we believe that grammar should play a more important role in content-based language classes, the skills needed to do the complicated task of integrating content and language need to be given more importance in curricula for preservice teachers.

We learned from this research that the directionality of transfer of knowledge is not necessarily from the grammar class to the pedagogy class, but rather that the classes seem to inform each other. This is surprisingly similar to the phenomenon that ideally occurs between language and content in CBI, where both are taught simultaneously and each grow through the other. When we began this study, we believed that the English Grammar class, as well as the linguistics and language acquisition courses, built KAL that would be applied to instructional planning in the pedagogy courses, not the reverse. As we survey other programs, we find that this is a common belief and that it is common to save practicum experiences and instruction in CBI for the end of programs. This reveals that many believe that the language teacher knowledge base is constructed in a sequential way and that there are some courses that are seen as building blocks and others that are seen as synthesizing pieces to a program. However, we would argue that pedagogical skills and KAL develop together and may benefit from being kept together from the beginning. (See Borg, this volume, for a concurring view.) We had the advantage of a program design that allowed for more ongoing synthesis of knowledge from the grammar course, the pedagogy course and the student teaching experiences because all were happening concurrently. The difficulties that we observed even under these favorable conditions suggest that the issues raised in this paper are likely to be issues faced by many programs that are trying to prepare language teachers who can integrate language and content effectively. Perhaps it is incumbent upon language teacher education programs to seek more ways that systemically facilitate practice-theory exchange, such as offering a wide range practicum experiences that occur when teachers are doing their coursework. Those in programs that already have many opportunities for crossover, as ours does, can look for ways to build more cohesion and thereby maximize the learning opportunities available.

Research on how novice teachers learn and what facilitates their transition into the profession is essential for the field of teacher education. Perhaps the most beneficial thing we learned about how to aid transfer of KAL to practice was by learning more

about this issue as it relates to our program and students. Specifically, it was helpful to discover how novice teachers feel about learning to teach grammar in ways that do not match their preconceived notions about how grammar should be taught. This allows us now to address this issue explicitly with our students and design instruction that is sensitive to their stage of professional development as well as common affective reactions to the grammar course. By engaging in this work, we have come to be more interested in exploring how teachers, both novice and experienced, learn and choose to integrate grammar when teaching through academic content. It is in these teacher decisions where the interface between theory and practice lies with regard to integrating grammar meaningfully. It is the responsibility of teacher education programs to offer ways for teachers to see links between theory and practice. By structuring programs in such a way as to narrow the gap between the language-learning classroom and the theoretical pedagogy of language teacher preparation courses, it is hoped that knowledge gained from both will benefit both.

NOTES

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented at SLRF 2002 in Toronto, the International Conference on Language Teacher Education and at a noontime presentation series sponsored by the ESL Forum and the Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition at the University of Minnesota. We are thankful for the suggestions we received from both audiences as well as from Tara Fortune, Joan Hughes, Jeremy Kahan and Julie Kalnin.

² The initials identify the student by pseudonym. "Journal" refers to the in-class writing done at the end of the grammar classes. "Reflection" refers to the narratives students wrote at the end of their content-based thematic units. The numbers refer to the date the data were collected

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Chapter 12

What 's Phonetics Got to Do with Language Teaching?

Investigating future teachers' use of knowledge about phonetics and phonology

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INTRODUCTION

At the time of this study I taught the two applied linguistics courses in Spanish that were required for the teaching credential in Spanish at one of the California State University campuses: *Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics* and *Spanish Applied Linguistics*. When I first started teaching the introductory course, two years prior to the initiation of the present study, I used it to give an survey of Hispanic linguisticsⁱ but was not satisfied with the general level of knowledge about language (KAL) that the teachers-in-training were able to demonstrate at the end of the course. The majority of those novice teachers who continued with the *Spanish Applied Linguistics* course were especially weak with respect to phonetics and phonology. In the applied linguistics course, I felt I needed to be able to refer to phonemes with respect to ease or difficulty of acquisition in the context of the foreign language classroom and the possibility of designing processing instruction. (Processing instruction refers to input activities that require students to pay attention to grammatical concepts at the same time they process for meaningⁱⁱ (See Lee and VanPatten, (1985) for a detailed discussion.) In the case of phonemic awareness, processing instruction would attract the learner's attention to the phonemic contrasts between Spanish and English.)

However, the pre-study future teachers, except the one with the GPA of 4.0, did not seem to remember anything from the 3-4 weeks they had spent on phonetics and phonology the previous semester. Furthermore, end-of-semester evaluations from these pre-study teachers-in-training informed me that they had not seen the relevance to their future teaching careers of the transcription project that I had required them to do. It was

painfully obvious that something must change in order to make relevant the subject matter for these teachers in training if they were going to be motivated to learn and retain information pertaining to phonetics and phonology. In addition, the professors who observed the teachers-in-training during their student-teaching experience had been reporting that our credential candidates were very deficient in KAL in general, making numerous mistakes in front of the class. In order to make KAL in general and phonetics and phonology in particular seem more relevant, I had to totally overhaul the two courses so that the first course was less of a linguistic survey course and more focused on the KAL that language teachers need to know in order to function effectively in the classroom. I made the second course more of a practical application course in which the teachers in training focused on SLA and how to incorporate KAL into actual lesson plans. The course materials were likewise changed to reflect the new goals. When commercially available materials were found lacking, I supplemented with handouts and lectures.

Therefore, in the Fall semester of 2001 I changed the objectives for both courses with the *Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics* providing a more in depth analysis of the aspects of the language that, from my perspective, are most relevant to future Spanish teachers: general description of mechanics of sound production; linking of sounds across word boundaries; derivational and inflectional morphology; the syntactic function of words, phrases and clauses; semantics of the tense-aspect-mood system; basic characteristics of the different dialects of Spanish; and sociocultural/ pragmatic knowledge. To make room for these topics I left out issues that I deemed less important for teachers to know such as history of the language and sociolinguistics. The text used was Terrell and Salgués de Cargill (1979). In the *Spanish Applied Linguistics* course the new course objectives focused on knowledge of SLA and processing instruction that serves to focus the learner's attention on form (in other words, the teaching of level-appropriate KAL in communicative contexts). The text for this course was Lee and VanPatten (1985).

This chapter reports on a study that investigates the extent to which the modified course objectives described above were successful in helping novice teachers acquire KAL and *be able to use it in doing teacher tasks*. The focus of the study was knowledge of articulatory phonetics and phonology and the ability to transfer that knowledge *in a practical way* to beginning learners of the Spanish language. The focus on knowledge about pronunciation was chosen because I feel that such knowledge is important for teachers and that they are not likely to acquire such knowledge unless it is taught in applied linguistics classes.

Future teachers will not get a detailed description of how sounds are produced in a literature or a methodology class. To make matters worse, many Spanish textbooks neglect to include information on how to pronounce the sounds of Spanish and how these relate to the orthography of Spanish (Martínez-Lage, Gutiérrez & Rosser, 2003; VanPatten, Lee & Ballman, 1999; and others). Pronunciation practice is relegated for the

most part to lab manual activities. Therefore, if teachers are going to address their students' problems in pronunciation, they will need knowledge of the Spanish sound system in order to model the sounds as well as to direct their students as to placement of lips, teeth and tongue in addition to other aspects of sound production.

Given that the research suggests that the likelihood of achieving native-like pronunciation in L2 is significantly reduced unless the language learning process begins at a very young age (See Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) for an in depth discussion), some would argue that teaching pronunciation is a low priority. However, it has been shown that it is possible for post-pubescent learners to acquire a native-like proficiency (Ioup, Boustagi, El Tigi, & Moselle, 1994) and that training in pronunciation can help achievement in pronunciation (Moyer, 1999). Furthermore, my own experience shows that knowledge of phonetics and phonology can be vital in the acquisition of target pronunciation. I owe my success (motivation apart) in acquiring Spanish pronunciation almost exclusively to having had the great opportunity in the early stages of my M.A. program to have studied Spanish phonetics and phonology. I was able to tape myself and understand not only that some aspect of my pronunciation had to be changed but also HOW it needed to be changed. Having an understanding of Spanish phonetics and phonology and how they contrasted with English phonetics and phonology gave me the tools I needed to continue to improve my pronunciation even after reaching the stage of competency in which a native speaker could always understand what I was saying. Thus, if the problem with adult acquisition of L2 phonology has to do with a brain specialization that happens at about six months of age (see Jacobs (1988) for in depth discussion) and that our brains stop being able to perceive phonemes not of our L1, then as in my case, knowledge of the mechanics of pronunciation should help. Making the learner cognizant of how the sounds of L2 are different from those of L1 should be an effective remedy for inability to perceive L2 phonemes. It is logical to assume that language teachers can only help learners perceive the different phonemes if they themselves understand the mechanics involved.

Taking into account the current focus on communicative competence in which interactions between learners are given prominence, we can assume that a learner is just as likely to interact with a classmate as with an instructor. Instructors themselves are likely to let pronunciation take a backseat to the expression of meaning if they follow the advice of many experts in SLA. One of my applied linguistics students had the following to say about the classroom approach that puts pronunciation at the bottom of the priority list:

...the professors and peers stop correcting us after they think that we know sufficient enough Spanish to get by. So then you have students who aren't afraid to speak it in front of a big group and sometimes we really can't understand them because they are speaking very fast and un-clear.

Furthermore, many novice teachers, native speakers (NSs) and heritage speakers (HSs), seem to not realize the importance of knowledge about pronunciation. Native and

heritage speakers come to the university with the apparent belief that the only thing necessary to be able to teach Spanish is to be a native speaker of Spanish. It does not seem to occur to them that they need to be able to analyze the language from the point of view of an English speaker in order to be able to have empathy with their students and to be able to present language in a way that makes sense to the learners. The question of pronunciation is an interesting one for these novice teachers, as most of them have never had to pay much attention to their pronunciation in Spanish, having grown up in households where Spanish was spoken and so took it for granted. Without an orientation to the sound system of their native language, these NSs and HSs arrive at their first jobs never having had to analyze their own pronunciation and are then armed with a textbook that will most likely not help them in this respect. On the other hand, non-native speakers (NNSs) of Spanish who succeed in completing a Spanish major and obtaining their teaching credential, and who are products of a system in which pronunciation is not given much emphasis, probably perpetuate the problem.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Terrell and Salgués de Cargill (1979) provided the course content for the introductory course, part one of data collection. The book was chosen because it was at the time the only available balanced and streamline presentation of grammar concepts for the future teacher of Spanish that was written in Spanish (We had to overlook the fact that its specific audience was the L1 English speaker learning Spanish in order to teach Spanish to other English L1 speakers.) Abandoned was the book that presented a linguistic survey for the future linguist as opposed to the future teacher. Terrell and Salgués de Cargill (1979) is organized around the phoneme as the smallest unit of meaning. It dedicates Chapter One to the sounds of Spanish and Chapter Two to phonologic processes. As part of Chapter One, the participants were required to study the building blocks of articulatory phonetics: point and mode of articulation, voiced versus voiceless sounds, vowels and consonants, semi-vowels and semi-consonants and in addition to all of the above, accentuation, rhythm and intonation. Chapter Two includes what actually happens with these aspects of production in spontaneous speech, for example, assimilation of /n/ to the point of articulation of the following consonant, fricativization (softening) of certain intervocalic occlusives (/b, d, g/), assimilation of voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ to a successive voiced consonant producing the voiced allophone [z], reinforcement of semi-consonants to occlusive and regional variation. The present study has as its goal to discover evidence that the novice teachers had assimilated the information outlined above by demonstrating its application in teacher tasks. Thus the second course in the series served as a testing ground for the ability to take KAL that should have been learned in the first course and apply it in making lesson plans, creating classroom activities and working one-on-one with beginning learners of Spanish.

The Participants

The participants in this research were a group of upper division Spanish majors taking the Applied Linguistics course to fulfill a requirement for their teaching credential. There were twenty participants who were able to take the two classes in sequenceⁱⁱⁱ during the two semesters that the data was collected. Of the twenty participants, *only one was a non-native speaker of Spanish*. All were within one or two semesters of graduation since both courses were considered upper division Spanish courses. The seventeen women and five men ranged in age from eighteen to forty five with 75% of the participants falling within the 20-30 year age.

Data Collection

The data collected as part of this research project is primarily qualitative in nature. The teachers in training responded to reflection questions, during the first semester as part of a pen-and-paper journal project and during the second semester, as an end-of-semester online reflection activity.

The reflection activity in which the teachers in training participated over the course of the two semesters, and which was allotted 20% of course grade, was based on questions that asked the students to (1) observe and describe linguistic phenomena using video clips, (2) make personal connections with the material, (3) make practical application of the course information in critical thinking situations, and (4) comment on the experience of the final project that culminated the two semesters (Varona, 1999).

The teachers in training were provided with a rubric specifying how I wanted questions answered (including format and content considerations). The specifications included: (1) that answers to the reflection questions not be used to criticize the instructor or the course, (2) that the question be answered thoroughly and completely giving all requested information, (3) that the answer show evidence of successful time management (in other words, that it not look like it had been done in the five minutes previous to class time; and (4) that the answer not duplicate another classmate's answer.

Specifically, the reflection questions for the introductory course dealt with (1) *observation and description* of things like social discrimination against L2 speakers due to foreign accents, characteristics of regional varieties of Spanish, and self evaluation of pronunciation; (2) *personal connection* based on emotional reactions provoked by the study of regional varieties, stating an opinion about the most enjoyable aspect of studying pronunciation in Spanish, stating an opinion about what regional variety should be taught to beginning learners of Spanish and stating an opinion about the most important aspect of phonology and phonetics learned during the semester; and (3) *application* of KAL based on what makes beginning learners sound foreign^{iv}, perceived necessity of teaching pronunciation, definition of good pronunciation, and describing how knowledge of phonetics and phonology would be used by a teacher of Spanish.

During the second semester, in which the novice teachers participated in Applied Linguistics, the reflection questions were again categorized as above. The question

dealing with *observation and description* asked what aspects of Spanish pronunciation most often lead to miscommunication and misunderstanding for English L1 speakers. The *personal connection* questions asked (1) if the participants had ever been corrected with respect to their pronunciation and what emotional effect the experience had produced in them and (2) what opinions the participants formed of those who do not sound native-like in their pronunciation. The questions dealing with *application* alluded to the proposed critical/sensitive period by asking participants to consider the age of the learner as well as by forcing the participants to consider when and how pronunciation should be taught (a topic to which I had not dedicated much class time). Finally, the participants were asked to evaluate the action that they took (the pronunciation tutoring) as to whether or not it was a beneficial experience and what was learned from the experience.

Learners were told that the answers to reflection questions would not be graded on grammar but rather on the extent to which the reflection questions were answered thoroughly and completely according to the rubric (explained above) and that they would receive credit for faithfully keeping the journal (3 points possible/question). During the first semester, the reflection journal was kept with paper and pen and turned in incrementally at the end of each unit of study. During the second semester, the reflection questions were answered on line at the end of the semester immediately following the pronunciation-tutoring project, using the assessment manager of Blackboard, the electronic course management system. The questions were posed in English and the trainees were allowed to answer in either Spanish or English according to their language preference since I thought language should not be an impediment to the expression of what they wanted to say.

Research Questions

The study focuses on the following questions:

- 1) *To what extent do novice teachers make use of KAL when reflecting on their teaching?*
- 2) *What aspects of pronunciation do novice teachers tend to overlook in their teaching?*
- 3) *How do novice teachers view the usefulness of KAL components of teacher education courses?*
- 4) *What was the quality of KAL acquired for the purposes of teaching by the novice teachers who participated in this study?*

RESULTS

Quantitative Data

Table 1 is a quantitative presentation of the categorization into three types of novice teachers' responses to reflection questions. In order to analyze the novice teachers'

answers to the reflection questions, the responses were printed out, cut into strips, then organized into three piles: (1) those answers that showed good understanding (not perfect but good) of the phonetics and phonology that had been part of the courses as well as their practical application; (2) those answers that showed the beginning of understanding; and (3) those answers that suggested that the student had not even begun to assimilate the material. For question #1, $N = 22$ and for questions 2-4 $N = 21$.

Table 1: Categorization of teachers' results according to KAL level

	<i>Good understanding</i>	<i>Beginning understanding</i>	<i>Lack of understanding</i>
<i>Question #1</i>	2	12	8
<i>Question #2</i>	4	11	6
<i>Question #3</i>	2	13	6
<i>Question #4</i>	3	15	3

Qualitative Data

The following are the reflection questions from the end of the second semester of data collection and examples of the three types of answers. Obviously, we are most interested in the level of KAL at the end of the second semester. The translation of the students' own words into English (when the student answered in Spanish) appear in the responses with only minor editing given to some when necessary for comprehension. An explanation as to why I categorized the answers as I did follows each example. Finally, there is a fifth question included in this section that is not included in the table above because it asks for an opinion as to the effectiveness of the tutoring project and goes to establishing relevance of the subject matter to the career of teaching Spanish.

1) What aspect of Spanish pronunciation most often leads to miscommunication/misunderstanding for English speakers? Sound production, intonation, accentuation? Can you list some specific examples of individuals we've watched on video or someone you know personally and what characterizes their pronunciation problems?

a. I think sound production is the biggest problem for those learning to speak Spanish. What I noticed most of all with our "tutee" was his problem with the vowels. He did not want to maintain their pronunciation, and he often mixed up Spanish and English vowels. For example, the Spanish "e" often came out the way the Spanish "i" is supposed to be, since the English "e" is said that way. Also, the Spanish "a" he often pronounced as the English one. How to pronounce vowels when they come together ("los diptongos") was very hard for him. Other problems he had with production was the Spanish "r", which he wanted to pronounce as the retroflex English one, and the Spanish "rr". He could not really roll his r's at all. He also had a really hard time learning to soften his d's (to make them more fricative). He always wanted to pronounce them very hard and aspirated.

This response demonstrated good understanding given that the student wrote coherently about phonemes with which we had worked during the first semester. Spontaneous and correct use of the terms 'diphthongs,' 'retroflex', 'fricative,' and 'aspirated' show admirable assimilation of the concepts. She could have used even more precise language but my criteria were not that the explanation be perfect.

b. From what I experienced in my tutee project is that mispronunciation leads to misunderstanding. The tutee had problems pronouncing *diptongos* like "eu" "io" "au". Pronouncing strong vowels and soft vowels when they are next to each other in a word.

Response 1(b) was also judged to show good understanding because diphthongs were mentioned as being blends of strong and 'soft' vowels. The correct metalinguistic label is 'weak' instead of 'soft'; nonetheless, an understanding of the concept seems to be there.

c. From my own experience in the 'tutee' project I think that all three contribute to misunderstanding, still I think that the ones that contribute the most are accentuation and intonation. Sometimes the 'tutee' would read or speak as if they were reading in their own language where they know where the emphasis is placed. I can't remember specific examples but I remember when our 'tutee' was reading a piece of poetry, it was difficult to understand because he would read "straight" without pausing and emphasizing where the emphasis goes in each word. This is more common when the words being spoken/read are long words like "arzobispo".

Response 1(c) is considered to show only beginning understanding because it does not mention the different levels of pitch in English and Spanish or that Spanish is a syllable-timed language while English is a stress timed-language and how this conflict might have been illustrated in the speech of the 'tutee'. Again, it is not that I was hoping for these specific metalinguistic labels, just an allusion to them. From the way the answer is worded, the novice teacher seems to be talking about the monotone reading of a student who has not practiced enough. I cannot discern any more than that the novice teacher has a vague notion of what intonation and accentuation are. The following response likewise demonstrates beginning understanding:

d. Sound production, intonation, and accentuation may lead to misunderstanding, too. Sound production may give the wrong meaning to a Spanish learner by pronouncing a word in the wrong context or identifying it incorrectly. i.e. "todo" may be pronounced as "toro" [to-do] ("d" fricativa/ dentoalveolar). The intonation may interfere in correct communication when a phrase or statement's intonation changes from an affirmation to a question and vice versa. i.e. ¿Cómo estás? vs. ¡Mira, cómo estás! The accentuation also affects understanding, especially with words in which the stress mark changes the meaning of the word or the tense. i.e. papa (potato), papá (dad) / (mirar) miro -present tense, first person. miró -past tense, third person.

Response 1(d) only demonstrates beginning understanding, albeit a higher level of beginning understanding than the previous response. The example using phonetic representation is not totally accurate. The participant means to say that *todo* [to-_o] ([_ = voiced dental fricative similar to English 'th') as pronounced by the English L1

speaker could be mistaken for *toro* [to-ro] where [r] is the alveolar tap that is more similar to the English voiced dental occlusive than the Spanish voiced dental fricative [ɾ]. On the other hand, this participant's examples of miscommunication caused by intonation and accentuation are appropriate. It is worth noting here that the label 'beginning understanding' is so broad that it includes a range of 'beginning' answers on a continuum of 'barely developing understanding' to 'almost good understanding'. The categories of 'good' and 'lack of' do not contain all the possible shades of gray that the category of 'beginning' does.

e. Aspects in the pronunciation [that] lead[s] to miscommunication/ misunderstanding for English speakers [is] when they say words the wrong way that can be misunderstood. I can't recall exact words by the tutee; however, I do remember laughing in some cases because of the way she pronounced some words, which meant something bad.

f. I think that sound production and recognition are the things that can most often cause this type of problem. Sometimes a learner will use the wrong sound because that is what they hear when they are speaking with someone else. I have noticed with students that I have tutored that they sometimes have difficulty producing sounds that they need to differentiate in Spanish to communicate well like the difference between "r" and "rr". This specifically was a problem with our tutee.

There is nothing in responses 1(e) and (f) that demonstrates that the participant has assimilated any of the concepts that had been discussed in class. These two responses are examples of those classified as 'lack of understanding.'

2) Why do older learners have a hard time achieving native-like pronunciation?

a. I think this happens because there is a certain mental capacity that younger children have for hearing and reproducing sounds in speech that is not as strong in adolescence and adulthood. I think that this flexibility is designed to help the young person to learn to speak in the early stages of development. I think that it is more difficult as a rule for older learners to hear the sounds that are not used in their native languages and it is also more difficult for them to imitate and produce new sounds that they are not used to. I also believe that many people are capable of stretching themselves with the proper assistance to do better with these aspects of language learning with less of this flexibility but not everyone has this ability. And to some people native like production comes fairly easily regardless of being older. Because they are good at these things at any age (but this last group is less common.)

Response 2(a) comes extremely close to capturing the argument that I had presented about how the brain develops and is specialized for the L1 and is thus judged to demonstrate good understanding. The criterion again was an explanation in layman's terms that captured the gist of the argument, not exposition of metalinguistic terminology.

b. I think it is because they are more set in their ways, so to speak. They have been speaking their native language for 50, 80, ... years. To start trying to make them pronounce their letters differently and have them make sounds that perhaps they have never made before in their lives is much more challenging than for a student who begins

studying a different language in middle school, like I did for instance. The older students have many more years of habits to try to break to speak a different language.

Response 2(b) is not quite as good as 2(a), and therefore shows beginning understanding, because somehow its author had failed to capture that when we talked about 'older learners' we were referring to those just past the supposed critical period, not 'older' as in the age of grandparents.

c. I believe that it has to do with the flexibility. If one sees a child we can see that they are flexible in EVERY aspect. Older learners need to practice flexibility like a child. One thing I try is stretching exercises of the jaw and face. I also do singing exercises these are fun. We did this with our tutee.

Response 2(c) is judged to show no understanding since I had never presented any argument referring to the physical flexibility of the articulatory organs.

3) When should a language teacher teach pronunciation? Explain your answer.

a. I think pronunciation has to be the first thing that is taught. It does no good to start learning vocabulary or to start memorizing dialogues if you don't know how to pronounce them. It is like we were talking in class about how it is a good idea if a student hears how a word is pronounced before they see the spelling of the word. First impressions stick. If they have words and concepts memorized (with incorrect pronunciation), and later try to change how they say those words, it would be very difficult.

b. I believe that one should teach pronunciation at the beginning of the course since it is extremely important to acquire acceptable pronunciation because being able to speak correctly makes learning spelling easier for the learner.

Responses 3(a) and (b) indicate good understanding due to the fact that they both concluded that pronunciation had to be addressed from the beginning of a course. Response 3(a) is judged to illustrate more understanding of the material presented in class than 3(b) since it alludes to the problem of phonemic awareness. On the other hand, the author of 3(b) seems to remember the concept of phonemic awareness but states that it is easier to learn the spelling if one knows correct pronunciation. This may be true for NSs; however, with NNSs the problem is how the L1 phonemic awareness negatively impacts the acquisition of the L2 sound system and the confusion caused by L2 orthography.

c. I think that she should always be enforcing correct pronunciation. I don't mean that she has to go around and correct the students in her class, but she does have to do the proper modeling for them. She needs to pronounce right so that students can see that. She can also make humble corrections to the students without them noticing. For example if a student says "Yo quero un lapi", she can repeat "Oh sí, tu quieres un lápiz". This way the student is hearing the correct pronunciation without feeling like the teacher is correcting and embarrassing them.

Response 3(c) demonstrates only beginning understanding because the crucial point that I tried to instill in these learners was that of phonemic awareness and this answer,

although it does mention teaching pronunciation from the beginning, does not make reference to the concept of interference from the native language sound system.

In addition, this novice teacher confused the technique for correcting lexical/syntactic errors that we had discussed with one for correcting pronunciation. We had been talking about how indirect methods don't work well with those who don't mimic sound well and that the approach needed to be more direct with an actual demonstration of point and/ or mode of articulation.

e. I think that first one should teach them all the grammar rules and then begin to teach pronunciation. Because pronunciation is very important because it is how the learners are going to communicate and begin a conversation with other persons. Outside the classroom, the learners are not going to use the rules, the only thing that they are going to need is the communication.

f. Language teachers should start teaching pronunciation gradually. Students should start getting used to words then show them the correct pronunciation.

The learners who produced responses 3(d) and (e) gave the impression of not having incorporated at all the concept of early intervention that the discussion of phonemic awareness was intended to invoke. These two responses demonstrate a lack of understanding.

4) How should a language teacher teach pronunciation?

a. I think they should break down the different sounds and go one at a time. Maybe first they should cover any letters that are pronounced the same way as in English. Then they could go through the ones that are pronounced differently, like the vowels, "v", "ll", "r", "rr", "d" when it is in between vowels or at the end of words, etc. Each time they talk about a letter with a different pronunciation, the teacher needs to repeat the sound several times, repeat the sound in example words, talk about how the sound is physically made (where the tongue is placed, etc.), and then have the students practice. I think teaching how to pronounce "los diptongos" should come as one of the last lessons, because it appears to be very hard for students to master.

b. The teacher does not need a pronunciation lesson since it is enough to listen to the errors that the learners commit. Knowing the errors that the learners commit, the teacher can focus on these words and use them as vocabulary of the week. In this way, the learners will practice more and above all they will listen to the correct version of the teacher.

c. I think there are many effective strategies for teaching pronunciation. I think it is good to focus on sounds that the teacher notices that the students are having trouble with and give them exercises that require them to notice that the sound is different than what they think it is. If the student cannot imitate it just from hearing it then I think it is beneficial to explain how the sound is produced and explain to the student what he must do. And it is good to give the student lots of examples of the use of the sound.

Response 4(a) shows that the learner has assimilated many of the key phonetic concepts and obviously gave some thought to this answer, strategically sequencing the phonemes and diphthongs from least to most difficult. Responses 4(b) and (c) even more to the

point because they bring out the notion of incorporating pronunciation practice as the need arises and in response to learner production. The last response is especially good since in it the novice teacher mentions “exercises that require that the students notice that the sound is different than what they think it is.” This was the only participant that made reference to the type of input activities that we had spent all semester creating for all grammar points to be taught, including sounds that are problematic for English L1 speakers. All three of the responses were judged to show good understanding, with respect to one thing or another.

d. The teacher should first teach them how to pronounce the vowels and the sounds of the alphabet. The teacher should explain the different sounds. For example, why “rr” sounds the way it does?

e. Through exercises in which the teacher is actively involved so that she/he can correct their students. Pronunciation needs to be worked on throughout the entire class time so that students will catch on. Whenever the teacher has the chance to help a student with pronunciation, she/he should. Pronunciation should be taught in a lesson teaching one thing at a time, that is, when a lesson is being taught.

f. I believe that first the teacher should teach the alphabet with much detail. Teaching everyday each letter and a word that begins with each one. For example, ‘A’ would be *ala*, etc. Also show them a photo of each thing. After several weeks, begin with the sounds of each letter, demonstrating the placement of the tongue in the mouth, etc.

Responses 4(d), (e) and (f) show beginning understanding that the approach needs to be direct and that pronunciation practice must be incorporated a little at a time. These responses fail to mention that pronunciation practice should be included on an ‘as needed’ basis. It is not necessary to recur to phonetics and phonology unless there are specific problems.

g. In class. Activities with the students. With songs. On the t.v. With pictures.

h. A teacher should teach pronunciation by example; the teacher should pronounce everything correctly and slowly so the students may learn how to pronounce words correctly.

i. A language teacher should use the phonemes in Spanish to teach the students to articulate the vowels and consonants. Those lessons in ... Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics were very effective in understanding how to produce the sounds.

There is no evidence of understanding with respect to KAL in responses 4(g), (h) and (i) but for a different reason in each one. Responses 4(g) and (h) seem to presuppose that pronunciation can be learned through indirect methods as with L1 learners. Response 4(i) is in stark contrast to the statement that I made repeatedly throughout the two semesters, which was that the detailed and intensive study of point and mode of articulation as had been pursued in the first of their two linguistics courses was NOT the way to teach pronunciation to beginners. Even though the answer is a positive evaluation of the course content, it does not help answer the question of how pronunciation should be taught to beginners.

The last of the reflection questions has to do with the participants' evaluation of the pronunciation tutoring, the final project for the second semester in which the participants were required to video or audio tape at least two thirty-minute sessions of themselves helping beginning Spanish students with their pronunciation:

5) Was working with the beginning Spanish student for the pronunciation project a beneficial experience? What did you learn from it?

a. Yes it was. It made me appreciate how hard it is to change one's pronunciation, especially older students. (Our tutee was middle-aged.) It also made me realize that sometimes describing how the sound is physically made helps the student. (Before the project, I thought this information probably would not help because when we speak, most of us don't really think about the position of our lips and tongue...) I also saw that learning how to pronounce many letters and the vowels doesn't happen in overnight. It is something that the teachers need to go over from the beginning and work on for some time. I am not sure if the teacher of our tutee had been doing this, but I doubt it. Because we covered the correct pronunciation of so many different sounds in a short period of time, our tutee often tried to revert back to his old ways.

b. Working with our tutee was a good experience because I could realize that for all people it is difficult to learn another language. Also because it is valuable to be able to speak our native language when one needs to speak another language, we can be more sensitive to the other person (?). Also I learned that one has to speak slowly to the learners so they can understand and with simple sentences, otherwise they will ask you immediately to repeat. Something else that I discovered is that it is easier for the learner to read without pausing a lot when we give them the pronunciation of the syllables and then we put the words together.

c. It was a great experience. I learned that our tutee was frustrated because she did not know the meaning of what she was reciting. We had to cover the meaning of the poem first then we went on to the pronunciation. We used a mirror and we used voice (singer) techniques. We asked the tutee to *be conscious of where she felt the sound when pronouncing in English and Spanish.* (emphasis added)

d. Yes, because I had to remember all the things that we learned in the class *Introduction to Hispanic linguistics*. I believe that this (pronunciation tutoring) would be good for the following classes of Spanish Applied Linguistics just as it was for us.

Responses 5 (a-c) were the only three responses that mentioned KAL in relation to the pronunciation-tutoring project. Response 5(b) mentions that the participants made use of the division into syllables that had been part of their course work in the introductory course and also that they had 'put the words together' so that the beginning language learner could learn to read without pausing. I interpret that to mean that the teachers-in-training had shown the beginner that there is not a glottal stop in Spanish and how syllables are formed across word boundaries in order to adhere to the preferred CV syllable structure of Spanish. This may be a lot to infer from what the participant wrote, but given the context and the novice teacher's poor command of academic language, it is a likely interpretation. Response 5(C) refers to points of articulation in the instruction to the beginning learner that she be conscious of where she felt the sound. However, the

language used to answer the question in each case is not precise enough to explain the concepts to anyone but the applied linguistics professor who knew what the participants were trying to say. In addition, the participant who is the author of response 5(d) gave the answer that the researcher had been hoping to receive from more participants with respect to having to recall what had been learned in the previous course in order to perform well in the pronunciation-tutoring project. Unfortunately, the participant did not give any specifics regarding what he had to recall.

The last three responses that are worth mentioning demonstrate understanding, not of KAL, but of a fundamental concept that I tried to model during the two semesters spent with the participants:

e. It was a beneficial experience, besides having known [the tutee] and got along with her pretty well, I realized that teaching another language is not an easy task at all. A teacher needs patience, love for the profession in order to be a great teacher. Teaching another language needs a lot of preparation, willing to help out a student in any difficulty he or she may have concerning the second language because they have to get it right so that when they start speaking they are making themselves understood. They have different needs and one should be prepared for all those needs.

f. It helped us a lot since we could experience personally what one feels when teaching a second language. I learned that it is not as easy as it looks. One has to have much, much patience and go slowly.

g. Trying to teach a student another language is not easy. In my experience I learned that one has to have a lot of patience and have the correct material in order to be able to teach the person. Also, I learned that the majority of the people have problems in learning a language, just as I had when I wanted to learn English. And the most important thing is to have patience.

The acquisition of patience, although not explicitly detailed in the course syllabus as a learning outcome, is important. The fact that the participants learned about that aspect of teaching is a welcome but unexpected outcome.

DISCUSSION

The tutoring project was very time consuming and stressful for me to organize as well as for those participants paired with volunteers who didn't keep appointments. However, the novice teachers reported that it was a worthwhile activity.

The journal data show us that the novice teachers in just a few cases demonstrate good understanding of the KAL regarding phonetics and phonology that had been a fundamental component of their introductory linguistic course. The participants also did not assimilate well the pedagogical recommendations for applying this knowledge in the classroom. In general the majority of participants could be said to demonstrate only the beginnings of understanding. Unfortunately, the number of participants that demonstrated good understanding was equaled in number by those that demonstrated a total lack of assimilation of the material. From the responses to question #1, dealing with the identification of the source of problems for English L1 speakers, we can see that the

outstanding participants demonstrated an appreciation for the differences in pronunciation between English and Spanish vowels and the fact that the Spanish occlusives are not aspirated as the English ones are. Diphthongs are apparently another concept that was made salient to these novice teachers since we spent the better part of two weeks detailing the Spanish ones and comparing them to their English counterparts. Prosodic stress also came through in at least one of the participants' spontaneous recalls as important to the task of helping a beginning learner with pronunciation. This could also be attributed to the fact that accentuation receives much attention in several of the participants' other classes. In addition, one participant demonstrated the ability to distinguish between the very different sounds represented by the orthographic 'r' and 'd' in Spanish and English that we mentioned in the analysis of this response.

With respect to question #2, the one about older learners, the fact that only one participant assimilated part of the argument that the researcher presented is not surprising given that this was not material presented in the first semester's textbook when the focus was on KAL nor was it a principal part of the second semester's text when the focus was more on second language acquisition and processing instruction. The brief mention that this topic received in the textbook provided a springboard for me to bring in supplementary information about brain development and to stress throughout the course that L1 and L2 learning are different in several respects. We did not have time to delve deeply into the topic nor examine the theories regarding critical versus sensitive period.

Question #3, regarding *when* pronunciation should be taught, yielded results, or lack thereof, that again are not surprising given that we did not have time to examine the most current research on neuron specialization. The fact that only one participant captured the argument about phonemic awareness is probably due to a lack of focus on the topic in either of the texts and that I had to interject this concept into all the other KAL the participants needed to assimilate during the course of two semesters.

Question #4, having to do with *how* to teach pronunciation, also yielded unimpressive results given that only three participants assimilated my message that pronunciation should be given constant attention, yet keeping in mind the desire to create a low anxiety classroom, and *without recurring to the technical language* we had employed as part of the introductory course. The textbook we used, although providing an excellent model to follow for creating processing instruction for making salient aspects of syntax and morphology, does not attempt to do the same for phonology. We spent one half hour of one fifty minute class creating as a group some exercises to make salient the contrasting aspects of Spanish and English phonology. We brainstormed Spanish words that could be illustrated concretely and that would serve as models to contrast the sounds of Spanish that are problematic to L1 English speakers. It was a very challenging activity and few participants really enjoyed the challenge; however, for those who missed class that day or had something else on their mind, the opportunity to apply the strategy of processing instruction to phonology was lost. Again, to have

assimilated the concept that one does not use the terminology of the linguistics classroom with beginning learners, nor does one spend all available class time explaining in detail the mechanical production of sound, the participants had to have attended faithfully all classes and to have been paying attention at all times during class since this was a concept that I had to interject independently because it was not included in the formal course materials.

Lastly, with respect to question #5, regarding the value of participating in the tutoring project, I consider this question to be the most important in determining whether the teachers-in-training saw the relevance of including phonetics and phonology in their preparation to become teachers. There was one mention of describing how a sound is physically made to help a beginner and how the fact that it did help was a surprise to the participant. In addition, another participant mentions advising the tutee to notice "where she felt the sound," which was encouraging to me although very non-specific. All the participants seemed to recognize the value of the tutoring project and its relevance to their future careers even if they were not able to support the affective evaluation with language that demonstrated their KAL. As discussed in the analysis section, there were allusions made to the KAL presented as part of their coursework in the responses to this question, but only the researcher who could guess at the thoughts the participants were trying to convey would be likely to recognize their attempts to express KAL.

If we compare the list of concepts that the participants did notice to the topics outlined in the description of the study (point and mode of articulation, voiced versus voiceless sounds, vowels and consonants, semi-vowels and semi-consonants, accentuation, rhythm and intonation, assimilation of /n/ to the point, mode and sonority of the following consonant, fricativization of certain intervocalic occlusives, assimilation of voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ to a successive voiced consonant producing the voiced allophone [z], reinforcement of semi-consonants converting them to occlusives and regional variation), we see that really very few of the concepts came through in the participants' spontaneous discussions. Since the spontaneous discussions were 'choreographed' to include topics that I assumed would elicit the language that would clearly demonstrate the participants' knowledge of the concepts, I realize that my efforts to supplement existing materials with information that would make phonetics and phonology more relevant to the teachers-in-training was but marginally successful. Even the most outstanding participants were not convincing in demonstrating that they actually understood even a limited number of basic phonetic processes, much less the phonologic processes associated with spontaneous and rapid speech. However, the outcomes in this respect were better than they had been before reorganizing the courses and including the pronunciation-tutoring project.

CONCLUSIONS

Considering current emphasis on communicative competence, the results of this small study suggest that the university teacher-training program that does not afford sufficient

time to create an awareness of phonetics and phonology in its graduates is ill-preparing them for their interactions with learners once they are in the field. With respect to the research questions posed at the beginning of the chapter, we have the following to say:

- 1) *To what extent do novice teachers make use of KAL when reflecting on their teaching?*

Although we cannot quantify the amount of KAL used in the responses, it is obvious from our small sample that if only three or four respondents out of 22 mention just a few aspects of all the KAL that they should know, the majority of the future teachers were really not able to articulate KAL at the level appropriate for us to say that they are qualified to teach Spanish. Although more participants scored in the 90-100 range on exams composed primarily to demonstrate recognition of concepts, it is clear from the quality of their responses to the reflection questions, that they have not truly assimilated the material. The questions might have been designed differently to elicit more language that demonstrated KAL, for example, by appending a caveat such as “Be sure to make reference in your answer to the concepts that you learned when studying phonetics and phonology last semester.”

- 2) *What aspects of pronunciation do novice teachers tend to overlook in their teaching?*

The few participants that did use KAL in their responses were only able to use the most high frequency information dealing with phonemes that posed a significant contrast with English, diphthongs, and accentuation. There was some allusion to the lack of glottal stop in Spanish that causes syllabification to take place across word boundaries and that contributes enormously to learners’ misunderstanding of aural input as well as the learners’ capacity to produce Spanish that others can understand. Since there was only one reference made to intonation as a cause of miscommunication, it is evident that much more time needs to be spent working with intonation contours and the meaning they lend to an utterance. We were only able to spend one day on intonation in the introductory course. Obviously this amount of time is not sufficient when one considers the importance of intonation in sounding at least polite. Something else that we spent just one class period on is the tendency of L1 English speakers to create diphthongs from simple vowels whereas in Spanish all diphthongs are orthographically represented. There was a show of recognition among the participants when I demonstrated how this tendency helps to define the ‘gringo’ accent in Spanish. In addition, I gave direct input to two of the participants that the beginner they were working with in the tutoring project had a serious problem with this L1 habit and they still did not mention inappropriate diphthongation in any of their responses. I do not know a beginner who does not have a problem in this respect so potentially all participants should have mentioned this issue at some point in their responses. The lack of mention of inappropriate diphthongation must mean that the concept needs to be presented over and over in different ways.

- 3) *How do novice teachers view the usefulness of KAL components of teacher education courses?*

This question is especially difficult to answer because of the nature of reflection question #5. All the participants appreciated the opportunity to participate in the tutoring project and stated that the project in general was beneficial to them. However, they did not overtly make the connection between the KAL that they had supposedly learned during the first semester and the opportunity to put into practice what they had been learning in the second course. Again, this could be due to the wording of the question. Perhaps a more appropriate question would be something like the following: "How did you use what you learned about phonetics and phonology during the pronunciation tutoring experience?" "Could you have done as thorough a job teaching pronunciation if you had not studied phonetics and phonology?" "Why or why not?"

- 4) *What was the quality of KAL acquired for the purposes of teaching by the novice teachers who participated in this study?*

Table 1 makes clear that the level of KAL, with respect to phonetics and phonology, acquired for the purposes of teaching by the participants in this study is not notable. Even though their answers were evaluated with respect to the understanding that they showed of certain concepts that had been taught in the classroom and not necessarily with respect to use of metalinguistic terminology, the application of knowledge about phonetics and phonology apparently was a struggle for the novice teachers. Since the application in this case was the one-on-one tutoring of a beginning student in pronunciation, one can assume that this context should have convinced the participants of the real world relevance of the material. However, the results do not bear out this assumption.

The level of KAL acquired was more impressive than before I added the practical application, in other words, before I required the teachers-in-training to participate in the kind of activity that teachers have to do. I have concluded that, in order to make the material even more relevant, there must be commercially-produced materials available that establish the context for acquisition of linguistic knowledge within the framework of pedagogical issues. Materials that simply expound about language may be perceived as irrelevant by certain types of learners. In other words, future teachers should not be treated as future linguists. It is perhaps difficult for an applied linguist to understand that even though we are teachers as well as linguists, and the link between linguistics and language teaching is obvious to us, the same may not be true of someone aspiring to teach language on a more elementary level.

The most important information obtained from this study is that with all the facts that our future teachers need to know to be effective in the classroom with their own students, it is crucial to allot specific time in the teacher-training classroom for projects in order for the trainees to assimilate the information. Since personal experience has shown me that with ever dwindling resources and the tendency to give preference to

literature courses over linguistics courses in language programs, it is important to make our applied linguistics courses relevant. We need not only to assess the learning of our teachers-in-training, but also to assess the course content itself to ensure that we are giving time to the KAL that our trainees really need to know in order to function in the work place and in order to plan an overall curriculum that makes sense according to the needs of our student population. The results of this study, although qualitative in nature, have shown me that if we do not spend sufficient time with a concept in class and allot specific and sufficient time to every concept in the form of a project that helps the students make the information their own, then we simply cannot assume that the students will somehow learn it. Just because a concept is mentioned in the textbook or is presented in a lecture and just because WE know it is important, nothing makes more clear to the student that something is important than the time and energy that the instructor devotes to it. If I had remained at the university where this study was conducted, I would have pushed to have three courses for teacher preparation within the foreign language department divided as per the following: (1) KAL for future teachers, (2) second language acquisition, and (3) teaching Spanish – processing instruction for syntax, morphology and phonetics. I maintain that this three course sequence is the minimum that any teacher-training program should require of its credential candidates.

I am reminded of a workshop I once attended entitled, “I taught it but they didn’t learn it”. As applied linguists in teacher-training programs, we must take the emphasis off of what ‘we teach’ and put it where it belongs... on what the teachers-in-training learn. We must design our courses keeping in mind how to help all future teachers achieve the learning outcomes we have until recently only assumed for the A students.

NOTES

ⁱBy ‘survey,’ I mean an introduction to the notion that grammar is more than prescriptive grammar plus short units on phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. (The course description, written by a literature professor, called for an introduction to historical linguistics and sociolinguistics as well. I tried that for one semester and quickly eliminated those two units.)

ⁱⁱ Processing instruction contrasts with mechanical drills in which students perform grammatical manipulations in many cases without having to understand what they are doing. It involves providing input that requires the learners to focus on form, in other words, to pay attention to one grammatical structure at a time.

ⁱⁱⁱThere was no formal requirement that the courses be taken in sequence. All that I could do was to include in the syllabus of the second course that the objective was to put into practice information supposedly obtained from the previous course.

^{iv}The novice teachers viewed videos of second semester Spanish students.

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Chapter 13

Raising Orthographic Awareness of Teachers of Chinese

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INTRODUCTION

L2 research in the past decade shows that teachers' knowledge about language (KAL), i.e., pedagogy-oriented explicit knowledge about the language systems or rules, largely influences teachers' teaching practices and their pedagogical systems (Alderson et al., 1997; Andrews, 1997, 1999; Borg, 1998, 1999). According to Andrews (1997), KAL is a declarative form of teachers' language awareness, while the application of KAL in teaching process is a procedural form of teachers' language awareness, and the combination of these two is teachers' metalinguistic awareness. In pedagogical application, the execution of teachers' metalinguistic awareness includes providing explicit grammar knowledge and corrective feedback, which is believed to perform a crucial role in both language teaching and learning (Andrews, 1999:161). Although it awaits further research, such a claim can be made under the assumption that explicit knowledge and corrective feedback increase saliency of the target linguistic feature(s) and hence raise learners' attention, consciousness, or awareness of that feature(s). According to information processing theories, learners' attention, consciousness or awareness of target linguistic features is a necessary prerequisite for language processing and permanent acquisition of that feature(s) (Ellis, 1990; Schmidt, 1990; Fotos, 1993), with corrective feedback being an "input enhancing" form of such consciousness raising (Lightbown and Spada, 1990; Sharwood Smith, 1990).

Although the notion of metalinguistic awareness is well-oriented, research studies on its effect on L2 learning have yielded mixed results from both learner and teacher perspectives. For instance, after examining the relationship between metalinguistic knowledge and language proficiency from 509 first-year undergraduate students of French, Alderson et al (1997) found that explicit grammar knowledge did not improve the students' language proficiency. However, Kinoshita (2002) reported that using metalinguistic knowledge, such as Japanese grammatical terms for semantic relationships, significantly enhanced the learning of particular linguistic features. Using

three Japanese particles such as 'ni,' 'de,' and 'o' as the stimuli in a classroom experiment, which involved 18 beginning college students of Japanese, she found that the group which was provided with metalinguistic corrective feedback performed significantly better than the one which was not. On the other hand, by examining fourteen EFL teachers' performance in grammar instruction and corrective feedback, Andrews (1997) found that the possession of KAL did not guarantee teachers with the ability to make that knowledge explicit in teaching process. Many of the teachers' weaknesses in performance were more related to problems with procedural aspects (i.e., pedagogical operation) rather than with the underlying KAL. In his qualitative study of grammar teaching by four EFL teachers, Borg (1999) found varied teacher practices, such as promoting, minimizing, or avoiding in the using of explicit grammar knowledge. He suggested they resulted from an interacting range of experiential, cognitive, and contextual factors, potentially conflicting beliefs, theories and assumptions, etc.

Therefore, to fully understand the impact of metalinguistic awareness on teachers' pedagogical applications, it is essential to observe how KAL is drawn on and applied in the teaching process. For this purpose, the present study intends to explore the level of novice CFL (Chinese as a foreign language) teachers' explicit knowledge of Chinese orthography and their use of such knowledge in instructional decision making.

Unlike English, which is an alphabetic language with relatively transparent orthography-phonology mapping system, Chinese is a logographic language, with the grapheme-to-phoneme route being unavailable. In Chinese orthography, strokes are the basic spelling symbol, and characters are the basic unit for analysis (Packard, 2000). Structurally, strokes form components, and components form characters. Based on their internal complexity, characters are classified as simple characters (about 18% of the total number of Chinese characters), which consist of a single unanalyzable component, and compound characters (about 82% of the total), which are comprised of two analyzable components with distinct functions: semantic radical and phonetic element (Shu, et al., 1999). In principle, the phonetic element conveys the sound of the corresponding character, while the radical contains semantic meaning which has a relationship with the corresponding character, such as category-member, material-product, instrument-function, etc. The Chinese writing system contains 214 radicals and 1,100 phonetic elements. These components form recurring combinations to assemble the thousands of Chinese characters in multi-dimensional configurations, such as left to right, top to bottom, outside to inside, etc. In such configurations, the radicals and phonetics are in fixed positions. Violation of their positioning causes erroneous variations or non-characters.

As such, the Chinese logographic morphology consists of rules and principles, by which characters are composed and decomposed. L1 research studies show that adult native speakers can automatically decompose the intracharacter components and access to their properties (Zhou, et al., 1999). However, before they accumulate a large enough reservoir of characters to generalize such rules, CFL beginners have to rely on their

visual familiarity when processing characters. Consequently, they view characters as unanalyzable wholes comprised of stacks of strokes and memorize them as such. Moreover, the frequently recurring combinations of radicals and phonetics results in effects of semantic, graphic, and phonetic similarities. And the limited Chinese syllables (about 400 in total), which are employed in the 5,000 commonly used characters, generate a large quantity of homophones in the orthography (Xu, et al.,1999). As a result, beginning CFL learners often make various orthographic errors caused by homophone interference, structural violation, graphic/semantic/phonetic similarity effect, etc.

THE STUDY

Recent CFL research studies have provided ample evidence to show that Chinese language is difficult to learn (Brecht and Walton, 1994; Samimy and Lee, 1997), and character writing is one the most difficult aspects (Everson, 1998). In their 2000 CLTA (Chinese Language Teachers Association) survey, Ke et al. (2001) report that character learning was identified as the most difficult task by all the respondents composed of CFL teachers from colleges, pre-college schools, and heritage Chinese schools. Coupled with the high level of learning difficulty, there was a cry for qualified teachers. According to the report, the dearth of such teachers is due to “the lack of training programs that specifically designed for TCFL (Ke et al., 2001:41).”

To meet this need, the researcher was assigned to teach a course on CFL pedagogy to graduate students who were interested in teaching CFL and/or intended to pursue a Massachusetts State Chinese teacher certificate. The course was designed to address theoretical issues and pedagogical practices from the perspective of teaching Chinese as a second/foreign language, which included general L2 teaching methodologies, information processing theories, error correction analysis, effect of formal grammar instruction, etc. One course objective was to develop the participants’ knowledge in Chinese orthography, such as character structure and configuration, character density (number of strokes) effect, word superiority (orthographic unit recognition) effect, graphic/semantic/phonetic similarity effect, homophone interference, character encoding processes, etc.

By exploring the participants’ insights about their orthographic knowledge and pedagogical application after taking the pedagogy course, this study seeks to answer two questions: (1) How do novice CFL teachers provide corrective feedback for learners’ character writing errors? (2) How do novice CFL teachers formulate corrective and preventive strategies for character learning?

The Pedagogy Course

The pedagogy course (three hours per week) was taught to six graduate students by the researcher in the spring semester 2001. The class was conducted in the format of lecture,

presentation, and discussion. To fulfill the course requirements, the participants were required to make three oral presentations, three class observation reports, five journal/book article reading summaries, two 15-minute-long teaching demonstrations, and a research paper. Meanwhile, the participants learned to use Chinese orthographic terms/names to describe the character formation, the basic stroke type/order, the intracharacter components, and the configuration dimensions. They were also instructed to use these terms in their actual teaching and to have their students “use both hands and mouths” by naming the stroke type/order while writing new characters and using orthographic terms when analyzing characters.

To reinforce their learning, the participants were, during the course, encouraged to apply such knowledge and teaching techniques in their microteaching activities. Moreover, using the writing samples collected from 101 CFL learners at low/high beginning and intermediate levels of two New England universities in the spring semester 2001 (Xiao, 2002), the participants analyzed learners’ orthographic errors from the phonological, graphemic, and semantic perspectives. For the purpose of data analysis, graphemically based errors included substitutions of graphically similar characters and structural violations, phonological errors included substitutions of homophones or phonetically-similar characters, and semantic errors included substitutions of synonyms or lexically related characters. The participants were aware that some errors resulted from a single source, while others from combined sources such as phonological-semantic or graphemic-phonological. Through the error analysis, the participants learned to examine the orthographic developmental trend of the CFL learners and to explore relevant teaching methods.

Participants

All of the six graduate students who took the pedagogy course participated in the study. Two were native Chinese speakers majoring in Chinese with 3 years of Chinese-teaching experience. Two were non-native Chinese speakers with a Chinese major and minimal Chinese-teaching experience and the remainder were native Chinese speakers with a Chinese or education major and minimal/no Chinese-teaching experience. Moreover, none of them had previous formal training in CFL pedagogy. During the training period, all of the trainees were working for the Chinese program as teaching assistants responsible for teaching one or two discussion (practice) classes (three hours per week) under the supervision of the researcher.

In the fall semester of 2001, three of the six trainees remained to work as Chinese language teaching assistants under the supervision of the researcher. One taught as a full-time Chinese instructor for an international program in Taiwan and the remainder as non-language teaching assistants. Throughout the semester, in-service support was provided by the researcher, such as weekly class preparation sessions, class observations, and one-on-one consultations or troubleshooting. The trainee who worked in Taiwan communicated with the researcher for the same purpose through e-mails,

phone calls, and classroom self-audio tapings, while the two non-language teaching assistants volunteered to participate in some of the training meetings. It was anticipated that these trainees would adopt the innovations promoted by the course and utilize the orthographic knowledge acquired in the course to form their pedagogical decisions. Specifically, they would (1) raise their orthographic awareness by developing needed analytical skills, (2) use the orthographic knowledge they acquired in the course to analyze learners' orthographic errors, and (3) develop effective corrective and preventive strategies to facilitate learning.

Think-Aloud Protocols

Data were collected from think-aloud protocols, class observations, and follow-up interviews. The think-aloud activity was conducted at the end of fall semester 2001. Think-aloud analysis has been used as an effective means to observe the cognitive processes of participants in a number of fields such as psychology, education, and cognitive science (Ericsson et al., 1993). It allows the participants to verbalize the information they attend to with their thought sequencing being uninterrupted. In this study, the researcher could, by using this method, effectively explore the participants' level of orthographic knowledge and their pedagogical decision-making in character writing.

The think-aloud activity was conducted individually and self-audio taped. It consisted of two parts: Part A and B. While Part A elicited comments on the pedagogy course, Part B focused on error analysis and strategy articulation. In Part A, the participants were instructed to answer three questions: (1) Which part of the pedagogy course do you think is most helpful to you? (2) What knowledge has helped you most in your follow-up teaching practice? (3) Taking character writing for example, how did you treat your students' errors before and how do you treat them now? In Part B, the participants were asked to identify and correct errors from a list of fifty sample characters, which were either erroneous or non-characters. While correcting, the participant was instructed to (1) tell everything in his/her mind, and (2) answer questions to him/herself such as "How should I help the students correct this error? What should I do in the future to help prevent such errors?"

The fifty sample characters were selected from learners' homework, quizzes, and examinations, which reflected the fourteen common error types in character writing identified by Shen et al. (2000). Based on their orthographic features, these fourteen error types were further classified into three categories: phonological, graphemic, and semantic. Drawing data from the writing samples of one hundred and one CFL students at three instructional levels, Xiao (2002) found that, out of the three error categories, graphemic errors were the highest, phonological errors the second, and semantic errors the lowest. To reflect CFL students' actual learning, the fifty sample characters used in the think-aloud protocols did not have an even number of errors for each category; instead, out of them, twenty-eight (56%) were graphemic errors, five (10%)

phonological errors, and three (6%) semantic errors. In addition, there were twelve (24%) combined phonological/graphemic errors and two (4%) phonological/semantic errors.

All the six former trainees participated in the think-aloud activity. While the two English-speaking participants used English to describe their thoughts, the four Chinese native speakers chose Chinese. The average time used for this activity was half an hour, ranging from 10 minutes to an hour each. There were noticeable differences among the participants in terms of level of elaboration. Some of the participants could merely name the error types, the others gave in-depth analysis of the cause of errors, suggested corrective and preventive strategies, and recalled their own learning and teaching experiences.

Classroom Observations

Eighteen class observations (50 minutes per lesson period) in total were made for the three participants who continued to teach as Chinese language teaching assistants under the supervision of the researcher in the fall semester of 2001. Two observers collaborated on the observations: the researcher (as the primary observer) and a teaching assistant (as the secondary). An observation guide was followed by both observers, which covered a range of areas relevant to character teaching in the observed classes, such as number of characters taught, instructional time used, teaching materials employed, teaching methods used, error analysis time and methods used, learner practice time and activities involved, and explicit orthographic knowledge applied. All the class observations were audio-taped, recorded with field notes and followed by an interview to further confirm the teacher's perceptions about the instructional decision making.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was both qualitative and quantitative. For the purpose of data analysis, the think-aloud protocols were all transcribed, coded, and categorized. While the participants' comments from Part A were used to gain insights of their beliefs and perceptions about the pedagogical training, Part B was coded and analyzed to explore their performance in error identification and formulation of corrective and preventive strategies. For error identification, one point was given if the participant correctly named the error type. For the corrective strategies, one point was given if the comment fell into any of the six categories, such as repeated writing, intra-character component analysis, stroke analysis (i.e., stroke type/order), practicing target characters in contexts (i.e., words or sentences), reading aloud, and modeling (i.e., teacher demonstration on board). And for the preventive strategies, one point was given if the comment fell into any of the four categories such as raising learners' orthographic awareness, effectively providing information, reinforcing information, and explicitly using orthographic knowledge. Class observations, which were classified into categories as designated in the observation guide, were used to examine the participants' application of orthographic knowledge in

their teaching practices and to determine how consistent it was with their articulation in the think-aloud protocols.

To examine the differences among the participants in error identification, statistical tests by Repeated Measures in General Linear Modal were conducted. In addition, Pearson Correlation was used to examine the relationship between the errors contained in the sample characters and those identified by the participants.

RESULTS

The two research questions were answered by analyzing the participants' articulation in Part A and B of the think-aloud protocols. For Part A, comments on the pedagogy course were categorized by following the questions asked; for Part B, the analysis were based on the scores of error identification, suggested corrective and preventive strategies. Results from class observations and follow-up interviews will be analyzed qualitatively to reflect the participants' pedagogical application and instructional decision making.

Participants' Comments on the Pedagogy Course

Participants' comments on the pedagogy course elicited from the think-aloud protocol stressed the importance of theoretical training, teacher knowledge development, and pedagogical innovations promoted in the course (see Table 1). All the participants believed that the training in character writing raised their orthographic awareness and helped them formulate new working principles towards students' character learning. For Question #1, which asked "which part of the pedagogy course do you think is most helpful to you?" the participants responded with theoretical training, knowledge development, and organizing teacher knowledge in lesson planning. For Question #2, which asked "what knowledge has helped you most in your follow-up teaching practice?" the responses were orthographic analysis, incorporation of real-life experience into classroom learning, and hands-on classroom teaching strategies and methods. For Question #3, which asked "taking character writing for example, how did you treat your students' errors before and how do you treat them now?" the responses were change of attitude, use of innovative methods, and adoption of corrective and preventive strategies. Table 1 summarizes the participants' qualitative comments on the three questions and gives the number of respondents for each comment.

Table 1 : Participants' comments on the pedagogy course

Question #1

- i) Theoretical training: "Without theories, a teacher has little room to improve." (5)
- ii) Character writing: "Character writing is the most difficult task to our students." (4)
- iii) Teaching practice: "It is really good to put into practice what we learned in the course." (2)

Question #2

- i) Error correction strategies: "Direct correction, indirect correction, and peer correction, of which the most important is indirect correction: Direct correction may frustrate the students." (4)
- ii) Incorporating real-life situation into classroom learning such as role play: "It is very important to make connections between learning and real-life experience." (3)
- iii) Orthographic analytical skills: "Instead of teaching characters stroke by stroke, we learned to teach them by components such as radicals, phonetics, and analyzable parts." "After taking the course, I learned to first present the character as a whole, analyze the intracharacter components, explain the semantic meaning of the radicals, and create stories to enhance learning." (3)
- iv) Very basic, clear, simple, and practical knowledge such as "not to call the student by name before asking questions, moving quickly enough to retain students' interest." (2)

Question #3

- i) Changed attitude and treatments towards students' character writing errors: "Before taking this course, I did not spend much time thinking about the reasons behind students' errors." "I would copy the error correction strategies from my own teachers when I was an elementary student. For instance, I would have them repeat writing the correct character for many times if they made an error in that character." "I would not analyze the type of errors but evaluated as they did not learn correctly." (6)
- ii) Developed orthographic awareness and preventive strategies: "After taking this course, I teach characters through component analysis." "I think of ways to prevent errors. For instance, when I present new characters, I use color-coded flashcards, with red color to code radicals, and blue and black for the other parts." "I develop their knowledge of radicals or make up a story to facilitate that." (6)

Identification of Errors

Table 2 shows the raw scores of the identified and unidentified errors by the participants. The results reveal that the group average of the identified errors is 92.67%, with the highest score being 98% and the lowest 84%. Repeated Measures by General Linear Model with participants as the dependent variable show that there are no statistically significant differences among the participants in the number of errors they identified: $F(5, 25)=0.069$, $P > 0.90$. Moreover, of the error categories identified, graphemic errors have the highest group average (71.33%), phonological the second (14.33%), combined errors the third (5.34%), and semantic the least (1.67%). Further examination of the identified phonological errors shows that the participants correctly recognized all the errors caused by homophonic substitutions but failed those caused by alliteration or rhyming. For graphemic errors, the participants correctly identified all the errors caused by structural variations but failed those caused by substitution of graphemically similar characters. In addition, there are twenty-two errors either unidentified or incorrectly identified. Nonetheless, Pearson Correlation analysis shows that there is a significant correlation between the errors identified by the participants and those contained in the sample characters: $R = 0.93$, $P < 0.05$. Such high correlation suggests that the participants largely possessed needed analytical orthographic skills to deal with learners' orthographic errors.

Table 2. Results of error identification in think-aloud

Name	Graphemic Phon.	Semantic Phon.	Phon/Grap	Phon/Sem.	Unidentified	Total
Ling	35 (70%)	11 (22%)	0 (0%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	2 (4%) 48/50 (96%)
Gang	38 (76%)	6 (12%)	0 (0%)	2 (4%)	0 (0%)	4 (8%) 46/50 (92%)
Yue	37 (74%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	49/50 (98%)
Rong	34 (68%)	14 (28%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%) 49/50 (98%)
Linda	40 (80%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (12%) 44/50 (88%)
Joe	30 (60%)	7 (14%)	0 (0%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)	8 (16%) 42/50 (84%)
Group	214	43	5	14	2	22 278/300
Average	(71.33%)	(14.00%)	(1.67%)	(4.67%)	(0.67%)	(7.33%) (92.67%)

Note: All the names listed in this table are pseudonyms.

Corrective Strategies Articulated in the Think-Aloud Protocols

Table 3 summarizes the participants' qualitative comments on types of corrective strategies and gives the number of responses for each strategy. Based on the method of correction, the corrective strategies are classified into three categories: (1) *direct correction* (i-iii), in which the teacher explicitly points out the error and addresses it with intracharacter component analysis, stroke analysis, and repeated writing; (2) *indirect correction* (iv-vi), in which the teacher implicitly targets the error with modeling writing on board, putting target characters in contexts (i.e., words, phrases, or sentences), and reading aloud; and (3) *peer evaluation* (vii), in which students read each other's work and make comments on errors. The results show a strong preference in participants' beliefs of corrective methods in that there are 156 (73.58%) responses in favor of direct correction (i-iii), 54 (25.47%) in favor of indirect correction (iv-vi), and 2 (0.95%) in favor of peer evaluation (vii). While direct correction was predominant, peer evaluation the trivial.

Table 3. Participants' qualitative comments on corrective strategies

<i>i) Intracharacter component analysis</i>	73 (34.43%)
a. I would break the character in different parts--color the parts, and point out the error to make students know why the character is wrong.	
b. Explicitly explain the constituents of the character and call students' attention to the configuration and positioning.	
c. To correct the error caused by radial omission, the teacher needs to raise the students' awareness of the radical and explain its semantic meaning.	
<i>ii) Stroke analysis</i>	35 (16.51%)
a. Go over the stroke order. It's easy to lose strokes all the way if you do not have exact stroke order in hand.	
b. Emphasize stroke order. Do stroke count. Teacher writes the character on board stroke by stroke and have the students do stroke count while imitating.	

c. To correct this error, the teacher needs to work at the stroke level, compare the stroke order, and call students' attention to stroke differences.

iii) Repeated writing 48 (22.64%)

- a. For graphemic errors, students have to repeat writing them. Practice makes perfect.
- b. Have the student write the character over and over again, maybe a few sentences with the right word.
- c. Just a matter of writing it correctly a bunch of times in order to fix it in mind.
- d. Repeat writing the character and have the hand know automatically how to write the character.
- e. To correct this error, have the student repeat writing for several times to reinforce memory. This is how Chinese children learn characters.

iv) Modeling 7 (3.30%)

- a. It is difficult for students to write characters with a large number of strokes, so we just write the correct character on board, component by component, and have the students repeat writing.
- b. Write the correct character on board, analyze its structure, and explain the meaning of the radical.

v) Putting target characters in context 46 (21.70%)

- a. Using the character in context is the key, because it makes connection between the graph and meaning.
- b. Characters are free elements, which must be assembled into words, so we need to put them in context.
- c. Have the student write the whole word or a few sentences over and over again so that he can see the variation.

vi) Reading aloud 1 (0.47%)

- a. When an error is caused by order switching, have students read the correct phrase aloud, or read aloud in organized activity or sentences on the board.
- b. Have the students read aloud while repeat writing the characters to make the sound-graph-meaning connections.

vii) Peer evaluation 2 (0.95%)

Have students read each other's work, identify and analyze errors. This will help strengthen their memory.

Total 212 (100%)

Preventive Strategies Articulated in the Think-Aloud Protocols

To prevent errors in students' future learning, the participants articulated a variety of strategies in the think-aloud protocols. These strategies include (i) raising learner orthographic awareness (i.e., decomposing characters into radicals, phonetics, and analyzable subcomponents), (ii) using explicit orthographic knowledge for explanation (i.e., explicitly teaching stroke rules, radical rules, phonetic rules, configuration rules, corrective/preventive strategies, etc.), (iii) providing new information with appropriate sequencing and visual aids or mnemonics, (iv) reinforcing information with review, practice, comparison, and contrast. (See Table 4.)

Table 4. Participants' qualitative comments on preventive strategies

(i) Raising learners' orthographic awareness 40 (37.74%)

- a. To prevent errors, we need to help students develop relevant orthographic knowledge and raise their awareness as such.

- b. Teach the students to write each of the sub-component and then assemble them together by following the configuration rules. In this way, the writing of the high-density characters becomes a fun block-building game.
- c. Some of my students prepare their own flashcards. I ask them to color-code the components, because the visual images of the parts can help them reduce the memory load and help them memorize the character easily.
- (ii) *Using explicit orthographic knowledge for explanation* 39 (36.79%)
- a. To prevent errors at the stroke level, we need to help students develop explicit concept/knowledge of strokes such as dian, heng, shu, pie, na, wan, henggou, shugou, xiegou, hengzhe,, shuzhe.
- b. Explain the semantic meaning of the radical and its relationship with the corresponding character.
- c. For characters which has exactly the same components and finals, we need to explicitly explain their configurations.
- d. Explain the origin of the character and show the evolution.
- (iii) *Effectively providing new information* 14 (13.20%)
- a. I would try to space out graphically/phonetically/semantically similar characters in order to avoid confusion.
- b. When I introduce a new character, I use a color-coded flashcard with the radical being coded with red and the phonetic with a different color to make them aware that this character consists of two components.
- c. When teaching yu “rain,” I draw a picture of rain dropping and tell the students that the four dots are rain drops.
- d. I often try to make stories, so the students can remember the character more easily. For example, ting “listen:” listen to the king, the ear of the king, ten for one heart.
- e. When we introduce a new character, we should contextualize it so that the students can remember its meaning.
- (iv) *Reinforcing information with practice, comparison, or contrast* 13 (12.27%)
- a. It is important to group the graphically similar characters together and then compare and contrast them.
- b. I will compare the graphically similar forms, point out their differences, and make semantic connections.
- c. To prevent such errors, comparisons must be done to show the graphic difference between the components.
- d. Emphasizing and reinforcing new information to the students help them with understanding and memory.

Total 106 (100%)

As shown in Table 4, out of the 106 responses for preventive strategies, there are 40 (37.74%) in favor of raising learners’ orthographic awareness, 39 (36.79%) in favor of using explicit orthographic knowledge for explanation, 14 (13.20%) in favor of effectively providing new information, and 13 (12.27%) in favor of reinforcing information with practice, comparison, or contrast. The participants seem to put much more weight on raising orthographic awareness and using KAL than providing and reinforcing information.

Results of Class Observations

In the participants’ classroom teaching, the time spent on character writing ranged from 15 to 25 minutes in a lesson period (50 minutes each), depending on the objectives and time allocation of a particular class. Nonetheless, this component was seen to be carried out in five types of activities: warm-up, introduction of new characters, communicative activities, review of learned characters, and evaluation of homework or review quizzes. The introduction of the new characters of a lesson was, as designated in the course

syllabus, conducted in the initial part of a lesson period, in which the teacher used explicit orthographic knowledge either in English or Chinese and consistently took five steps: (i) presenting the whole characters with flashcards, on which radicals were red-color coded, and explaining the meaning of a radical and its semantic relationship with the corresponding character; (ii) eliciting pronunciation and tones from students, modeling the target pronunciation and tone, and having the students read aloud; (iii) presenting the target character again with flashcards, on which each analyzable part was coded with a different color; (iv) grouping characters together with the same radical, and making phrases or sentences to reinforce their semantic meaning; (v) writing the character under discussion on board component by component and finally working at the stroke level. Meanwhile, the teachers made up stories and/or used pictures to show the evolution of a particular character or make connections between the character and a real object. The purpose of using pictures and stories, as informed by one of the trainees in the follow-up interview, was to facilitate recognition and retention and make characters interesting to the learners. Such practices showed that the participants actively used KAL promoted in the pedagogy course and demonstrated consistency with their preventive strategies articulated in the think-aloud protocols.

Since orthography instruction was only one of the components in the curriculum and it was basically focused on introducing new characters and reviewing learned ones, not much time was spent having the students write characters in class. The bulk of the students' character writing task was carried out when they did homework. Therefore, the teachers did not have much opportunity to use their well-articulated corrective strategies in class except in the warm-up and review activities. When they did, they often called the students to the board to write characters or sentences. When an error was made, two treatments were noticed. When there was plenty of lesson time left, the teacher would ask the class things like: Is this character correct? What's wrong with it? After satisfactory information was obtained, the teacher would model the writing and elaborate on the character configuration and stroke structures. When the class was running out of time, the teacher would either ignore the error or tell the class straightforward "This character is wrong," without giving any further explanation. In the follow-up interviews, the teacher would be very surprised when told that there was an error on the board that had gone unnoticed. Or when asked why she did not spend any time analyzing the noticed error, the teacher would say, "I know that, but I ran out of time today. I had many other activities lined up."

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study furnished some evidence for the application of KAL in CFL teachers' pedagogical practices and decision-making process. First, novice CFL teachers were, on average, able to identify over 92% of the errors contained in the sample characters, out of which those errors caused by structural variations were 100% recognized. This arguably supports the previous finding that explicit teacher knowledge

had a significant effect on the teaching of particular target features (Kinoshita, 2002). Moreover, their well-articulated corrective and preventive strategies showed that once teachers were equipped with KAL, they would actively apply it to their pedagogical systems and formulate their working principles accordingly.

Secondly, the results from the error identification task suggest that the level of task complexity was an affecting factor in teachers' application of orthographic knowledge. The participants failed to identify those caused by substitutions of graphemically or semantic similar characters. Moreover, they correctly recognized all the errors caused by homophonic substitutions but failed those caused by alliteration or rhyming. They were also able to identify some of the semantic and combined errors but failed to classify them into the correct categories. Instead, most of such errors were grouped in graphemic or phonological categories. The likely reason was that some errors, such as structural and homophonic ones, involved a single level of mental process such as visual or phonetic, while others, such as semantic and combined ones, might involve more than one, such as visual, sound-meaning retrieval, form-sound-meaning mapping, etc. Following this line, one may suggest that the more mental processes a task involves, the more difficult it becomes.

Thirdly, the participants' articulation in corrective strategies showed that they gave predominant preference to direct correction but minor or minimal attention to indirect correction and peer evaluation respectively. Such choice was apparently not supported by the current L2 teaching methodology nor was it promoted in the pedagogy class. The likely reason was that the novice teachers were driven by the notion that Chinese character writing was the most difficult learning task. To cope with such learning difficulty, they resorted to a more pragmatic approach marked with "tough" treatments such as directly pointing out the errors, explicitly explaining the errors, having the students repeatedly write the correct character, etc.

Fourthly, the think-aloud protocols showed notable individual differences in the depth of error analysis and elaboration of explicit orthographic knowledge. Such findings support Borgs' (1999) observation that there were varied teacher practices in using explicit grammatical knowledge, which resulted from an interacting range of experiential, cognitive, and contextual factors. In this study, such disparity may also suggest sources in the participants' prior subject matter training, first language background, and teaching experience.

Finally, the results from the classroom observations showed that novice CFL teachers were able to use Chinese orthography knowledge to the full extent in providing and reinforcing information but not so in dealing with real errors. When errors were encountered in classroom teaching, teachers were able to embark on their corrective strategies when certain conditions were met such that there was adequate class time and that the class was operated as pre-planned. However, they were not able to do so if they were under time pressure or affected by divided attention. Such an observation supports Andrews' (1997) finding that the possession of KAL did not guarantee teachers have the

ability to make that knowledge explicit in teaching process, in that many of the teachers' weaknesses in performance were more related to problems with procedural aspects rather than with the underlying KAL. The present findings may further suggest that novice teachers need knowledge in, besides KAL, common-sense classroom procedural application such as time management, priority setting, feasibility and flexibility in lesson planning, etc.

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Chapter 14

Realisation(s): Systemic-Functional Linguistics and the Language Classroom

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INTRODUCTION

A major aspiration of university-based language teacher education is that students will acquire a body of current knowledge about language teaching and apply it in their classrooms. This is a common expectation, and many MATESOL courses now incorporate reflective, task-based and action research approaches. However, there is little empirical evidence in the field of applied linguistics that teachers do indeed adapt their teaching on the basis of their new knowledge; even less is known about the tensions this brings for them in terms of changing pedagogy. Also, teacher educators rarely seem to explore the extent to which their instruction has achieved the impact they anticipate (but see some of the papers in Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Freeman & Richards, 1996; see also Lamb, 1995).

These comments reflect our own situations and assumptions until 2001. In Semester 1, from March to June, we co-taught a Masters grammar course based on systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) at Macquarie University, Sydney. Previously, we had relied mainly on the official university course evaluation system, which had given generally positive feedback. Having taught our various units, we (naively, and surprisingly, in hindsight) assumed that students would inevitably take up our theoretical explanations and ideas for practice into their future teaching.

The research¹ we describe was originally motivated by the editor of this book, who in a TESOL colloquium on grammar teaching (Lui et al., 2001), enquired whether any studies had been done on the teaching of systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) for pedagogical purposes. This question was of immediate interest to us, as we were about to embark on a new version of our course, developed with the Open University, UK (see Burns & Coffin, 2001, Burns, 2003). Not only would this research provide us with feedback on the content, but it would also give us an opportunity to trace what happened in our students' classrooms when they finished the course.

It also awoke questions that had been lingering at the backs of our minds over our years of teaching, which became the focus of the study. What motivated teachers to take up new knowledge about language (KAL)? What were their attitudes and beliefs about grammar teaching? What were the particular complexities for teachers in adopting SFL as the grammatical knowledge base? What aspects of this linguistic theory did teachers use and why? How useful did they find it in their teaching? We were particularly excited about the new knowledge we ourselves would gain about the impact of our teaching and what we could then incorporate into future versions of the course. The main purpose of the study, then, was to investigate the extent to which Masters TESOL students enrolled in our course implemented the theoretical knowledge gained in their practice as teachers. To do this, we worked with two of our former students six months after they had completed our Masters course in SFL.

SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Over the last 15 years, SFL has had a strong impact in Australia on curriculum development in English, literacy, and child and adult ESOL programs. In many undergraduate and postgraduate programs, SFL is now taught as a major linguistic theory to students enrolled in education and linguistics courses. Yet, very little research has looked at how ESOL teachers draw on SFL or what role it plays in their pedagogical practices and decisions.

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is a text-based theory of language. The key questions and applications of the theory revolve not around the syntax of sentences, but around the functions of texts in context. Language is seen as a social resource; meanings are negotiated in social contexts by social beings (see Burns & Coffin, 2001; Butt et al., 2000; de Silva Joyce & Burns, 1999; Eggins, 1994; Gerot & Wignell, 1994; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Hammond, Burns, Joyce, Brosnan & Gerot, 1992; Martin, 1992).

Language is structured in response to the social functions it serves. This relationship between social context and text is an integral element of the theory; language is conceived in terms of levels or strata rather than components, and the relationship

¹ The research was funded by a Macquarie University Research Grant.

between the levels is one of realisation, where ‘higher’ level meanings are realised in ‘lower’ levels. This can be represented diagrammatically as follows (cf. Martin, 1992, 1997).

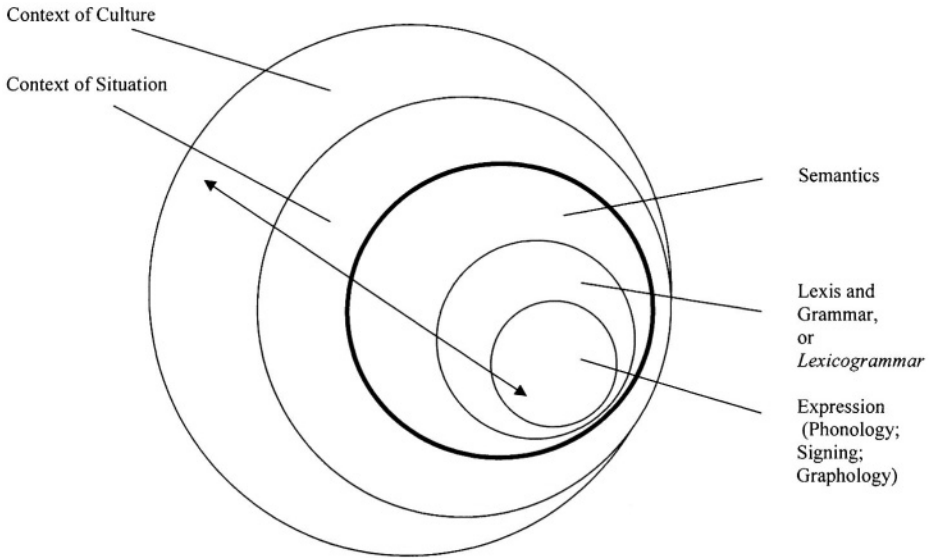


Figure 1: *Levels of Language and Context in Systemic Functional Linguistics.*

Despite this principle of ‘lower’ levels realising ‘higher’ levels, it is important to note also that the relationships between the strata are dialectic, so that changes in phonology affect lexicogrammar, which in turn affects semantics, and so on.

Another key feature of systemic functional linguistics is that the text, not the sentence, is the fundamental unit of analysis. To illustrate this model of language, we present a short text: the headline and lead from the ‘General News’ page of the online version of *The Bangkok Post* from February 26, 2002.

Shelters might be built to stop elephants begging for food

The Forest Industry Organisation plans to build elephant shelters to help ease the suffering of elephants forced to roam the city streets to beg for a living, managing director Chanatt Lauhawataana said yesterday.

With reference to the context of culture in Figure 1, we can say that social processes are realised and recognised textually in typical ways within particular cultures. ‘When texts share the same general purpose in the culture, they will often share the same obligatory and optional structural elements and so they belong to the same genre’ (Butt et al., 2000: 9). The shared purpose of the genre to which the text under discussion belongs is to provide the essential information, or nucleus of a news story to the reader, and to provide a link to the text from which it derives. The structural elements include an obligatory Abstract (the headline), and an obligatory Event (the lead) entailing one or more actors, an action, a setting (cf. Bell, 1998).

The specific text that emerges from any context of situation relates to three register variables, *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. Together these three variables determine the language choices made by the speaker or writer at the levels of semantics and lexicogrammar as shown in Figure 1.

- The *field* may be glossed as the topic – in this instance the plight of elephants and a proposed measure to mitigate the problem. This variable of the situational context is expressed through the experiential grammar, the means by which we tell ‘what happens to whom under what circumstances’. In the short text above, ‘what happens’ is construed largely by the verbal group *plans to build* and the verb *said*. The ‘who’ and ‘whom’ include the nominal groups *The Forest Industry Organisation*, *elephant shelters*, and *Managing director Chanatt Lauhawataana*. The ‘circumstances’ include the purpose of the elephants’ begging (*for a living*), and the time the statement was made (*yesterday*).
- The *tenor* may be glossed as the relationship between the writer/speaker and reader/hearer – in this instance the social roles are of journalist and reader, the status is unequal (in that the journalist has knowledge of the event being imparted), and the social distance is large. This variable of the situational context is expressed through the interpersonal grammar, the means by which we position ourselves in relation to others through the texts we create. In the instance of the short text above, the role of the writer is to give information to the reader, not to ask for information as is the role of, for example, an interviewer; thus the three finite clauses in this text are declarative. As a relative authority on this event, the writer is not required to negotiate the status of the

facts reported with the reader, so they are presented directly; there is no use of hedging or modalisation (with the exception of *might* in the headline).

- The *mode* may be glossed as the role of language: whether written or spoken, language as action or language as reflection. In this instance the medium is written, and the language is reflective in that it plays no active part in creating the activity it reports. This variable of the situational context is expressed through the textual grammar, the means by which we construct coherent, cohesive, meaningful texts in context. The high number of content words (e.g. *build, suffering*; 30 including those in the headline) as opposed to function words (e.g. *for, to*; 13 including those in the headline) helps to identify this as a written text, in addition to the complex nominal groups and high level of embedding (e.g. *the suffering of elephants forced to roam the city streets to beg for a living*).

Thus, the perspective on grammar taken in SFL is semantic and functional. Grammatical elements are identified and classified in terms of the kind of meaning they are expressing and the grammatical role they are playing, rather than their grammatical class (noun, verb and so on).

SFL and language teaching

SFL theory was a large component of the grammar course that we taught in the Masters in Applied Linguistics (TESOL). The course explored the globalisation of English, varieties of English, systemic functional theories of language, and the application of these concepts to language teaching. Students spent nine weeks investigating this theory through readings, online discussions, lectures, and tasks (see Burns, 2003 for more extensive discussion). We aimed to link the theoretical dimensions of the course with practical pedagogical approaches drawn from SFL theory, which include:

- Building students' knowledge of the purpose of the text within the particular culture where it is used
- Targeting activities towards real-life texts that students might encounter (e.g. recounts, narratives, discussions, expositions)
- Analysing with students models of texts that they need to use
- Providing activities where students construct text types jointly in pairs or groups
- Identifying, explaining and teaching grammatical patterns related to the texts
- Diagnosing and developing students' control of the generic structure and grammatical patterns of different text types.

In SFL-based pedagogy, the teacher typically works through a four stage teaching-learning cycle (see Hammond et al, 1992) which includes enhancing the students' knowledge base about the topic being taught (*building field or content knowledge*).

Students develop their knowledge by talking or reading about the topic and the teacher then works with them to construct an effective spoken or written text (*modelling the text*). This is done so that students have a supportive framework for constructing their own texts, by working with others (*joint construction of the text*) and producing individual texts (*independent construction of the text*). The process is based on the notion of scaffolding or apprenticing students into greater control of text production (cf. Vygotsky, 1978). Enabling our students to understand the theory of SFL and the application of the pedagogical principles related to it were major goals for us as teacher educators.

Research framework

In line with the social orientations of SFL theory, our research was built on a number of key understandings regarding the nature of language, learning, and language learning. The first is that language is social; it is learned, taught, and used in social contexts, by social beings, undertaking social practices. The second understanding is that learning is a social activity, largely mediated by language. Language learning, then, is a social process of learning about language through language (Candlin & Mercer, 2001; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; van Lier, 1996; Mercer, 2000; Vygotsky, 1978).

The methodological approach we selected was exploratory, naturalistic and interpretive (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). It focused on exploring the participants' perspectives through narrative and descriptive methods in order to gain understanding of the meanings they attributed to their pedagogical actions. This approach recognises that knowledge is socially constructed rather than an objective reality (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Our aim was to generate theory rather than to test hypotheses, through the exploration of our major research questions.

The teachers and their contexts

We worked with two teachers, Sandra and Bobbi, who had been enrolled in our course in Semester 1. Students in the course were predominately experienced teachers, many of whom were teaching while studying. A large number were international students. We wanted to understand: a) the development of their knowledge of SFL arising from the unit, and; b) what impact this knowledge had made on their teaching. We also wanted to know whether and how the content of the unit had changed the teachers' personal constructions of KAL.

The teachers both worked part-time, mainly at a large language teaching centre for overseas students. Students at the centre are from a wide range of language backgrounds, although those from South-East Asian countries predominate. The observations were conducted during the summer in classrooms that were often very hot. They were equipped with moveable tables and chairs, overhead projectors and whiteboards. Tables were mostly arranged in horseshoe fashion, but sometimes grouped together.

Sandra, in her early 30s, was in her tenth year of teaching. At the time of the research she was preparing her dissertation to complete her Masters degree. Recently arrived from South America, she worked at the language centre while she studied. The first lesson we observed was a business preparation program, while the three subsequent lessons were for general English students. The average number of students was 13.

Bobbi, in her 50s, was in her third year of teaching. Like Sandra, she was working on her dissertation. Since 1999, she had taught part-time, in other adult language programs, as well as at the language centre. The first observation was conducted in an outside further study class, consisting of immigrant students, while the three subsequent lessons were in a preparation program designed to equip students for a university entry course conducted by a private organisation on campus. Her classes contained a similar number of students to Sandra's.

Data collection and analysis

The exploratory and interpretive methodologies adopted in this study called for a cyclical and dialectic approach to data collection and analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Initially we took an "objective" stance as non-participant observers. We did not explicitly tell the teachers that our interest was in SFL, although we did indicate that a focus of our observations was the teaching of grammar.

As the research proceeded, however, our interest in the teachers' application of SFL naturally became apparent, something we did not attempt to conceal or deny. A dialectical approach developed. Our interviews with the teachers became more reflexive and conversational as we jointly explored their teaching practice and how it linked with their knowledge of SFL.

To conduct the research we adopted a number of procedures:

1. We went back to the contributions Sandra, Bobbi and others had made in online discussions in our course, and used these to frame our initial ideas for observations and interviews. We also used Sandra and Bobbi's online data later in the study to compare their responses during our course with the interview data.
2. Before the first observation we asked the two teachers to write brief statements about their current classes and their greatest challenge in teaching grammar.
3. We conducted four lesson observations with each teacher. In total we observed approximately eight hours of teaching by each teacher.
4. Immediately before each class, we interviewed the teachers briefly about their goals for the lesson
5. Immediately after class we interviewed the teachers briefly for fifteen to twenty minutes to get their initial reactions. Long interviews were not conducted immediately after each lesson because of teaching constraints and delays in transcription.

6. All the data were transcribed in preparation for stimulated recall interviews. After the first observation, we conducted an hour-long interview with each teacher. The three subsequent observations were followed by a two hour interview at the end of the study, again with each teacher. Before the interviews the teachers were sent the lesson transcripts so that they could check their accuracy. We asked the teachers to comment on any parts of the transcript they wished to discuss and we also selected segments for discussion ourselves. Such an approach overcomes the difficulties of short-term memory as the participants can focus back on the actual discourse at the time, and both participants and researchers can offer interpretations of the events that can be directly linked back to specific points in the lesson (Nunan, 1992)
7. From the beginning of the research we scanned the data manually through a continuous iterative process in order to analyse the major themes. This led to two types of analysis: i) analysis of the major themes emerging from the lessons relating to grammar; ii) analysis of the interview data. We analysed the interview and observation data in order to identify emerging patterns and themes

Data Presentation

We assumed that, like any teacher, Sandra and Bobbi's behaviours and decisions while teaching grammar would be contingent upon many contextual and personal factors (cf. Burns, 1992; Woods, 1996). As we analysed the data, it became apparent that the variety of factors, and the complexity of their interrelationship, were far greater than we had anticipated. In the following two sections, we provide descriptive excerpts from Sandra and Bobbi's teaching situations to illustrate some of these complex interrelations.

Sandra

Before the observations began, Sandra described the class she was teaching and her greatest challenge in grammar teaching as follows:

The course ... lasts 5 weeks before students start ... a 10 week course to gain entry into university...The course concentrates on two parallel and equally important areas. Academic skills and language skills with considerable grammar content. I think that one of the greatest challenges is to teach grammar in a contextualised and meaningful way.

Contextual factors mediating the teaching of grammar

Throughout the interviews, Sandra referred to several contextual factors that mediated her teaching. There were the tight timeframes to which she must work:

They have created this course that is just a five week course and it aims at making students aware of critical thinking, mainly critical thinking and essay writing...so we give them the language background and the grammar that they will need in order to achieve these goals

and the pressures on her students. “They all get desperate to get into uni. Since the very first week they were saying are we going to fail, are we going to fail? Come on, just relax!” Also, she was required to work within syllabus specifications prescribed by the centre:

We are given the worksheets to work on ... and there are so many things, they want to cover so many things it's like, oh it's too late, they're always in a rush to cover so many things that will be relevant to them ... and sometimes it looks a bit traditional but it's umm, sometimes it does but in a way you connect.

These extracts depict some of the potent *institutional* influences and constraints mediating the construction of Sandra's teaching practice. She was required to teach pre-specified grammar points that she saw as traditional. She was not entirely convinced that the syllabus met student needs and felt under considerable pressure to cover the content in a short period.

Sandra's practice also interacted with her own pedagogical analyses of her student group and their grammatical needs and challenges:

Nominalisation, paraphrasing, summary writing that's one of the main things they find difficult.

Some of them, I could see, still find it difficult to grasp the idea of what a clause is...Maybe through this I realise that they still have some problems with grasping the idea.

Her pedagogical beliefs were further reflected in her personal theories about learning, “giving them the choice to express ideas”, and teaching, “it must be a contextual approach”, “you can't assume the students have learned the content” and “it's important to elicit the grammar information from the student”.

A third set of factors influencing her teaching were her *personal* experiences as a learner of language, her previous training as a teacher, and her experiences of teaching before she arrived in Australia. For example, in her initial online contributions to the course she noted, that her grammar learning had involved knowing about parts of speech and the syntax of sentences. She made the following comment about her teaching experiences:

Most English teachers follow the communicative approach, so the lessons are very dynamic providing students with opportunities to interact with each other through role plays, simulations, games, debates and so on. Writing activities are also carried out in class, though most of the written work is done at home.

Changing practices, changing KAL

There is a noticeable shift over time in the way Sandra's knowledge and application of SFL develops. Before the first lesson she described her grammar aims:

Ah well, today we are doing relative clauses as the grammar point, one of the things we are going to deal with are relative clauses ... [it] will be related to all the other activities, like such things as nominalisation because they all have to do with the way of giving

them help in how to write an essay.

An extract from lesson one typifies her teaching practice, within the syllabus constraints already discussed, at the beginning of the research. The grammar point she was required to teach was subordinate clauses. The sample sentence was *Even a good attractively priced product that satisfies a need has to be made known to its target customers:*

T: (stops writing on board) OK, so we have the main verb. Which did you say that was the main verb?

L: *has to be made known*

T: *has to be made known* [writing on board] OK this is the main verb...and which one was the subordinate clause

L: um *product that clearly satisfies the need*

T: is *product* included in the subordinate clause?

L: no, *that...*

T: *that*, exactly. This is the subordinate clause and the verb of the subordinate clause is?

L: *satisfies*

T: *satisfies*, OK, so ahh, the main clause would be the whole and the subordinate clause is this one. In this case, it's a special subordinate clause, it's a relative clause because it functions as an adjective, it has an adjectival function. Aah if you have a look at it in a way this clause is talking about what?

L: *product*

T: the word *product*, so we can say that *product* is the antecedent, we call it the antecedent. Yes, so because the whole clause refers to this word.

In this extract, Sandra uses a didactic style, focusing on syntactic explanations. She later commented on how this style contrasted considerably with her belief that grammar teaching should be inductive and contextualised. Here, she works mainly with terms and concepts from traditional structural grammars (see Derewianka, 2001). Despite her wish to focus on contextualisation and meaning, this is not reflected in this extract. She subsequently commented on this herself, while also explaining that she felt very short of time:

Generally with grammar I take a longer time um and generally I take examples from things that they're doing and first, yes, it has to be contextualised and then this one was not a good example of it but generally I take it from what we're doing, a text.

At this point it appears that Sandra is struggling to reconcile the traditional grammatical knowledge gained in her previous training with the SFL concepts presented in her

Masters course. While she seems to feel comfortable with the notion of text, she is unsure about how to link text and grammar:

- I: Did you draw on some of the things we covered in your thinking about how you were going to present this in the classroom?
- S: It's easier to grasp when working on text...but I think I feel that I need some more information you know to put this into practice...especially with functional grammar but...with text...yeah, I still don't know how to use this may be with grammar items... I'm sure that the things that I've learned or the things that are inside me will come out...but there are things that I still have to work on.
- I: Are you aware of any conscious ways that you use [SFL]?
- S: Well as I was saying maybe the way I dealt with essays...like describing or getting them to identify the different stages ah that is something that is changing and especially because before I didn't teach how to write essays so that's great.

Sandra began to reflexively deconstruct her knowledge about SFL. As she talked she highlighted several ways she could begin to utilise what she had learned. She saw the advantages of SFL as providing a whole framework of language, rather than parts, enabling students to remember structures in context, and helping students to structure essays. She believed the grammatical systems associated with field (*participants, processes and circumstances*) were an area where she could extend her practice. At the same time, she characterised SFL theory as an overwhelming and complex model with many unfamiliar terms. She stated that she needed much more exposure to the theoretical ideas of SFL, more time to understand the grammar and to undertake change processes in her teaching.

In the subsequent lessons, she was teaching an intermediate General English class. Sandra's focus in lesson two was on the simple past and past continuous tenses, but she taught this within the context of a news story. Previously, she had presented a 'scripted' news story from a textbook and in the lesson now being observed wanted the students to work in groups to produce the schematic structure of a news story. After this, they would write their own news stories. After the lesson, Sandra observed that this was her first attempt to use functional grammar in her teaching and that it resulted from our discussions following lesson 1.

- I: So you said this is the first time you've tried to apply [SFL] and was that a conscious decision?
- S: Yeah, because I said to you before I want to start applying that but I need to do it gradually because I don't feel I'm well prepared to start all of a sudden so yes, I think that I'll be taking things like this. I think that in a way it will help their understanding or help them grasp the concepts in a better way, in an easy way.

In her descriptions of the grammar she had taught she was beginning to use more of the

metalinguistic terms associated with SFL, such as *circumstances* and *recount*. However, she was still relying on textbook materials that were essentially based on traditional grammatical structures rather than on text. Nevertheless, here the solely syntactical focus evident of the first lesson has been extended to include semantic features of the text.

The third lesson illustrates how she was increasingly attempting to integrate grammar with text, as well as to use more authentic texts based on students' experiences. The lesson focused on constructing a recount of an excursion the students had undertaken the previous week. Before the students wrote, Sandra spent considerable time scaffolding the schematic structure of the recount, eliciting the events the students had experienced and the grammatical patterns they could use to write about these events. She then redirected their attention to a recount based on an earlier excursion as a model for their writing:

[S = Sandra; L = Learner]

- S: You mentioned that you need to include the times, so we've mentioned *last Monday*. What other words include time?
- L: *early in the morning*
- S: *early in the morning*. Which other?...
- L: *then*
- S: Yes I know but *then* I'll talk about that in a second
- L: *after 5.30*
- S: Yes, *after 5.30*. OK. Right what about *then*. What do you think, what is the function of *then*? Is it giving you the time?
- L: No... continuing
- S: Continuing, you say what happened first, and then this happened... So we have then like a connector in a way - *then* connects the sentences. Any other words that connect the sentences?
- L: *while*
- S: *while*... Is there any other word that in a way connects that's very simple
- L: *and*
- S: *and* - Can you find any place where it connects two events?
- L: *We left there at 8am and arrived in the mountains.*
- S: OK very good. Thank you. What about this word? Words such as *which*, where....It says *walked through the bush where we saw some brightly coloured Australian birds*, so *where* is what?
- L: What you did there

- S: Yes, you say what you did there. What about *which*? Are we saying what we did at Govett's Leap or are we describing it?
- L: If we want explain
- S: OK, exactly. Explaining the noun. You give information about this, so we don't know what this is so we have an explanation which is a lookout. So these are the sort of things you can find in a recount. You can find the places and you can find time, the different times when you did different things and if you want to explain something about a place you can use *which* and give the explanation or if you want to explain what you did at that place you can say *where*...

Sandra's perception was that she was gaining confidence and successfully beginning to use grammatical instruction in a more textual and contextualised way:

Yeah, in this one relative clauses came up but it was more natural and more spontaneous...because we were talking about recounts and so we were analysing one in particular, so they were looking at things related to time or um I guess place...so obviously it's getting them to recognise why that 'which' is there, what the clause is doing, what the relationship is between the clause and the noun that is before it.

She spoke about her growing confidence in using SFL and her sense that her reflections had led to a substantial shift in her teaching practice over these three lessons:

I think that it helped me become more as I said conscious about or more confident with this new approach... Because as I said to you at the beginning I felt like I really did not know how to put this into practice so um...the first lesson you came to see the way it was out of control in that sense at that stage um so it helped me see how I could put that into practice...getting the questions from you that would make me think so...

And later

- S: When I think of having taught essays in the past...I didn't get into it that much in the sense of really taking every single thing of a model
- I: Do you mean the structure or the grammar?
- S: Could be the grammar, the structure, yeah both things...it's totally changed the way I look at that now...For instance when I explained how to write a recount, how to write a news story the way I did that was different from the way I would have done it before. I wouldn't have spent so much time looking at the different aspects because I never thought of it that way.

Overall, there is obvious movement over these lessons away from decontextualised grammatical explanation, with the primary focus on syntax and constructed textbook samples, towards the use of authentic text, text modelling and joint text construction with the students. Sandra appears to feel more confident in using some of the main pedagogical approaches associated with SFL and genre theory, although her major applications still relate to text structure and the grammar of field. Nevertheless, her

growing insights provide her with a base from which to go on. In her final interview she noted:

What I'm now using, I believe in now, so definitely to go from the context, the bigger thing to the individual thing... taking that context into account not just to teach something, like isolated from the rest... As I said before, every little thing is for a purpose, so trying to get them to find out what the purpose is ... why these things are said in that way.

This comment reflects Sandra's new understanding of the relationships between the contextual, textual and lexicogrammatical levels of the theoretical model illustrated in Figure 1, and what this might mean for the classroom.

Bobbi

Before our first observation, Bobbi described the class she was teaching.

So I suppose the aim of Further Studies is to create an academic framework for them - learning how to do research, learning basic essay types plus attendant sort of grammar skills and also study skills ... So my personal aim has been to try and meet their individual needs which is not easy ... You can't easily walk around the classroom, you can't easily break them into groups and there've been strong personality clashes.

In the first lesson, from which the following extract was taken, Bobbi's grammar focus was phrasal verbs. The extract shows her giving an unplanned grammar explanation. The students had completed an activity where they were given a grid with prepositions and verbs, and they had to decide which combinations were and were not possible; this was followed by a teacher-led class discussion on the students' responses, the possible phrasal verbs and their meanings.

B: There's, sometimes you have phrasal verbs where you have an object after it where you keep going after you've made, you've given your phrasal verb which we, the name for it is ... is transitive which is ... which means when you have a sentence where you have like a subject, a verb and an object so let's see if we can make one up...like I ... somebody says, 'have you found your book?' 'I wasn't looking for my book. I wasn't looking for it.' So Where's your phrasal verb there?

L: *wasn't looking for*

B: *wasn't looking for* - right. That's your phrasal verb and here your subject is 'I' and what is the object of the sentence here?

L: *book*

B: So here there is an object. So quite often we do that but sometimes we actually don't. Sometimes we say um something like, 'would you like to come around?' So here there is no object. It's understood that what you mean 'come around to my place' or something like that but often we don't say it. We say, 'would you like to come around?' um and this is called intransitive. This is when, when the sentence doesn't have an object it just ends with your phrasal verb.

Bobbi reported later that she was constructing her understanding of this particular grammar point 'on the run' as it were.

I know even reading it through it's when I'm actually thinking very rapidly like, 'which way will I go? what will I do now? um do I pick this up?' Yeah and I'd say that those 'ums' there represent me sort of deeply thinking about, 'do I know what an intransitive verb is? Let me just think for a second'.

Like Sandra, Bobbi stated that grammar should be taught in context. In discussing the above extract, we asked Bobbi whether and how she would have followed this particular grammar point up in subsequent lessons.

B: I tend to recycle information and refer back all the time but um in a more formalised way I mean I probably have to sit down and really think about it. ... But I think, I think um...in most of my teaching I don't actually teach sort of pure grammar at all. I tend to teach it very much in context in terms of what it is that we're doing and...yeah like...connectives or you know -

I: So it's connected to the activity?

B: Very much to the um activity and particularly so at the lower levels too because um we've really got here at [the language centre] it's very different because you've got sort of people with fairly strong academic frameworks whereas there [teaching adult migrants] often they don't have formal frameworks at all. And um...yeah and I just find that if I get into the rarefied area of grammar their attention span is fairly short so I tend to use applied grammar if you like. [laughs]

In this lesson, the grammar point, and grammar explanation in the extract were largely conceived and explained in terms of traditional grammar. Bobbi outlined the grammar explanations in terms of the grammar focus of the lesson and the ensuing activities, rather than in terms of target texts or specific social situations.

It seems that at this early stage of the research, Bobbi was struggling to find practical classroom applications of SFL, perhaps partly as a result of her ongoing struggle with its theoretical complexity, and with teaching grammar in general.

I very often actually learn as I teach ... For me it's actually, I've learnt a great deal of grammar just through teaching because you know you come up against a problem you have to think about it and then you go away and you read about it and then you come back in a more prepared way but I'm finding students are always throwing up stuff I can't answer or can only partly answer.

In the three subsequent lessons, Bobbi taught a course for students preparing to enter university. After this initial follow-up interview where we asked her about using SFL, Bobbi showed a shift of perspective on language and grammar.

In the first of these subsequent lessons, Bobbi worked with the students to examine the construction of cohesion through lexical chains in a text written by one of the students.

- B: Then we've got *country* and once again the sentence that starts off with *country*. *The country is a good place to live*. So *country* and then you've got, *It's a place for people to live*. And then you've got, *There are many natural things*. And you've got, actually we do *place* again in a different colour you get the word *place* repeated again here ... and, *It's a beautiful place*. So can you see any other similar sorts of words?
- L: *Many people go to the country*.
- B: *Many people go to the country*. So you've got *country* here again and then you've got *and* again and then you've got
- L: last one [laughs]¹
- B: [laughs] So we're using repetition of the word *country* a lot. So you see that helps to...to glue that paragraph together too because you're repeating that word so that you know that's what we're talking about.

Together, teacher and learners constructed the table below on the white board as the different lexical chains were marked in colour on the text on an OHT. The learners then worked on three additional short learner texts to examine them in the same way for cohesive devices (including pronominal reference). The learners then worked in pairs and groups on a longer, model text provided by the teacher. This activity was done in preparation for a subsequent lesson where learners were required to write a short response to an essay topic.

Description	Country	Place	Things that live in the country	People	Reasons	Examples
quiet, beautiful, peaceful	country*4	place*2	birds, trees, flowers	go for holiday, relax	because, so	such as

Figure 2: An extract from Bobbi's white board

The parallels with Sandra's second lesson in terms of the approach to grammar and pedagogy are clear. Bobbi developed the lesson using the learners' texts from a previous lesson, and also by adapting SFL-based materials. Her decision to take this approach was based partly on the set syllabus for the course, but also partly from her own assessment of the students' needs.

I just thought that perhaps if we started ... looking at cohesion and getting them thinking about the flow of their sentences. We're saying, you know, your paragraphs should develop the information but we also need to know that the information is cohesive. Like I mean we're half doing that by saying you have argument one and then argument two

¹ The last word in the text is "country"; the student learner is referring to this.

but you're still looking at it on a macro level and I thought perhaps we should turn around and look at it on a micro level.

It was immediately after this lesson that our roles as observers and her role as subject was commented on by Bobbi.

You know because I had to present a lesson to you I put in the work that I probably otherwise wouldn't put in to quite this degree ... I mean I think I was much more careful in the way I presented it and also as I say there's positive feedback to this because now I've planned in a sense.

At this point, then, a shift in Bobbi's practice was occurring because of our presence. This was also a noticeable aspect of the changes in Sandra's practice. While the new KAL the teachers learned in our course did not seem alone to have had a significant impact on their teaching practices, when combined with our presence in their classrooms, as researchers investigating the implementation of that new knowledge, it did. This is consistent with the experiences of educational linguists working in the N.S.W. Disadvantaged Schools Program's primary-school Language and Social Power Project, and the secondary-school Write it Right Project from 1986-1996¹. They found that in addition to teaching SFL theory and the innovations in curriculum and pedagogy it inspired, it was necessary for consultants to spend time with teachers in their classrooms if they were to adapt their practice (Jim Martin, personal communication, October 31, 2002). The issues this raises for us as teacher trainers, for our students, and for our understanding of the nature of KAL, are pursued in the discussion section.

In discussing the application of SFL in the classroom, Bobbi found it difficult to pinpoint specific changes in her teaching. Nonetheless, it is certainly possible to recognise its influence in the following extract from the third lesson.

- B: What does it do? ... What words come to mind?
- L: Relationship.
- B: Hmm?
- L: Relationship.
- B: Relationships yes relationships but they are ... they're relating to each other, *one, another*, yes. So you could say that they are showing a relationship ... it's also ... ordering isn't it? *One, another*, so there's some sense of order ... and ... you were thinking about this ... in terms of mathematics in terms of thinking about it sort of mathematically, what are we doing?
- L: Just the first sentence, then the second sentence
- B: It's like... like adding.
- L: Yes

¹ N.S.W. (New South Wales) is one of the six Australian states.

- B: It's adding information so this one would be we'd call it additional ... so *one, another, furthermore*.. We're just moving progressively one two three, so it's order, it's addition, and it's um relational - they're relating to each other. Okay. With the others that are left do they belong together or ... which might belong together there?
- L: *on the other hand* and *however*
- B: That's right, *on the other hand* and *however* ... belong together. What **d** what are they doing?
- L: Contrast.
- B: They're contrasting. Very good ... so these are acting as a contrast...so knowing that we're changing quite significantly. What does *therefore* do?
- L: *because*
- B: *because*. Yes. It's
- Ls: *so, so*
- B: *so, yeah, therefore, so, because*...what do they do?
- L: Result.
- B: A result. They're giving showing...result. ... Causes leading to effect. ... Because sometimes in writing we know these words but sometimes we don't actually quite know the um the meaning. Quite a lot of people for example will put *on the other hand* without having put the first, the first hand first, the first piece of information.

In contrast to the first lesson, Bobbi worked with a model text of the type the learners were expected to produce in their major assignment to identify functional elements of the grammar. This was in response to problems she had identified in their writing:

In this particular major assignment they actually have to be able to recognise a particular essay type. They have to be able to, I suppose write topic sentences, work out what your main arguments are going to be and how to support it and so both the cohesion lessons and then the transitional um signals and so forth was actually trying to give them the skills...Like they learn the *however, on the other hands*, but they don't have any concept that you know that if you have one hand you're going to have another hand which means a balanced argument so it was trying to build up those skills.

This lesson extract demonstrates that Bobbi reflected on a number of the pedagogic practices she discussed during the research: teaching grammar in a contextualised manner, teaching grammar in response to the needs of the task and the students, and recycling grammar throughout a course.

Additionally, her approach here appeared to be informed by a text-based, functional view of language. During the research, Bobbi specifically mentioned text cohesion (*conjunctions* and *lexical chains*) as elements of functional grammar which she had consciously incorporated into her teaching of grammar (other elements she also

mentioned were the *Theme/Rheme* structure of clauses and clause complexes, *nominalisation*, and the structure of *verbal groups*). These observations were borne out by Bobbi's fourth lesson, where the language focus was on the use of modal verbs in academic writing. For this lesson, Bobbi had prepared worksheets, chosen a grammar focus directly relevant to learners' immediate and long term interests with clear relevance to the feedback on their first assignment, and done so from a text-based, functional perspective on grammar consistent with the principles of SFL.

Bobbi's final three lessons showed that she could identify the needs of her students and implement a pedagogic plan of action which appeared to be informed by the concepts of SFL. Yet, she still found it difficult to articulate a specific relationship between her understanding of SFL and her teaching of grammar.

I mean there's a lot that I'm using but I'm not using it in a very conscious [way]. SFL - it's just sort of you've got a bag of useful items and, so I mean, certainly the idea of... using context as the basis and then... the three levels of relationship [field, tenor and mode] and, you know, whether you're writing or speaking, I mean all that has become the absolute basis of the way I think.

Further reasons why this might be the case, and the implications of the research for our practice as researchers and teacher trainers, are discussed below.

DISCUSSION

What is observable from the extracts is the highly emergent and shifting nature of the KAL that is beginning to reshape Sandra and Bobbi's practices in grammar teaching. It is a KAL that is in flux. At the same time, the observable changes clearly interact in complex ways with other factors mediating their thinking. Gaining greater appreciation of the interactions required us to acknowledge that to develop an understanding of the teachers' KAL, it is not enough to consider grammatical practices in isolation. Nor is it sufficient or accurate to isolate personal and contextual factors and make claims for a linear, causal relationship between such factors and teacher practice. There is a dialectic relationship between action and environment, in particular between classroom action and teachers' KAL.

In our data no one factor (or group of factors) stood out as the most dominant or noteworthy in relation to the teachers' approaches to teaching grammar. It was the enormous variety of factors, and in particular their complex interactions, which was striking (cf. Burns, 1996). Although not all of these factors have been identified and discussed, the items listed in Table 1 are indicative of those mediating particular instances of classroom practice.

While categorising these factors may be a valuable heuristic for explaining the data, it should not under-represent the interrelationships. *Course aims and syllabus*, for example, is also clearly related to *online classroom decision-making*, to *teachers'*

language learning experience, and to aspects of the physical context (e.g. what effect does the searing heat have on students' participation in group activities?).

KAL cannot then be seen as static or decontextualised. It is realised only in its application; the relation between knowledge and action is intrinsic. From this perspective, teachers' classroom decision making is a perpetual and dynamic process, constantly interacting with a vast array of immediate and distant factors (spatial, temporal, and conceptual) at a level of complexity which defies neat description (see Woods, 1996). What we observed suggests that the relationship between a teacher's KAL on one hand, and classroom action and decision-making on the other, is dialectic and dynamic, and that negotiating the 'coral gardens of the classroom' is one of many important factors influencing, in an ongoing fashion, teachers' KAL and approaches to teaching it (cf. Breen, 2001).

Table 1 Factors mediating classroom practices

<i>Institutional</i>	<i>Pedagogical</i>	<i>Personal</i>	<i>Physical</i>
exam pressures time tabling and time pressures course aims and syllabus requirements required materials course focus on tertiary entry/study time available for preparation	previous lesson (s) student needs student skills/language ability newness of student experiences of tertiary study online classroom decision-making student age teacher-student relationships focus of the research project	language learning experiences previous training as (language) teacher previous teaching experience existing practices theories of teaching theories of learning recent study (of SFL) current study commitments personal lives and relationships	heat physical size and layout of class changes of rooms student movement in and out of class presence of researchers in classroom

In a context as complex as a language classroom, a significant change in one piece of the puzzle can alter the entire picture. Initially, we found that the teachers were maintaining a stable and effective classroom, in part, by continuing with grammar teaching practices familiar to them, based largely on the concepts of language with which they had experienced throughout most of their language learning and teaching (cf. Breen et al., 2001:472).

By entering their classrooms as researchers and former teachers, and by providing a clear and present - even pressing - reason for change, we were catalysts for destabilisation of the teachers' practice. The nature of the changes which took place was

mediated by a wide range of factors as indicated above. In effect, Sandra and Bobbi were 'forced' to engage with the knowledge about language which they had learned in our course. In doing so, in articulating their understandings and exploring applications, this knowledge became active and relevant to their practice as language teachers. In turn, their teaching practice informed, developed, and added to their knowledge about language.

For the professional development of teachers, participating in such research as reported here allows and requires them to reflect critically on their own practice, revealing to them aspects of their own practice and philosophy that they may not have considered before (cf. Burns, 1996). In terms of the professional development of teacher educators, understanding that decision-making and knowledge about language is dynamic and context-dependent has important implications not only for what we teach, but for how it is taught. These issues are taken up in the next section.

INSIGHTS AND QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR OWN PRACTICES

As researchers, we were struck first by the enormity of the assumptions we had made about the uptake by the teachers of the SFL grammar component of the course. As these were enthusiastic teachers and two of the top students in the class who had shown in-depth understanding in their class assignments, we had assumed that they would 'naturally' take up the pedagogical implications with no difficulty. What our research initially highlighted was a continued reliance on traditional approaches. During the research we also realised that their increasing focus on SFL was certainly influenced by our observations and discussions - the Hawthorne effect in fact. At first we were very concerned about this and felt it would unduly bias the findings. However, the stimulated recall approach we adopted with the teachers clearly enabled them and us to interrogate what we were all doing at a deeper level.

Furthermore, the research opened our eyes to the very real challenges for our students of translating our course content into their classrooms. We wondered whether the teachers, our ex-students, would have eventually integrated SFL principles into their teaching of grammar had they not participated in our research. This insight led us to think much more systematically about how we could introduce the content in future. A number of questions related to our practice as teacher educators became pressing:

- How do our students learn SFL? What are the processes involved? Which aspects of the theory are the easiest for them to apply to classroom practice?
- Given the newness and theoretical complexity of SFL for our students, how could we best assist them to apply the pedagogical principles in practice? What kind of tasks and reflective activities could we use to enable this to happen?
- What forms of course assessment would best enable students to demonstrate their ability to apply the principles of the course?

- Apart from more practical materials, what other support could be provided for language teachers struggling to implement SFL in their classrooms?

As a result of identifying these questions, we have further developed our current course content and tasks, employing a problem-based approach where the application of SFL-based pedagogy in teachers' specific contexts is explicitly explored. One major issue has been to balance the teaching of the theory of SFL, and the problematising of its practical implementation within the time constraints of our course. Given the complexity, and for most students the newness, of the theoretical concepts taught in the course, this has posed a great challenge for us as teachers, assessors, and curriculum developers. Even so, requiring students to develop applications of the theoretical principles to their professional practice in structured pedagogical and assessment tasks (with support from ourselves and other students) has been a rewarding process for us as teacher educators, and has been evaluated very favourably by students studying the revised curriculum. In adopting this approach, we have aimed to put into practice the pedagogical principles of scaffolding briefly discussed in the section on SFL and language teaching above.

Beyond our teaching practice, we have also begun to think about the broader reasons why teachers might find taking up SFL approaches difficult in the ELT profession. SFL-based pedagogy, often referred to as genre-based teaching (see Johns, 2002), is still very much in its infancy in English language teaching profession. Thus, considerable tensions exist for language teachers wanting to use SFL when institutional requirements, teaching material and textbooks, and student expectations are primarily based on dominant traditional grammatical frameworks. This is typically the current situation even in Australia where SFL theory has been more pervasive than elsewhere in curriculum development. For our international Masters students returning to teaching environments which are often heavily constrained by formal, discrete-point, high-stakes tests and examinations, and institutional, social, and cultural expectations of a traditional approach to grammar, content and methodology, the tensions are likely to be even more extreme.

SFL is not yet widely known and criticisms have been levelled at the pedagogies related to it (see Burns, 2000; Hammond & Derewianka, 2001; Freedman & Medway, 1994) for being too "recipe-like", prescriptive, and likely to stifle "creativity". For many teachers, it may be almost impossible in their environments to go against the mainstream of more widely known and accepted communicative language teaching approaches and materials in order to adopt an approach which has its genesis primarily in Australia (Hyon, 1996). One added problem is the difficulty finding resources; there are few teaching materials and resources that teachers can draw on for SFL-based teaching (but see Bonanno and Jones, 1997; Butterworth, 1994; Carter, Hughes and McCarthy, 2000; Cornish, 1992; Delaruelle, 1998; Lock, 1996; Webb, 1991, 1995).

FINAL COMMENTS

In conducting this research, we experienced an enlightening opportunity to spend time with these two teachers, and to reflect on and discuss their knowledge and practice. In doing so, we better understood Sandra and Bobbi, not just as teachers, but as people: people who teach, who have distinct personalities, personal lives, problems and pleasures.

Although, it seems self-evident, one of the main lessons we have absorbed from our research is that it cannot be assumed that teaching Masters courses in SFL will lead to teachers using it in their classrooms. The research has allowed us to probe the realities and flaws in our previous assumptions and to reflect seriously on their implications. We now feel strongly that teacher educators teaching SFL (and probably any other forms of grammatical KAL) need to provide their students with explicit tools for pedagogy, in combination with the grammatical tools themselves. This goal might be effectively achieved by scaffolding pedagogical uses of SFL for the students, using the principles outlined for SFL pedagogy, such as building knowledge of patterns of classroom interaction, and demonstrating explicit models. We are not proposing giving students additional knowledge about SFL in the sense of 'more about the grammatical system'. Rather we are suggesting that students could be apprenticed into practical applications through grounded and contextualised action and problem-based activities alongside their theoretical developments in KAL.

Clearly, more research in classrooms is needed to understand how SFL pedagogy is realised by teachers who have undertaken courses, through classroom observation and investigations of their underlying thinking. Additionally and perhaps even more importantly, more research is needed, of the type suggested in this chapter, by teacher educators: to analyse their own practice, develop their thinking about teaching KAL and to gain awareness of what impact their teaching has on their students' practices. This type of research is not commonly a feature of teacher educator practice, but we hope that our study provides an initial contribution.

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Chapter 15

Researching the Effectiveness of Professional Development in Pragmatics

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1. INTRODUCTION

As Bartels (2002) notes, applied linguists working in the area of knowledge about language (KAL) have been conspicuously slow to research their own practice and the assumptions underlying it. This paper reports on our attempt to address this shortcoming by researching whether and in what ways a professional development project impacted on the subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge of the teachers who were involved.

The project was conducted with teachers from the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), which is a government-funded program providing eligible immigrants to Australia with up to 510 hours of English language tuition. AMEP teachers are required to undertake a certain amount of professional development each year, which is usually in the form of short, discrete workshops organized on the basis of teacher needs and interests, rather than of a full in-service course leading to a formal academic qualification. There is also a tradition of encouraging teachers to participate in research-based professional development aimed at investigating different areas of practice within the AMEP. This approach generally involves a more substantial time commitment on the part of the teachers, who complete relevant readings and participate in data collection and analysis. The assumption underpinning this is that both the research process, and the incorporation of their findings into their classroom practice, will be beneficial for them as teachers (see Burns 2000, Brindley 2001, Wigglesworth 2000a for a further discussion of these issues). In this paper we explore the validity of this assumption, and

the impact on teachers of the more *ad hoc* workshop approach to professional development, by reporting on a project which incorporated both approaches.

In this project, we were interested in comparing learner and native-speaker performance on a complex request task with the aim of informing teaching practice and materials development through involving a group of teachers in empirical research. Our assumption was that this would deepen their understanding of how native speakers might negotiate such requests, and that this deeper understanding of ways in which complex requests could be prepared and mitigated would enable them to develop classroom materials. We hoped that the materials could also be used as the basis of workshops with other groups of teachers so that the practical professional development benefits of our project would extend exponentially beyond the small group of teachers initially involved, to much larger numbers of practitioners.

As work on the project progressed, we were also keen to explore just how useful the teachers found their involvement in the different phases of the project. We wanted to investigate whether our initial assumption was justified, that is to find out whether and to what extent the teachers felt they had benefited from their involvement in the project. For this reason, we also collected their reactions to their experiences on the project, and these are the primary focus of this chapter.

2. PRAGMATICS AS CONTENT KNOWLEDGE

The question of content knowledge in the ESL classroom is a somewhat vexed one. While it would appear to be uncontroversial that teachers should know the subject matter they are teaching, the ESL profession has continually struggled against simplistic notions that native speakers of English already know the language and are, therefore, in a position to easily transform this substantive knowledge into pedagogical strategies. While such arguments are highly debatable in most areas of language and language use, they are manifestly false in relation to areas of pragmatic and sociocultural competence, where native speaker intuitions are notoriously unreliable, and research has consistently revealed native-speaker awareness of what they *think* they do and say to be different from what they *actually* do say in a social situation (e.g. Wolfson 1989). Thus the sociocultural and pragmatic knowledge that native-speaking teachers have about their own culture usually results from early socialization into the norms of that culture and is most likely to be unconscious. This makes such knowledge less amenable to analysis by the teacher, and thus less likely to receive explicit focus in the classroom.

For learners of English, or any other language, sociocultural and pragmatic competence is crucial for those communicating regularly with native speakers, who may experience communication breakdown and hostility as a result of inappropriate or inadequate use of the kinds of strategies and devices used to mediate pragmatic intent. For example, in English there are a variety of different ways to soften the impact of an utterance – through the use of various mitigating devices, such as politeness tokens, changes in modality, incorporation of softeners, or lexical choices. Communication

breakdowns which result from an incomplete awareness of how these devices reflect the sociocultural and pragmatic norms of a culture are potentially more dangerous than grammatical breakdowns because they are more likely to be attributed to the learner's personality (e.g. the learner may be perceived as bossy or arrogant or insensitive) than to a lack of linguistic sophistication. Previous research has shown that non native speakers have great difficulty in acquiring mitigation skills from exposure alone (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford 1991), and that learners benefit from explicit instruction in both the repertoire of mitigating devices available in English and in how to use them appropriately in context (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999). This highlights the importance of teaching of interpersonal pragmatic skills in language programs, and to the provision of appropriate teaching materials to address these issues in the classroom. There is a burgeoning literature on the interlanguage performance of various pragmatic functions and acts for teacher education to draw on, and in her review of classroom research in interlanguage pragmatics, Kasper (2001) concludes that, overall, pragmatic aspects of language can and should be tackled explicitly in language classrooms. However, to date the silence on teacher knowledge in this area has been deafening.

Work in the area of general education has been influential in theorising what it is that teachers know. Shulman (1986) identifies three areas as important. The first, *knowledge of subject matter*, includes both *substantive structures*, that is, the ways in which facts relate to concepts and principles, and *syntactic structures*, or how knowledge is established as true or false within a discipline. *Pedagogical content knowledge* covers the way in which ideas can be formulated and presented for teaching, and *curricular content* includes knowledge of materials available to learners and what they may know about the subjects at their particular level of study (Shulman: 1986:9-10).

The model of professional development used in our project attempts to address all these dimensions of teachers' knowledge. It involves teachers in both empirical research into a substantive area of knowledge about language use, and reflective engagement with pedagogical and curricular knowledge through the development and trialling of materials based on the results of the study.

3. THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN PRAGMATICS

The motivation to investigate complex requests grew out of an earlier study conducted in the AMEP (Wigglesworth 2000b, 2001), in which data were collected from learners doing requestive tasks orally with a teacher or trained assessor. It was noted that the learners were able to use only very minimal mitigation strategies and devices, and sounded abrupt, and even rude. This project was designed to investigate how native speakers might perform these tasks so that we could make recommendations about the kinds of devices non-native speakers might need to know in order to complete these tasks more successfully. The project was specifically designed to involve teachers as researchers because we felt this would be a good way of raising their awareness of

mitigation pragmatics, and of harnessing their pedagogical expertise to develop appropriate materials to address these areas in the classroom.

Thus we had three broad aims: firstly, to enable a small group of teachers to help develop a description of the verbal mitigation behaviour used by native speakers in the performance of oral request tasks which could be compared to non-native speaker performances from the earlier project. Secondly, to develop with the teachers materials drawing attention to mitigation pragmatics, which could be transmitted to other teachers through workshops and other professional development exercises. Thirdly, to investigate the impact of the project on both the language awareness and the teaching practice of the teachers involved, i.e. to research our own practice as applied linguists offering professional development to teachers. It is this final aim that is the focus of this paper.

The project was designed in two phases. In the first phase, a small group of five teachers were engaged in the empirical investigation of both native and non-native request task performance data. They then developed and trialled teaching materials based on the findings. In the second phase, we used these materials to conduct workshops designed to raise awareness among larger groups of teachers, and to offer them teaching strategies they could use in the classroom. The project was designed to enhance the areas of teacher knowledge proposed by Shulman (1986) as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Dimensions of teacher knowledge addressed in the project

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Teachers involved</i>	<i>Professional development activity</i>	<i>Dimension of teacher knowledge:</i>
1	5	Attend workshops and undertake reading on mitigation	Subject knowledge (substantive structures)
		Collect data, code and analyze transcribed data	Subject knowledge (substantive and syntactic structures)
		Prepare and trial materials	Pedagogical content knowledge Curricular content knowledge Personal practical knowledge
2	100+	Attend workshop on research and materials	Subject knowledge (substantive and syntactic) Pedagogical content knowledge
		Trial materials	Subject knowledge Pedagogical content knowledge Personal practical knowledge

In order to identify and evaluate teacher reactions to the project, we encouraged teachers to reflect on their learning. We did this through a focus group discussion and an individual interview with each teacher. These allowed us to probe in depth how they felt about their involvement in the project how it had influenced their teaching, and how they

thought it had shaped their views of language. In the second phase, the reactions of the larger group of teachers were evaluated through a series of brief questionnaires designed to evaluate their knowledge of mitigation pragmatics, and to investigate the impact of the workshops on their subsequent teaching practice.

3.2 Phase one of the project

3.2.1 The conduct of phase one

Five teachers volunteered to participate in phase one of the project over a period of several months. At an initial workshop, we outlined the principles of mitigation in English, and discussed some findings from previous projects involving non-native speaker use of mitigating strategies. We provided them with a small reading pack, and asked them to collect 10 samples of native speakers (5 males and 5 females) performing the same three request tasks on which the non-native speakers had been assessed in the earlier project (Wigglesworth 2000b, 2001). A sample task is given in figure 2. Once the teachers had done this, the tapes were transcribed by a research assistant.

Figure 2 Example of role-play request task used by teachers for data collection

Participant Card

- You have 4 weeks annual leave available this year. You would like to take 3 weeks leave now, even though it is a busy time at your workplace
- Talk to your manager about this situation, explain why you want to take the leave now and negotiate a solution

Interviewer Card

- You are the manager of a workplace. One of your employees has applied to take 3 weeks of their 4 weeks annual leave now.
- It is a particularly busy time at your workplace. Find out why he/she wants to take leave now. Explain that employees normally take leave at Christmas when things are quieter. Ask the employee to suggest ways to resolve the situation

The tapes and transcripts were returned to the teachers at a second workshop designed to deepen their understanding of mitigation, and to introduce them to the concept of coding data using a framework adapted from that used in previous studies of cross-cultural and interlanguage requests (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Eslamirasekh, 1993; Lee-Wong, 1994; Mir-Fernandez, 1994; Rose, 1990; Trosborg, 1995; Yates, 2000). The transcripts were coded for the level of directness or strategy used in the request proper, and the ways in which various devices were used to soften the impact of the request.

Three types of mitigating devices were investigated: syntactic mitigation, such as the use of modals (I *would like...*), the continuous (I'm really *hoping* to), or embedding (I *was just wondering if ...*); prepositional mitigation, that is the use of extra propositions which functioned to soften the impact of the request (for example, phrases which provided the context for a request or gave reasons why it was necessary); and lexical mitigation, or lexical additions and choices which lessened the impact of the request (e.g. 'just' in 'I was *just* wondering if..'; and the choice of 'appreciate' in 'I would really *appreciate* being able').

Following the second workshop, the teachers took their own tapes and transcriptions home, checked the transcriptions for accuracy, and attempted to code the data using the coding framework outlined in the workshop. Teachers were also each given 4-5 tapes and transcriptions of non-native speakers doing the same task to code. Two more workshops were held during the period in which the teachers were coding to discuss any problems and issues, and to check their understanding of the coding system. Once all the transcripts had been coded, we checked them for reliability and then analysed the results both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The analyses revealed that, while both groups used fairly direct strategies for the request itself, the patterns of mitigation adopted by both groups were quite different. The native speaker group used a greater number and range of both lexical and syntactic mitigating devices that softened the impact of their requests. It is likely that NNS underused some of these mitigating devices, for example the use of embedding, such as 'I was wondering if...', because of their level of language proficiency. However, other linguistically simple devices were also avoided such as, for example, the use of continuous aspect, single lexical items such as 'just', hedges etc., which are relatively simple to learn and use. Although both groups provided propositional support for their requests in the form of reasons, the non-native speakers did not attempt to establish rapport with their interlocutor in the same way as the native speakers did. In particular, the NNS prepared the way for their difficult requests much less than did the NS, who frequently disarmed likely criticisms of their request by anticipating problem areas and offering to make good any difficulties arising out of their requests. A more detailed report of both the coding system and the results can be found in Wigglesworth & Yates 2001, 2002; Yates & Wigglesworth 2002.

Once these results had been discussed with the teachers, they conducted a review of what teaching materials were currently available to address these areas. This revealed that very little was available for learners at this intermediate level. With our support, but largely on their own initiative and in their own time, the teachers then developed teaching materials which explicitly tackled the mitigation devices and strategies highlighted in phase one, focusing on the introduction of a range of lexical and syntactic devices which could be used to support and soften a request, and on how and why such devices might be used. Together with print-based materials, the teachers also produced their own video to illustrate dialogues with more or less successful use of the devices

targeted. They then trialled the materials with both their own students, and with other teachers.

3.2.2 *Teacher responses to phase one*

3.2.2.1 *Data collection*

We collected the reactions of the teachers involved in phase one in two ways. Firstly, a group interview with all the teachers was held immediately after the workshop in which we discussed the findings of the analysis. This aimed to elicit their views on what they had learned from their involvement in the research stage of the project. The discussion was guided to the extent that we specifically asked what they had gained and how they found participation in the different activities in which they had been involved, but also ranged widely over topics that they raised in connection with their insights resulting from the research. The whole discussion was recorded and transcribed in full. Secondly at the end of the project, all five teachers were interviewed individually, and these conversations were also transcribed.

In analysing the transcriptions, we adopted an *emic* perspective on the data, scrolling through both the group and individual interview transcripts several times to identify the key themes which emerged. These were then classified according to Shulman's (1986) categories, viz *substantive*, *syntactic*, *pedagogical* and *curricular* knowledge. The next section reports the findings on *substantive* and *syntactic* knowledge, or why knowledge is organized in the way it is.

3.2.2.2 *Gains in substantive and syntactic knowledge*

The process of actually identifying and coding features in the data, together with the inevitable uncertainties and discussion, allowed the teachers to develop their own understanding of the mitigating devices used, and to identify patterns in the language of native speakers. The teachers often found the application of the coding categories to the data challenging, as it took them beyond their normal domain of the classroom into relatively uncharted territory. However, these struggles with uncertainty also gave them a deeper appreciation of the issues and were therefore particularly rewarding in the long term:

B: I think the analysis was the hardest part because you really had to concentrate on what you were doing.

C: [...] I think the coding was difficult, I think y'know we had lots of long conversations about whether it was this code or that code, and the feeling that um y'know am I doing this consistently? With myself let alone with the other people in the group, and it was useful to go to the sessions and talk about...and look at how other people coded, [...]

E: The coding was challenging; the coding was the challenging thing. It was good having those meetings and realising that everybody else was having the same problems.

In discussing content knowledge, Shulman (1986) emphasized that teachers should not only know the facts (the substantive knowledge), but also be able to explain why (the syntactic knowledge or why knowledge is constructed in this way). In this project, the idea behind involving teachers in empirical research was to develop not only their conscious knowledge of the language features used in mitigation, but also to increase their awareness of why and how these phenomena are used. As noted above, as native speakers of a language tend to be socialised into the pragmatic norms of their community as children, and their knowledge of such norms are likely to be below the level of consciousness. The tendency of language programs to eschew the teaching of pragmatic skills (and thus for teacher training programs to similarly ignore them) means that teachers' conscious awareness of these important interpersonal features of language is often limited. The teachers were all very clear that their substantive knowledge of the area had been considerably extended:

A: [We got] a much better understanding of the particular area we were focussing on which was the whole area of mitigation and a much better understanding of you know what we do in Australia and why we do it....

B: I think that because I was actually doing the project and looking at, seeing those dialogues with people and then analysing it - it just made me focus a lot more rather than going to a conference and listening to what someone else has done and said. I don't think it would have been as real and practical to me doing it

This awareness included an increased sensitivity to the whole notion that when we speak we present ourselves and manage the impressions that others have of us:

B: That the way that you use, that the phrases that you choose, you know, communicate quite a lot more, you know, to the person listening to you, um, how polite you are, you know how you make your request, how people understand you and things

Teachers also gained a more detailed understanding of the linguistic devices that native speakers use when negotiating a complex request, and the cultural values that underlie the roles and obligations in different requesting situations. Some were particularly struck by the amount of preparation that speakers undertake before making the request:

A: Well, one thing I think I am more aware of is how early the non-native speakers start preparing, for that sort of request or whatever it is, you know, it starts...a lot...earlier, you know, there's a lot more sort of build-up or preamble

The teachers were also able to articulate the ways in which their experiences during the project enabled them to understand how and why the mitigating features they found in the data worked, that is, their gains in what Shulman calls *syntactic* knowledge:

A: [...] So it has raised my awareness on all sorts of levels,on the area we were looking at, on the area of mitigation and making requests. You know, I couldn't have told you before - I could have given you what we say, but not, I hadn't really thought about why we say for example, why you put some requests in the past tense or varying other mitigating language. I've never really thought about why we do that. It's made me

much more conscious of that and much more conscious of the importance of looking at the staging and all those things.

As this teacher goes on to explain, the process of being involved in research enabled her to understand the area of mitigation as a system of choices that speakers make rather than simply a list of items to learn, and to appreciate the motivation for such choices:

A: I really don't think I'd thought a lot about the role of things like how you can really change things it's not simple formulaic phrases - that we are making all sorts of choices not consciously but subconsciously, and they can have, you know, and when you actually look at them you can see why we've done that but you wouldn't have known that you were even doing that in your own language....

Their increased understanding of both the linguistic and the cultural aspects of this area of interpersonal pragmatics also impacted strongly on their pedagogical and curricular knowledge. This is discussed below.

3.2.2.3 Gains in pedagogical and curricular knowledge

We had anticipated that the materials development phase of the project, in particular, would enhance the teachers' pedagogical content knowledge and curricular knowledge. However, we found that involvement in the data collection and analysis phases of the project not only enhanced their knowledge and understanding of the pragmatics in substantive terms, but also impacted directly on their pedagogical understandings. Thus, even before the materials development phase of the project was underway, when the teachers talked about the aspects of language use highlighted by the empirical study, they tended to immediately consider the pedagogical implications of these and to reevaluate their past practice. The fact that the teachers often talked of the two kinds of knowledge in the same breath challenges a clear-cut distinction between substantive and pedagogical knowledge (McEwan & Ball 1991), which interacted at different levels.

On a general level, as the teachers became aware that a number of different aspects of language and language use were involved in requests, they began to shift from the view that they could simply teach items such as polite request formulae as part of the linguistic system to a realization that students also needed a greater understandings of the communicative values and cultural dimensions of the contexts which they are used as illustrated by this exchange from the focus group interview:

SE: So it seems to me that you need to...in doing those tasks with students or setting up any role play you need to set it up, spend a long time discussing what the relationship is and what's accepted...

A: Yeah what's appropriate

G: ...in that context...

E: But a- but also I think that as a teacher, you know, I think I tend to teach requests, y'know nice and neat...

G: In a box

E: ...not think about it in contexts

One teacher (C) commented that the project had enabled him to see language differently, as some sort of complex '3-dimensional...machine or organism' that operates on multiple interacting levels. This realization led him to speculate on the complexity of language in areas other than mitigation, and to advocate working on deeper levels of understandings with students so that they understood the cultural expectations underlying a request. This view was echoed by others:

C: [...] and I think just to teach somebody the words as I said before doesn't really work, and y'know we don't understand why it doesn't work and I think if you raise students' awareness, leading up to the degree we're doing in a project [...] then perhaps [it] unlocks a bit more for them and uh....

D: There's something very similar that you have to um know what the whole scenario is going to be, also the cultural differences, I think that should be ... er discussed even before you get into all this [i.e. using polite language].

This increase in awareness also extended to other aspects of language such as ideas about individual variation in language use. As the participants reflected on the variation they had found in the native speaker data, they became interested in how expectations and practices may vary in different varieties of English, in rural as opposed to urban communities, as well as among individuals with different personalities, backgrounds and needs. This led to a pedagogically-oriented reflection on what the most appropriate model to use with learners might be and how far we, as teachers, should make our students aware of the sociolinguistic complexities of language use:

D: Yeah, so what model would we be looking at?

A: That's right, so in terms of thinking about teaching materials you're thinking so what's an appropriate model to teach people, that's kind of a generic model and...yeah...

C: I think maybe one model that works at raising awareness, that there are different approaches,

The pedagogical insights they gained from the project seemed to expand out to areas beyond those specifically addressed in the research:

A: So a lot of what I got out of it [the empirical research and materials development] was actually a whole lot about language teaching as well as actually, you know, the language itself. Yeh... I think I understood but I suppose it has really highlighted it. You have to be really quite analytical I think, you know, in our teaching

On a more specific level, there were also instances where the importance of particular features was noted. For example, the prevalence in the native-speaking data of embedded phrases such as '*do you think it would be possible if you*' (see Section 3.1), caused one teacher to comment:

C: [...] 'cause I thought what's going on here? – I couldn't work it out...but it was something that sounded quite natural when it came out, but, it's something I'd never teach in a million years.

The project specifically addressed curricular knowledge, in that existing materials were reviewed before new materials focussing on mitigation were developed. This review confirmed what this group of experienced teachers already suspected: that there was a severe shortage of materials for the teaching of this aspect of spoken English, especially spoken Australian English. They reported that their work in the project had helped them to realize how to analyse and present this area better for learners, and they felt better able to develop more teaching material themselves:

E: I got more of an awareness of what we do say and how we do use language and how what the coursebook gives you is so stilted and not based on reality

Overall, the teachers seem to have really appreciated being involved in both the empirical and the more pedagogically-oriented aspects of the study. They felt that it was very rewarding to be involved in the empirical research and then use the findings to develop practical materials, and they appreciated the opportunity to be involved in discovering things about language for themselves and to watch something 'unfolding' before their eyes. This greater personal investment in 'knowledge' seems to have conferred a deeper understanding than other forms of professional development:

A: Well, ahm, there's a sense of discovery... so, you know, good to actually, you know, doing the actual interviews with the people themselves. Good to see the way people actually do that and be involved in collating the data so I suppose you've got more ownership of it. The sense of having ... the unfolding a bit.

E: That was stimulating; that was good; it was quite exciting when you start to see a few patterns

All five teachers reported that they would teach the area of mitigation much more successfully now than they had before their involvement with the project, and that they would approach it on levels that they would have ignored before:

Inf. So did you teach it much? Did you incorporate it into classroom practice?

D: Urn no, no. It would only be uh to be polite, um it would be using how to approach somebody, the openers and the closing, but not so much the uh type of vocabulary you would use, the type of words you would use in the negotiation, and I became very aware of that through the project, using words like just, past tense, you know and continuous, yeah.

They also found that they could use in the classroom what they had learned through the project, and that students were very appreciative:

B: I've been using it [the insights and materials from the project] a lot in my classes and I've been doing this competency and you know, and just going through the different stages that people use and speak, and you know the students have been really interested.

In fact they said to me, they said to me, you know, this lesson has been really interesting because you know we had no idea that this is what people do....., and so a student of mine came to me and said, you know, she went home and told her husband, you know, we learned something really interesting today about how to argue for these different things.

And they enjoyed the opportunity to share their findings and the materials with their peers:

A: You do get this sense of ownership of it but a heightened sense of awareness of it as well. And then trialling the materials is also good...seeing how people respond to them.If they respond well to them it's actually a very nice sort of thing, and then the other element is being involved in giving PD sessions for other people is another aspect of it as well. You know sort of quite nice.

Overall, then, this phase of the project appeared to be highly successful, both in terms of its products: useable research findings and teaching materials; and in terms of the benefits to teachers of their involvement. The teachers were expected to make a substantial commitment to the project, but this investment appeared to result in a strong sense of ownership of the knowledge they gained, and immense satisfaction at being part of something which created, as well as disseminated, knowledge.

However, such high levels of involvement are extremely demanding of time and effort and, as one teacher (B) put it, only '*a certain type of person*' is able or willing to make such a large commitment to their professional development. The second phase of the project was therefore designed to offer less demanding professional development within the same area of subject knowledge by addressing the perennial concern of teachers: what can I do on Monday? This phase tackled a substantive area of subject knowledge (the mitigation of a request) through the materials designed to teach it in the classroom.

3.3 Phase two of the project

3.3.1 The conduct of phase two

Our aim in phase two was to use workshops based on the materials developed in phase one to raise the awareness of mitigation of a much larger number of teachers. These sessions briefly reported the results of phase one, and then presented the teaching materials developed on the basis of the findings. As the sessions only lasted one to two hours, they demanded much less of a time commitment than phase one, particularly as they were held during routine professional development sessions in the teachers' own workplaces. While phase one had involved only five teachers, more than one hundred teachers were able to participate in these sessions.

While the various sessions varied slightly in format, each included an introduction to the concept of mitigation pragmatics, outlined the major research findings from the project, and discussed their implications for teaching practice. We then introduced the

set of materials, and worked through them with the teachers, who discussed and evaluated them. At the conclusion of the workshop, the teachers were given their own set of the materials, which included teacher notes, a set of student activities, and a tape (a video proved problematic to reproduce) to use in their own intermediate level classes where appropriate.

We hoped that this process of using and trialling the materials would enhance the subject knowledge of this large group of teachers through ‘learning on the job’ as well as developing their pedagogical and personal practical knowledge (Beattie 1995) related to tackling such issues in the classroom. As with the first phase, however, we wanted to check this assumption and find out how useful the teachers found this brief introduction to the area. The teachers were therefore asked to complete a short questionnaire designed to determine their prior knowledge of mitigation pragmatics and the importance they attributed to teaching pragmatics. Together with the teaching materials, we also gave the teachers two additional questionnaires. One asked them to evaluate the materials after they had used them in their classroom. The second, to be completed one week after using the materials, asked them to reflect upon what they had gained from our sessions and the opportunity to use the activities and materials in their classes.

3.3.2 Teacher responses to phase two: reflections on subject knowledge, substantive knowledge and pedagogical knowledge

Eighty-four teachers responded to the post-workshop questionnaire, which consisted of three questions. The first question assessed prior substantive knowledge: “How aware were you of using similar softening devices in your own interactions before today?”. The second was geared more toward syntactic knowledge: “How important do you think they are for learners?”, and the third evaluated their pedagogic knowledge: “In the classroom, have you explicitly focused on how to use these aspects of English? How? How often?”.

Approximately one third of the teachers responded that they were “quite aware” or “fairly aware” of the issues prior to the presentation of the data from the research project. About half of these teachers indicated that they had a “good awareness”, or were “very aware” of the issues. The remainder claimed minimal or little awareness. This suggests that there was considerable variability in terms of the amount of substantive subject knowledge teachers had access to initially. For some teachers, however, the awareness they had was too vague to be either sufficiently substantive or usefully pedagogic:

Aware, but have neglected to pay attention to them some times (70)¹

I was very aware of them in a very superficial way (79)

Quite aware on a personal level as well as in the classroom (68)

¹ The number in brackets identifies teacher questionnaire the quotation comes from

Fairly aware but would not have known how to use in a teaching context (57)

The workshops seemed to help crystallise these rather vague notions into something more solid and the teachers reacted positively to presentations of the materials, citing instances of personal experience which had contributed to their understanding of these devices, but recognizing also the benefits of more formal analyses:

I've been aware of this for many years as I'm an English speaker but not Australian born .. I grew very interested in the use of 'might' after a lot of misunderstanding of its use on first arriving (18)

I was aware I used them but I had never analysed them in a formal (semantic, lexical) way. It really is interesting to look at what devices we actually use (73)

The sessions allowed teachers to focus more consciously on the issues and therefore to consider ways in which they might enhance their professional practice, both in terms of their subject knowledge, and their pedagogical knowledge:

I was generally aware but this session highlighted the need for further thought (35)

Aware but it's interesting to hear it – and evidence etc (25)

I've been aware of the cultural differences but this session has been a good springboard to further this exercise (46)

The second question asked the teachers to evaluate the importance of understanding how these devices worked. There was high agreement as to their importance, with well over half the teachers identifying them as “very important”, “extremely important” or “vital!” and many other identifying it as “important: or “quite important”:

Very important - for the future success in such encounters (63)

Very important but usually/often overlooked (55)

Essential, especially for the workplace (71)

Extremely important in portraying the appropriate level of politeness/enquiry (70)

A number of the teachers considered this question specifically in relation to pedagogical and curricula content and related the importance of such aspects of language use to learners at certain levels or in certain occupations:

Important but these will be limited by competence of language acquisition (34)

Pretty (important) - at the higher levels. It's also important to embed the conversations in the wider contexts of when to ask (how much notice is reasonable), under what conditions and how to re-negotiate (79)

Quite important for social/occupational English (5)

Many recognized that awareness of these devices were particularly critical for learners as they moved into the workforce and in social and other interactions outside of the classroom:

Essential for effective communication - especially in the workplace (3)

Extremely, to give confidence, develop vocab, understanding Australia culture (66)

Fairly important depending on situation and requirements (39)

I think it's important because students need to know these subtleties in language (16)

The final question focused on evaluating their pedagogical knowledge and asked about the extent to which they taught such material in their classrooms. Although approximately half of the teachers indicated that they did consciously address pragmatic issues in the classroom, for many, this was incidental rather than planned:

Yes - as they occur naturally e.g. Teacher expects apology for disruption/absence /failed commitment or student inadvertently appears rude due to lack of awareness (22)

Yes - varies on the level I'm teaching. Usually fairly minimal - modals/past tense forms in explicit teaching but focus on cultural 'polite' forums and customs throughout course (59)

Yes. Sporadically throughout the course(s) (3)

What was apparent was that teachers often felt they lacked the necessary resources to assist them in teaching this kind of material in the classroom:

I'd love to see more classroom material available - this is actually a fairly complicated area (57)

Not as much as I would like - there are few materials and time gets taken up with form rather than function at times. (83)

The need to actually focus on it comes up, when specifically requested by the students or when I'm teaching [negotiating requests]as part of my program (78)

We were pleased to find that there were quite a number of teachers who had already incorporated the teaching of these devices into their normal classroom routine:

I teach Eng[lish] to migrant health professionals - this is an integral part of their speaking course. We spend a lot of time working through appropriate ways of talking to the public, peers etc. (18)

I always spend a lot of time on 'requesting' behaviour in class and looking at formal-informal situations but again have never analysed the language used (73)

I have focussed on polite and impolite forms of request - important when completing work experience in the workplace (53)

Sometimes as a warmer. I use cards and students ask each other questions. Very frequently. Great to link up with the research (45)

Overall, then, the value of teaching these devices was recognized by this group of teachers, and indeed some of them regularly incorporated them as a focus. The sessions we ran with them seemed to build on their prior knowledge to activate, and in some sense legitimize, what they were aware of in a diffuse way.

DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS

Our investigations of our practice in this project have been illuminating for us as researchers and teacher educators. Our analyses of the teachers' responses to both phases of the project validated some of our assumptions made in designing our project and highlighted some of the advantages and disadvantages of the activities in each phase.

The teachers involved in the first phase of the project seemed to have made enormous gains, not only in their awareness in the specific area researched, but also in their skills and confidence as researchers, and in their understandings about language and communication and how to tackle issues of interpersonal communication in the classroom. However, this gain was not made without considerable pain. They had to make a heavy commitment of time and effort, and we had to support them in this. For both teachers and researchers this meant a lot of discussion, reflection and checking, which, while greatly rewarding on a number of levels, was also very time-consuming for both parties.

Although from a research perspective using teachers in this way was not the most efficient way to conduct an empirical study, our findings suggest that a small number of teachers will find it extremely rewarding both professionally and personally to be involved in this kind of activity which allows them to explore a language specific issue in much more depth than their normal daily commitments would permit. However, it is extremely time-consuming and could never become a regular form of professional development for large numbers of teachers. Nevertheless, our research suggests that this model of professional development could prove highly beneficial for teachers in key roles in language teaching centres. This might mean targeting teachers who already have obtained some research experience through graduate degrees such as Masters courses.

The second phase of the project demanded far less of the teacher-participants. Of course, while teacher responses suggested that our aim of raising teacher awareness of the area was largely achieved by the workshops, not surprisingly, the gains in teacher subject knowledge were considerably less than in phase one. Our contact with the teachers in this phase was so brief that we were not able to probe their pre- or post-workshop attitudes and practice to any great depth. Although heartened by the positive responses to our workshops, we were unable to stimulate further response from the teachers who attended them. They appeared to be very keen to try out the materials with their students, but less willing to share their reactions to this experience with us at a later date. This seems to indicate that a longer term relationship, such as could be fostered in a series of workshops rather than a single session, would be preferable, both to allow the

consolidation of teacher knowledge of pragmatics, and to enable closer and more accurate investigation of its impact on teachers.

Our activities with this larger group of teachers required a fairly minimal time investment from us as we spent only one or two hours with them. As we interacted with them as a much larger group, we could not develop the personal relationships with them as we had with the teachers in the first phase. However, this mode of presentation is much more cost and time efficient. The responses from these teachers suggest that, for many, the sessions were useful in that they brushed the cobwebs off an area of teacher knowledge which was not necessarily active in their thinking or their teaching. A smaller number of these teachers probably actually used the material, and we had hoped that these people would report their insights back to us through a short evaluation we asked them to complete immediately after using the materials, and the questionnaire we asked to complete one week later which asked them to reflect on how the experience had changed their thinking about the teaching of mitigation pragmatics.. However, teachers in Australia, as in many places, live busy lives in which their students are paramount, and classroom preparation, report writing, following up on issues, etc. are hugely time-consuming and leave little space for responding to researcher questions. Despite several attempts to follow up with these teachers, we received only five responses – too small a number to realistically comment on the effects these workshops and activities might have had on their thinking with respect to mitigation pragmatics.

CONCLUSIONS

We ourselves have gained a great deal from this project. We have learned more, not only about how native speakers and non-native speakers conduct complex requests, but also about how this knowledge relates to other knowledge about language and teaching. The positive responses of teachers in both phases have encouraged us in our belief that projects of this kind can be, not only of substantive, but also of pedagogical and curricular relevance to the daily practice of teachers. This we have found motivating.

Moreover, our experiences on this project have highlighted the fact that investigating teacher responses to professional development is even more complex and more challenging than investigating teacher responses to more formal applied linguistics courses. For reasons of cost and time effectiveness, much professional development will be of the discreet, workshop variety undertaken in phase two of this project. As we have seen, it is difficult to investigate the impact of this type of activity in any depth, since contact with the teachers during and after the workshops is limited. These circumstances challenge applied linguists to find new ways of investigating the effectiveness of what they do. Ideally, in any future project of this type, our preference would be to offer a series of workshops so that the teachers can interact with the content over a longer period, and so that we are in a better position to collect their reactions. As a minimum, we will try to ensure that teachers attend at least two workshops, with the second acting and as feedback, question and further input session. Either way, our experiences on this

project have persuaded us that it is worth building into our work ways of investigating the impact of what we do.

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Chapter 16

Why Teachers Don't Use Their Pragmatic Awareness

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INTRODUCTION

This research was motivated by what I perceived as extremely poor pragmatic ability on the part of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners in Brazil. Having spent two years of my life as an English as a Second Language (ESL) learner in the United Kingdom, I could envisage the kinds of problems those learners would experience if they found themselves speaking English in a real life situation. As a matter of fact, I had indeed witnessed some foreign friends being taken as rude or being unable to adapt and feel comfortable in Britain simply as a result of cultural aspects conveyed in the language that neither my friends or their British interlocutors could identify clearly. I wondered why this pragmatic knowledge did not seem to develop as naturally as knowledge of the formal aspects of language. It was then that it occurred to me that corrective feedback (CF) might be a successful tool in developing pragmatic ability. Since I suspected that teachers did not offer this kind of feedback, I was motivated to conduct this research with the aim of looking into the provision of corrective feedback at the pragmatic level by EFL teachers in a Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) classroom environment. The idea was firstly to check whether such feedback was offered, secondly to observe teachers' practice following an awareness-raising programme in Pragmatics, and finally, through questionnaire answers and interviews, to probe teachers' attitudes toward CF in Pragmatics.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

While researchers have studied the effects of corrective feedback in the formal aspects of language, little is known about how CF can benefit the learning of Pragmatics.¹ Since there is some evidence that certain consciousness-raising techniques proven beneficial for the learning of formal aspects of language may indeed be facilitative of the development of interlanguage pragmatics as well (House, 1996: 250), I felt justified in

carrying out this study on the premises that CF can be helpful in the development of pragmatic ability.

Even though the bulk of research into pragmatic competence does not yet warrant many conclusions to be drawn, especially if compared to the vast bulk of research done into the acquisition of grammatical competence, the existing studies on the effects of instruction on the acquisition of pragmatic competence point to instruction as an effective means of helping learners improve their pragmatic knowledge (C.f. Kasper, 1997). Research by House (1996) also points to consciousness-raising techniques as a way to improve the acquisition of pragmatic fluency.

Although little research to date has looked into the instructional effects of CF at the pragmatic level, there are reasons to believe it should benefit learners. While investigating input in academic advising sessions, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996: 179) assert that exchanges "in which advisors reply to the intent rather than to the form of the utterance, may provide little incentive for non-native speakers (NNSs) to modify their output". Thus, if no CF is provided to learners as to how inappropriate their utterances have been and how to make them more appropriate, it is likely they will not realise the need to modify their production (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1996). Moreover, the fact that first language (L1) acquisition of pragmatic competence takes place through a great deal of CF (C.f. Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1996: 187) suggests the possible facilitating character of CF in the learning of interlanguage pragmatics.

To my knowledge no research to date has investigated how teachers relate to and feel about the provision of CF in Pragmatics. This area needs studying since the more we know about it, the more successful the teaching of Pragmatics may become.

DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

With a view to determining whether the provision of CF at the pragmatic level could be increased by means of a teacher-training programme on Pragmatics, I opted for a combination of three research methods.

First of all, data were collected from four lessons by each one of my three informants, two lessons of which were to be observed before the intervention and the remaining two lessons after the intervention, totalling a number of twelve lessons in the whole study. The purpose of this procedure was to detect the provision of CF at the pragmatic level in these lessons and determine whether the intervention played a significant role in promoting such provision. Lesson observation, however, could not shed any light on the informants' perception of CF and Pragmatics. Bearing that in mind, a questionnaire (C.f. Appendix) was given to the teachers halfway through the lesson observation phase, more specifically, between the first round of observations and the intervention. Its purpose was to try to probe the informants' views of both CF and Pragmatics. In order to achieve more complete data triangulation, interviews with the informants were carried out to allow informants to be confronted with the results from the observations and their answers to the questionnaire. The purpose of these

unstructured interviews was to make teachers reflect upon their practice as far as Pragmatics and CF in Pragmatics were concerned.

2.1. Lesson Observation

The first stage of the data-collection process involved observing and recording two lessons in the CLT tradition by each of the teachers taking part in the research, totalling six lessons. The groups observed ranged from Pre-Intermediate to Advanced. The tapes, which amounted to nine hours of class, were transcribed following Allwright and Bailey (1991). The transcripts of these lessons, as well as those of the other six lessons observed after the awareness-raising programme, were analysed and coded for the amount of feedback at the four levels, namely, Phonological, Morphological/Syntactic, Lexical/Semantic and Pragmatic.

2.2. Awareness-Raising Programme

The participants engaged in a short teacher-training programme, which consisted of a seven-and-a-half-hour introductory course on Pragmatics. This course, entitled 'Pragmatic Awareness In Language Teaching', was administered by the present author and comprised three two-and-a-half-hour meetings containing lectures on Pragmatic theory, namely Speech Act Theory, The Cooperative Principle, Positive and Negative Politeness and Face Threatening Acts (FTAs), as well as a number of tasks aimed at providing the subjects with a certain degree of awareness of pragmatic phenomena. These tasks included cartoons with inappropriate pragmatic use whose inappropriacy learners were expected to identify and discuss, bubbles containing conflicting comments about how a language and culture are related and how they interact with the people who speak that language. Both appropriate and inappropriate pragmatic use was commented on. Video passages from films were also used to exemplify FTAs ("do not do the FTA", for example, was exemplified by a passage from "The Remains of the Day" in which the act of declaring one's love was so threatening that the speaker chose not to perform it). Transcribed discourse from the author's own life was used to illustrate pragmatic failure, going on- or off-record and using a let-out.ⁱⁱ Moreover, examples extracted from Thomas (1995) were used to shed light on a number of pragmatic phenomena. Some basic reading was also suggested so that participants could have the opportunity to further reflect on issues of Pragmatics outside of classroom hours. In addition, authentic utterances (collected from both natives and Brazilian learners) were briefly discussed with the aim of raising the teachers' awareness of the possibility of pragmatic transfer. Participants were also encouraged to contribute to the course by bringing their own material, i.e. examples of pragmatic phenomena they came across in their everyday lives. I believed that by giving the course a more practical orientation, I would be striving not only to facilitate the understanding of Pragmatics, but also to alert subjects to the ubiquity, and therefore importance, of pragmatic phenomena.

It is important to say that the awareness-raising programme did not contain any emphasis whatsoever on correction in order not to bias the teachers' performance.ⁱⁱⁱ I expected that once they were more aware of Pragmatics, teachers would naturally offer CF in this area, as they seem to do with knowledge they acquire in other areas, such as Phonology, Morphology, Syntax etc. It might be that if specifically trained with that aim, the informants would succeed in offering feedback in Pragmatics, however that was not the scope of this study.

2.3. *Questionnaire*

The questionnaire used in this research contained twelve questions which attempted to probe the teachers' feelings, beliefs and practice as far as CF and Pragmatics were concerned (C.f. Appendix). Both 'open' and 'closed' questions were included for the same topic as a way to cross-check answers. That way, any contradictions that came up in the questionnaire could be taken up later on in the interview. There were both abstract and concrete questions in the questionnaire, which aimed at identifying 'socially desirable' responses (C.f. Shepherd & Shepherd, 1987).^{iv} Once again, if contradictions arose, they could be resolved during the interview.

2.4. *Interviews*

Each of the participants was interviewed individually in his or her mother tongue. The interviews were audiorecorded and lasted around one hour each. Rather than opting for a more structured type of interview, with pre-prepared questions, I chose to pose a Grand-tour question at the very beginning of the meeting and see how things would develop.^v This interview technique is in keeping with ethnographic research, which aims to describe "a culture or situation from the 'emic' or native's point of view, i.e., from the point of view of the cultural actor." (Robinson, 1985: 73). All comments and answers by the informants were met with attention, interest and further related questions until I felt that the topic had been exhausted.

All interviews had an informal tone and were carried out in the informants' mother tongue.

2.5. *Participants*

The informants who took part in this investigation were experienced qualified EFL teachers in a private language institute, namely LEMEC, situated in Niterói, Brazil. They all hold a degree in Letters from Universidade Federal Fluminense, in Brazil. They were appointed by the head teacher. The criteria for this choice were based on the levels taught by the teachers and their availability to attend the awareness-raising programme.

Of the three informants in the investigation, two were female and one was male. Two of them had taken a postgraduate course in Applied Linguistics at Universidade Federal Fluminense which included a component on Pragmatics. As for the remaining teacher,

despite the fact he had never studied Pragmatics formally, he was somewhat familiar with Pragmatics as well.

2.6. Data Analysis

The data obtained from the twelve lessons observed were coded following an adapted version of the coding scheme presented by Lyster and Ranta (1997). This scheme consists of six categories from the original scheme and another two, which I felt justified in adding due to the peculiarities of my data. The whole set of categories comprised: *explicit correction, recasts, clarification requests, metalinguistic feedback, elicitation, repetition, translation and utterance completion*.^{vi}

This study looked at the provision of CF at four broad levels of language, namely Phonological, Morphological/Syntactic, Lexical/Semantic and Pragmatic. There were moments in which these categories overlapped. Whenever that happened, feedback was considered as being provided for the two (or more) areas concerned.

After all the data had been fully analysed in the manner described above and the interviews carried out, I felt it might be important not only to know whether teachers had provided CF at the pragmatic level, but also whether the classroom situations recorded would actually require this type of feedback. I then opted for selecting samples from the audio recorded lessons. I divided the four lessons by each teacher into odd (lesson 1 and lesson 3) and even (lesson 2 and lesson 4) lessons. For each teacher investigated, I looked at pages 1 to 10 of the transcription of the odd lessons and pages 7 to 16 of the transcription of the even lessons.^{vii} In total, 120 pages of lessons were analysed for occasions that would lend themselves to CF in Pragmatics, i.e. occasions in which inappropriate pragmatic behaviour had occurred.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

I shall now proceed to report on the results obtained through the three means of data collection used in this research, namely the questionnaire, the transcripts of the twelve lessons observed and the interviews.

3.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire, which was answered by informants before the awareness-raising programme had taken place, tried to probe teachers' attitudes towards CF and Pragmatics. The data yielded by the responses were conflicting in that all three informants seemed to have a somewhat blurred idea of what role Pragmatics should have in their class. Their answers were quite contradictory, not making it clear whether they thought Pragmatics was important and whether in their opinion it should be taught.

The first informant rated *social practices and politeness* as least important in the classroom (question 1), but selected this area as one of those in which learners needed the most emphasis in instruction (question 2). According to the answer to question 3, *social practices and politeness* can be acquired naturally, without instruction. The

opposite idea is expressed in the answer to question 5, in which the informant rates an error in Pragmatics as deserving high priority (second only to pronunciation) in correction. Having said that, in question 6 the informant says that she does not correct her learners in Pragmatics very often and justifies this answer in question 7 by saying that "for the level they are in, students produce the expected structures well".

The analysis of the questionnaire answers by the second informant shows a high degree of contradiction. Upon reading his questionnaire, I was unsure that he had deliberately chosen to answer the questions the way he did and thought some of the answers might be a consequence of his not paying enough attention to the rubrics, suspicion which was later confirmed in the interview. Therefore, misunderstanding of the rubrics might account for some of the contradiction present in his questionnaire. However, I believe that most of the contradiction springs from a certain degree of confusion in his mind about the place that Pragmatics should occupy in his teaching. In the answer to question 1, for example, he rates *social practices and politeness* as deserving a lot of attention in the classroom, while in his answer to question 2 he does not select *social practices and politeness* as needing emphasis in instruction. The same idea is expressed in his answer to question 3, in which he states that *social practices and politeness* can be acquired naturally, without instruction. No priority is given to the pragmatic error in question 5, and he says in question 6 that he never corrects his learners' pragmatic production.

The third informant's answers to questions 1, 2, 3 and 6 in the questionnaire suggest that she regards Pragmatics as very important in second language (L2) teaching, since she rated *social practices and politeness* as most important in the classroom (question 1), selected *social practices and politeness* as needing the most emphasis in instruction (question 2), did not appoint *social practices and politeness* as an area that could dispense with teaching (question 3), and said she corrected her learners' production in this area very often. However, in response to a more practical question (question 5), Pragmatics is only the third area to be given priority.

3.2. Lesson Observation

The data from the lesson observation phase (both in the pre- and post-intervention lessons) indicate that none of the informants offer CF in significant numbers, as shown in Figure 1 below. For the first informant, no instances of CF at the Pragmatic level were found in the pre-intervention lessons. Even though there was generally an increase in the amount of CF provided in the post-intervention lessons, the amount of feedback at the Pragmatic level remained constant (none). For the second informant, there were 2 instances of CF at the Pragmatic level in the pre-intervention lessons and only 1 in the post-intervention lessons. In the lessons taught by the third informant, 1 instance of CF at the Pragmatic level could be detected in the pre-intervention lessons and none in the post-intervention lessons.

The lack of CF in Pragmatics in the lesson observation data could be a result of very few errors in Pragmatics in the lessons observed. Nevertheless, the data show that this was not the case. Ten pages of transcription of each class (about a quarter of the total amount) were randomly selected and analysed for the occurrence of pragmatic errors. The sample taken from the four lessons by the first informant shows that there were 15 opportunities for CF. The informant, however, did not offer any CF at all. As for the second informant, a total of 18 opportunities for CF in Pragmatics occurred. The informant in question only offered 3 instances of CF. The data from the third informant were no different: a total of 22 opportunities for CF in Pragmatics were found in the samples. However, only 1 instance of CF was found in the data.

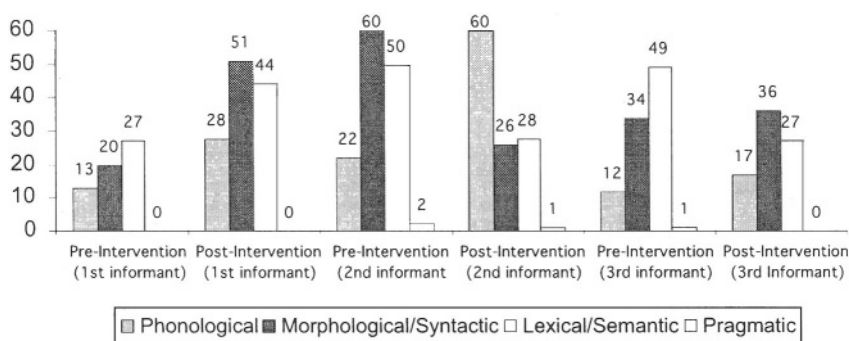


Figure 1 – Frequency distribution of CF in Pre- and Post-Intervention lessons

Interviews

The interviews were opened with a Grand-tour question, namely “In your opinion how is an L2 acquired/learnt, meant to prompt participants to speak about language learning/acquisition and eventually touch upon CF in general and CF in Pragmatics. When faced with this topic the informants expressed in different degrees the belief that they offered their learners CF in Pragmatics. The first informant, for example, said, “I think I correct everything [different areas]. I think it’s balanced. (...) Pronunciation, grammar and politeness, what you talked about, what we dealt with in the course.” She went on to add that “sometimes they are doing a role play and they make questions which should not be made in that situation. I tease them, ‘What’s that? How can you ask this?’, because it’s not appropriate for that situation.”. The second informant, on the other hand, said he believed that he did not give as much CF in Pragmatics as in the other areas and explained by saying, “Maybe because I have the belief that it [Pragmatics] is not a priority, mainly at the elementary level, for example. (...) Pragmatics is always important, but as I try to avoid a more explicit type of correction,

maybe it is difficult to correct Pragmatics at a lower level, but it's still important." Even so, he expressed the belief that he corrected what he called "minimal things", such as the need for thanking or apologising. As for the third informant, she was unsure about whether she offered CF in Pragmatics, "Sometimes I think I do, sometimes not.". However, when asked whether in her opinion the learner would react in the same way to CF in Lexis and in Pragmatics, she seemed to believe that she offers CF in Pragmatics since she says, "I believe so. He will laugh at me when I say it. They laugh at me when they ask for something and I say 'please' or wait for them to say 'please' they find it funny, but they say it, especially if they're asking for something, if there's no 'please' I don't give it to them."

In spite of the fact that the questionnaire answers were conflicting, all informants expressed surprise during the interview at the fact that they had not on the whole offered CF in Pragmatics in the lessons observed. Even though that fact might seem curious, it can perhaps be explained by the fact that the questionnaire was given out before the awareness-raising course was administered, which might have called their attention to Pragmatics and made them have a false expectation that they were more committed to Pragmatics than it was actually true.

All three informants expressed their belief that the awareness-raising programme had been too short to effect real changes in their teaching. They said that the course was complete and well administered, yet not successful in promoting classroom change. Although they did not specify the reasons why it was not successful, it was hinted that to be successful such a course would have to be offered at least once a year. The question may be that the Pragmatics of an L2 is not easily incorporated by individuals outside of the country where it is spoken. Given that it is not only language (but also culture) which is at play, it becomes difficult for people to use the pragmatic rules, so to speak, that they learn unless they are often reminded of them. Possibly if a course on Pragmatics was offered every term some change might take place eventually.

A related point raised by the informants is the belief that only by living in an English speaking community would they acquire enough pragmatic knowledge to provide CF to their learners. In a community where English is the native tongue, those who do not follow the pragmatic rules of the community will be stigmatised, whereas in Brazil, where both teachers and learners have Portuguese as a mother tongue, it becomes very easy to get by without following the pragmatic rules of English, since most people involved will not even notice that these rules are being ignored.

Indeed an informant raised the question that the EFL classroom is a contrived setting for the learning and practice of Pragmatics, which led me to understand that the classroom would be like an arena where a game is played. Since there is already an underlying pragmatic code shared by all participants, there is no need to seek a new one.

Differently from what I expected at the outset of the research, teachers do not seem to choose to withhold feedback at the pragmatic level for fear of embarrassing their learners. The first informant denied having this kind of concern and added that she

would not mind being corrected in Pragmatics herself. The same idea was expressed by the second informant, who claimed that none of his learners who have received feedback at the pragmatic level have shown to be hurt, threatened or upset and added that he himself as a learner would welcome such type of correction. The data from my third informant do not shed much light on this question, since at times she said that her learners would not mind being corrected and at other times said that they could be offended and would need long explanations so that they could understand it.

CONCLUSION

L2 learners should have enough pragmatic competence to allow them to choose pragmatically-preferred forms. The data yielded by the three different methods employed in this study were analysed qualitatively to try to pinpoint the reasons why teachers' practice did not change after the awareness-raising programme was offered. None of the lessons observed lacked situations in which feedback in Pragmatics could have been provided. It is quite evident that the teacher-training programme used in this research did not bring about any sort of change in teachers' performance as far as CF in Pragmatics is concerned.

I hypothesise that such failure could be put down to three possible factors:

1) In order for the course to be effective in making teachers aware of Pragmatics, it must be longer, happen on a regular basis and get the teachers more involved with it.^{viii} That way, teachers would be reminded of Pragmatics every so often and its importance would be less likely to be played down.

2) The classroom setting is too contrived and artificial to allow for genuinely communicative interaction to take place. As a result, the need for appropriate pragmatic knowledge is not realised by the teacher (no matter how much Pragmatics he/she actually knows).

3) Exposure might be a key point in the development of interlanguage Pragmatics. Thus, no matter how rich the course is, what teachers really need is not merely becoming aware of Pragmatics, but learning about the target culture by experiencing it (spending some time in an English-speaking country). Having said that, my foreign friends in Britain come back to my mind. Why did most of them not acquire the pragmatic knowledge they needed to function well in an English-speaking environment? If exposure is really the answer, how much exposure would be needed to guarantee improvement?

If I were to carry out this investigation again, I would first of all try to observe more informants over a longer period of time, during which awareness-raising programmes like the one in this study would be offered once a term. It would also be useful to have a control group whose programme did not single out CF as an instructional tool, as happened to the informants in this investigation, and a treatment group that was shown all the possible benefits of CF in Pragmatics to check whether the latter group would by the end of the programme provide more CF in Pragmatics than the former. It would also

probably be helpful to discuss with the participants the situations in which learners could have received CF but did not. This might help them (and us) to understand whether not providing CF is a conscious choice or the result of the errors going unnoticed. Finally, I would seek inter-rater reliability by having other raters go through the data as well, which was not possible in this study due to the limited funding this research received.

On a final note, I would like to add that the data obtained through the lesson observation have made me look into my own teaching practice. Surprisingly, I have found out that I also restrain at times from providing feedback in Pragmatics. Whenever I miss an opportunity for correcting learners in Pragmatics I try to identify the reasons why I myself am not offering CF in that specific situation. I believe that basically I do not always provide learners with this type of feedback firstly because I want to save the learners' face and secondly because no matter how communicative the classroom environment is, my learners and I share Portuguese as a mother tongue and do not need another set of Pragmatic rules to guide our interactions. If this explanation is right, no matter how well prepared the teachers are (whether through refresher courses or through exposure), CF in Pragmatics will only make sense in an ESL scenario, never in an EFL context. It would actually be interesting to examine how native teachers, who are pragmatically competent, would deal with this question in an ESL situation. Would they provide CF in Pragmatics since their learners would not share their backgrounds amongst themselves or with the teacher? Would they withhold it for face reasons? Or would they not provide it because the classroom is not a truly communicative setting?

This research has been only the first step towards clarification of the issue. CF at the pragmatic level remains a very rich area for investigation. Longitudinal research, I believe, might be able to provide more answers than this study can. The more tangible answers are found to the questions raised here, the more SLA will be able to help teachers in the difficult task of preparing their learners to be communicatively competent speakers of an L2.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is part of research into Applied Linguistics. Your contribution is very important for our research. Please read the instructions carefully and answer the questions below as truthfully as possible. Thank you.

Name: _____

1) Number, in order of importance (1-least important – 4-most important), what you believe the focus of your lessons should mostly be on:

- a) Pronunciation ()
- b) Structures ()
- c) Vocabulary and meaning ()
- d) Social practices and politeness ()

2) Which, do you believe, are the areas where learners need the most emphasis in instruction? Please tick.

- a) Pronunciation ()
- b) Structures ()
- c) Vocabulary and meaning ()
- d) Social practices and politeness ()

3) Which are for you the areas where learners can acquire language naturally, without instruction? Please tick one or more boxes (do not tick any boxes if you believe instruction is always needed).

- a) Pronunciation ()
- b) Structures ()
- c) Vocabulary and meaning ()
- d) Social practices and politeness ()

4) Do you frequently correct your learners' production?

5) Number the boxes below according to the priority you would give to correcting the following learners' errors in bold type (1-top priority – 4-no priority).

- a) A learner says 'I must to come to every class to learn English fast' ()
- b) A learner says 'She is simply /sImplal/ in love with her neighbour' ()
- c) A learner says 'If I needed a day off, I would say to my boss "Give me a day off, OK?"' ()
- d) A learner says 'I have never cooked a cake' ()

6) Number the areas below according to how often (1-never; 2-not very often; 3-quite often; 4-very often) you believe you correct your learners' production in each of the areas below.

- a) Pronunciation ()
- b) Structures ()
- c) Vocabulary and meaning ()
- d) Social practices and politeness ()

7) Consider question 6 again. Justify your procedure where you answered never and not very often.

8) Do learners, in your opinion, welcome correction in all of the areas above (i.e. Pronunciation; Structures; Vocabulary and meaning; Social practices and politeness)?

Yes. ()

No.()

9) Do learners react more favourably to correction in one area than another (Pronunciation; Structures; Vocabulary and meaning; Social practices and politeness)? If so, why, do you think, there is such preference?

10) Which area (Pronunciation; Structures; Vocabulary and meaning; Social practices and politeness) do you, as a teacher, feel most confident to correct your learners' production? Why?

11) Would you say that your style of teaching (your choice of what is most important to teach and how that is to be taught) reflects mostly the teacher training you received or how you learnt English (or another L2) yourself? Can you think of other possible influences on the way you teach?

12) Whenever instruction is beneficial, which are the most effective ways to provide it? Please number the boxes below according to the degree of effectiveness of each procedure (1-most effective – 4-least effective) and justify your choices in the lines that follow.

- a) By means of explicit teaching ()
- b) By means of correction ()
- c) By means of task-based instruction ()
- d) By means of peer correction ()

Thank you for answering this questionnaire.

6. NOTE

ⁱ To my knowledge the only study to focus on the effect of CF at the pragmatic level is that of Lyster (1994). Having said that, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996: 19), while examining input in academic settings, suggest that lack of CF at the pragmatic level in academic advising sessions could place students at a disadvantage, since they are misled to believe that their contributions are perfectly appropriate. Besides, research into the acquisition of L1 pragmatic competence has shown that children receive such feedback from parents (C.f. Gleason & Perlmann, 1985, cited in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996: 187); Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, cited in Kasper and Schmidt (1996: 160)).

ⁱⁱ Going on-record means taking responsibility for one's act, while going off-record means only hinting. Using a let-out means pretending one's act was misinterpreted.

ⁱⁱⁱ Correction was only brought up, along with awareness-raising tasks and role-play activities, as one out of several possible ways to improve learners' pragmatic competence.

^{iv} 'Socially desirable' responses are responses which are biased by what the informant believes to be right and appropriate.

^v A Grand-tour question is a very broad question which addresses the subject under investigation only indirectly (C.f. Robinson, 1985).

^{vi} It is important to mention that CF in Pragmatics can be provided by means of any of the eight categories mentioned.

^{vii} I considered 10 pages per lesson to be quite significant, given that the lessons ranged from 17 to 44 pages in length.

^{viii} The teachers in this study could possibly have been more involved if they had chosen to take part in the research (and attend the awareness-raising programme) rather being appointed by the school's head teacher.

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Chapter 17

Teacher Trainees' Explicit Knowledge of Grammar and Primary Curriculum Requirements in England

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on a specific first language situation, the literacy curriculum in England, and considers underlying tensions between grammar teaching to young children, applied linguistics and the planning of teacher education. It explores the experiences of trainee primary school teachers undertaking the one-year Post-graduate Certificate of Education programme (PGCE), in the Faculty of Education of an English university. We report our investigation of how trainees respond to the grammatical component of the National Literacy Strategy and discuss the implications for applied linguists in teacher education.

In 1998, the National Literacy Strategy Framework, NLS, (DfEE, 1998) for primary schools specified what to teach in a daily literacy hour, part of which is devoted to word level (phonics/spelling) or sentence level work (syntax and punctuation). Trainees are in a demanding situation, having to acquire explicit grammatical knowledge very quickly, with little time to internalise a thorough understanding, before explaining it to children during teaching practice. The trainees are not language specialists, but generalists, with degrees in a range of subjects, who train to teach the whole primary national curriculum. It is important to note that we, the authors, are teacher educators as much as applied linguists. We are responsible for the English component in the teacher education curriculum, but also for matters of pedagogy.

The chapter begins with a brief review of the challenge facing primary trainees and how this challenge has arisen, followed by a description of four case studies that we

conducted in 2001-02. The purpose of these case-studies is to investigate how trainees shared their knowledge of grammar with their pupils during teaching practice.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE NATIONAL LITERACY STRATEGY TO APPLIED LINGUISTS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Two-thirds of primary trainees entering the one-year PGCE programme have degrees in non-language disciplines so their explicit knowledge and understanding of grammar stems from limited experiences of grammar lessons at school. For many trainees, through no fault of their own, the NLS is their first formal encounter with a description of language. Teacher educators face a significant challenge because:

- they do not have time to offer a comprehensive course in contemporary English grammar but more detailed grammatical knowledge has been mandated;
- the PGCE programme involves preparation to teach ten subjects for the primary curriculum in 38 weeks.

Nevertheless, from 1998, simultaneous with the NLS, a national teacher-training curriculum (Teacher Training Agency, DfEE/TTA, 1998a) was introduced, within which the testing of subject knowledge, including grammar, had much greater prominence than before. Until then, we had trained graduates as generalists in ten subjects (maths, science, humanities, art, etc.), primary pedagogy and professional issues. There had always been an English component but now trainees who failed to show adequate grammatical understanding through a literacy skills test (DfEE/TTA, 2001) could be denied qualified teacher status.

As a result, teacher educators are required to

- find out what trainees know about grammar (through individual audits mandated by the Teacher Training Agency and inspected by OFSTED, the body responsible for inspecting teacher education),
- increase trainees' knowledge about syntax and morphology in very quick time,
- enable them to teach grammar successfully to support children's writing.

The NLS has given primary teachers a very detailed literacy programme in the form of specific 'termly' objectives organised under three headings: text, sentence and word level. The sentence level objectives, the focus of our research, follow a traditional description, with a firm emphasis on the primacy of Standard English and are specified in linear fashion for particular age groups (table 1).

In recent decades, there has been much debate about what teachers should learn about language. Significant efforts were made to increase teachers' knowledge about language based on the work of Halliday and others, culminating in *Language in Use* by Doughty et al. (1971). Later, *Language in the National Curriculum*, the LINC project (Carter, 1990) accompanied a major curriculum reform of 1988. The Kingman report

(1988) had argued that learning about language had positive effects on children's use of language and on their understanding of their cultural environment (Hawkins, 1994). Such arguments had contributed to the inclusion of knowledge about language in the English national curriculum that the LINC project supported with training materials and workshops for teachers. Unfortunately, the LINC project lost the support of the government because, it was claimed, it did not focus sufficiently on 'instruction in Standard English' (Mitchell, 1994: 101). By the mid-1990s, firm agreement on what teachers should know or teach about grammar had not been established, though it was implied (Rampton, 1995) that there was a consensus among applied linguists in favour of the LINC approach. Government did not share this view and arguments for a return to more formal grammar teaching came into fashion (Hudson, 2001).

Table 1. Examples of Sentence Level Objectives (from the Framework of Objectives, DfEE, 1998)

<i>Grammatical objectives (with examples)</i>	<i>Year and Term/Age of learners</i>
To understand the differences between verbs in the first, second and third person e.g. I/we do; you/you do, he/she/they do/does	Year 3 term 2 7-8 years
To investigate verb tenses (past, present and future): to compare sentences from narrative and information texts e.g. narrative in past tense, explanations in present tense (e.g. when the circuit is ...); to understand the term 'tense' (i.e. that it refers to time) in relation to verbs and use it appropriately; to understand that one test of whether a word is a verb is whether or not its tense can be changed	Year 4 Term 1 8-9 Years

Fears about the imposition of a back-to-basics language curriculum (Rampton, 1995) were realised with the NLS. Its description of grammar flies in the face of applied linguistics advice given since the 1970s. Furthermore, the evidence in support of a detailed focus on grammar with young children is not convincing (Hudson, 2001; Wyse, 2001). While there have been attempts to introduce more teaching about language in English schools before, this has usually been argued for the middle years of education (10-14 years). Never before have such ambitious objectives been set at primary level. Teachers are expected to be able to explain sentence level grammatical terms (word classes, phrase, clause, sentence types, tenses etc) so that their pupils in turn can make active and meaningful use of them.

Now, there is ministry pressure to accept that teaching about language will lead to improvements in writing (DfEE, 2000: 7) and in children's thinking. Beard (1999: 49) claims that there is "a growing feeling that grammar teaching has an unfulfilled potential" Although there is little to suggest that applied linguists were consulted about the grammatical content of the NLS. Wyse (2001), in a thorough review of the research associated with the NLS, concluded that the research does not show that knowledge of

grammar leads to improvements in writing. While the NLS lists items of grammar for certain ages, as in Table 1, it gives no evidence that these are appropriate, useful or indeed 'learnable' at those ages. In addition, the linguistic specification is flawed. Sealey argued that its: "underlying conceptions of language are not consistent with an evidence-based description of the language" (1999a: 15) unlike the LINC training materials.

She also expressed similar reservations about the mandatory teacher education curriculum (Sealey, 1999b), another case of policy not drawing on evidence from applied linguistics. Cajkler (1999) observed that teachers often encounter incomprehensible advice about English in the NLS e.g. sometimes there are three tenses, sometimes two and in one place four (DFEE, 1998: 90).

Whatever the outcome of current debates about the value of grammar, trainees have a 'grammar mountain' to climb. Before 2001, when we began the research reported in this chapter, we offered differentiated 'language' workshops followed by group and individual support sessions, focusing on subject knowledge and how to explain grammar. Subject content included a self-access language study guide, two lectures on the structure of language and two on language in social context (an overloaded curriculum permitted no more input).

This provision had undergone ongoing refinement and was informed by research conducted on 502 trainees between 1997-2001 through audits (short tests of linguistic knowledge), questionnaires and interviews (Cajkler and Hislam, 2002). This confirmed that most trainees came to the course with significant grammatical awareness but this was nevertheless the subject of uncertainty and occasional misconception. Trainees reported dependence on school experience of learning that 'a verb is a doing word', that 'an adjective is a describing word' leading to explanations of the type 'jump is a verb because it is a doing word'. They had had little experience of explicit grammar teaching nor any significant experience of discussing language in ways described in the NLS. These findings reflected other similar studies (Myhill, 2000, Williamson and Hardman, 1995). Our provision sought to address these misconceptions and in exit audits in 2000 and 2001 there were higher scores in activities that required the naming of parts and classification of sentence types. So, we could argue that grammatical knowledge improved during the PGCE year, and indeed no one failed the mandatory literacy test introduced in 2001. This showed, at least for the assessment of subject knowledge, that we addressed trainees' needs. But, to what extent and how were trainees actively teaching grammar in support of the NLS objectives?

RESEARCH FOCUS

What we knew far less about, despite the use of the exit audits and interviews in 2000 and 2001, was how trainees developed their grammatical knowledge and how they used their knowledge for teaching. We did not assume, unlike NLS curriculum developers, that there would be a simple relationship between the provision that we made for trainees and the subsequent learning of pupils in schools. To explore how they were

using their learning of grammar, we had to research practice in such a way that trainees could reflect on their learning and teaching. As a result, in 2001-02, we continued with the training activities described (inspection pressures meant that we had to) but also investigated through case studies:

- how trainees developed their grammatical knowledge;
- what problems they faced in the classroom with regard to teaching NLS grammar;
- how they shared their knowledge and explained grammar to pupils.

By examining these issues, we believed that we might add to the understanding of what applied linguists could contribute to the education of primary teachers.

DATA COLLECTION

At the beginning of the PGCE year (September, 2001, through to June), we analysed general language awareness audits of 28 trainees (4 male, 24 female), categorising each according to achievement and declared level of confidence. These audits sought to identify broad understanding of language and levels of confidence. As a result, we found that trainees could be grouped in four categories:

High confidence, high language awareness score (6)

Low confidence, high score (4)

High confidence, low score (9)

Low confidence, low score (9).

(Confidence measured by trainee self-assessment on a scale 0-5)

The 28 trainees then completed grammar audits in November, which tested ability to recognise nouns, verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, adjectives, simple, compound and complex sentences. This activity was repeated at the end of the year in June to measure exit level understanding. Following the November audit, we asked for volunteers to engage in case studies of their grammar learning and teaching. Six people volunteered but only four were able to complete the activities. We were therefore unable to include an example of 'high confidence, high score'. Profiles of trainees, re-named Holly, Catherine, Linda and Harriet to preserve anonymity, can be seen in table 2.

The entry and the first grammar audits showed that the trainees were at different stages with regard to grammatical knowledge and levels of confidence. The mid-course grammar scores suggested that Harriet had made significant efforts following the initial language awareness audit. She reported that she had made use of the self-access language study guide issued at the start of the course. Holly made progress during the

Table 2. Case study profiles

<i>Trainee</i>	Holly	Catherine	Linda	Harriet
<i>Bachelor Degree</i>	Psychology	Nursing	English and American History	History
<i>September entry-level language awareness audit</i>	High confidence Low score	Low confidence High score	Low confidence High score	Low confidence High score
<i>Mid-course Grammar score (44 items)</i>	31	42	44	41
<i>End of year grammar score (48 items)</i>	39	48	46	45

year but remained the lowest achiever in grammar audits. She could identify simple, compound and complex sentences and underline verbs in the same sentences without hesitation. She still had issues to address, notably the issue of functional shift with words like *round*, *dash* in the sentence:

I peep round the door then make a quick dash ...(from *The Ankle Grabber* by Rose Impey).

In this respect, she was similar to many of the 28 participants who completed entry and exit audits. Catherine and Linda began the year with high scores but low confidence.

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

Video recording of four hours of teaching related to the following sentence level objectives (DfEE, 1998: 34-40) took place in February-March 2002:

- the function of adjectives (Linda, 7-9 year old pupils);
- distinguishing between common homophones, in this case: their, there, they're (Harriet, 9-10 years);
- distinguishing personal pronouns and understanding differences between first, second and third persons (Catherine, 7-8 years);
- recognising how connectives are used and 'improving sentences' (by using adjectives and adverbs) (Holly, 8-10 years).

Filming was followed by interviews recorded between the observer-researcher and trainee, while watching the recording of the lesson. Immediately after the lesson, the video was left with the trainees to identify episodes for discussion in stimulated recall interviews (SRI).

The SRIs were partly modelled on the Leicester SPRINT project (Study of Primary Interactive Teaching, reported in English et al., 2002; Moyles et al. 2003) in which VSRDs (video-stimulated reflective dialogues) were used by tutors and teachers who acted as co-researchers in the analysis of classroom interaction. On completion of the SRIs, and after a further teaching experience, the four trainees were brought together for two hours of Group Review using semi-structured interviews. These explored their grammar teaching, asking how they had learned grammar, how they had worked with the grammar objectives, and what they had learned from other teachers.

Each researcher viewed the video evidence independently, transcribing grammar events in each lesson. We then met, watched the videos and agreed upon the wording of transcripts. Finally, structured recall and group interviews were transcribed and revisited so that we could highlight common themes. Below, we report the critical incidents that trainees identified as particularly important or formative, the episodes discussed in SRIs.

5.1 Case Study 1: Linda

Linda worked on nouns and adjectives, using elicitation routines that depended on meaning-related understandings of what words do, as the following exchange about adjective-noun combinations illustrates:

- Linda: Did anyone say Bad Bill? We've got Simon and Bill – what kinds of words are they?
- Pupil: They're names.
- Linda: They're names, that's right. Can we use another word?
- Pupil: Freaky Fred.
- Linda: Yes, but what sort of name is it?
- Pupil: Nickname?
- Linda: Yes, well the whole thing [*pointing to Bad Bill*] would be a nickname, wouldn't it? What sort of....?
- Pupil: A proper noun?
- Linda: Yes, thank you very much. So, this bit here [*pointing to the word 'Bad'*] is what kind of word?
- Pupils: (indistinct noise)
- Linda: And this word here is what we use to describe that noun. And when we describe a noun, there's name for it. A describing word is a? Anyone remember from last week?

- Pupil: An adverb?
- Linda: Nearly, good try.
- Pupil: An adjective?
- Linda: Yes, it is. That's an adjective...telling us what that is like, isn't it. This person's name is Simon and he's...?
- Pupil: Stupid.

This approach was typical in Linda's lesson. The child who offered 'adverb' had possibly been exposed to explanations of adjectives and adverbs as describing words (adjectives describe nouns, adverbs describe verbs). Linda adopted an approach to explanation that she had seen and experienced in schools. This approach (adjective is the word to describe a noun) appeared to be inadequate, as the following episode illustrates, possibly because it led the pupils to use labels based on meaning rather than word class.

Subsequently, Linda elicited examples of words that described a pirate, but then avoided use of the term 'adjective'. Children responded with appropriate examples like 'spooky, deadly and dangerous' but also with the phrase 'likes sharks'. Linda then said:

What I want is a list of words that just describe what he was like.

Then, pupils replied with words like 'bad, cold-blooded, yellow-teethed'. In the stimulated recall interview, Linda realised that the explanation 'words that describe' in place of the term 'adjective' had been inadequate when she was faced with responses of the type 'likes sharks'.

On reflection, Linda realised that she had been imprecise in calling for 'describing words' and this had led to a free-for-all of ideas about the pirate rather than a focused discussion. One child's response was, quite understandably, a semantic one, recalling an attribute of the pirate (likes sharks) rather than adhering to the identification of adjectives.

Linda remarked upon the level of awareness encountered in her pupils (7-9 years) who possibly had more experience than she did of talking about language:

We were doing about the position of adjectives before nouns; 'One of the girls, she's special needs really ...she was the only one who saw polar bear as an adjective in front of a noun. I didn't think anyone would get that. I didn't think about it myself.

For a less able child to identify 'polar' as an adjective and 'bear' as a noun possibly results from grammar teaching brought about by the NLS. Children are beginning to talk about language in our classrooms using grammatical terminology. Interviews with ten PGCE trainees in 2000-2001 had identified that in some schools pupils were accustomed to using grammatical terms, especially those who had experienced the NLS since 1998.

Despite this, Linda had not yet achieved the confidence to use terms like adjectives, without referring to their descriptive function. She did not explore the extent to which pupils were 'comfortable' with the term 'adjective' but asked them to supply describing

words (an NLS definition). Had she checked children's familiarity with the term 'adjective' and made explicit that she wanted the pupils to suggest adjectives, she might have encountered less confusion. She admitted to anxiety about terminology in the SRI:

I have the occasional panic when people start talking about prepositions, or complex and compound sentences, but this is just a matter of remembering the vocabulary.

She had developed strategies to prepare for the classroom although she reflected critically on her approach:

Looking back at my plans I think the grammar part is bit of a bolt-on.

She would have welcomed more formal pre-teaching practice inputs on tasks that involved the elicitation of adjectives (or other parts of speech), for example, the use of prompts or phrase completion tasks e.g. Pirates are _____. Perhaps her self-criticism stemmed from concerns about the formal nature of NLS sentence objectives, which she had tried to address, without being confident about using grammatical terminology. The lesson, however, was generally successful especially when she drew on learners' curiosity and enthusiasm about pirates. She elicited interesting and appropriate language and tutor observation reported that she was able to build on this to scaffold the children's own writing.

5.2 Case Study 2: Harriet

Harriet taught differences between homophones in a contrastive way to 9-10 year olds, explaining 'their' as a possessive, then trying to explain 'there' (as in 'there was') and finally 'they're'. To explain 'their', she used the word possessive, and emphasised the 'belonging aspect of that word' to make the grammatical function clear to the pupils.

Harriet: Can anyone tell me what this one means [*underlines their & nominates Mita*]

Pupil: It belongs to you....

Harriet: Yeah, something belongs. Can you give me an example?

Pupil: Theirball.

During the stimulated recall activity, any imprecision in the above exchange was not discussed. However, Harriet felt that in future she would seek to draw on explicit knowledge of other possessive determiners. She had not sought to discover whether the pupils had used the term 'possessive' before and did not contrast 'their' with other possessives (my, your, her etc).

Her explanation of how 'there' is different to the other homophones demonstrated that meaning-related explanations could lead to confusion. She explained it in relation to position, over there, for example, but when an able pupil intervened Harriet had to think quickly, as this exchange demonstrates:

- Harriet: Their ball. The ball belongs to them; it's their ball. Good. Possessive. It means belonging. David?
- Pupil: There...[pointing] ...
- Harriet: OK. Which one? This one [pointing to there]? Where would you...?
- Pupil: If you want to say hmmm where the people come from, are from, where something is....
- Harriet: It's about place.... It's over there.
- Pupil: They're from Woolworth's.
- Harriet: They're from Wool ... Yeah ... [pauses, confused] ...ooh perhaps you might be getting confused there ...OK. This [pointing to 'there' on the board] is used to say something over there ... It can be used to talk about time or it can be used to talk about place. There [taps board]. We'll go into more detail in a minute.

Harriet had done considerable preparatory work, researching the grammar related to her lesson. Nevertheless, the exchange illustrated the danger of contrasting the homophones. Why had she chosen to teach this way? She explained that she had noted errors in pupils' writing and cited a word-level objective (DfEE, 1998: 39) that pupils should be taught to distinguish common homophones. Supervised by school mentors who in turn are expected to deliver the NLS programme, it is very difficult for trainees to challenge prescribed objectives. They simply do not have the freedom to vary or omit objectives in use in their training schools. Despite her confidence in and faithful adherence to NLS objectives, Harriet encountered difficulties. In the SRI, she was curious and confused about the classification of 'there', in the phrase 'there is/was'. She reflected that a 'parts of speech' approach was not helpful. She had tried to research 'there' but not found any advice in grammar references nor in *Grammar for Writing*, a source of guidance and lesson plans issued by the government department responsible for the NLS (DfEE, 2000). When asked why she could not find help in *Grammar for Writing*, she said:

Because it's done by different parts of speech.... And you can't look up for a certain word (e.g. there) ...you've got to look under pronouns or.... And I can't find it anywhere ... It's one of those things I was pretty sure I knew how to teach it and then I got up and I thought I'm not actually that sure after all...

Harriet believed that direct explanations of 'their, they're and there' would help pupils to improve their writing. She reflected that immediate improvement occurred but after a few days she again found similar errors in pupils' free writing. She completed the SRI believing that one could concentrate too much on NLS objectives (and their sequence) and that lesson content should be determined by children's language needs as they arose. She remained, on the other hand, confident about how she could address the task.

5.3 Case Study 3: Catherine

Catherine had the highest level of grammatical knowledge, ending the year with full marks in the audit. She had to explain person to 7-8 year olds, to understand the differences between verbs in the first, second and third person (DfEE, 1998: 34). She taught contrastively because, she claimed, ‘it is easier to teach them together’. Using the story of *The Fox and the Hare*, she explained each person in turn and asked check questions, for example:

Catherine: If we say that the Fox is telling the story, then he would be saying that HE [*her emphasis*] was telling the story and when we are describing how you use different words in sentences we say that HE is the third person.

Pupils: (indistinct noise)

Catherine: Who is the first person?

Pupils: We.

Catherine: Or?

Pupils (pause, then some mutter): I

Catherine: I.. Don’t call out please .. so first person is either I or we.

Pupil: Or her!

Catherine: Don’t call out please. What’s the second person? [*nominates Graham*]

Graham: Hmmm, her, her and he.

Catherine: Not quite.

Pupil: He and...

Catherine: [*interrupts*] No, that’s the third person, HE and SHE and THEY.... The second person is ... (pupils mutter him, her).... The first person is ME; the third person is HE. What’s over there? Who is in the middle? You.

Pupils: You... (muttering) oh.

Catherine then resorted to direct explanation to offer clarification when elicitation drew erratic responses, or what Hudson calls “exercises in the production of language” (Hudson, 2001) that she next set for the pupils worked much more effectively. In these, she encouraged pupils to imagine the different possible ‘characters’ in the text and re-tell the story from that perspective (hare or tortoise). Then, they wrote appropriate stories. Despite her success, she was very self-critical after viewing her ‘grammar’ episodes believing that about 50% of the pupils did not:

- understand that ‘we’ was first person (because it was more than one, and not ‘I’).
- accept that ‘you’ is both singular and plural, while ‘person’ is a singular word.

Catherine felt that the learners did not have a clear understanding of person as a

grammatical concept. They saw 'person' as people. She accepted that her method of explaining might have added to confusion.

Interviewer: There, you were using a pointing procedure to try to explain it.

Catherine: Except, to the children they would be 'we' wouldn't they (laughs)? It is not very clear.

Interviewer: Why not?

Catherine: From my point of view, pointing at the children is YOU but from their point of view it's US.

Asked how she felt after watching the video, Catherine said:

I would not labour the technical side of it but try to relate it to practical examples that they can do already.

It was when, as she put it, she was 'lecturing them on the technical points' that she got into hot water. Exercises in the production of language were successful but direct explanations were ineffective despite the fact that she understood and could talk about the linguistic concept of person.

Catherine concluded that the pupils could have written or re-told the story in the first person or third person without the grammatical input. The confusion was clearly demonstrated when she attempted to transfer the learning to a different text at the end of the lesson. After reading a poem with the opening line: 'I never slide and never slip', she asked: 'What person is that written in?' A pupil called out: 'Hare'.

She complained that the NLS objectives led her to focus on a concept that would be better left for a later stage in pupils' development. Also, NLS objectives promote the use of direct instruction. Like Harriet, she was trying to teach to an objective, set by the NLS for 7-8 year olds:

to identify pronouns and understand their functions in sentences through distinguishing the 1st, 2nd, 3rd person forms of pronouns e.g. *I, me, we, you, she, her, them* investigating the contexts and purposes for using pronouns in different persons, linked to previous term's work on 1st and 3rd person (DfEE, 1998: 36).

Had an inspector been present, he or she might well have applauded her adherence to the objective. It is not the fault of teacher educators that trainees find themselves facing such dilemmas. We do not have the authority to advise trainees not to follow official objectives, but perhaps in future provision we can mediate the NLS objectives so that trainees use them more 'creatively'.

5.4 Case Study 4: Holly

Holly taught the use of connectives (NLS term), then adjectives and adverbs to a mixed group of 8-10 year old pupils. She explained her purpose in the SRI:

...to get the children to think about their writing when they're giving pieces of information to try and make their sentences more interesting for the reader. It was one of

the objectives from the strategy to look at re-ordering sentences and using connectives and subordinate clauses so that's where I sort of picked that up.

Her explanation took the form of teacher demonstration and talk-aloud modelling, during which she explained the choices she was making:

when we've written our sentences we can think about making them more interesting.

This approach led to longer stretches of uninterrupted discourse than in other case studies. Holly used terminology suggested by the NLS, as in the following demonstration of how 'sentences can be joined together':

Holly: So what I'm going to do, I'm going to demonstrate for you on the board how I would add a bit more information into that writing. So, I think what I'll do is, I'll stick with the first sentence 'The earth takes a day to spin on its axis.' And the next sentence down to here (pointing to the board) I think I might join together. Because what can we use in our writing to join sentences together? Sean?

Sean: Connectives? (rising intonation)

Holly: Connectives, can't we? So, let's start off then. What was my first sentence? 'The moon spins on its axis like the earth.' So, that sentence is OK to start off with. And then I thought I can use a connective to start my next sentence so I think I might say (writing quickly on the board) 'Where the earth takes a day to spin on its axis...' Now I've used a connective there at the beginning (pointing to the word 'where'). I'm going to link this information together. So, before I start my next bit of information, I'm going to use a comma here.

Holly pursued the talk-aloud modelling fluently. Although the use of 'where' as the connective seemed inappropriate, this was not remarked upon in the SRI. She gradually involved pupils following the demonstration to provide examples of conjunctions and subordinate clauses to complete the following sentence:

*The haunted house stood empty although....
although there was crying inside.
although the curtains were moving.*

Then, pupils were invited to make sentences using other 'connectives' e.g. after, when, but, because. No distinction was made between co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Pupils remained attentive and responses were correct.

For adjectives and adverbs, similar talk-aloud demonstration was used but there was also recourse to meaning-related definitions (like Linda) to remind pupils of the function of adjectives and adverbs. Here, the lesson was less 'scripted':

Holly: But what else can we put in our sentences to make them interesting? What I'm thinking of are more describing words [emphasis]. Yes, Sonia?

Pupil: Adjectives.

Holly: We can use adjectives, can't we? What does an adjective do?

- Pupil: Describes something.
- Holly: Describes something, doesn't it? Remember yesterday when we were talking about the dog. The black dog. Black. Describing the colour of the dog. What else were we talking about that we can put in our sentences?
- Pupil: An adverb.
- Holly: Yes, an adverb. What's an adverb? It describes how something happens like 'weakly' or 'strongly'.

Holly followed advice from *Grammar for Writing* (DFEE, 2000: 117), and pupils appeared to respond well. She wanted them to think about their writing, re-drafting sentences to make them complex or more interesting by adding adjectives and adverbs. However, in the episode above, she failed to check whether pupils could produce examples of adjectives. Perhaps this arose from the transmission model of direct instruction that the NLS has implemented. She had been given a linguistic description in the NLS and transmitted this to the pupils through recommended procedures. Pedagogic considerations were given less attention, an issue for the PGCE team when reviewing our guidance. Perhaps we need to find ways of explaining the grammar syllabus of the NLS more effectively so that trainees use it successfully even when NLS advice about grammar is flawed. Holly explained the usefulness of her grammar activities:

...It's something they've got to know about.....to know what a connective is or a subordinate clause...I think that will probably help them in their learning, because I know, really I didn't have that.. I didn't have that grammar teaching the way it is now.

In answer to a question about whether knowledge of technical language helps with her own writing she argued that her own writing had not been adversely affected by lack of grammar terminology:

I mean I could write and add that information in myself but I wouldn't think: Ah I'm going to use a subordinate clause now.

Influenced by NLS guidance, she was expecting her pupils to think in such ways. We are uncertain, with regard to 8-10 year old children, that such claims can be made at this time. Research needs to be done to investigate whether the NLS has influenced children to think in such 'grammatical' ways while they are engaged in written composition.

INSIGHTS FROM THE STIMULATED RECALL DIALOGUES AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

In the group interview, when invited to identify what had hindered their grammar teaching, time was a recurrent theme. One said:

To spend an evening looking at grammar when you have (all the other subjects) to prepare...is impossible.

Of great concern was the number of teaching objectives that they felt pressured to cover:

You have to look like you are covering everything even though you are aware that some pupils need more time and opportunity for reflection.

Do you tackle a few things well or do you do a little bit of everything?

You have to move on to the next thing...even if you feel that the children haven't got it.

Our trainees clearly believed that children are being asked to acquire too much too quickly. Concerns about inability to give adequate time to develop pupils' understanding echoed a dilemma expressed in the SPRINT project by experienced teachers (English et al. 2002), who felt that children's thinking and talking time had been eroded by NLS demands.

In group interviews, trainees told us that before the teaching practice they had felt that they had to 'know' grammar before they could explain it accessibly. So, at that time, use was made of self-access materials. However, it emerged that it was mainly through having to prepare for teaching rather than explicitly learning about grammar that trainees felt they gained confidence and competence. Harriet articulated this common solution, saying that she studied the areas of grammar she had to teach:

Me, I do it as I go along...you just do what you have to for the lessons next week really.

We haven't got time to broaden our whole range of grammaryou have to prioritise.

Each trainee worked in this incremental way but did not find assistance in traditional reference grammars. Many grammar books, websites and textbooks, including those on recommended course lists, were deemed inaccessible, did not help them explain points of grammar or exceeded their current level of knowledge. Resources designed for classroom use with pupils were more useful, for example Bain and Bridgewood (1998):

This kind of book simplifies it for me so that I can understand it.

Through the group interviews, we learned that our trainees also relied for guidance on the NLS Framework (DFEE, 1998), *Grammar for Writing* and Year 6 Exemplification materials (available on the government's Standards website, www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/literacy). Unfortunately, *Grammar for Writing* is often limited in the guidance it gives, for example muddled advice about connectives (DfEE, 2000: 122-123), which Holly had used. While the NLS prescribed the teaching of homophones, Harriet found *Grammar for Writing* lacking. The research activity drew our attention to this and other flaws in prescribed materials, enabling us to offer cautionary advice to future groups, without undermining confidence in the NLS.

By the end of the teaching practice, the trainees were at ease with the language of the NLS, but there was variation in the degree to which they challenged its authority. Holly, with the least explicit grammatical knowledge but with high confidence, accepted the description of language in the NLS and the methodology recommended. She admitted in the group interview that she was able to cope whilst in control of the teaching but felt insecure when asked questions for which she did not have a prepared 'grammar' script. When she did not know, she advised the children that she would return to the subject

following further research. Despite having the lowest score at the beginning of the course, she had little anxiety about working with grammar by the time of the group interview. In answer to a question about when she began to use the term subordinate clause, she replied: "since I've been on this course". She used preparation for NLS lessons to research and she felt that her discourse had changed: "the more you teach it, the more the more you've researched it.

Catherine, with more experience of studying language (but lower confidence), expressed frustration with the NLS objectives, some being inappropriate to most of the age group for which they are specified. We do not know if any applied linguists and child development specialists were asked to advise on NLS grammar, but suspect that Catherine did not feel well served by the unnamed 'experts', behind the NLS. For her, the principal challenge was not learning grammar but finding ways to put it over to young children, often in groups of 25 or more. She thought that our research had helped to widen her own understanding. She reflected on one NLS explanation: "one test of a verb is whether or not its tense can be changed". she said: "I've never thought of it like that". This seemed to involve a cognitive leap forward though she was perhaps more familiar with the grammatical terms than others in the group. She could explain what a verb is, but would not readily discuss its properties. In her case, active exploration of language appeared to reduce anxiety and add to awareness.

The four participants appreciated opportunities to discuss lesson plans with more experienced teachers and their own class teacher. Disappointingly, opportunities for observation of grammar teaching were limited during the school experience, the trainees claiming not to have seen a single example of grammar teaching. Our research could not give insight into how much children were being taught about language in their normal class time and what models of grammar teaching they experienced. This is an area for future investigation on our part as the trainees' claim may not be entirely accurate. It is possible that, early in their training, they were witnessing grammar teaching but not identifying it as such.

LESSONS LEARNED

The case studies gave insights about how trainees learned more about grammar and how they tried to explain it to young learners. They did not suggest quick solutions. They confirmed that we could not simply rely on a mandatory 'grammar hit' before the teaching practice and expect grammatical knowledge to be integrated smoothly into lessons for pupil consumption. However, video observation, SRIs and group interviews provided opportunities for reflection and development that taught us a number of important things to inform the PGCE programme.

Linda showed us that we must instil confidence in the use of grammatical terminology before and during the teaching practice. Despite flaws in the NLS, children are becoming familiar with terms for parts of speech and sentence types; they are talking

about language and trainees need to be able to tap into their knowledge and use of terminology without anxiety. To support this, applied linguists in teacher education need to incorporate more ways of working with grammar into the training programme, even at the level of strategies for finding out what terminology children understand and use. In addition, we saw examples of the weakness of meaning related definitions. We should explore and encourage additional approaches that engage trainees and pupils in thinking about the properties of parts of speech, what they do morphologically and syntactically, not just semantically.

To understand the challenge facing trainees (and perhaps also qualified teachers), we need to explore how children who have been taught in the NLS talk about grammar (currently an under-researched phenomenon). Research is also needed into the effects of asking children to think 'grammatically' when they are writing e.g. considering whether to use a subordinate clause, the focus of one episode in Holly's lesson. At the present time, we have little evidence on which to call.

Catherine and Harriet showed us that before teaching practice we need to explore with trainees the uneven nature of learning about language, though this might be difficult when the NLS presents a linear term-by-term profile of grammatical items to be taught in sequence. The ability to reflect on language and engage in grammatical analysis is not learned by all pupils in neatly defined sequences (analysis of person for seven-year olds, tenses for eight-year-olds, passive voice at ten etc). Our trainees have learned this and applied linguists in teacher education need to voice this message to curriculum developers who should learn from our trainees' experience and evaluate the extent to which 7-10 year old children acquire knowledge about language in the NLS order.

Our research demonstrated the importance and value of time in teacher education. Acquisition of grammatical knowledge is a continuing process. It does not all have to be in place before engaging in teaching the primary curriculum. Formulae learned at school (e.g. a verb is a doing word) are deeply embedded and time is needed for trainees to work through such limitations and resulting misconceptions. Grammar is an investigation of language, not just a set of facts. Trainees need time to reflect like other learners and try out the knowledge they acquire in safe settings (Czerniewska, 1994). To prepare to explain concepts in the primary classroom, they need to have a willingness and confidence to grapple with the concepts at a deep level – not just in terms of repeating a rule without awareness of the concept. At the end of the training year, we were confident that trainees realised this, and were ready, as reflective practitioners, to engage in further investigation of how language works with their pupils.

Finally, PGCE programmes have to find ways to offer large numbers of trainees opportunities for reflection about grammar learning and teaching. We have to have the confidence and find the resources to do what our research methodology has shown us, i.e. to provide time to all trainees to work with grammar and to reflect critically on what children are being asked to do. Trainees need adequate time and scaffolding from knowledgeable and open-minded others. This is a huge challenge but our research, with

video observation and SRIs, offers a way forward, if the authorities can be persuaded to make the appropriate investment of time and resources so that trainees can engage with school-based mentors in such reflective activities.

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Chapter 18

Knowledge about Language and Testing

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INTRODUCTION

I mainly teach classes in written and oral communication at the University of Technology, Jamaica, in Kingston, Jamaica. When asked to discuss their experiences with the learning of English, many of my students focus on the fact that they never seem to be able to do well on English tests. They felt that no matter how hard they tried they could never become “good at English” because they were always receiving low grades. The students’ disenchantment with the rewards of their efforts on English language tests and the negative effect this experience has on their performance in communication classes led to my desire to investigate exactly what was happening at the secondary level as far as testing was concerned.

THE CONTEXT

The Language Situation in Jamaica

The Caribbean island of Jamaica is classified as an English speaking country. However, this description is true only as far as the official language is concerned, as the mass vernacular is an English-based Creole. English for the majority of Jamaicans is a second language with the mother tongue being the Creole.

But the Jamaican language situation is not as simple as the above description suggests. There is a vast amount of variation involving the mixture of both codes even within single utterances. The situation is best described by DeCamp (1971) as a post-Creole continuum, with the two codes forming polar lects at the ends and a range of possibilities in between these. Individuals have command of various points along the continuum and may move from one point to another in a single sentence. It is often extremely difficult to classify an individual’s speech as being clearly English or Creole.

To make matters worse, some speakers believe that they are using Standard English when they may in fact be speaking Creole. “This blur of the boundaries between the two codes” (Carrington 1988:9) is deepened by the fact that the Creole resembles English in its lexicon. This complication poses serious problems for the student of English. After

completing approximately ten years of formal instruction at primary and secondary schools, a significant percentage of the high school graduates display a low degree of proficiency in the use of Jamaican Standard English. Many students fail to gain a pass in external English examinations, and some of those who do pass show great deficiencies in their English language output.

The Role of Knowledge About Language (KAL) in Teacher Education

Jamaican teacher education institutions require language teachers to complete courses in Applied Linguistics. The hope is that knowledge about second language acquisition, communication competence and new approaches to the teaching of English will assist in increasing the Jamaican students' level of proficiency in the use of English. The knowledge gleaned from these courses would also mean that students would be spared the boring tasks of completing endless grammatical exercises and reading uninteresting comprehension passages. The English classes should be transformed into a buzz of activity requiring students to practise communicating in real life situations depicting aspects of their culture while exposing them to new experiences. These changes would serve to motivate the students to want to learn English. The question is whether the KAL that teachers received in their applied linguistics courses is used when it comes to testing the students' achievement in language learning.

Testing in Jamaica

The Jamaican secondary education system is very examination oriented. The performance of students at the end of each rung of the system is weighed by how well the students do in external examinations. Having a certain number of subjects in the Caribbean Council (CXC) Examinations or the General Certificate Examination (GCE) is one's ticket to gaining access to many jobs and entry to all tertiary institutions. The public also rates schools in general by how well their students perform on examinations.

Apart from the external examinations, there are class evaluations and end of term/year testing. In the case of class evaluations, individual teachers construct various means of assessing their students' achievement during regular teaching sessions. These may be in the form of in-class culminating activities, out-of-class assignments or periodically a more structured test. Where grades are awarded, these are classified as term grades, not examination grades. Generally, the students (and often parents as well) do not attach as much significance to these grades as they do for the examination grades.

The end of term/year examinations, on the other hand, are like miniature versions of external evaluation. They are more formal than the class tests as all students of each grade level have to sit the same test at the same time. The grades from these tests are listed separately on the students' progress reports and the examination grade is often seen as the more important of the two. It is the subject teachers who design these end-of-term/year examinations. All the teachers of each grade level, for example grade 9 or 10, construct one common test that all the students of that particular grade will sit under

examination conditions. It is the teachers who determine the content, time limit and conditions of the tests.

The study presented here examines the extent to which language teachers use their KAL in constructing class evaluation instruments and end of term/year testing. It does not look at standardized testing directly, as all teachers are not directly involved in constructing these tests.

THE STUDY

In this study the following questions were asked:

1. What sort of KAL do teachers report having?
2. Do teachers with knowledge about language apply this information to the testing procedures employed?
3. Which aspects of testing show KAL use?
4. What factors inhibit the utilization of KAL in the testing process?

The Participants

The investigation focused on the application of KAL in language testing in 10 high schools in urban/suburban Jamaica. The sample consisted of thirty teachers, all of whom have diplomas in the teaching of English. Eight of them hold both diplomas and first degrees in the teaching of English. These teachers have been teaching between two and fifteen years.

Data Collection

The investigation was descriptive in nature and utilized both quantitative and qualitative procedures. The data collection instruments included questionnaires, interviews, observation and the collection of tests documents.

Questionnaires

This was a short questionnaire that sought to gain information on the teachers' KAL, their use of this knowledge in teaching and testing, as well as their levels of training (college and/or university) and years of experience. To verify whether the teachers had actually done courses focusing on KAL, they were asked to identify courses completed from a list on the questionnaire. They were also asked to say whether and how they utilized their KAL in the teaching and testing processes.

Interviews

This method was used to further explore the teachers' views on the use of KAL. The teachers were asked to give specific examples of the use of KAL in teaching and/or testing. Those teachers who thought that KAL was not applicable to testing were asked to say why they felt this way. The teachers were also encouraged to describe their thoughts as they went about composing a test.

Due to time constraints only twelve of the 30 teachers were interviewed. This sample consisted of at least one teacher from each of the 10 selected schools. They were mostly volunteers who said they did not mind being interviewed. Eight of the interviewees were among those respondents to the questionnaire who had not supplied answers to key items on that instrument. Of special importance were the items requiring teachers to say if and how KAL is used in testing. The duration of the interviews varied from 5 to 15 minutes. The responses were transcribed on the spot in majority of the cases and audio-taped, then transcribed in the others.

The interviews were particularly useful since some teachers did not respond to the open -ended items on the questionnaire, so it provided an opportunity to access information not provided by questionnaire answers. For example, the majority of the information on why KAL was not used in certain areas of testing came via this medium.

Observation

Two visits each were made to ten of the interviewees' classes to observe how KAL was employed in the teaching process in order to verify that this is indeed done. Time constraints dictated which set of teachers could be included in the sample. During five of the scheduled visits, class evaluation sessions were being conducted. The researcher made use of these opportunities to also observe the language-testing sessions of these teachers. The testing instruments were observed for evidence of the use of KAL.

Collection of Test Documents

Samples of end- of-year tests were collected from seven of the ten schools. Since the teachers of each grade level design this kind of test collaboratively, this sample represented the work of twenty-one teachers.

DATA ANALYSIS

The questionnaires were used to gather information on general tendencies among the teachers. Given the small sample size, statistical significance was not tested. Simple tallying of the number of teachers who completed various KAL related courses and those who say that they are utilizing the knowledge gained in teaching and testing was done. The reasons given for not using KAL in the testing process were then carefully examined to see whether they fall under general categories. The two broad categories employed were:

1. lack of knowledge or expertise as to how KAL could be used
2. the existence of situational constraints, that is, things which the teachers felt were restrictions over which they have no control. These included class size, inadequate time and lack of resources.

The information gleaned from the interviews served as reinforcement for and

clarification of some responses given in the questionnaires. Relevant responses from each source were compared to see whether there were any discrepancies. Since the interviewees predominantly consisted of persons who did not supply all the required information on the questionnaire, the responses on this instrument often supplied information missing from the former.

The observation of classes and the sample test documents provided evidence of KAL use or non-use. The researcher took field notes of the activities and material used in the teaching and testing sessions. These activities were matched against the comments made in both the questionnaires and interviews. The same was done with the sample documents. A comparison was done to see whether the teachers were indeed using the approach or strategies that were mentioned in the other instruments.

Results

The main aim of the investigation was to gather information on the use of KAL in the testing process. However, to get an understanding of how knowledgeable the teachers are about KAL and its usefulness, attention had to be given to more than just the testing process.

KAL from Teacher Education

All the teachers reported some background in applied linguistics having completed two or more courses in Linguistics during their pre-service teacher education program. The table below shows the relevant course titles and the number of persons who completed each. Note that while almost all of the teachers have completed a number of courses on applied linguistics topics, only 2 of the 30 had taken a course specifically about testing.

Table 1. KAL courses done by teachers

<i>COURSE TITLES</i>	<i>NUMBER COMPLETED COURSE</i>
Language Acquisition	28
The Nature of Language and Language Learning	27
Applied Linguistics/ Language Teaching Techniques	28
Language Teaching and Learning	20
Language and Society	16
Language Testing	2

The Use of KAL in Teaching

The questionnaire revealed that all teachers in the sample believe that they do try to incorporate KAL in the teaching process. To the question "*Do you use your knowledge*

about language in the actual teaching process? ” all thirty teachers declared that they do. As evidence of this the teachers were asked to provide examples of how KAL is used in their teaching. This was an open-ended question that required the teachers’ free response. The following examples capture the nature of most of their responses.

1. I am aware that there are two languages in Jamaica. I know that the Creole is a language just like French or English because I can identify the characteristics of language. With this awareness I can show my students that Creole is a language. I am also able to guide the students in comparing Jamaican Creole with Jamaican Standard English and to show that nothing is wrong with their first language. This helps them to develop appropriate attitudes towards the language varieties.
2. What I learnt about communication competence tells me that I need to focus on all the language arts skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.
3. From the theories of second language learning, I learnt that I need to cater to the needs of my students since students learn according to ability and background. This knowledge guides my selection of reading material and instructional methodology.

The interview responses were very similar to those given in the questionnaires. The view that language methodology must be “based on how language is learnt” (Gass and Selinker 1993, p. 2), seemed to be widely endorsed by these educators. All the interviewees spoke of communicative competence, the whole language and second language approach to the teaching of English. Below are a few of the examples of what the interviewees actually said.

1. I use the knowledge I learnt in socio-linguistics and the nature of language classes to encourage my students to see that nothing is wrong with their first language. I need them to accept and appreciate their language so that they will be motivated to talk freely despite their limitations in the use of English.
2. If my students are to achieve the goal of communicative competence, which I learnt about in college, I need to allow them to listen, read, speak and write in realistic contexts. The students are encouraged to speak and write in various meaningful contexts. There are activities such as role-plays and commentaries on news items and material from literature texts.
3. I learnt about the importance of motivation in second language learning. This is especially important in the Jamaican context because of the status of the Creole. This knowledge leads me to use aspects of the students’ culture in my teaching. Dub poetry, aspects of reggae music as well as significant words and phrases from the Creole are utilized. These help to maintain interest and motivate the students to fully participate in the class exercises.
4. I know the various theories of second language learning. An important aspect of what I know is that the students’ experience and background must be taken into consideration. Thus in selecting material for reading comprehension, I try to include material that is culture specific. When unfamiliar material is used I assist students by trying to create a link between the students’ prior knowledge and the new experience.

The class visits endorsed the information given during the interviews. There was indeed evidence of a second language communicative approach to language teaching. This was seen in the type of material used for comprehension passages, journal writing activities,

role-playing and the provision of contexts for written and speaking exercises.

The Use of KAL in Classroom Testing

The data on the use of KAL in testing showed a much different picture from the use of KAL in teaching. The questionnaire item, "...Do you incorporate what you know about language in the testing process?" produced both positive and negative responses. Forty percent of the teachers claimed they did use KAL when assessing students, while 20% claimed they did not. The other 40% of the sample did not answer this question.

Those interviewees who did not respond to this item were asked to explain why they gave no response. Six of the eight teachers gave one or more of the following responses:

1. I did not know what to write
2. I never really thought about it so I preferred not to respond
3. I wasn't sure what I should write
4. There wasn't enough time to really think about it, I had to go to class

The other two teachers seemed reluctant to give reasons for their non-response. It is not likely that they did not understand the question as the same type of question was asked regarding the application of KAL to the teaching process. Both items required the teachers to explain how KAL is utilized in the process. All teachers responded appropriately to the item on the teaching process. In order to provide evidence of KAL use in testing. All 12 teachers who gave a positive response said that they pay attention to the testing of oral skills and use process writing.

Testing of Oral Skills

According to eight of the thirty respondents to the questionnaire, "*the whole language approach and the aim of communicative competence dictate that oral skills be tested*". Since the meaning of the term communicative competence may vary (Hadley, 1993, p. 4), the interviewees were asked to give explanations of this concept. The responses all centred on the notion that communicative competence involves the ability to select appropriate language and register for given contexts. This choice involves having knowledge of the language and of the social conventions of the communication context.

The testing of oral skills according to the respondents was done through the use of role-play. This was confirmed by the class visits. All the grade 7-9 classes had students playing the roles of different characters in varying language contexts. They were asked, for example, to depict a scene from one of their literature texts. In other instances the students depict court scenes, become news forecasters, conduct business meetings or are newspaper reporters conducting interviews with persons from a variety of background.

The Testing of Writing Skills

All twelve questionnaire respondents, who said that they used KAL in the testing

process, spoke of the awareness of communication being a process. This knowledge is extended to writing, one medium of communication. According to one teacher, “the students cannot be expected to accurately write an essay, especially using a language in which they lack proficiency, in one quick step.” In further discussions during the interviews, three teachers disclosed that students must be taught that writing is a process. They adhere to the notion that this process “involves a series of steps...directed toward the particular end of expressing on paper what the writer feels or thinks about a subject” (McCuen & Winkler 1998, p.3). These steps include prewriting, writing, editing/revising and rewriting.

The class visits confirmed that some teachers were in fact trying to teach process writing. The grades 7-9 students had their journals from which they often took ideas for essay writing. The teachers examined the journals periodically, but they were not assessed for content, correct use of grammar or spelling. The teachers just checked to see that the students were indeed writing. Note would be taken of the students’ progress in the use of certain features of language development, such as sentence structure and vocabulary development, but no grades would be awarded.

In two of the classes visited, the students were engaged in peer evaluation of drafts. At the time of the visit the students of one class were checking for the relevance of the ideas in the essay. The other class was checking drafts for grammar and spelling errors. The groups were commended on how effectively they were able to identify problems in the draft copies.

Another area of KAL that was highlighted by the teachers was the need to create meaningful contexts for writing. This was seen in the use of journal writing described above and the thematic approach to writing. The students in one class, for instance, were focusing on the theme heroes. They composed posters, poems, songs, letters and stories based on past and present Jamaican heroes and heroines. Again, peer and teacher evaluations were done. An added feature to this exercise however, was self-evaluation. These evaluations led to the creation of improved versions.

The Use of KAL in End of Term/Year Testing

Sixty percent of the thirty respondents to the questionnaire did not admit to using KAL in testing. The other forty percent who said they did was not referring to end-of-year testing. However, there was evidence of the second language communicative approach in certain areas of all the sample tests.

The test items were examined for the application of the aspects of KAL identified by the teachers. A careful examination of the types of activities and the conditions under which these activities should be performed was done. The aim was to see how much of the KAL the teachers claimed to possess was portrayed in the construction of these activities and conditions. The areas of knowledge most often referred to by the teachers was the need to motivate the students to learn the language as well as the need to use meaningful contexts for speaking and writing exercises.

The teachers' knowledge about motivation in the learning of the L2 seems to have guided the selection of the reading material used. The teachers seemed to be aware of the fact that getting meaning from the printed material is a physical and mental process. The reader has to be willing to associate the new experiences with what he/she already knows. If the reader finds the material interesting, he/she will be more likely to want to understand it. The materials selected for the testing of comprehension skills were related either to the students' culture or their age group. The students should have been able to identify with the Jamaican/Caribbean or teenage issues presented in the material.

The essay writing exercise also showed evidence of the use of the knowledge that communication needs to be meaningful. In some of the tests the students were given a personalized context for the required language output. This was evident in the essay writing exercises given to the students. For example, instead of being asked to compose an essay on a fire they have witnessed, in one exam the following scenario was given:

You are asleep at your grandmother's house. Suddenly you awake with the feeling that something is wrong. On going towards the door, you smell smoke and rush outside to discover that there is a fire in the kitchen. Describe your thoughts, feelings, actions and the scene during and after the fire.

THE NON-USE OF KAL

Extended Writing

The data from the end of the year exam documents showed that essay writing exercises reflected a limited application of KAL. Although the students were provided with contexts for writing, they were required to produce 250-300 word essays for grade 7-9 and 400-450 word essays for grades 10-11 in sixty to seventy-five minutes. This seems contrary to the teachers' admission that they believe that writing is a process that involves a number of stages. The students are not given time to employ the different stages in crafting their written work.

Oral Competence

All the teachers who said they used KAL in testing spoke about the importance of achieving communicative competence. The teachers admitted that the philosophy behind communicative competence is that the speaker needs to be able to use appropriate language in given situations. The students therefore need to develop both their speaking and writing skills as they are likely to find themselves in a variety of speaking contexts. Communicative competence according to Hadley (1993, p. 5), "applies to both written and spoken language. However, the end-of-year English tests only examine writing skills.

Testing Structural Competence

If the students are going to be able to select appropriate language for specific situations, then language needs to be taught in meaningful contexts. Structures may be isolated and

taught in some cases, but these then need to be placed in contexts. However, all the test samples collected contain items testing the grammar of English. These tests contain lists of unrelated sentences requiring the students to fill in or underline a word, substitute one word for another or to underline the incorrect portion of sentences. Isolated sentences are even used for the filling in of punctuation marks. These isolated sentences are incompatible with the communicative approach to language teaching. They require the students to decode the meaning of one sentence, then forget that and move on to another. Also there is no context on which to base their understanding.

Reasons for Non-Use of KAL

Data given in the questionnaire and the interviews seem to suggest that there are two categories of reasons for the non-use of KAL in testing. There seems to be both situational and non-situational constraints.

Non-situational Constraints

Interviews with some of the teachers who said that they did not use KAL in testing and those who did not respond to the question on KAL use in testing, revealed that they were not quite sure how KAL could be used in testing. Six teachers went as far as to say that KAL is not applicable. For them the KAL they had learnt about relates to the teaching process only. In their view, once the item is practised and mastered in class then the students should be able to apply the skills gained to other communication contexts.

Two teachers who thought that it was unnecessary to test the students' oral skills felt that once a structure is practised, the students will transfer it to their writing. These teachers believe that this would be all that is required since in the Jamaican context, Standard English is predominantly needed for writing. This means for instance that if the student does oral exercises in the use of past tense structures, then they should be able to transfer what they learnt to the writing situation. This idea suggests that although the teachers claim to believe in communicative competence, either they are not sure of what this means or they are confusing oral and writing skills.

Four teachers of the upper grades added that they only incorporated language work which was required for external examinations, even if this went against their KAL. They saw their job as being to get the students to pass their exams, "*so why bother to try to work miracles with the large groups we are asked to teach?*"

To the question "*What are the thoughts that go through your mind while preparing a test?*" six of the twelve interviewees said that they have not really thought about it. What they focus on when composing a test are the requirements of the syllabus and external examinations as well as the time limit. The others blamed situational constraints for their non-use of KAL.

Situational Constraints

KAL, some interviewees declare, is sometimes applied to testing in the lower grades

during class sessions. However for end-of-term/year testing, they say it is impossible to engage the students in activities such as process writing, as there are time constraints. The examination has to fit into a certain time slot to accommodate all the subjects to be tested. In addition, one respondent wanted to know “*where she would get the time to mark the finished product plus drafts?*”

The six interviewees, who blamed their situations for the non-use of KAL said that they sometimes think about the fact that grammar tests should really be given in contexts and that oral testing should be done. They said however, that there are many constraints to achieving the ideal. For 14 of the 30 respondents to the questionnaire, the use of KAL means the testing of oral skills. They say they know it is important but they do not see how they can do oral tests given the large classes, time limitations, exam requirements and the lack of resources. The following table gives the reasons identified by the teachers. Each respondent gave multiple reasons, as depicted in table 2 below.

Table 2: Situational constraints preventing testing of oral skills

<i>Reasons for non-use of KAL</i>	<i>Number of teachers who selected this response</i>
Time limitations	12
Requirements of the syllabus/external examinations	10
Lack of facilities	6
Large numbers	12

During the interviews, the teachers lamented the fact that their classes contain on average thirty- eight to forty - five students. With these numbers there is no way that they can test oral skills. Two teachers stated they do not think they could test the students' oral skills since during classes “*adequate practice could not be given*”. The number of students in each class would also have an impact on the amount of time required to conduct the oral testing.

The respondents also complained that there are no facilities in place for the testing of oral skills. Some interviewees revealed the fact that the schools are not equipped with language labs in many instances. Where a room may be designated as a language lab, it is often used for foreign languages. In addition it is often reserved for the use of the upper school students who will be sitting foreign language exams. Even in this situation the equipment is limited. One teacher declared: “*nobody can expect me to carry water in a basket*”. Some teachers say they do not even have tape recorders.

Six of the twelve teachers interviewed said they knew that it is much better to test structural competence within contexts. However, there are difficulties that hinder this contextualization from happening. These mitigating factors range from the process of test construction to the marking exercise. The reasons teachers gave were time limitations (6 teachers), exam requirements (4 teachers), and the group construction of

the test (4 teachers). The end-of-term/year tests are constructed by all the teachers of a specific grade, meaning that there are between three to five persons working on a test, limiting the influence any individual teacher can have on the test.

As suggested above, time is another important factor for the teachers. It is often much easier to use sentences as it takes less time than trying to construct relevant paragraphs. The marking exercise would also be less time consuming. The teachers say that with the large numbers in their sometimes six to seven different classes, it is much easier just to mark sentences.

Another common consideration of the teachers is the fact that the Caribbean Examinations Council English examinations use this same structure. In the grammar and vocabulary sections of this examination, the students are given sentences to fill in appropriate words or to underline particular words and phrases. Therefore, the teachers they are preparing their students to master this examination.

CONCLUSION

While there is some use of KAL in testing, it appears as if this task is not as easy as when applying KAL to teaching. One reason for this may be that few of the teachers in the study have ever had coursework which required them to use their KAL for language assessment. Knowing about language and language learning is probably not enough.

Teachers also seem to need to know how to use this knowledge to do assessment tasks, not just teaching tasks, as seen by the fact that some teachers were aware of the importance of the use of KAL in testing but they were not sure how to do so. Moreover, it is also clear that in some situations there are situational constraints that make using KAL very difficult, if not impossible. Therefore, more emphasis needs to be placed on using KAL in situations where external constraints restrict teachers' ability to use their KAL.

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Chapter 19

Experience, Knowledge about Language and Classroom Practice in Teaching Grammar

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INTRODUCTION

As a teacher I was always interested in the teaching of grammar and this fascination has remained me with in my work as a teacher educator and researcher into language teaching. However, when I initially (in the mid-1990s) wanted to start researching how teachers approach grammar teaching, I soon became aware that apart from a few descriptive studies (e.g. Peck, 1988) hardly anything had been written about teachers' actual grammar teaching practices and about the experiential, psychological, and contextual factors behind these. Most existing research on grammar teaching had focused on the learner and on learning outcomes, with little attention to what teachers do and why. And such research, despite attempts to provide teachers with guidance as to how best to teach grammar, had not been conclusive in this respect. Paradoxically, then, we had accumulated an extensive volume of research on grammar teaching which contributed very little to an understanding of this instructional process as it is perceived by teachers.

In the light of contemporary constructivist thinking in teacher education, this lack of attention to teachers' perspectives on their work was an obvious gap in our knowledge of this key area of language teaching. The goal of my research into grammar teaching has been to address this gap, and it has been satisfying to see that in recent years other researchers have also taken up this cause. Discussion of the knowledge base teachers draw on in teaching grammar is one issue in such research which has been awarded particular attention (e.g. Johnston & Goettsch, 2000). And although the term *knowledge base* refers to more than teachers' knowledge about language (KAL), a concern for what teachers know and believe about language and how this impacts on their classroom practices has necessarily been a central theme (Andrews, 1999, 2001; Borg, 2001).

In this chapter KAL is defined as the collection of attitudes towards and knowledge about English grammar which teachers possess. My aim here is to examine with

reference to two teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) the nature of their KAL, influences on its development, and its impact on their grammar teaching practices.

THE DATA

The data for this chapter come from two separate studies of EFL teachers in Hungary and Malta respectively, and here I discuss one teacher from each of these larger studies. I begin by outlining the methodological background to the data I present.

In both studies the underlying methodological principles were derived from an exploratory-interpretative view of research (Grotjahn, 1987), which is committed to understanding the perspectives on their actions of those being studied. It focuses on the meaning of particular events, aims to generate rather than to verify theory, and adopts naturalistic rather than experimental research designs.

Data collection and analysis in the studies were cyclical - collection and analysis occurred throughout the period of field work, with each successive stage of data collection being influenced by the analysis of the data already collected. The core procedures followed in each study were as follows:

1. An audio-taped semi-structured interview lasting about one hour was first held with each teacher. The aim of this first interview was to establish a profile of the teachers' educational background, language education, teacher education, and experience of teaching. In interviewing of this type, the researcher uses an interview schedule as a guide to the themes which need to be discussed. Question order and wording, however, are adapted to fit the specific manner in which the interview develops. In addition, the interview may also cover issues not directly listed in the schedule but which may arise during the course of the conversation.
2. Classroom data for each teacher in the study were collected through unstructured classroom observations. Detailed descriptive field notes of observed lessons (at least five lessons per teacher) were made, and copies of instructional materials collected. The ability to provide accounts of real classroom events relevant to grammar teaching was seen as fundamental to the research. Such accounts would provide the concrete backdrop against which teachers' KAL and practices could then be discussed in the interviews.
3. In analysing the observational data I focused on key instructional episodes, which for the purposes of the current chapter are classroom incidents which shed light on or generated questions about teachers' KAL and about its impact on their approach to teaching grammar. Occasions where the teachers were presenting grammar to students, for example, or where they were responding to students' questions about grammar, were typical key episodes.
4. A further two hours of audio taped semi-structured interviews were conducted through which the observed classroom practices were discussed. The focus in these

post-observation interviews was the discussion of the key episodes identified in the observation data. Fieldnotes and instructional materials relevant to these episodes were shown to the teachers and they were encouraged to articulate their perspectives on these incidents, examining in particular connections between these and their KAL.

5. Interview data were subject to content analyses through which they were read several times and through which recurrent themes were identified. These themes were then linked together in order to construct the narrative accounts for each teacher which I present here. One representative key instructional episode was also chosen from the database for each teacher and included in the narrative to highlight connections between teachers' KAL and their classroom practices in teaching grammar.

I will now proceed to discuss aspects of each of the teachers' work in turn.

1.1 Zsanna¹

1.1.1 Context

Zsanna was a Hungarian teacher who had originally been a teacher of Russian for four years before converting to teaching English, which at the time of the study she had been doing for 14 years. The fieldwork with her took place in a secondary school in Hungary and the students Zsanna worked with were 14 years old. During the fieldwork there were 8-15 students in her classes.

1.1.2 Development of KAL

Reflecting on the development of her KAL in English, Zsanna recalled that when she started teacher training college prior to moving into teaching secondary English she immediately felt that her own level of English was inadequate:

I realised how little I knew about English grammar and about English language. For example modal verbs were completely new for me ... the most difficult period was when I couldn't identify what problems I should deal with and then it started to clear up and I bought all kinds of English grammar books and I started to study really hard to catch up with my mates because they obviously knew much more than me....So I started to study hard and after a while I just, I really could, I mean my performance became better and better at the college.

Her decision to respond to this situation by opting for an analytical approach to developing her KAL was not particularly surprising given that her former language education, in both Hungarian (her L1) and Russian (her first FL), had involved a similarly analytical approach to language study. In addition to the private study Zsanna engaged in, her KAL was also developed through courses in linguistics which she took at college. Although she recalls at the time thinking of these courses (also highly

analytical) as ‘torture’, she later came to appreciate the insight they gave her into the logic of the English language:

we actually did very serious grammar courses ... we started to study very theoretical grammar material ... and we really found that we wouldn’t need it when teaching English grammar and we hated it. Then after a while I started to feel that it was a really good thing because at first I just started to understand things, but I couldn’t use them ... and they just started to work in my brain so I became much more confident in my language, everyday language. I mean and I started to feel that it helped.

Nonetheless, during this period Zsanna was also aware that developing her KAL in this manner was not supporting her desire to become more fluent in using the language. As she recalled, “whenever I got into a situation where I had to use my grammar I became embarrassed and I just made grammar mistakes ... I really felt ashamed”. In time, her response to this situation was to seek out contexts which made demands on her ability to use English fluently; thus, particularly once she had become a teacher of English, she started to attend professional events, where proficient interaction in English, often with native speakers of English, was required. She also involved herself in professional teachers’ groups, as these also provided her with a context in which she could hone her skills in communicating in English.

Throughout our discussions Zsanna came across as having high levels of self-awareness, reflective capacity, and strategic decision-making skills related to the development of her KAL; her decision to engage in intensive study of grammar and to seek out contexts where she would have to perform proficiently in English are two clear examples of these abilities at work. Another was the way in which she felt she monitored her own KAL and took steps to address gaps when she felt necessary:

I just put together my grammar knowledge like a jigsaw puzzle. Whenever ... I don’t have the tools to express something or I don’t feel I put it in the right way I just make some research and try to fill in this gap.

One key feature of her KAL during her preparation to be a teacher of English was that it was not explicitly linked with teaching. Linguistics courses and pedagogy courses, for example, were totally separate, and it was only when she actually started teaching English that she began to develop a more pedagogically oriented KAL. In fact, through our conversations it became clear that the instructional context had become for Zsanna the major influence in the continuing development of her KAL. Knowing grammar has assumed for her a clear pedagogical function:

Knowing grammar is [useful so] that you can plan your lessons, You also may plan what grammar points you might discuss, even if the topic is not grammar and what might be the problem for your students. One certain thing is to select and to identify problems because you know your students then also what, because you are a teacher, what aspect you know, what approach you should use. So how to help you, how to deal with the grammar. So how to demonstrate it, how to practice it. What questions you should expect and how to answer them so that your students really could use your answers.

The connections between KAL and pedagogy had in fact become so strong for her that she stated “I don’t have anything to do with grammar without teaching so everything that is grammar for me is connected to teaching”. This is a striking shift in the perspective on KAL, disconnected from pedagogy, which she had before she started teaching English.

Zsanna’s experience of the classroom had also allowed her to develop her thinking about the relationship between explicit KAL and its fluent use. In her own words:

the central issue I am interested in [is] how aware a teacher and a non-native speaker should be about his or her knowledge of grammar because my experience shows that it doesn’t always help if you know a lot about English grammar because you know it in theory but when you have to use it under the slightly little bit of stress you just can say any old things...In the classroom it is stressful ... when you teach and something unexpected happens or in any situation you have to deal with something that is unexpected or that put some stress on you, you can be mixed up and then you can’t do anything about your knowledge so there is the knowledge and there must be some instinctive knowledge also. So there are different layers of knowing foreign language and this is the most exciting for me, so how can I prepare myself and my students to deal with these situations

As a learner, she had earlier reflected on how studying English grammar did not help her become fluent; as a teacher, she was now able to reflect on the role of explicit and automatised KAL with reference both to her instructional talk and to her students’ learning.

The development of Zsanna’s KAL in English was also characterised by a high level of comparison to Hungarian grammar. From her own experience as a learner she was aware that certain aspects of English grammar, such as auxiliaries and perfect tenses, were realised very differently in Hungarian, and she recalled the difficulties which such issues had presented her as a learner. Speaking of the perfect she said:

Zsanna: It is extremely difficult, it is one of the most difficult points in English because we don’t have it in Hungarian. It is just, we don’t have the idea of it so it is very easy to learn the form and the rules about it but very difficult to use. So I, the typical case, then you know the rules, you can do the tasks, you can translate the sentence, and you can do whatever you are asked in a grammar context but when you want to use it in your every day life ... it is something that requires completely different logic. You have to turn your mind into English.

Simon: So in your own experience of learning about the perfect you feel you have had this problem too? It is not just for your students?

Zsanna: Yes

This is another example of how her awareness of the processes she experienced in developing her KAL in English impacted on her pedagogical decisions in teaching grammar; she believed that the areas of grammar she struggled to make sense of (and which she occasionally still had problems using) were the same ones her students were likely to find difficult too.

1.1.3 Zsanna - Perfect Tenses

Below is an extract from one of Zsanna's lessons. This extract is characteristic of her approach to teaching grammar and I will discuss this to show how the factors mentioned in the previous section impinged on her teaching.

1. For homework, the teacher had asked the students to write sentences using present perfect tenses related to some photos of people they had used in the previous lesson.

Examples of the sentences the students report are:

She has been sunbathing.

She has just put on her new contact lenses.

She has just combed her hair.

She has worn her bracelet since her boyfriend gave it to her.

2. The teacher has written out different functions of present perfect tenses in English on individual sheets of paper. She now sticks these up around the classroom (numbered 1-7) and asks the students to move round the room, to read the functions, and to decide which function each sentence they wrote for homework goes with.

The functions were as follows:

Actions/events that have already happened.

Actions/events that have happened for the first, second, last time.

Actions/events that have been happening for some time.

Actions/events that have just happened.

Actions/events that have been happening since a particular time or event.

Actions/events that have happened in a period of time that links the present to the past.

Actions/events that have not happened yet.

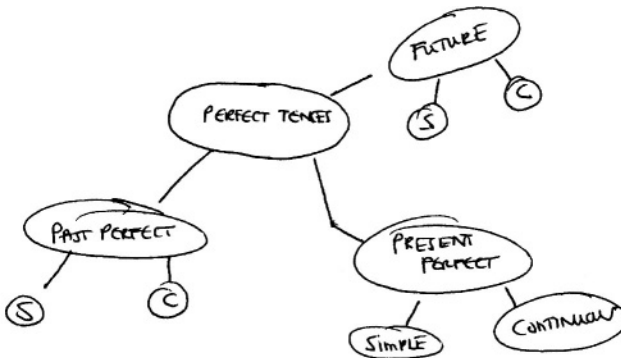
The students move around for a few minutes trying to match their sentences to these functions.

3. Then they sit down for a general discussion in which the teacher elicits an example of each function. The students do not suggest an example for function 2, so the teacher writes on the board:

This is the first time she has driven a car.

That's the tenth time she has visited London.

4. The teacher now draws a map of the perfect tenses in English on the board, eliciting from the students the information to place in it. The completed diagram looks like this:



5. The teacher now gives the students a list of sentences (e.g. By this time next week I'll have been studying for my exams for 2 months) and asks them to match them to this diagram. The students work on this in groups, identifying which of the perfect forms each sentence illustrates. They take a few minutes to do this.
6. In groups, the students are then asked to compile everything they know about perfect tenses in English. The teacher elicits from the students what this will involve and together they establish that students should think about the form, when to use it, examples, and common expressions or related words. The students engage in this task, and the teacher circulates and discusses with them as they do.
7. For homework, the students are asked to look at pp. 71-72 of their course book, where a summary on perfect tenses is given, and to compare the notes they made during today's lesson to the information provided there. The teacher asks the students to make a note of any questions they want to ask and to bring them back next lesson.

This lesson highlights several typical features of Zsanna's approach to teaching grammar. Firstly, there is a high level of explicit talk about and analysis of grammar. This reflects the teacher's own experience of language study; however, her decision to approach grammar in this way was not simply the unquestioning adoption of the strategies she had experienced as a learner; she did in fact go through a phase earlier in her career where she avoided explicit grammar work altogether and attempted to implement what she called a 'communicative' approach. However, after experimenting with this approach for a while she had decided that an element of explicit attention to grammar was beneficial for her students, especially with areas, such as the perfect, where Hungarian did not have equivalent concepts. In such cases, as the teacher recalled from her own learning experience, formal study was a useful way of enabling learners to develop their KAL. As she explained, "Yes, definitely I try to use my experience and that is why non-native teachers have advantages because they just learnt from the same steps on their own".

This lesson also illustrates typical processes which she engaged students in. Thus she encouraged students to generate their own examples, and to analyse and to classify these. She also regularly engaged them in brainstorming group activities where the goal was to review what they knew about a particular issue and to generate questions for further research. Students would then be asked to follow up these questions by reading their course book or using reference materials in the library. As we saw earlier, the intensive study of grammar books was a strategy the teacher herself had found helpful in developing her own KAL.

As already noted, the perfect was an area of the grammar which the teacher admitted she still occasionally had problems with, and one she knew her students found challenging too. Nonetheless, as the lesson shows, she was willing to engage in an open discussion of this topic with her students and to encourage them to generate and analyse examples and to ask her about these. This reflected her belief that having an adequately developed KAL is less about always knowing the answer when students ask questions and more about knowing that there is always more to learn:

basically it is not about knowledge, basically it is about your attitude so you simply can't do that, you just come across some things that you don't really know and you don't go after it or you don't consult anybody or anything about it. So you just can't stop developing.

In fact Zsanna commented several times in our discussions that she encourages students to ask her questions even though the unpredictability this generates can make her vulnerable:

there are always questions that students might ask and you don't know the answer or you don't know the answer in the way they require it...I am really happy and that is why I came to this school because I wanted to be challenged in this way, so I used to teach in...[other schools] ... and I just didn't have the possibility to develop. I wasn't motivated by students so I really like that sometimes my students bring some questions ... I really like that sometimes ... I have the possibility to discuss things and I very often say to them that I don't know the answer or I know something about it but I would like to check it.

These opportunities for continued learning are very important for her:

you very easily can be lost into your daily routine and you need these celebrations of your mind, then you can deal with something that challenges youYou have to discover these little points and you can entertain your brain.

She was keen to help her students understand the logic of English grammar, especially where this contrasted with Hungarian, and believed that the kind of activities she did in the lesson above would help them develop the overview of the perfect they required in order to make full sense of it. She described the process she hoped to facilitate in her students as follows:

we have to excavate behind the sentence, we have to find a meaning, the logic in it then we have to put it away, digest a little bit and then very slowly we start to feel comfortable. We have to feel it somehow.

One final point reflected in the lesson above relates to the teacher role Zsanna generally adopted. She saw herself as a 'conductor' who preferred to stay in the background. She aimed to set up activities through which students could become aware of what they knew about a particular area of grammar and, consequently, through which they could identify the problems and the questions they needed to address. Her stance was based on the belief that "you won't remember it [someone else's explanation] for a long time then you discover something for yourself then you think something over and you come up with a solution all together with a group of students and it, you might keep it for a longer time". This belief was derived from her own experience of learning, as well as from experience of seeing how students were not interested in her explanations if she had not first given them the chance to identify their problems. In contrast, her approach created a context in which, she explained, students "could see grammar as a problem they definitely had to discuss. They really like discussing things and they really love arguing about things and that is why, because it was a problem to be discussed". Again, here we can see Zsanna mirroring in the classroom the processes of independent discovery she had found useful in developing her own KAL.

1.2 *Dave*

1.2.1 *Context*

Dave (a pseudonym) was a Maltese teacher of English who had been involved in teaching English as a foreign language for 16 years. He taught EFL in an institute in Malta which catered for students from Western European countries, mostly Italy. The fieldwork was conducted with a group of adult students (all Italians) following a three-week advanced level general English course. The number of students in class during the observations fluctuated between 6 and 10. One immediately notable feature of this course was the limited amount of explicit grammar teaching which took place. Reasons for this emerge from the analysis of Dave's educational and professional history below.

1.2.2 *Development of KAL*

English had always been Dave's favourite subject at school ("I was obsessed with English"), yet he recalls that his English language education at secondary school involved considerable attention to grammar, something he did not feel was very interesting:

Something that stands out is for example parsing....we went through the book from the first page to page wherever, z, parsing each and every sentence....Grammar analysis, adverbial clause of time, adverbial clause of this and that... the lesson was absolutely boring....was all very dry grammatical stuff, and as soon as you left the class, you would say 'to hell with it'.

In contrast with these negative memories, Dave had very positive recollections of his literature lessons at secondary school, and recalled the lack of focus on grammar which the study of English at sixth-form involved:

...what I did at sixth form. I was lucky....I liked the teachers, there was very little formal grammar, partly I assumed because ... all the people who took English were really very good at it, so there was no need for so much language work. We did a lot of criticism and we did a lot of literature.

Dave enrolled at a teacher training college in the late 1970s. The programme consisted of general pedagogical courses and ones more specifically related to English and the teaching of English, but he did not recall any work which was geared towards the development of his KAL, neither as a learner nor as a prospective teacher. Language issues were dealt with mainly from a linguistic point of view and he did remember (not with much pleasure) studying the work of individuals such as Chomsky and Pit Corder.

Dave's earliest teaching experiences (in primary and secondary schools) were characterised by what he calls a 'traditional grammar-based' approach to English. However in 1986 he underwent what emerged as the most influential professional experience in his career - a Diploma in TESOL which he did in the UK. The deep impression this had on Dave is clearly captured in his recollections in the next extract:

I think it was all positive in every sense of the word. The tutors were good, the work we were doing was satisfying, the issues raised were very relevant, I found that I was experiencing a lot of changes in my own thinking ... I think I had to change quite a lot of ideas which I had had already and thought were immutable...there were certain things which I thought 'this is definitely the way it is or the way it should be', and then after a year over there, I found I had moved away from that position, and sometimes...I was diametrically opposed to the starting position.

One issue his views changed on was the teaching of grammar:

I used to subscribe to the idea that the teacher presents the grammar (rules, uses, paradigms, the lot) and then the learners work through exercises. Later on I came to accept and adopt the technique that the learners can move from a text/situation where the intended grammar to be taught is embedded, and explore the use and perhaps formulate a tentative rule from there.

In fact, as a result of this programme, Dave developed strong communicative views about the need to 'mask' grammar and to 'sugar the pill' for the students. These views were in line with views opposing explicit grammar teaching promoted in English language teaching in the 1980s. In this climate, it is perhaps not surprising that there was scant formal attention in the Diploma to developing Dave's own KAL:

we didn't have so much grammar there, so maybe you can say subconsciously it made me go off grammar, because we didn't have so much grammar ourselves. We did have a little bit in the first term, but it was more tied in with linguistics.

Dave was encouraged by this course to make grammar teaching as implicit, or at least palatable, as possible. Together with the educational background of studying English outlined earlier and the lack of emphasis on developing his KAL he experienced when he first trained as a teacher, the Diploma clearly contributed to the low incidence of grammar work observed in Dave's classes.

In our discussions of his work, Dave did actually acknowledge that he was not particularly keen on teaching grammar and pointed to a specific episode in his career which may have triggered off this attitude. Here he is speaking of what he thinks is a weakness of his as a teacher:

Dave: Weaknesses. I don't think I'm really all that keen when I have to do grammar.

Simon: When you say it's a weakness what exactly do you mean?

Dave: It's a weakness cause I don't feel very comfortable with it. That is, I always have the feeling that I might be asked something that at that moment will catch me unawares and I won't be able to answer at that time.

Simon: So a weakness in terms of your confidence in own your knowledge of grammar?

Dave: Yes, perhaps it comes from the time when I was asked a question which I couldn't answer, because it was a Latin word which I didn't know.

Simon: A Latin word?

Dave: It was a word in Latin which later I found was also used in English but at the time I didn't know and I couldn't answer it because I didn't know the word, and it's always at the back of my mind, just in case...it was right at the very beginning when I started, somebody asked me something about preterit verbs, and that stumped me. Later when I looked it up, damn, it's something I knew, but at that moment, I literally didn't know.

This extract provides clear evidence for the claim that teachers' perceptions of their own KAL may have a major impact on the manner in which they approach explicit language work in the classroom. In Dave's case, his uncertainty had clearly hindered the development of his KAL and, and as I discuss below, of his instructional repertoire for grammar teaching. I should stress I am referring specifically to grammar here; his KAL and teaching repertoire vis-à-vis vocabulary were, in contrast, extensive and well-developed (and his vocabulary knowledge was something he was confident about).

Intertwined with Dave's feelings about his KAL was also a particular notion of his role as a teacher. His view was that

if it's something in grammar and the teacher doesn't know the answer, I think the student will automatically say 'what a horrible teacher'. I mean you're expected to know all the grammar...I might not come up with all the exceptions which they might come up with at that moment, somebody might come up with an example and which at that particular moment I might not be able to explain or even think about...I might not be able to do it at that moment. I'm always a little bit wary of that situation.

This combination then of feeling responsible to answer students' questions while at the same time being fearful of not knowing the answer was another factor which contributed to the minimal role which explicit grammar work played in his teaching.

1.2.3 *Dave - Conditional Sentences*

Below is an example of a grammar teaching activity from Dave's work. I will discuss it to illustrate the links between the development of his KAL as outlined above and his instructional decisions in teaching grammar.

In a previous lesson a student had asked the teacher a question about conditional sentences. The teacher said he would answer her question in the next lesson. This is the lesson he subsequently conducted.

1. The teacher writes the following list of sentences on the board:

If you help us we will finish quicker.
 Unless he gets his own way he gets very angry.
 If I knew how to cook I would be more independent.
 I'll lend you the money provided that I get it back next week.
 If I had known you were coming I would have prepared a special meal.
 I'll clear away as soon as you have finished.
 Were you to win the lottery, how would you change your life?
 Should there be an accident, this will be of use to you.
 Even if I could drive, I wouldn't buy a car.
 Had he made more effort, his promotion would have been certain.
 Were it not for his sheltered background, he wouldn't be so narrow-minded.

It is because he comes from such a sheltered background that he's so narrow-minded.
 Had they taken the main road they could have done the trip quicker.
 If he had been doing his job properly, he would have noticed his mistake.

2. The teacher now asks the students whether the sentences are all conditionals, and a class discussion ensues. The teacher works through the list, examining the way conditional meaning is expressed in each example. The teacher uses the following concept questions to facilitate students' understandings of each example:

Is it a hypothetical situation?

Is it possible?

Is it happening now?

Is it happening tomorrow?

Did it happen already?

Each sentence is thus classified according to whether it is a first, second, or third conditional. At the end of the discussion, the sentences have been classified as follows:

1st conditional: (a), (b), (d), (f), (h), (l)

2nd conditional: (c), (g), (i), (k)

3rd conditional: (e), (j), (m), (n)

This lesson captures three key characteristics of Dave's approach to grammar teaching:

- The use of planned rather than spontaneous activities.
- Identifying grammar content on the basis of students' requests.
- Promoting inductive, metalinguistically explicit grammar analysis.

Dave was rarely observed to launch into unplanned, spontaneous discussions of grammar (but see Borg, 2001 for one occasion where he did). His typical approach when students asked him about grammar (and this was not something he encouraged them to do) was to make a note of the question and to reply that he would take it up in a subsequent lesson. He was willing to respond to their questions about grammar but felt insecure in his ability to do so without preparation. In his initial response to students' queries, he endeavoured to disguise any such feelings and tried to make students see his logic for postponing the discussion of grammar:

I've been asked quite a few things which I've told them quite plainly 'Yes, but can we do it some other time so I'll do it more systematically'. For example, last Monday I was asked to explain something about when to use the infinitive, and when to use the gerund, and I know that... But I told them, all right, I can explain it, but if you can wait until tomorrow I can look it up and I'll explain it more systematically, because I might be giving you examples now and you might not be able to see a pattern.

He did actually examine this language point in a subsequent lesson. In fact, this extract, together with the conditionals lesson above, also illustrates how the focus of grammar work in Dave's work was largely determined by specific requests students made. Dave was not bound by any examinations students would be taking or syllabuses he had to follow. There was a course book which students were given, and Dave did use this regularly, but it consisted of long reading texts with associated comprehension questions and no grammar work. The assumption, as stated in the preface to the book, was that students at advanced level did not require such work. In the light of what we have seen about Dave's KAL, the rationale in this course book perhaps provided a further means for him to justify the minimal role which grammar teaching played in his lessons.

Dave's preference for inductive grammar work was partly influenced by ideas suggested in the Diploma course referred to earlier. Discovery learning was a notion the course promoted and which Dave embraced. He also felt that, even when students were not able to reach clear conclusions about the grammar under study, engaging them in the kind of processes illustrated in the lesson above was valuable:

The students try to work out the rule for themselves rather than having it given by the teacher with examples to follow. I think if the learner can somehow see some logic in the pattern/how the form is being used, and deduce for himself how the rule works, he is more likely to assimilate it.

The very explicit nature of his grammar work, though, was in contrast to the more implicit approach he said the Diploma has promoted. I therefore also asked him how he felt the kind of explicit KAL generated by such an approach to grammar was helpful for the students:

Being adults, they can take it back with them and study it, and I think when you come to a certain age your brain starts compartmentalising everything, even if it's grammar, it's logic and this is the way you go about it. And it's a system in your brain. So I suppose it helps them because they can remember it that way. I certainly remember it that way.

His comments here reveal beliefs about the way adult learners organise knowledge: he feels they use a logical, mental filing system in which explicit information about grammar can be conveniently stored. He feels his own knowledge of grammar is mentally organised in this way.

Earlier I mentioned that Dave did not demonstrate a well-developed repertoire of techniques for handling grammar teaching. He exhibited a wide range of strategies for dealing with other areas such as reading and vocabulary, but with reference to grammar this was not the case. In designing a grammar activity, his standard approach was to assemble in advance, from grammar reference books or teaching materials, examples of sentences containing the target structures and to ask students to analyse, classify, and derive rules from these sentences, as illustrated above. We have seen that his lack of confidence in his KAL had led him to minimise formal instruction in his lessons and to avoid spontaneous grammar work. The limitations of his instructional repertoire for grammar work could also be linked to his avoidance of grammar teaching over the years

(i.e., by teaching grammar so infrequently his pedagogical skill in this aspect of his work had remained undeveloped). This suggests then that teachers' KAL may influence not only the incidence of explicit grammar work in their lessons but, in the longer term, also the range of instructional techniques which they develop proficiency in throughout their career.

DISCUSSION

Despite some similarities (e.g., a belief in the value of explicit work and discovery learning), the two cases presented here contrast in many ways. Zsanna emerges as being highly aware of her KAL and constantly and proactively engaged in developing it further. In particular, she saw the classroom context as the arena which provides most scope for stimulating such development, and thus engaged students regularly in open, analytical discussions of grammar. She was also willing to address with her students issues she felt uncertain about. Dave, in contrast, though capable of acknowledging the limitations of his KAL, had not had or sought out opportunities to address this situation. Influenced by his lack of confidence in his own grammatical knowledge, grammar work in his teaching was infrequent and always planned. His knowledge about grammar seemed to be for him predominantly a resource to draw on when students asked questions about grammar. As Andrews (1999; 2001) argues though (and as Zsanna seemed to appreciate), teachers' KAL has much wider implications for their pedagogical practices; for example it may influence the manner in which instructional materials are selected and presented to students.

The educational biographies of both teachers enable us to make some sense of these contrasts in their own KAL and practices in teaching grammar. Zsanna's experience of foreign language learning was characterised by explicit analytical study which, despite initial reservations, she felt contributed positively to her KAL. In addition to negative experiences of studying English grammar in secondary school, Dave's professional pathway had seemingly afforded him few opportunities to reflect on and develop his KAL. Before they became teachers, neither Zsanna nor Dave had been encouraged to think about KAL from a pedagogical perspective, and language and methodology respectively had been dealt with separately throughout their professional preparation. In the classroom, though, Zsanna found that planning lessons and working with students enabled her to develop a strong pedagogically-oriented sense of her KAL and its development; Dave, however, did not make such connections between KAL and practice and, powerfully shaped by a negative experience early in his career, had developed a wariness of students' questions about grammar which remained with him many years later.

Looking at these cases from the perspective of a teacher educator aiming to support the development of teachers' KAL, there are several points to make. One is that the work of such teacher educators may benefit from an awareness of teachers' prior experience of language study. This suggestion reflects contemporary thinking in educational research,

where the importance of understanding teachers' prior beliefs and experiences is seen to be fundamental to the effectiveness of teacher education work (e.g. Holt Reynolds, 1992; Tillema, 1994; Verloop, Van Driel, & Meijer, 2001). Even though those responsible for KAL courses may think that such research is primarily relevant to an understanding of methodology, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the way teachers approach – and benefit from – the study of language will also be shaped by their existing beliefs and knowledge about language.

Another key point to emerge here is that ultimately teachers' need KAL in order to facilitate instruction. This emerges very clearly from Zsanna's case. Thus even in teacher education contexts where KAL and methodology are addressed discretely, it is not productive for what and how teachers learn about language to be disconnected from the roles which their KAL will play in the classroom. From this perspective, the work of Wright & Bolitho (1993) and Borg (1994; 2003) is instructive in the concrete examples provided of how KAL work can be made more pedagogically relevant in teacher education contexts. On the basis of the data presented here, I would also suggest that when KAL and methodology courses are interconnected, teachers will develop a qualitatively richer and pedagogically more informed sense of their KAL and of its roles in their teaching.

A final point to make here is that, as I have argued elsewhere (Borg, 2001), KAL courses should also aim to develop in teachers an extended, as opposed to restricted, conceptualisation of KAL. In particular, teachers need a healthy attitude towards the continuing development of their KAL; as Johnston & Goettsch (2000) reported in their study, teachers' understandings of language are constantly changing as they store, process, reflect on, add to, and modify what they already know. An awareness of this dynamic nature of teachers' KAL is clearly something KAL courses can aim to promote. KAL courses can also assist teachers in learning how to monitor their own KAL, to identify gaps, and to respond strategically to these. The data presented here highlight the manner in which these skills can support the development of teachers' KAL. And teachers who use such skills successfully themselves are likely, as we have seen here, to encourage their learners to adopt them too. A third hypothesis to make here then is that KAL courses which instil in teachers such dispositions and strategies reduce the danger that teachers may experience both the uncertainty and inability to respond to it which characterised Dave's work in teaching grammar.

NOTES

1. With the teacher's permission, I use a short version of her real name here.

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Chapter 20

Discourse Analysis and Foreign Language Teacher Education¹

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INTRODUCTION: MAKING A CASE FOR DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER EDUCATION

The concept of heteroglossia is extremely interesting to me. I recently gave a paper in which I discussed Ingeborg Bachmann's *Malina* and asserted that the main character had basically two voices: one masculine, one feminine. I found it fascinating after reading the chapter in Fowler [1996] to think about the possibility of not merely two, but perhaps multiple voices. The notion of voice has been a topic of particular importance in feminist criticism, because women have debated how to find a voice in which to write that is not merely a reproduction of the "master discourse". Yet if we consider voice to be heteroglossic, then it makes little sense to think of a master discourse, which would be, by virtue of definition, singular. (Fran, reaction journal)

Do we really need another term to describe something that already has a name?...the general confusion within the field of linguistics...has arisen due to the fact that the number of linguistic terms has increased in the past few decades to a ridiculous number. (Sam, reaction journal)

The authors of these two lead quotes are both student-teachers of a foreign language (FL), who participated in the same graduate seminar on discourse analysis (DA); yet, as is evident, they have radically different responses to learning about the notion of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) in their seminar. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the influence of exposure to expertise in DA on a particular group of graduate student FL teachers at a public university in the United States. The study focuses on aspects of these teachers' socio-cultural histories and socio-institutional contexts and the meanings that these have for their responses to exposure to DA.

Definitions of discourse (and DA) range widely from language-focused, structurally-oriented understandings to context-focused, socially-oriented ones. For example, Richards, Platt, and Weber (1985, p. 84) define discourse as "larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations, and interviews", while McHoul and Luke (1989, p. 324) propose *multiple* discourses and see them as "socio-historically specific systems of knowledge and thought." The stance adopted here is that of educational linguist James

Gee who makes the following distinction between “little d” discourse and “big D” Discourse:

I will reserve the word ‘discourse’ with a little “d,” to mean language-in-use or stretches of language (like conversation or stories). “Big D” Discourses are always language plus “other stuff.” ... To “pull off” being an “X” doing “Y” (e.g. a Los Angeles Latino street gang member warning another gang member off his territory, or a laboratory physicist convincing colleagues that a particular graph supports her ideas...) it is not enough to get just the words “right,” though that is crucial. It is necessary, as well, to get one’s body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, ways with things, symbols, tools, technologies (be they guns or graphs), and values, attitudes, beliefs, and emotions “right,” as well, and all at the “right” places and times (Gee, 1999, pp. 17 and 7).

According to this view of discourse, learning a FL requires more than the mastery of mere grammatical rules; instead it also necessitates an awareness of numerous discourse conventions, i.e. how to ‘pull off being an X doing Y’, and an ability to put these conventions into action in the right places at the right times with the right kinds of people. In the field of German as a Foreign Language, my particular area of expertise, Kotthoff (1989, p. 448) notes that such socio-cultural knowledge is rarely integrated into the classroom (see also Hufeisen, 2002, pp. 20-22). Similarly, Albert (1995) argues that there is an urgent need for the results of discourse analysis to inform German-language teaching, particularly in the area of intercultural communication (see also Byrnes, 2001, p. 518). In fact, German applied linguists have noted often that a lack of awareness of discourse conventions (e.g., culture-specific conversational styles) on the part of FL users have resulted in (a) ‘helpless frustration’ in the course of intercultural communication (Kotthoff, 1989, p. 449); (b) the perception that particular groups of FL speakers are rude or aggressive *by nature* (House & Kasper, 1981, p. 158); and (c) the assignment of value judgements to speakers of particular groups that result in destructive cultural stereotypes (Byrnes, 1986, p. 191; see also House 1996; 2000; Johnstone, 2002, p. 6). Belz (2003), for example, details the ways in which an under-appreciation of culture-specific conversational discourse conventions led to the complete alienation of one participant in a German-American telecollaborative partnership that was designed to foster inter-cultural understanding.

Instructed FL learners, however, cannot be expected to execute an awareness and/or mastery of FL discourse conventions if they have not been educated to do so and this, in turn, requires an understanding of language-as-discourse in teacher education programs. McCarthy and Carter (1994, p. 201) describe such a realization in the following way: “The moment one starts to think of language as discourse, the entire landscape changes, usually, forever.”

In this chapter, I examine whether or not and in what ways the landscape of FL learning and teaching (FLL&T)² changed for a particular group of FL student-teachers when they were exposed to expertise in DA during their professional education as teacher-researchers. The following questions are addressed: (a) how and on what level(s)

do the teachers in this study respond to exposure to expertise in DA with respect to FLL&T?, and (b) what aspects of their socio-cultural histories and their socio-institutional contexts influenced the types of responses that they had?

AGENCY AND STRUCTURE IN THE INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL ACTION

This study draws on social realism (Layder, 1993) in order to provide a detailed and dynamic account of these student-teachers' responses to DA (see Belz, 2002a; Carter & Sealey, 2000). In general, social realism recognizes the culturally and historically shaped nature of human beings as well as that of the various human activities in which they are situated. Theoretically, the realist position construes the empirical world as highly complex and multifaceted. Within this variegated and layered world, social action is shaped by an intimate interplay of both macro-level phenomena such as context and setting (i.e., structure) and micro-level phenomena such as (linguistic) interaction and psycho-biography (i.e., agency). Furthermore, social action is embedded within history and (inequitable) relations of power and both of these influence the ultimate meanings and shape of human activity in important ways. Methodologically, social realism relies on a theory-generating, multistrategy approach which attempts to make as many "analytic cuts" (Layder, 1993, p. 108) into the research site as possible in order to elucidate the meanings of particular social actions for the people involved. In sum, social realist investigation advocates the examination of the ecology of a particular action in order to elucidate the meaning(s) of that action for the people involved.

THE STUDY

Course description

In the 1990s I taught a graduate seminar on DA in a "national canonical" (Byrnes, 2002, p. 26) FL department at a university in the United States. The purposes of the seminar were (a) to introduce students of applied linguistics and literature to the field of DA as a research methodology, (b) to enable student-teachers of language to gain a better understanding of the characteristics and ramifications of FL classroom discourse in context, and (c) to enable student-teachers of language to use DA in the teaching and explication of (literary) texts in the FL classroom. Ideally, the achievement of these first three objectives should lead to a fourth, namely, an understanding of the mutually co-constitutive relationship of language and reality. Such an understanding might facilitate a conceptualization of language-as-discourse as opposed to language-as-skills (e.g., McCarthy & Carter, 1994).

We began by reading Schiffrin (1994) who provides a general introduction to various approaches to discourse such as interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication. These approaches are exemplified by detailed linguistic analyses of various data sets including casual conversation and reference desk interviews. Students also were required to video-tape and transcribe a 50-minute language class in order to

identify and elucidate various discourse phenomena (e.g., silence, laughter, backchannel signals, turn-taking mechanisms) described in Hatch (1992). Next, we focused on a discourse-sensitive approach to the examination of literature based, in part, in systemic functional linguistics (Fowler, 1996) and the discourse analytic didacticization of 'literary' texts for use in the language classroom. This phase of the course was rich in hands-on, in-class activities in which concepts introduced in Fowler (1996) were applied to particular literary texts. For example, the opening paragraphs of Franz Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* were analyzed for point of view; 'danger of death' narratives (Fleischman, 1990, pp. 318-326) were analyzed with respect to Labov's (1972) elements of narrative structure; and Allen Ginsberg's poem *A Supermarket in California* was scripted and performed (Cazden, 1992) in order to demonstrate the Bakhtinian (1981) concept of heteroglossia or multi-voicedness.

3.2 Responses to expertise in discourse analysis

I ascertained five levels on which student-teachers might respond to their exposure to expertise in DA with respect to FLL&T. These levels were determined by means of a long-term cyclic process of qualitative data analysis based on my examination of (a) the scholarly literature on DA and on DA in FLL&T, (b) my observations of novice language teachers interacting with knowledge of DA, (c) my own experiences teaching DA to novice teachers, and (d) my professional experiences as the director of a FL program in which DA was a core concept.³ These levels are examined in the following paragraphs.

3.1.1 Facts and figures

Student-teachers might conceptualize research findings in DA as a set of language facts to be added to the structural FL syllabus. For example, they might add units on backchannel signals to their syllabi alongside units on subordinating conjunctions and the passive voice. This response may originate in exposure to Hatch (1992) where a variety of discourse phenomena are explicated in the form of system and ritual constraints (see, however, McCarthy & Carter, 1994, chapter 5, for a critique of this response).

3.1.2 Techniques

Student-teachers might respond to expertise in DA as a set of research findings from which to extract pedagogical techniques for FLT. For example, Burton (1982, p. 195) draws on an analysis of transitivity patterns in order to ground feminist explications of an excerpt from Sylvia Plath's short story *The Bell Jar* in concrete linguistic aspects of discourse rather than in "slippery, competitive sensitivity." Similarly, Belz (2002b, pp. 228-240) analyzes Werner Lansburgh's (1977) code-switched novel *Dear Doosie* with

respect to language functions (Jakobson, 1961) and textual cohesion (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

3.1.3 Professional development tool for teachers

Teachers may use DA to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of classroom discourse (e.g., Cazden, 2001; Johnson, 1995). Such an understanding provides them with a concrete framework in which to reflect on their own situated classroom practices. For example, by becoming aware of the IRE-sequence (Mehan, 1990), hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada, 1999), or the use of contextualization cues (Dorr-Bremme, 1990) and their potential effects on classroom interaction, teachers may be enabled to make informed decisions about the structure of classroom discourse in their own teaching contexts (see also Poole, 2002, p. 78).

3.1.4 (Re) conceptualization of Language

DA may be viewed by teachers as a set of research findings on which to base a reconceptualization of language and FLL&T (e.g., Byrnes, 1998; Kramsch, 1993; McCarthy, 1991; McCarthy & Carter, 1994) where language is not conceived of as a product composed of discrete grammatical units, but rather as a process in which speakers engage and by which they “present[...] a picture of themselves, not just convey[...] information to one another” (McCarthy & Carter, 1994, p. 183; see also Gee, 1999). Thus, exposure of student-teachers to DA can facilitate an alternative (and more accurate) conceptualization of the object of study itself, i.e. language.

3.1.5 Interpretive tool for teacher-researchers

DA might be used as a tool for educators and researchers in FLL&T to better understand teachers' highly interpretive and locally contingent thought processes in the activity of teaching (see, in particular, case study 2 below). Kinginger (1997), for example, has used the construct of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) in order to elucidate the coherence systems by which teachers teach. Furthermore, students of ‘national canonical’ literatures may come to realize that metalinguistic awareness of discourse practices may mediate their efforts not only as teachers of language but also as literary critics (see Byrnes, 2001) by allowing them to ground their analyses of texts in a theoretical understanding of language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1993; Kramsch, 2002).

3.2 Participants

Twelve graduate students from a variety of departments and degree programs took part in this seminar. Although the students came from diverse linguistic, national, educational, and social backgrounds, they fell into three general categories in relation to their educational goals: (a) Ph.D. in linguistics, (b) Ph.D. or M.A. in applied linguistics, and (c) Ph.D. or M.A. in a national literature. Most students were also employed at the

university as a FL or ESL teacher. The present study focuses on two teachers, Fran and Sam (both names are pseudonyms). These students were selected for analysis because their responses are representative of general trends in the data set as a whole.

4. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In accordance with the social realist framework adopted here, the data are presented in two distinct, but interwoven layers. First, I present information relating to the agency of each student-teacher under study. The primary data for this layer are the semester-long reaction journals that each student maintained as a graded assignment in the seminar. Scholars in diverse fields have argued that aspects of an individual's agency can be represented in the linguistic features of the texts that they write (Freeman, 1996a; McAdams, 1996; Numrich, 1996; Salaberry & Appel, in press; Wortham, 2001). In this paper, I assume that the language of these student-teachers' reaction journals is representative of their developing agency as teacher-researchers of a foreign language with respect to their exposure to expertise in DA (Ivanic, 1998; Johnson & Golombek, 2002).

Fran's reaction journal consisted of 11 pages of hand-written text and 26 pages of single-spaced, typed text, whereas Sam's journal was comprised of 25 pages of hand-written text. The reaction journals were digitized and stored in Ethnograph v5.0 (Seidel, 1998), a software package for qualitative data analysis. This program enables researchers to store, read, code, and variably search large amounts of text in order to discover particular thematic or linguistic patterns, to count the number of tokens of a particular code, or to discover relationships between various codes and various texts or subjects. Researchers create and define their own search codes and tag sections of prose text for a virtually unlimited number of phenomena. In addition, researchers may create face sheets for each subject in which they store biographical information. In this way, data sets may be cross-searched for relationships between established codes and biographical information, e.g. with what frequency did female learners under 25 years of age use the quotative particle 'like'? In each case, the journal entries were coded for the five levels of response outlined above, the students' use of particular lexical items and linguistic devices, and re-occurring themes and patterns of language use. Additional data are taken from biographical surveys, my participant observations in the seminar, and email correspondence with the student-teachers.

In the second layer of data, I situate each teacher's agency in the larger macro-sociological aspects of FL teacher education (TE) in the department in question, in FL departments in the U.S. in general, and in the field of FL TE. The primary data sources on this second level of structure include participant observation, policy documents, published research, and demographic statistics.

4.1 Teacher agency

4.1.1 Case study 1: Fran

Psycho-biography

Fran is a native speaker of English and a graduate student of a European literature. At the time of the seminar she had taught a European FL at the introductory level for three semesters. Fran was interested in feminism, fascism, relationships of language and power, issues of identity, and self-reflective writing. In her reaction journal, Fran described herself as a “Lit-Freak” who had never concerned herself with linguistics too much “because all the terminology scared [her] off.” Nevertheless, she decided to participate in the seminar, as she reported on a biographical survey, because she thought it would be helpful for her dissertation “to approach language and writing from not only a literary/philosophical standpoint, but from a linguistic one as well.” Fran’s goals for the course were “to figure out what discourse is” and to be able to incorporate it into her teaching. Her career goal was “to obtain a professorship at a teaching college or a small research university.”

Valuing expertise in discourse analysis

On the whole, Fran seemed to value those aspects of DA that were thematically (or theoretically) related to issues that she had encountered previously in her courses on literary and cultural studies. She confirmed this interpretation of her reception of DA in an email to me: “I think your interpretation of my journal is right on-target.” She was particularly receptive to those discourse-analytic concepts that resonated with issues of identity, hybridity, and plurality. She did not, for example, show any special interest in the linguistic structure of conversational discourse (e.g., turn-taking mechanisms) or the theoretical fine points between various approaches to discourse as outlined by Schiffrin (1994). Her tendency to respond positively to those aspects of the seminar that she perceived to relate to her interests in literature is illustrated well by her reaction to Kramersch (1987). In this piece, the author argues for and exemplifies the discursive construction of foreign reality in American-produced textbooks of German. Fran remarked: “What I thought was interesting about this article – well, two things but first of all, I found the issue of censorship particularly interesting. I immediately thought about the topic of the body, *since this is one of my foci in literary texts*. In American textbooks, the depiction of the body tends to be...emasculated...When I looked at a German-published textbook of German...it was not surprising at all to see drawings of completely nude men and women with their genitalia labeled [Fran; reaction journal; italics added].” The truncated opening clause of this excerpt, the colloquial particle ‘well’, and the ellipted expression ‘two things’ are characteristic of oral speech (Ong, 1988) and give the impression that Fran wrote her reaction journal in a stream-of-consciousness fashion, i.e. she reported the first thing that came to her mind. With respect to Kramersch (1987), this ‘first thing’ was the thematic connection between an example in the article and one of Fran’s interests in literary studies. The ‘naturalness’ of

Fran's reaction is underscored by her use of the adverb 'immediately' to describe the manner in which the connection was made. It is important to note that Fran did not, at this point, pick up on the way that Kramsch applied the tools of DA in order to provide a critical analysis of a text (the leading activity in Fran's future profession), but rather that she honed in on themes that were of interest to her, although these were peripheral to the main argument in Kramsch (1987).

If Fran was attracted to those aspects of DA that resonate with her particular interests in literary studies, then she was sometimes critical of those course readings in which the author espoused views that appeared to detract from those ideas that she values. For example, she responded in the following way to Fowler's (1996, p. 82) explication of textual cohesion: "Fowler's Enlightenment-informed assertion that "We expect the propositions in a cohesive text to be arranged to make a progressive sequence of ideas" is betrayed by the existence of deconstructionist texts and criticism. Not all texts present progressive sequences; nor should we attempt to interpret texts that do as gaining their cohesion and coherence from this logical sequencing...I found it unfortunate that Fowler did not bring in postmodern theory at this point, especially considering that this edition came out in 1996."

Levels of response

In general, Fran responded to those aspects of DA that she valued at the level of *techniques*. To illustrate, Fran commented that she found the in-class scripting (Cazden, 1992) of Allen Ginsberg's poem *A Supermarket in California* to be "very helpful for [my] own teaching" because it can be used as a way "to bring students to a level of more critical reflection about the texts they're reading." In the same entry, she noted that it would be untenable to integrate such an exercise into her classroom teaching within the confines of the language program in her particular department because "with the readings we have now, it is difficult to find space for creativity in the classroom." Fran referred to the readings in question as "mostly factual news articles" that "do not seem to lend themselves to this kind of technique." Nevertheless, Fran remained optimistic about using scripting in her FL classes at a latter date when she remarked that she "look[s] forward to trying this out in class when [she's] teaching again."

In his explication of point of view in literary texts, Fowler (1996, p. 177) remarks that the "double voice" of free indirect discourse (FID) allows James Joyce to present and question virtually simultaneously the attitudes of Eveline, a character in his *Dubliners* stories. According to Fowler (*ibid.*), Joyce can "place two sets of values in an implicit dialogue with each other" through his judicious use of FID. Fran was so intrigued with this proposition that she wrote in her reaction journal that it will be her "hobby horse for the next couple of months" to find literary texts that incorporate multiple perspectives through the use of FID "so that I can be ready to teach with them when I'm finally back in the classroom next year." Fran also suggested that E. T. A.

Hoffman's short story *The Sandmann* might be an appropriate choice in a fourth-semester language course for teaching Fowler's (1996, pp. 178-180) type D point of view. This perspective, in which the use of "estranged, metaphorical language" contributes to portraying literary characters as "grotesque automata", may have proven to be of special relevance to Fran's later activities as a literary critic, which include analyses of obscure B-movies such as David Friedman's (1974) *Ilse, She-Wolf of the SS*.

Fran often suggested rudimentary lesson plans for the implementation of discourse-based classroom exercises. To illustrate, she was positively impressed by the way in which one of her peers didacticized the Bakhtinian notion of heteroglossia by suggesting that students could rewrite the lyrics of famous songs in order to imbue them with the voices of their own socio-cultural contexts. As an example of how this process might work in a German-language classroom, Fran offered the following satirical re-write of the opening lines of the Billy Joel song, *The Piano Man*, in an entry in her reaction journal: "It's three in the afternoon on a Wednesday, and I'm on my paid three-hour lunch break from the *Auslandsamt*...I wait for half an hour for the waitress to come, and then someone asks 'Ist hier frei?'" She further suggested that teachers in her department could incorporate this activity into a particular chapter of the prescribed language textbook. Fran's enthusiasm for this discourse-inspired classroom activity was conveyed by her placement of three consecutive exclamation points at the end of this suggestion.

At four points in the course of her reaction journal, Fran responds to discourse-level linguistic phenomena with respect to their perceived function as a tool of professional development for FL teachers. To illustrate, Fran considered how her new awareness of bracket signals or "instructions for putting the ongoing talk or text on hold" (Hatch, 1992, p. 26) might translate into a classroom advantage for her students: "Also: bracket signals. This I find extremely useful for the lg. classroom. How can I as a lg. teacher be more clear when I'm about to make an aside or tell a joke in [the FL]? How do I help to avoid students getting lost [Fran; reaction journal]?"

On two occasions, Fran appeared to use her new expertise in DA as a developmental tool with regard to her professional activities as a literary critic. Illustrative of this reaction is Fran's discussion of William Labov's (1972) well-known article in which he proposes a syntax for narratives of personal experience in American English. In this same contribution, Labov (1972, p. 395) provides a re-evaluation of what he refers to as Black Vernacular English (BVE) by demonstrating that the African-American adolescents in his study had more advanced narrative skills than their white counterparts. In response to reading this piece, Fran wondered whether or not it would be possible to co-opt Labov's (1972) framework in order to provide a similar re-evaluation of women's speech: "...in my research on women's writing, I've encountered criticism in the secondary literature that often depicts women's narratives as crazy, schizophrenic, unstructured, irrational, and/or illogical...My question is then: If we take this way of speaking, for the strategic purposes of research, as typical of women (a sort of "strategic essentialism"), then how can we imbue that sort of speaking with value and/or re-

evaluate that speaking in the way that Labov has re-evaluated Black Vernacular English [Fran; reaction journal]?”

4.1.2 Case study 2: Sam

Psycho-biography

Sam is a native speaker of English who was a graduate student in linguistics with a specialization in a European language at the time of his participation in the seminar. He had taught a European foreign language at the introductory and intermediate levels for three semesters and he had taught English grammar and conversation. On his biographical survey, Sam stated that his special academic interest was “researching generative grammar.” In an early journal entry, Sam illuminated his additional interests in structuralism and scientific objectivity in his commentary on Schiffrin’s (1994, pp. 20-23) explanation of functional vs. structural approaches to language: “While I do not wish to say that the one or the other approach is better, I will say that the structuralist approach is the more ‘scientific’ one. The goal of scientific endeavor is to explain the greatest amount of phenomena by means of the fewest number of principles. A scientist wishes to discover those laws he observes and experiment to determine how these laws combine and interact to produce natural phenomena.” Sam did not appear to have any particular interests in DA at the start of the semester when he reported that he “take[s] all courses having to do with linguistics.” He did not relate his participation in the seminar to FLL&T. His career goal, as stated on the questionnaire, was “to become an instructor (Professor) at a higher institution.”

Valuing discourse analysis

Sam tended to positively value those aspects of his exposure to expertise in DA that he perceived to be in line with (a) structuralist principles of linguistic inquiry, (b) his commitment to scientific objectivity, and (c) the deductive method of scientific investigation as outlined above. By the same token, Sam appeared to de-value those discourse analytical approaches to language that he considered to be unprincipled or difficult to categorize. His differing evaluation of DA was construed linguistically in the text of his reaction journal by his polemic use of (a) categorical assertions, (b) particular lexical items, and (c) portions of the appraisal system in English (White, 2002). Each of these features is discussed in turn in the following paragraphs.

Simpson (1993, p. 49) explains that the categorical assertion is one of the strongest possible linguistic means of intensifying epistemic modality or a speaker’s commitment to the perceived truth of an utterance. Instead of using hedges such as ‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’, and ‘for the most part’ in his reflections on the new material that he was encountering in the seminar, Sam routinely expressed his reactions to DA in the form of categorical assertions. For example, Sam used a series of categorical assertions to express his reactions to what he calls “the functionalist approach” to FL teaching: “The

idea of trying to teach language from the top down seems quite absurd... I would say that it is not really possible to teach language in this manner because that would disallow the breaking down of language into “chunks”, which is what foreign language teaching is about. This fact is most evident when one considers how tests are created; they are pieced together from various chunks of grammar and vocabulary. I cannot imagine a written test that is not created in this way.” Although Sam does hedge his assertions in the first two sentences of this excerpt with the verb “seems” and the phrase “not really”, his view on the nature of FL teaching is expressed in unqualified fashion. Foreign language teaching is about breaking down language into those clearly delineated chunks that have been ascertained by applying the principles of scientific investigation to an admissible data set. Indeed, Sam’s comments at this juncture in his journal may be metonymic of “the extent to which nearly all institutionalized and proceduralized manifestations of foreign language learning and teaching are intricately enmeshed in and dependent on the validity of formalist approaches” to language (Byrnes, 2002, p. 27). In the next sentence of this excerpt, Sam used the indicative mood in an unmodified declarative sentence in order to state that FL tests consist of a battery of presumably discrete-point questions about vocabulary and grammar. His commitment to the truth of this bald assertion is underscored in the final sentence where he used the emphatic modal verb ‘cannot’ to negate the possibility that alternative forms of language testing could exist.

My interpretation of Sam’s structurally oriented conceptualization of FL teaching is bolstered by his comment that he “didn’t have much to say” during a classroom discussion on the teaching of culture in the FL classroom. He wrote: “All in all I find the whole discussion about culture...to be quite mundane.” Unlike the teaching of grammatical structure, which, according to Sam, is rooted theoretically in the scholarship of such linguists as Noam Chomsky (see Krashinsky, 2000a, p. 313), he did not appear to consider that the teaching of culture could be grounded similarly in a variety of both theoretical and empirical arguments when he remarked that “these matters should be left up to the individual instructor.”

The third sentence of Sam’s statement on the nature of FL teaching (This fact is most evident when one considers how tests are created) illustrates his polemic use of particular lexical items. He consistently designated those discourse analytic theories and constructs that were sympathetic to his own point of view as ‘facts’ (see Halliday, 1994, pp. 264-268). In this particular case, he referred to his own statement that FL teaching is about constituent analysis as a fact. In the quote cited as a lead-in to this chapter, Sam remarks that “the general confusion within the field of linguistics...has arisen due to the fact that the number of linguistic terms has increased in the past few decades to a ridiculous number” (*italics added*). He categorically asserts that there is ‘general confusion’ in the field of linguistics, then he attributes this confusion to the ‘fact’ that linguists are creating too many terms (see G. Cook, 1994, p. 20, for a similar view). Fran, in contrast to Sam, did not use the word ‘fact’ in the course of her reaction journal.

Just as Sam was inclined to designate those aspects of DA that are theoretically and methodologically compatible with structuralism as ‘facts’, he tended to introduce his opinions about this approach with the word ‘believe’. As might be noted by Fowler (1996, p. 88), this word is a prominent collocate of the terminology of prayer; thus, Sam’s use of it lends his opinions a dogmatic, quasi-religious tone. Such a register ties his interpretations to the divine and amplifies their perceived naturalness. To illustrate, consider Sam’s statement concerning the efficacy of Jakobson’s (1961) notion of foregrounding in the analysis of “poetry and other constructed texts”: “I believe language at all levels, also at the discourse level, can be better analyzed and interpreted and described with the help of such terms as foregrounding.” Sam’s commitment to the ‘truth’ of this utterance is underscored with his use of the lexical absolute ‘all’ in “language at all levels” and his repetitive use of paratactic coordination in the phrase “analyzed and interpreted and described”.

Affect and appreciation, two types of attitudinal *appraisal* (White, 2002), constitute the final linguistic devices that Sam deployed in a systematic fashion in order to express his differential evaluation of expertise in DA. While evaluation refers to the psychological phenomenon of “how...interlocutors are feeling, the judgments they make, and the value they place on the various phenomena of their experience”, appraisal indicates “the semantic resources [interlocutors use] to negotiate emotions, judgments, and valuations” (Martin, 2000, p. 144). Affect is the semantic resource used to convey emotional responses. Appreciation designates the semantic resource used to express the ‘aesthetic’ quality of natural phenomena and the products of human behavior (such as linguistic theories and descriptive constructs).

On the whole, Sam made slightly more positive appraisals than negative ones, 59 to 48, respectively. Almost without exception, however, he positively appraised those readings and theories that he perceived to resonate with structuralist approaches to the study of language, while he negatively appraised what he referred to as ‘functionalist’ ones. His systematic dichotomization is illustrated particularly well in example (2) below, which occurred immediately after his comment on the “ridiculous” proliferation of terms in current linguistic scholarship.

(2) And only has the number of terms skyrocketed (9) but also the meaning attached to such terms varies from linguist to linguist...From this realization I can extend my criticism (30) of the plethora of confusing (35) and ambiguous (37) terms in linguistics to the field of discourse analysis. It seems to me that of amongst the various fields within linguistics that discourse analysis is going to be most susceptible (67) to an overabundance (70) of terminology. Since current trends in discourse analysis seem to emphasize the functionalist perspective there will be no limit to the number of terms that discourse analysts come up with (100). The top down approach takes all variables into account and due to the sheer (114) unlimited (115) quantity of variables, there will be no end (123) to the different approaches and to the different terms within these approaches. This is in opposition to Chomskian syntax (142). Chomsky starts with the smallest units of syntax, he names them and sees how they combine to form greater constituents and

those he names also...The unlimited potential for the creation of terminology should be viewed as one of the greatest threats (184) to the field of discourse analysis.

Sam opened this excerpt by using the verb 'skyrocket' to describe the perceived increase in linguistic terms. In English, this word is often used to indicate an increase in prices, inflation, or crime and therefore carries with it a negative connotation which, by association, is transferred to the presumed increase in linguistic terms. At word 30, Sam explicitly stated that he is criticizing or evaluating disparagingly what he views to be a "plethora" of linguistic terms. He then negatively appreciated this perceived terminological surplus as "confusing" and "ambiguous" at words 35 and 37. Its negative nature was further amplified at word 67 when Sam used the medical term "susceptible" to construe DA as an endangered victim of the problematic and parasitic plethora. In the next lines, Sam asserted a causal relationship between the threatening "overabundance" (word 70) of linguistic terminology and functional approaches to language, among which he included DA as a whole. At words 98-100, Sam used the verb "come up with" to suggest that the methodology that functionalists employ in order to create new terms is akin to conjuring. Farther down the adverb "sheer", the adjective "unlimited", and the idiomatic phrase "there will be no end" heighten the disordered and disorderly quality that Sam ascribed to terminological plurality. With the sharp categorical assertion that ends with word 142, Sam cut the textual string of negative appraisals and introduced what he believed to offer a more 'scientific' solution: Chomskyan syntax. Finally, with the use of the phrase "greatest threats" at word 184, Sam called into question the viability of the field of DA as a scholarly discipline based on "the infinite number of variables" that may be subject to analysis.

Levels of response

In short, Sam did not appear to relate his exposure to expertise in DA to FLL&T on any of the five levels outlined above. He did not state that he would add any of the new constructs he encountered to his syllabus, even those that he positively appraised. On the level of agency, this response is somewhat surprising since Sam saw FL teaching as the transmission of discrete grammatical chunks and since he found some discourse-level descriptive constructs encountered in the seminar to be sufficiently concise from a structuralist perspective. He also did not seem ready to try out any of the discourse-inspired teaching techniques that he became acquainted with in his own classroom. In addition, Sam did not appear to use his new knowledge of the structure of classroom discourse as a professional development tool for teaching in order to reflect on his own patterns of interaction in the classroom. Again, some of the descriptive constructs encountered in this segment of the course (e.g., the IRE sequence of turn-taking) would appear to be adequately precise in order to have appealed to his structuralist sensibilities. In an early journal entry, Sam did display the beginnings of a reconceptualization of language in his reaction to a mock classroom debate that was designed to exemplify the system and ritual constraints discussed in Hatch (1992). He wrote: "While observing

how my fellow students presented their arguments, how they interacted, the gestures they made, etc. I thought about how complex the influences on a single person's communication style can be. I thought about how many signals there are that indicate how a speaker feels about the topic of discussion." Sam's consideration of the nuances and complexities of language-in-use in this excerpt stands in contrast to his endorsement of clearly delineated descriptive categories and classificatory systems in other excerpts.

Summary of Fran and Sam's responses to DA at the level of agency

In summarizing this section on teacher agency, it is instructive to compare Fran and Sam's varying reactions to particular seminar readings and activities. While Fran found the technique of scripting to be very helpful for encouraging students' critical reflections on (literary) texts in the FL classroom, Sam responded to the object of the application of this technique, namely, abstract poetry, and related that the classroom activity actually increased his "dislike for modern lyrical verse." Fran appraised the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia or multivoicedness (introduced in Fowler, 1996) as "extremely interesting" and used it in her professional activity as a literary critic in order to refine and intensify her interpretation of voice in Ingeborg Bachmann's *Malina*. In this way, Fran met the first course objective, as outlined above. In contrast, Sam used heteroglossia as his showcase example of the "ridiculous" proliferation of linguistic terms in current scholarship on language.

Both student-teachers also expressed diametrically opposed views on Fowler's (1996) explication of textual cohesion. Whereas Fran takes him to task for his "Enlightenment-informed" assertion concerning textual linearity and iconic sequence, Sam found his "discussion of the various facets of cohesion" to be "insightful" and concluded that "knowledge of these concepts can lead to more fruitful text analysis."

Finally, both Fran and Sam positively appreciated Labov's (1972) work on narrative syntax. Again, Fran viewed narrative syntax as a means of exposing and perhaps capitalizing on the plurality of student voices in the FL classroom (Belz, 2002c). In addition, she contemplated harnessing this framework in the service of feminist criticism in order to re-semiotize the features of women's speech. Sam, on the other hand, "got excited" when he "learned about such concrete distinctions used to describe linguistic phenomena" and therefore entered the proposed components of Labov's model into his personal dictionary of linguistic terms.

Foreshadowing the importance of structure in teacher cognition

The case studies of Fran and Sam at the level of agency corroborate the findings of such scholars as Freeman (1996b) and Golombek (1998) who argue cogently that teachers' previous learning experiences (and not necessarily the knowledge that they are exposed to in the course of their graduate studies) influence what they do in the language classroom. Johnson (1994, p. 767) concludes that "theory can inform classroom practice

only to the extent to which teachers themselves make sense of that theory.” While teacher agency may shed light on Fran and Sam’s differential reactions to particular seminar readings and their divergent portrayals of the ways in which they might incorporate DA into their FL teaching, social realist investigation advocates that their responses to DA might be explicated more fully if one were to simultaneously consider the level of structure. In the cases of Fran and Sam, structure includes the particular institutional setting in which they were embedded as graduate student-teachers of FLs as well as the larger social context of graduate FL study and FL TE in FL departments in the U.S. in general. Sam and Fran (and all student-teachers) have both explicit and implicit “learning experiences” in these configurations as well, which influence the “lived social complexity” (Freeman, 1996b, p. 736; see also Morris, 2001) of FL teaching.

To conclude this section, I offer two excerpts from Fran and Sam’s reaction journals which contain meta-commentary on the disciplinary interests of the other. At the level of situated activity (i.e. maintaining a reaction journal in the DA seminar), these comments mirror the institutional tensions between ‘language’ and ‘literature’ that exist at the structural level in many US FL departments (see Scott & Tucker, 2001). The ‘language’ vs. ‘literature’ dichotomy constitutes a socio-institutional pressure point that will become the focus of the next section:

I’d just like to say for the record that something that really bugs me about linguistics is that some more “traditional” linguists with more “quantitative” methods...are just as subjective (if not MORE so, because they believe their methods are impervious to subjectivity) as the “modern”, more qualitatively-oriented linguists. [Fran; reaction journal]

In our discussion of [Wondratschek’s short story “Mittagspause”] I could not share in on the criticism. I enjoyed the text. I feel it is trying to portray a certain type of person in a certain situation. There is no deeper message but rather just a picture being painted. Since [literature] students believe there is always some sort of deeper message in anything literary..., they will be looking for something in “Mittagspause” that may not exist. [Sam; reaction journal]

4.2 Structure

4.2.1 Dubious yet institutionalized dichotomies: Language vs. literature in US foreign language departments

The language-literature dichotomy or the idea that language teachers are not competent to teach literature and that literature teachers are above teaching language “has been institutionalized in departments of foreign languages and literatures in North American universities” (Kramsch, 1993, p. 7) and rests, in part, on the prevalent and perhaps more perturbing ‘skills versus content’ dichotomy in foreign language and literature study (see also Byrnes, 2001, p. 514, for the “separation of knowledge and language”). From this perspective, language is seen as a skill that is devoid of any intellectual content and

“becomes intellectually respectable only when learners are able to use it to express and discuss abstract ideas” (ibid., p. 3).

Despite the efforts of Byrnes (1998; 2000) and others to integrate the study, teaching, and scholarly investigation of language and literature on the theoretical, practical, and curricular levels in US FL departments, the institutionalized chasm between these complementary disciplines remains deep in most units. Bernhardt (1997, p. 13) maintains that there are “two distinct curricula in language departments, a language curriculum and a literature curriculum” each with their own objectives, materials and, sometimes, faculty. These two curricula are distinctly out of sync with one another, although the language curriculum generally has been conceived as a feeder program for the literature curriculum. The institutional dichotomization of language and literature has, in some cases, resulted in the departmental ghettoization of language teaching, language teachers, and language TE.

By way of extension, the applied linguist, (either correctly or incorrectly) conceptualized primarily as the individual who investigates the academically “less sophisticated” field of language teaching (Kramersch, 1993, p. 7), has been marginalized as well in the intellectual work of many US FL departments (Byrnes, 1998). For example, Bernhardt (1997, p. 4) asserts that language teachers “accept low status, higher course loads, lower salaries and often part-time employment” despite the fact that their courses typically generate 90% of a department’s enrollment and, therefore, financial support (see also Kramersch, 1995, p. 6; 2000a, p. 320; Rivers, 1993, p. 4).

Similar characterizations of language learning and teaching abound in the field of ESL where (intensive) English language programs are viewed routinely as a “cash cow” (Eskey, 1997, p. 25; see also Kaplan, 1997, p. 6), capable only of generating revenue for the departmental literature program (Bernhardt, 1997, p. 4). In step with the pervasive misconception that “anyone who can speak a language can teach it” (Eskey, 1997, p. 23), Kaplan (1997, p. 15) notes that language teachers typically are regarded as “second class citizens” in the hierarchy of academic faculty. Kramersch (1993, p. 7) argues that the language-literature dichotomy is not based in intellectual content, but rather that it “serves to maintain a certain academic, political, and economic power structure, where language teachers and literature scholars are careful not to tread on each other’s territories.”

The language-literature dichotomy was firmly in place in Fran and Sam’s academic unit. In this section, I restrict my comments on this split to the ways in which it was reflected in the structures of the departmental curriculum (see Patrikis, 1995) as well as in the disciplinary interests of the faculty members. The DA seminar under study was one of the first seminars in applied linguistics to be offered in Fran and Sam’s home department. Soon faculty discussions arose surrounding a proposal for a departmental M.A. in ‘Second Language Acquisition’ or SLA (see Kramersch, 2000, pp. 311-313, for mis/uses of the term ‘SLA’ in FL departments). It was reasoned that this new M.A.

would parallel the existing M.A. in literature. The intended bifurcation of the M.A. degree into 'literature' and 'language' tracks is an example par excellence of the institutionalized split between language and literature in the setting under investigation. If these two disciplines were understood to be inextricably inter-related and mutually co-constitutive (Byrnes, 2001; Kramersch, 2002), then the proposal might be for a single M.A. in which this relationship were reflected at the levels of both theory and praxis. This bifurcation of the departmental curriculum may represent the reluctant acceptance of applied linguistics as a 'necessary evil' in the established intellectual practices of the 'national canonical' foreign language department in question, but in no way does it reflect the legitimacy of language and FL teaching, the inextricable relationship of language and culture, and their centrality to the study of literature and, thus, to the intellectual work of FL departments (Byrnes, 1998; 2001; Kramersch, 1995, 2002; Patrikis, 1995; Seeba, 1989). According to Byrnes (2001, p. 514), "a separatist construal of knowledge and language", embedded in the curricular structures and practices of Fran and Sam's department, "supports the very dichotomy between teaching and scholarship and between teachers and scholars that has for so long sustained the status quo in FL departments, despite growing awareness of its serious flaws."

4.2.2 Foreign language teacher education

If language study (and its scholarly investigation) are conceptualized as the poor cousins of literary studies instead of as integral parts of them (as a discourse-based approach would ensure [see Kramersch, 2000a, p. 320]), then it follows that a proportional amount of (scholarly) attention will be paid to FL TE. In a recent review of the literature on second language TE, Vélez-Rendón (2002, p. 457) confirms this speculation when she writes that "very little attention has been paid to how second language teachers learn to teach, how they develop teaching skills, [and] how they link theory to practice..." The marginalized status of language TE in US FL departments may be reflected best in quantitative assessments of the published knowledge base in this field. Bernhardt and Hammadou (1987) found only 78 articles on FL TE in their review of the literature from 1977 to 1987 and only 8% of these were research-based (see also Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 398; Schulz, 2000, pp. 516-517, for similar reviews). The paucity of published research on FL TE may be related to the fact that only 14% of Language Program Directors (LPDs), i.e. those individuals entrusted with the education of graduate student-teachers, has received a Ph.D. in a field related to FLL&T (Teschner, 1987, p. 29). Although the demand for faculty members with expertise in a sub-discipline of applied linguistics has increased in recent years, Kramersch (2000, p. 311) notes that there remains "a certain confusion about what an SLA specialist actually is...."

In current educational scholarship teaching is recognized as a highly interpretive, socially negotiated, eminently situated, and continuously restructured process in which the beliefs, values, and prior experiences of teachers play a definitive role (Freeman & Richards, 1996; Johnson & Golombek, 2002; Salomon & Perkins, 1998). Despite this

complex characterization, Freeman and Johnson (1998) suspect

that many language teacher education programs continue to operate under the assumption that they must provide teachers with a codified body of knowledge about language, language learning, and language teaching [and that this] knowledge base...often remains compartmentalized in separate course offerings, continues to be transmitted through passive instructional strategies, and remains generally disconnected from the authentic activity of teaching in actual schools and classrooms (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 402).

In Fran and Sam's home unit, even the transmission of a codified body of language-specific knowledge was not guaranteed, since it was routine practice to send graduate student-teachers to another language department for their methods course. As a result, student-teachers in Fran and Sam's unit did not have the opportunity to deal adequately with language-specific examples, texts, issues, and concerns in the course that constituted the curricular vehicle of their preparation as language teachers. Such an arrangement sends the implicit message to graduate student-teachers that FL TE (and, by extension, FL teaching) is not sufficiently important to be located department-internal and that it is thus peripheral to the intellectual work of the department.

4.3 The Influence of Structure on Fran and Sam's Responses to DA in FLL&T.

Fran indicated that she wanted to include discourse analytic pedagogical applications of literary texts in her classroom, but suggested that it was difficult within the language program in which she was teaching. She explained that weekly meetings within the departmental teaching practicum left no time for the discussion of text-specific pedagogical interventions, since they consisted primarily of administrative concerns. The notes to the instructor in the teachers' edition of the commercial textbook used in the department's basic language program served as the primary source of suggestions for 'what to do in class' (personal communication to the author). As a systematic approach to language TE, this practice is dubitable, since several scholars have argued that the profit-driven interests of commercial presses often result in (a) an obfuscated or streamlined portrayal of the foreign reality that the textbook is designed to convey (Kramsch, 1987; 1988), and (b) the simplification or even misrepresentation of the inter-relationship between research findings in SLA and applied linguistics and classroom teaching practices (see Belz & Kinginger, 2003, for the presentation of the socio-pragmatic complexity of address forms in a number of introductory German-language textbooks). While Fran's previously developed professional interests in identity, plurality, and hybridity may have primed her to adopt those aspects of DA that resonated with these constructs into her repertoire of analytic tools for literary analysis, she did appear to develop an understanding of the ways in which FL teaching also was bound together with these concerns. Her apparent willingness to incorporate many of these theories and techniques into her own FL teaching may belie a growing understanding of the intellectual validity of FL teaching and its crucial role in the intellectual work of FL

departments. It may be the case that the limited possibilities for the integration of literary texts and theory-based pedagogical applications of those texts into Fran's language class in this particular setting exerted influence on her decision to leave the department in the following fall semester.

Prior to his participation in the DA seminar, Sam had taken numerous courses in the university's linguistics program, in which Chomskyan approaches to linguistic inquiry were well-represented. As a result, Sam had experienced his primary socialization as a linguist in a scholarly discourse community where language was thought to be largely autonomous of socio-cultural factors. At the time of the DA seminar under study, there was no alternative scholarly community at Sam's institution in which he might encounter a competing discourse with respect to the epistemology of language. If Sam were to adopt alternative perspectives on the nature of language and FL teaching, he may run the risk of not being recognized as a member of the scholarly discourse community into which he initially had been socialized (Gee, 1999, p. 20). For example, if he were to pursue his line of thought concerning the nuances and complexities of language-in-use (i.e., performance) that he began in an early entry in his reaction journal, then he might have to consider that FL teaching is not necessarily about breaking language down into smaller and smaller chunks and transmitting these chunks to students. He may have to reconsider his views on 'functionalist' approaches to FL teaching and he may no longer be able to uphold the opinion that discussions of the teaching of culture are "quite mundane."

Such reconceptualizations of language and FL teaching may not only set Sam apart from the community of linguists at his institution, they may also complicate his livelihood as a student-teacher in his home unit. The disproportionate number of faculty lines devoted to literature study, the displacement of the methods course into other language departments, and the proclivity of the departmental teaching practicum toward administrative concerns may indicate to Sam that FL teaching is nothing to worry about; he can sit back and enjoy the theoretically-grounded, discourse-based suggestions for FL teaching that he was experiencing in the DA seminar because, in the grander political scheme of his home unit, he can afford to discount their implementation into his own language classroom. In short, all the structural signals at Sam's institution appear to indicate that language and FL teaching are not validated components of the intellectual work of his degree-granting unit.

5. CONCLUSION

The social realist model suggests that psycho-biography, situated activity, setting, and context as well as history and power all influence the meanings that complex social actions have for the people involved. Based on an examination of course reaction journals for two graduate student-teachers of German, I have demonstrated how aspects of their psycho-biographies (i.e., their fundamental belief systems and their disciplinary interests) influenced the ways in which they perceived expertise in DA to be of relevance

to their professional activities as graduate-student teachers.

Fran, a student of literature with interests in feminism and post-modern criticism, appeared interested in adopting those discourse-inspired teaching activities that resonated with her notions about the nature of reality and the goals of language and literature study. Sam, a structural linguist, found it difficult to positively value more functionally oriented approaches to linguistic inquiry.

Aspects of the institutional setting and socio-professional context in which these two teachers were embedded also may have contributed to the ways in which they chose to interface with expertise in DA. The minimal and theoretically impoverished attention to TE in their particular FL department as well as institutionalized attitudes concerning the disciplinary boundaries of the language and literature curricula may have sent the implicit message that while it was acceptable to take a seminar on DA, it was quite another thing to re-conceptualize one's notion of language, language learning, language teaching, and, ultimately, the nature of the intellectual work of a FL department.

Thus, the education of FL teachers as 'discourse analysts', i.e. those with an awareness of the importance of both "little d" and "big D" d/Discourse, appears to be rooted in the macro-level structure of the institution and the societal context in which the institution is embedded as much as it is located in the personal agency of any particular student-teacher. In effect, the education of FL teachers as discourse analysts "takes a department", as Byrnes (2001) proposes. It requires an institutionalized conceptualization of the intellectual work of FL departments to not only include language and FL learning and teaching as curricular satellites of literary and cultural studies, but to place them at their center ideologically, structurally, and in praxis. This is because language and culture are inextricably bound, as Gee's (1999) definition of discourse illustrates. Indeed, grammar (in a broad sense) is "a theory of human experience" (Halliday, 1990, cited in Kramsch, 1993, p. 8) and must therefore form the core of any intellectual enterprise that seeks to interpret people by means of the linguistically mediated cultural products (i.e. literary texts) that they produce.

In the case of Fran and Sam, however, it appears that the development of FL teachers is framed and determined within a socio-professional context that appears to devalue them. Perhaps the influence of this fundamental disconnect between language and literature is reflected in the following comment by a student of literature and teacher of language in the seminar under study: "I don't know, it seems like an awful lot to learn; wouldn't it just be easier to follow the book?"

NOTES

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² Although I have focused on the foreign language environment in this chapters, many of the arguments could

apply equally well to the second language environment.

³ In the past, I have been the director of a FL language program at a public institution in the United States. At the institution where I taught the DA seminar under investigation (a different university), I did not have any contractual responsibilities for the language program nor was I responsible for the methods course.

⁴ My field notes as a participant observer during classroom discussions indicate that there was no clear consensus concerning the quality of Schiffrin's (1994) writing.

⁵ See Long (1990) for a similar argument with respect to theoretical plurality in the field of applied linguistics.

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Chapter 21

Storytelling into Understanding

Middle School Teachers Work with Text Analysis and Second Language Reading Pedagogy

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BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the winter and spring of 2002, I gathered data for a study designed to examine the possible uses of linguistic approaches to text analysis in reading strategy instruction for second language (L2) learners. I was interested in whether practicing teachers could come to understand certain basic principles that illuminate text structure, whether the information would be helpful to their teaching, and whether my approach to presentation of the subject was successful. Four practicing teachers participated in the study. This chapter reports on a portion of the larger study by examining the responses of the two teachers who exhibited the greatest contrast.

The core of my data comes from 12 hours of study-and-discussion sessions and approximately 10 hours of interviews held with the participants, who were content area middle school teachers working in an urban school in the American southwest—here called Tierra Encantada Middle School—attended by large numbers of language minority (LM) students from Hispanic, Native American, and Vietnamese backgrounds. The teachers also kept journals during the four months of the study and, as I observed them, piloted their emerging understandings of Study Group subject matter in their classrooms. Their lived responses to the information I presented and to their own classroom-based experiences with that information are the material I have used to catch glimpses of their learning processes and of the potential for using what I have come to call Field Model Construction (FMC) to help intermediate English language learners of middle school age become better readers.

FMC (represented schematically in Appendix 1) is a metastrategy designed for use during reading to aid comprehension of expository text. It involves three virtually

simultaneous steps that are first modeled and scaffolded by the teacher, later performed independently by the student:

1. The reader identifies Known information (propositions previously mentioned in the text) and New information (propositions mentioned for the first time in the text);
2. The reader draws a diagram (Field Model) of the relationships between Known and New information;
3. The reader solves any comprehension breakdowns that arise during the act of reading.

Through their own spoken and written texts produced during Study Group sessions, interviews, classroom activity, and journal-writing, a picture emerges of how a group of practicing teachers situated information about linguistics and second language readers and reconstructed it in light of what they already knew about teaching as well as what they wanted to achieve with their students. A shadow picture is created, alongside the first, of the researcher-instructor's struggle to achieve two sometimes contradictory purposes: helping the teachers understand the Study Group subject matter but leaving them free to work as independently as possible toward the achievement of understanding.

The study participants went through very different learning processes with very different results. Two teachers, "Eve" and "Lizabeth," presented a clear contrast in terms of comfort with the material and speed of learning, in addition to context-related differences such as teaching style and educational background. The researcher's role with the teachers was conditioned by their needs and responses and was therefore very different in these two cases. All three of us, Eve, Lizabeth, and I, changed positioning over the course of the study. In the terms in which I came to see the changes, we began with sets of assumptions, learned principles, collections of facts, understandings, misunderstandings, ways of being, and ways of talking (among other things), then moved through a learning space in which new ideas were examined and recast, resulting in either major or minor adjustments to our points of view. We learned, in other words, but how we did so and what happened to the information presented and discussed during our many conversations was complex and sometimes unanticipated.

The central impetus for my research was direct experience with the phenomenon of LM school failure. Red flags to the problem are disproportionate school dropout rates (Olsen, 1988; Waggoner, 1999), an ever-widening gap between the SAT composite scores of whites and other ethnic groups (Graves & Cooper, 1999), and huge performance differentials across significant populations of whites and ethnic minorities or LMs with respect to standardized measures of reading comprehension (McLaughlin, 1994; National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1999; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2000; Peregoy & Boyle, 2000).

In the view of many educators and language specialists, the critical missing element is the ability to read effectively (Shih, 1992; Kamhi-Stein, 1995). A peculiarity of ESL instruction in the United States is that reading instruction is often delayed or excluded entirely in favor of oral language development. In the main, ESL teachers are not trained to teach reading (Fitzgerald, 1995), and what their students are given to read is characteristically limited to brief, inauthentic narrative texts (Wales, 1990; Block, 1992; Shih, 1992). Experiences with extensive reading, expository genres, and reading strategy training are the exception rather than the norm.

What is lost, crucially, is the opportunity to link classroom practice with the extensive research literature on L2 reading processes (Bernhardt, 1991). This research suggests overwhelmingly that while the search for meaning that characterizes what L1 readers engage in (Goodman, 1975) also figures prominently in the work L2 readers do, language proficiency issues create greater cognitive burdens for L2 learners (Devine, 1988) and greater variability in their strategies and difficulties. Researchers have identified LM reading problems in the areas of lexical and syntactic knowledge as well as discontinuities in background knowledge related to cultural difference (Cohen *et al.*, 1988; Parry, 1988). The overriding and largely unexamined difficulty, however, is the inability to comprehend written language at the discourse level—from phrase, clause, and sentence to paragraph and full text, in other words. LM readers tend to focus on decoding small chunks of written language and often cannot make semantic connections across extended text (Coady, 1979; Grabe, 1991; Gibbons, 1991; Cazden, 1992).

The result of the failure to bridge the gap between research and classroom shows up, where reading is taught at all, in an emphasis on pre-reading and post-reading activities at the expense of guiding students step-by-step during the reading process (Casanave, 1988). Despite the fact that strategy training for the L2 reader is widely reported to be effective (Carrell, 1987; Chamot & O'Malley, 1994), reading instruction typically focuses on vocabulary lessons and the activation of background knowledge before students read or on comprehension questions posed by the teacher after reading has finished. Comprehension questions, as Pauline Gibbons points out, even when asked paragraph-by-paragraph, are “after the event” (1991, p. 71). They address what has been comprehended, not how the comprehension process is being conducted by the reader. Moreover, these traditional classroom activities avoid the important issue of providing opportunities for the development of higher-order learning strategies which enable independent and critical reading (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987).

As I searched for a number of years for solutions to the reading problems of the LM student, I became convinced that teaching the student to monitor and repair micro-level comprehension difficulties while *simultaneously* tracking his or her unfolding understanding of the meaning of a full piece of text was the only viable approach to encouraging the development of intellectual control over written text. The approach had to be based, I felt, on better teacher understanding of the characteristics of expository text, but it also had to be relatively streamlined. I wanted to avoid the tiresome error of

offering menus of strategies to teachers and students, and I wanted to keep linguistic jargon to a minimum. Without these constraints, the individual student's unique comprehension problems could be lost in the shuffle, and, more pragmatically, the approach would be unattractive to busy teachers.

In the process I found what I believe to be a principled way to think about and carry out this three-pronged procedure by using frameworks from recent reading research by cognitive psychologists and from the "systemic functional" approach to text analysis developed by the linguist Michael Halliday. As indicated above, I call the procedure Information Model Construction. It takes each written text to be a language phenomenon reflecting three facets of its situational occurrence: field, tenor, and mode. In somewhat simplified terms, field is the entire subject matter covered, including participants, human or non-human, animate or inanimate, their activities or what is done to them or what they are, and their relationships. Tenor is the relationship of author to subject matter—attitude, perspective, point of view. Mode is the presentation format: the order in which information is given, the patterns of organization used, the genre (Halliday, 1973; 1994).

FMC is based on the idea that successful reading depends on the ability to identify the propositions that are provided by a text and establish the stated or implied relationships between those propositions (van Dijk, 1972). The result, which is unique to each text, is called by cognitive psychologists its "mental" or "deep" model (Johnson-Laird, 1983; Britton, 1994). It is achieved primarily by "backwards inferencing," which is simply the process of linking what is new information to what has already been understood and recorded in the developing mental model (Zwaan & Brown, 1996; Gernsbacher, 1997).

The teacher must learn to do FMC before training students to carry it out. In the classroom, FMC involves the creation of some sort of visual representation of the mental model. Each New element must be orally negotiated by teacher and students working together. New information is determined by the simple procedure of deciding what contrasts with, or adds to, what is Known. If a student is missing a piece of language or background knowledge necessary for comprehension, the identification of New and Known will be impossible. If the connections between ideas are not being tracked, the identification of New and Known will be impossible. Backtracking, rereading, discussing points of grammar, searching for word definitions in dictionaries or memory banks—all such substrategies, and more—become entailed in the process as understanding is sought and, very importantly, students are continually challenged by the teacher to "prove" their assertions regarding New information. Ultimately, after a time of repeated training in the procedure, first with extremely simple, short paragraphs, later with texts of greater and greater complexity and length, the assumption is that students will develop an approach to reading that involves "expert" control (Bereiter & Scardamalia, p. 18). Improved competence should appear in at least three specific areas: greater awareness of comprehension breakdown, the emergence of a repertoire of repair

strategies and “rules” for their selection and application, and expanded proficiency in the L2.

THE STUDY

I chose teachers with very different profiles for the study because I wanted to see how FMC would play out in different classrooms and from different points of view. Lizabeth was a veteran of 20 years in the profession. Eve had taught for 10 years. Lizabeth taught English language and literature at La Tierra Encantada, while Eve taught double periods combining social studies and humanities. Lizabeth was endorsed in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL). Eve’s education included a liberal arts bachelor’s degree but little TESOL training. Eve, however, was knowledgeable about the L2 backgrounds of her students. Lizabeth, ironically, seemed reluctant to identify her students as anything but students. “I just look at them as children,” she said when asked if she had any LMs in her classes.

Study Group work began in late January with discussion of the characteristics and academic difficulties of L2 readers, followed by a look at the reading process and an introduction to the differences between spoken and written language. Late in the second session we began talking in more detail about the linguistic features of different text types, which led to the distinction between narration and exposition, then to an in-depth examination, during session three, of FMC. During session four, in early March, we read and discussed the simplified “training paragraphs” the teachers had been asked to write as possible teaching material for their classrooms and constructed Field Models of those texts. The remaining period of the study entailed classroom use of FMC. I assumed an essentially observational role with respect to the classroom activities, asking the teachers to describe their lesson plans to me in advance, offering suggestions only when asked, then sitting at the back of their classrooms and taking notes on their work with their students. The last two Study Group sessions were aimed at discussion of their experiences with teaching FMC.

During this differentiation phase of the study, as the teachers began taking FMC into their classrooms, discussing their work with me individually, and continuing their Study Group participation, clear differences began to emerge in how they were processing and using the new ideas they were being exposed to. The sharpest differences were to be seen in what Eve and Lizabeth were doing and saying. Eve either found or wrote beautifully-crafted teaching materials, launched FMC in her classroom before I had had a chance to talk with her about her lesson plans, asked probing questions during Study Group sessions, and elicited what I was later to call “dazzling” intellectual work from her students. Lizabeth did not begin using FMC with students until late in the study and often commented on her lack of understanding. She found it particularly difficult to write training paragraphs without considerable guidance. During the fifth Study Group session, she was almost entirely silent except to comment that she felt “out of the loop.”

As I began reviewing my transcriptions of Study Group sessions and interviews, I was struck immediately by the occurrence of storytelling behavior that seemed to be characteristic of the two teachers during Study Group meetings. Lizabeth favored accounts of specific events in her own classroom, whereas Eve tended to generalize on past experience or describe imagined events situated in a possible future. Because the choices they had made about storytelling genre implied choices about their different positioning as narrators, and because the underlying theme of all the stories was the narrator's effort to learn a very new approach to teaching, I realized I was witnessing choices in narrator stance that invited use of the concept of "footing" developed by the sociologist Erving Goffman. I also began to see that the teachers' stories underwent changes in narrator stance over the course of time that suggested the metaphor of movement and the usefulness of James Gee's ideas on "Discourses."

Discourses, according to Gee, are cultural constructs in which people are "*coordinating and being coordinated by* ... other people, things, technologies, as well as material, symbolic, and institutional resources . . . so as to assume particular 'recognizable' identities" (1994, p. 36). Discourses are thus pre-eminently systems of shared culture. Especially germane to my purposes is Gee's claim that learning can be viewed as "induction into Discourses" (p. 39) signaled, among other things, by language use which reveals one's identity as a member of the Discourse.

Goffman was interested in the social roles, the "footings," constructed by speakers (or writers) in communicative settings. The concept assists in refining Gee's point that humans are very much occupied with signaling their Discourse membership and do so in important ways through language. As one speaks or writes, according to Goffman, one assumes the role of "principal," someone in the text who is "active in some particular social identity or role, some special capacity as a member of a group, office, category, relationship, association, or whatever, some socially based source of self-identification" (1983, pp. 144-145).

In combination, the constructs of Discourse and footing are useful metaphors for framing what is learned and the learner's relationship to what is learned. Stories which may emerge during the learning process are useful as *depictions* of Discourses and how the learner identifies with, or does not identify with, one Discourse or another. A series of stories told by the same author may demonstrate the *move* from one Discourse to another, from identification with an older Discourse to identification with a newer one. In such stories are to be found reflections of principalship which signal the nature of the learning process.

In my analysis of the data from my study, how Eve and Lizabeth moved from one Discourse to another—from a Discourse that did not include FMC to one incorporating it, to differing degrees in each case—became my central focus. Their stories, which embody testaments to their identity, illustrate that shift in position.

The Stories

In the systemic functional tradition, all texts, spoken or written, are “social activity” types (Eggins, 1994, p.105) constructed by their authors. They represent choices made, consciously or unconsciously, from the vast array of possibilities offered by the language in which they are expressed and the contexts of culture and ideology in which they arise. Systemic procedures for analyzing text, which I have adopted in part (see Eggins & Slade, 1994), consist initially of asking what is interesting about texts that contrast with one another, then developing analytic techniques to specify the nature of the contrast. The linguist Halliday says, further, that the systemic analyst seeks out those features of a text which have “prominence that is motivated”—features that contribute to the total meaning of the text (1973, pp. 112-113).

For the core of my analysis, I focused on the stories in Eve’s and Lizabeth’s Study Group talk with the highest degree of motivated prominence. These were non-obligatory stories—texts that were spontaneously offered rather than told in response to the questions or comments of other participants—about personal involvement in teaching, either hypothetical or real. Especially salient in the stories that qualified for analysis were features of field, or the “actions, relations, participants and circumstances” entailed by the story (Eggins, 1994, p. 220).

Lizabeth’s Early Stories

Lizabeth’s corpus consists of twelve stories, seven of which were told during sessions one through four. Five of the latter are what the systemicist Guenter Plum has termed Anecdotes, stories with entertainment value and a focus on the author’s reaction, as a participant, to the events described (Plum, 1988). Lizabeth’s Anecdotes are about specific past events that took place in her own classroom. The other participants are her students. These are **What We Did One Day** stories. Story 1, from session two, is characteristic of these texts. (Line divisions in this single-spaced format are arbitrary. Ellipses indicate repairs, or changes in sentence structure motivated by the speaker’s changing intentions.)

Story 1

I had an interesting thing happen Thursday with a Vietnamese boy who had been in an eighth-grade language arts class, but got put in my enriched seventh-grade language arts class. Smart, smart kid. Just like you’re talking about. Straight A’s, has, like, one hundred four percent in my class. But we were preparing for the TerraNova³. We did the little section where you had to read a little story and then answer questions about it. And I told them, “Always read the questions first. You have a purpose in reading. And then read this, and then. . . .” But his main struggle was with what’s the title of the story, what’s the main theme of the story. He really, really struggled with that, and I said, “Well, how long have you been speaking English?” “Eleven years.” [Laughs.] You know they taught me in my classes, seven years to be ... and he’s been here 11, and he’s still struggling. [Laughs.]

At the level of language features, the systemic approach to text analysis isolates what are called “transitivity patterns” in an effort to locate in very specific terms the field or subject matter of the text. Among other things, transitivity patterns identify story participants, who in Story 1 are named by the pronouns *I, we, he, them, his, you* (in direct address) and the noun phrase *Vietnamese boy*. Transitivity patterns also stipulate the “circumstances” described, which I am limiting to indicators of time within the verb (i.e., past, present, and future). Story 1 contains 20 verb phrases (in independent and dependent clauses), 15 of which describe past time. Only two verbs are modals, which in systemic and in many other approaches to language analysis act to create “an explicit dimension of speaker judgment” in the text (Egins & Slade, p. 98).

Story 1 is thus a relatively straightforward text which covers territory already experienced by the narrator and situated in one of the most familiar contexts of her life. It contains little in the way of mechanisms that would distance the storyteller from her subject matter. Both of its primary participants, the Vietnamese student and his teacher, share the same reaction, frustration. The boy is confounded because he is unable to discern the theme of a story, the teacher because the boy cannot understand a story title despite his 11 years of residence in the U.S. This is a Principal-1 type, someone who is a teacher functioning in ways almost identical with the ways her students are functioning, rather than a teacher with an evaluative distance on her students. Story 1 is also notable for the absence of connections with the Study Group’s developing discussion of text analysis and the characteristics of L2 readers. The newer Discourse, TEACHING FMC, is nowhere apparent.

Lizabeth continued to relate Anecdotes with the same features through Study Group session four. Noteworthy, in addition, was the description of classroom activities which focused on discrete learning: worksheets, vocabulary lists, spelling tests. By the time of session five, Lizabeth was the only Study Group member who had not yet begun using FMC with her students. Eve, in the meantime, had made huge strides in her understanding of FMC and had had distinct success with it in the classroom.

Eve’s Stories

Eve’s corpus contains 17 non-obligatory stories. The most obvious difference between her texts and Lizabeth’s is her use of modalized verbs and verbs signaling repeated events. Three of her accounts use past time, but two of these are broad-stroke descriptions of events which took place over a long stretch of time, and one is labeled by Eve herself as an “example” of what her students *typically* do. At no time does she tell stories floated for their entertainment value. At no time does she describe a single event. She generalizes and extrapolates and defines.

While Eve’s earliest stories in sessions one and two are what I am terming Synopses of **What Usually Happens**, the stories she tells somewhat later, beginning with session three, are Synopses (Plum, 1988) marked by modalized verbs. They are descriptions of projected strategies she is thinking of using with her students to train them in FMC.

They are **What We Could Do** stories. Both Synopsis types differ from Anecdotes because they are depictions of recurring phenomena and tend to pose and illustrate problems. Story 2—about **What Usually Happens**—is told very early in the first Study Group session and suggests Eve belongs to an existing Discourse on the teaching of reading that includes an understanding of the differences between exposition and narration and of the comparative difficulties for the inexperienced reader of processing these two broad text types.

Story 2

How do you get students to get involved with the reading? For social studies it's very factual and all of that. And for literature they can kind of get into the story it's about. And we have to read it [passages in social studies textbooks], like, four different times before it clicks for them. If I don't give them all the vocabulary and all the questions before we even start they won't be able to answer any of it by the time we're done reading. And I'll even stop and just kind of check to see if [inaudible], and they just don't, because it's harder for them to connect it to themselves or their experiences because it really has nothing to do with their life.

There are 15 verb phrases in this passage. All verbs are either in the present or in an informal use of the future used to describe a repeated event (*e.g.*, “I'll even stop”). Eve's interest in this story is the achievement of a summary statement on middle school students' difficulties with the kind of expository writing typical of social studies textbooks. Her students are the chief participants, but she herself has an important secondary role. She is constructed, this early, as a Principal-2, a teacher engaged in evaluating and improving her students' academic skills. Interestingly, this Principal is also someone whose existing Discourse on TEACHING READING contains an important element of TEACHING FMC: she already practices during-reading comprehension checks with her students.

Study Group discussion of the technical distinction between Known and New information did not begin until approximately 20 minutes into session three. Before the researcher had finished presenting an illustration of the concept, Eve had already decided that the activity was something “really cool” to use with her students. Story 3 illustrates her understanding and is her first story with a significant **What We Could Do** element in the form of the modal verb in the first line.

Story 3

This would be really cool. Because they do have trouble with this kind of thing—like, they read a sentence, and then they read the next sentence, and they don't really know how to connect the information from the second sentence to help them with the first.

Eve has understood not only that Known and New are linked in a system of unfolding contrasts but that the inability to identify the semantic relationships between Known and New propositions is a significant problem among her own students. She has integrated TEACHING FMC with TEACHING READING by mapping certain essentials of FMC onto her existing conception of her students' reading difficulties. Another feature of

Story 3 is Eve's recognition of a strategy she feels could be effectively used in her classroom. She is already making plans. The description of strategies to be used in the future becomes a developing theme in her stories. Only a few minutes later, as illustrated by Story 4, she has already decided on the parameters of a specific activity.

Story 4

Yeah. That's something they really need to work...that would help these kids so much. Just read one paragraph, and then just do that. And then once they underline each circle, they try to make a chain or a web. Not really a web, a chain.

The newer Discourse is further elaborated here through the addition of her own terminology—*chain*, *web*—to describe the patterning of a specific field model. In this story, Eve is both a Principal-2 evaluating her students and a Principal-3 who talks about possibilities and is therefore a Teacher-as-Projected-Evaluator/Guide.

Story 5 is an extended text which unfolded across multiple turns and involved an intricate interchange of ideas with the researcher during session four. Between Story 5 and this point in time, the Study Group has worked together on constructing Field Models of three paragraphs from a variety of publications, tried their hand at writing training paragraphs, and spent considerable time on understanding a schematic of FMC (Figure 1).

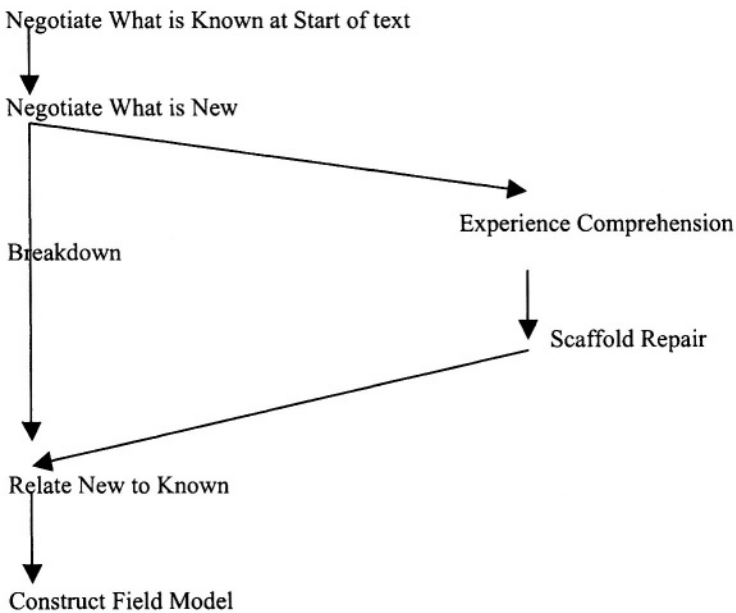


Figure 1: Field Model Construction

Story 5 is told by a Principal-3. It is introduced by the evaluative, speculative modals *would* and *could* as well as the *if*-clause of the first line, and constitutes a long examination of possible strategies and the kind of Field Model that might result from work with a the following training paragraph which Eve had adapted from a social studies textbook:

Information on maps can be shown by symbols. A symbol is anything that stands for something else. Common map symbols are dots, stars, squares, triangles, and lines. Color is a special symbol on maps. It is often used to stand for rainfall, weather patterns, plant life, and height above sea level. Colors are often used to distinguish states or countries from one another. (Adapted from Banks *et al.*, 1998: 11.)

Eve (“E”) and the researcher (“R”) are working together to put together the Field Model of the paragraph, which the researcher is drawing on a large sheet of newsprint (Figure 2; next page) taped to the wall. (Interrupted turns in Story 6 are indicated by the absence of punctuation at their termination.)

Story 5

E: So *if [you] had the students decipher that, they would...could they do it? Because when I was writing it I was thinking more of the underlining, circling . . . underlining what's not Known and then circling what is. . . . Oh, OK, so that would be the Known.*

R: Right.

E: and then the New would be “stands for something else.”

R: That's right. Exactly.

E: And that would go under “the symbol.” That defines it.

R: Right.

E: And then you'd go to “map symbols” . . . or that's still New?

R: That's still

E: I mean Known.

R: That's still Known. The idea

E: And then the dots and the stars and the types

R: Yeah.

E: of symbols would be the New information.

R: Right. Because you've already mentioned maps before.

E: Yeah.

R: You haven't said “map symbols” exactly, but you said the whole thing in the first sentence.

E: So when we explain this whole format to the kids, we have to explain to them that Known means words that have already been mentioned

R: Yeah.

E: not necessarily words they know what they are [*i.e.*, not necessarily familiar lexicon] at that point.

R: Yeah, at that point.

E: So the Known is just what's already been stated.

R: Right.

E: New is new information.

R: Right. Now you're also going to have to be dealing with the issue of their not knowing vocabulary.

E: Yeah.

R: And not having the background information that they need. OK?

E: But that part doesn't really matter necessarily, when they're sketching out their thing because

R: I think it does because that is the second aspect of this that you need to apply as they're working on a field model, which is issues that may confront them, especially second language learners. So you may even be dealing with defining the word *symbol* when you talk about the first sentence.

E: Say that one more time.

R: You may even have to define words as you go that are defined later by the text of the paragraph.

E: Right. That's what I meant by it wouldn't necessarily matter at that particular moment, when they're saying this is Known information, even though they still don't necessarily know what it means. Because later they will know what it means.

R: That's right. And if it's something . . . I think that's a good point because..I think that if it's something that is not explained in the paragraph—you're going to know whether or not it is—then you need to deal with it as a background information issue and probably as a vocabulary issue.

E: Mm-hmm.

R: That's right.

E: OK, I think I'll be able to do this with the kids.

Eve's comfort with the terminology of Teaching FMC is so well developed by this point that she is able to seek refinements in her understanding and even problematizes the issue of New information *versus* new vocabulary. The concluding assertion that she will be able to use FMC effectively in her classroom signifies that her identification with Teaching FMC is well on its way to completion.

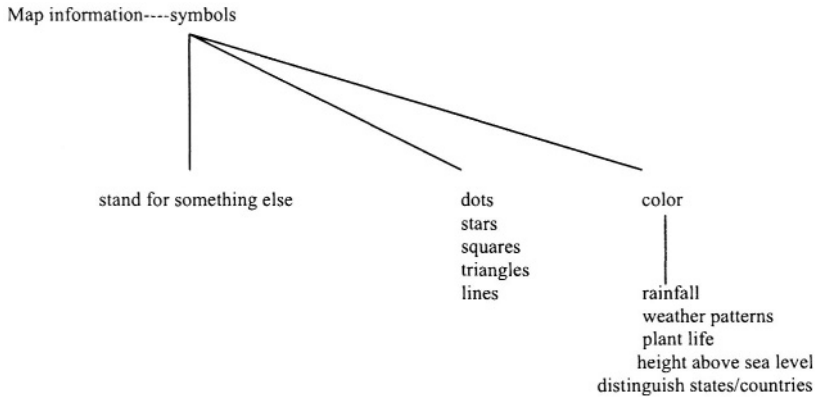


Figure 2: Model developed by Eve for the training paragraph

Story 6, told somewhat later in session four, also uses the present tense and conditional clauses to position the Principal-3 and other participants as people involved in a generalized, projected process.

Story 6

Also, when you do this type of Known...I mean, Unknown-Known, where they actually have to read the sentence prior to the next sentence, that...I think that helps them, whereas a lot of times if the teachers just say, "OK, what does blah-blah-blah mean?" they go, "I don't know." So [the teachers then say], "Go back into the paragraph." That's not enough. That's not guiding them enough. If you say, "Well, read the sentence before this one, what in this sentence gives you a clue about this sentence," they kind of have to . . . with this kind of model we're doing now, they really have to use the sentence before to go with the next sentence instead of just saying, "Go back into the paragraph," or "Go back to sentence three, it's in the third sentence, what don't you get?" Because that's a tendency to just focus on the sentence that that information is in, or the whole paragraph. But what I think what really helps is that the sentence right before really does give you a lot of information to figure out the next sentence. Because I've never taught that way, to actually look at using the sentence before as Known or New and then go to the next sentence to find out what's Known from before. I don't know. I think you definitely have to do the New-Known first before doing the field model. Like, if they just read the paragraph and then just tried to do a field model, they might....I'll try that next week just to see.

What is particularly striking about this narrative is its detailed juxtaposition of TEACHING READING and TEACHING FMC: what teachers traditionally do to assist

students with reading comprehension *versus* what FMC requires teachers and consequently their students to do. The story also takes a distinctly theoretical perspective by labeling FMC a “model,” a term the researcher had not yet used. Eve’s Discourse on TEACHING FMC is one in which she sees that a technique is in fact a principle which carries value because of its match with the real-world needs of her students and what she knows about the structural patterning of expository text.

During the remainder of the study Eve carried this perspective forward without once looking back, reviewing basic definitions with her students each time she had them work with FMC, gradually increasing the length and difficulty level of the numerous training paragraphs she was locating and developing, and engaging her students in Socratic dialogue about language and message at every turn. In all, with a class of sixth graders from predominantly Spanish-speaking backgrounds, she taught the technique ten times and exposed her students to the new approach over a period of a month. During interviews she provided richly-detailed accounts of her students’ improved attention and engagement with reading activities, as well as her own surprise and her pride in their accomplishment. The last training paragraph she used, a passage from a personalized account of the United States’ internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II, was the centerpiece for an astonishing display of her sixth graders’ progress. The text, which uses narrative as an expository technique, contains a number of subtleties of expression. It is by no means as transparent as the brief, single-topic, tightly organized paragraphs Eve had used previously with this group of students. As she showed it to me before class started, I commented that it might well be too difficult because of possible problems with identifying pronoun antecedents. I pointed out that at three points the text uses pronouns to effect implied shifts in participants in order to achieve movement of topic as well as a sense of the intimacy of the Japanese-American population. Eve had not realized how difficult the paragraph was but decided to use it anyway. She felt that at the very least it would spark some useful debate. She gave it to her class cold, via overhead and individual photocopies for each student. To our amazement, even shock, the class jumped into the difficult portions of the analysis without hesitation and promptly identified the correct sense of every single pronoun with virtually no guidance from Eve. The students essentially led the discussion themselves.

LIZABETH’S LATER STORIES

By the Study Group’s fifth session, on April 20, Eve had been piloting FMC with her sixth graders for approximately one week. Elizabeth, it will be recalled, said almost nothing that day and had spoken about her difficulty writing training paragraphs during session four:

Story 7

Because I don’t think I’m very good at doing it. I struggled . . . while my student teacher was teaching yesterday, I spent about four hours with students in the classroom. “Read

this. What do you think? Is this too hard? Is this too easy? What do you think?" And I was asking the kids and . . . "She's making me rewrite this," and I was complaining. And they were [inaudible] "Your teacher's making you do homework again? [Laughter from the Study Group] "Yeeees!" I really feel

The author is once again a Principal-1 engaged in an amusing (but painful) activity along with her students. Her role as Teacher-as-Student is given emphasis by her inclusion of the researcher as a major participant. Indeed, the researcher is more the teacher in this story than the author is, and the Discourse suggested here is not even TEACHING READING.

I was concerned about Lizabeth, but spring vacations and conferences put me out of touch with the teachers between March 9 and early April. By the time I was able to make fact-to-face contact with her again, she hinted at the existence of unusual work stress and seemed to have no specific plans for her classroom use of FMC. She said she wanted to "just follow the recipe" and try out the process with her enriched class. I reminded her that my study focused on reading strategy training for L2 learners. Eventually, we decided she would work with a small group of L2 learners to be pulled out of her student teacher's class and taught in a separate location.

Lizabeth began teaching FMC to a group of four LM seventh graders on May 9. She placed the lesson in the context of "how to be a better reader," then, using the paragraph Eve had contributed on map symbols, showed the students how to identify Known and New information. Next she turned to a paragraph written by another Study Group member, and finally used two of her own paragraphs, which by that time were considerably improved. She pinpointed vocabulary problems for the students, showed them that pronouns should be considered Known because they restated information given previously, and eventually moved them from identifying individual words as New to identifying "what chunks are New."

Although most of the issues and definitions Lizabeth worked with had already been discussed during Study Group sessions, her teaching was carefully paced and purposeful, the process of becoming acquainted with the students expertly stage-managed, and the lesson decidedly successful. The four students caught on quickly and contributed enthusiastically.

Our final Study Group session two days later was the startling occasion for five non-obligatory stories offered by Lizabeth, only one of which was similar in structure and purpose to the stories she had told during previous meetings. Story 8 is the most dramatic because it represents a clear move into the Discourse TEACHING FMC. It is a complex and lengthy text consisting of two explicitly linked parallel narratives that are aimed at the explication of an original insight into the nature of L2 reading processes. Lizabeth had told me the first narrative immediately after her first meeting with the four LM students. It describes a personal experience she had a few days prior with a videotaped television series. The second narrative generalizes the first by elevating it to the status of an analogy and embedding it in a passage using both the present tense and

Story 8

And another thing that [the researcher] wanted me to mention was an experience that I had last weekend. I was watching a set of six videotapes. It's called *Berkeley Square*, and so I took out the first videotape, watched the film, rewound it, put it back in, got the second videotape, put it in, watched the film. And there were a couple of places I was thinking, well, that's funny, how did the runaway guy become a butler all of a sudden? I didn't see that. So I watched the third tape and the fourth tape, and by the sixth tape, there were so many things in the sixth tape I didn't know where they came from. Because I kept assuming that the authors or the producers or directors just assumed that I was smart enough to figure out, oh, OK, well this has happened, and that's why the man is doing this, but then by the sixth tape there were so many empty holes in my knowledge that I thought, well, something's wrong. So I took them out. I looked at them. Well, lo and behold, there are two shows per tape, and I was only watching the first one, so I was watching basically every other one [Laughter from the group]. As Amy pointed out, often people know when you're watching Public TV and you just switch around, you find it. They put enough information in there so if that's the only episode you watch, you can find of figure out what's going on. But if you're watching it as a series, pretty soon you realize you're missing a whole bunch of stuff.

And I think the kids go through this, too, when they're learning English. They can pick out some of it, and they know some of it. Because I think they start with speaking, and because of their knowledge of the speaking language, they can take that to reading and use it, but the written word, as you taught us, is different from speaking, and so they're getting some of it, but they're not getting all of it. They have huge holes in their knowledge, just like I did,

and pretty soon they figure out. I . . . well, I had the tenacity. In fact, I'm watching the whole thing over again. [Laughter from the group] Just like you can go back and read. But I think sometimes the students, especially the ones that give up easily, will just say, "I can't read." Especially in middle school, their main priority is socialization, and if they can speak good enough . . . and you hear them talking in Spanish all the time, too, so they can survive with what they've got. And if they realize there are too many holes in the reading, they're going to give up. And we can see that all the time. They just go . . . pretty soon, they go, "You know what? I don't know what's going on here any more," and they stop instead of going back and figuring out what the problem is.

And I think this would be a good thing for that—to teach them how to go back and figure out what the problem is and maybe recognize, instead of waiting until the sixth video [Laughter from the group] that there is a problem, but figure out from the first one: Wait a minute, I'm missing some information here. These are my skills to go back and figure out what it is I'm missing and why I'm missing it.

In addition to discovering a metaphor for conceptualizing some of the problems of the L2 reader, Lizabeth has also figured out that FMC is a way to tackle those problems and that it is a way to teach reading strategies from a *developmental* perspective. No Study Group discussion had touched upon this issue. What has happened, in other words, is that Lizabeth has begun to re-examine her older Discourse—which, it will be recalled, did not include a differentiation between L1 and L2 reading processes—and to position features of both Discourses in a dynamic relationship with each other. The shifts in Principal type which have occurred over throughout her corpus are dramatic and reflect

features of both Discourses in a dynamic relationship with each other. The shifts in Principal type which have occurred over throughout her corpus are dramatic and reflect several significant moves in the direction of TEACHING FMC. The biggest change lies in her move from a Principal-1, the author of Anecdotes in which she functions as a kind of equal partner to her students, to a Principal-3 who tells a sophisticated narrative, evaluates from a position of expertise, and projects how she will guide L2 readers in the future.

Because of the delay in starting her classroom practice with FMC, Lizabeth held only two more sessions with her students and taught the procedure over a period of only eight days. I found myself wishing that I had done something to encourage her to use it in the classroom earlier. Although it was apparent that her LM students were receiving valuable training, especially through her skillful modeling behavior, there was no time for moving them to paragraphs of significantly greater difficulty, and I saw some evidence during my observations as well as our final interviews that Lizabeth was still married to the view that L2 readers were not different in kind from L1 readers. As we talked about what she might have done with more time, she also showed a tendency to move away in her thinking from the teaching of reading to the idea of using FMC as a way to have students write, which I felt would dilute the effectiveness of the procedure. I was puzzled by her ambivalence, but I was pleased that she said she liked FMC and would “definitely” use it during the coming school year.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

I realized at some point in the study that Eve was beginning to be as much of an enigma to me as Lizabeth. If the reasons for Lizabeth’s apparent difficulty with the subject matter of the Study Group were not easy to locate, neither was Eve’s rapid accession to understanding and the fluency she demonstrated with FMC in her classroom. It is probably true to say that if I had been simply teaching FMC rather than researching the process of teaching and learning in which it was embedded, I might not have looked further. In the press of time and obligations, I might have found it easy to end my thinking with a few hunches and the act of awarding course grades. Instead, I was committed by the process I was involved in to using the teachers’ practical experiences as a way of assessing their understanding and as a way to encourage their reflections on what they had learned.

I was obligated, as well, by the approach to data I was using, to seek the markers of their understanding in behavior other than direct self-reports. It was certainly true that there seemed to be some relevant differences in the bare facts of what Lizabeth and Eve told me in response to purposeful questions about their backgrounds. Lizabeth had been schooled entirely in education, primarily at small institutions, whereas Eve’s education included early parochial school education, a Bachelor’s in liberal arts, and post-baccalaureate work at a major state university. Eve had put in eight years in a big-city school with huge numbers of LM students from both the U.S. and abroad before coming

to La Tierra Encantada. Lizabeth's prior experience had been confined to a small-town school with few LMs. That was by far from being the whole picture, however. Ultimately, the stories told by both participants did much more than reveal the canvases of their old and new Discourses. They also pointed the way to other texts, other strands of meaning, in the data that helped fill in the gaps.

For Eve, the journey from TEACHING READING to TEACHING FMC was much shorter than it was for Lizabeth. From the very start, Eve's stories entailed a Principal at sufficient remove from her students to generalize about teaching activities. Changes in her footing were apparent primarily as a matter of degree, especially in her increasing command of the terminology of FMC and the motivated discovery of new relationships among the terms. At the end of the study, she was juggling the pieces of FMC like a pro, certain of their weight, their relationships, and where they would land if not coordinated with each other. Lizabeth was still moving tentatively in the new territory. She was able to teach her students to identify Known and New propositions and then to draw a field model, but there were indications that she did not see the process as the integrated one it has to be. As had been pointed out and illustrated frequently during Study Group discussions, identifying Known and New occurs simultaneously with construction of the field model. Lizabeth continued, to the end, to describe the two processes as discrete activities.

Ironically, perhaps, Eve is a more difficult sort of participant to study than Lizabeth. Eve repeatedly claimed that she was unable to make generalizations about her pedagogy, preferring instead to say simply that what she did was intuitive and "just made sense." She also said she had no idea why she was learning FMC so much more rapidly than the rest of the Study Group, and there were moments when I suspected she was masking the full extent of her understanding so that the others would not feel left out. I turned, in my quandary, to a careful review of our interviews and my observations of her teaching. The major surprise for me was the discovery that there were several important matches between my background and hers. For one, Eve had even more extensive knowledge of text type taxonomy than I had remembered before I reviewed our interviews. Not only had she received some exposure to the subject in college, but she was able to freely manipulate terminology such as *genre*, *exposition*, *cause-and-effect*, and *comparison-contrast*. In addition, she had extensive experience teaching *both* literature and social studies at Tierra Encantada, as well as a demanding undergraduate major that required her to do intensive learning from expository text. Eve's teaching style, moreover, was very similar to my own. It involved engaging students in Socratic dialogue, challenging their ideas, insisting on rationales for their conclusions, pushing them from idea to idea by engaging their logic and background understanding, forcing them to independent intellectual work and critical thinking as rapidly as possible.

Lizabeth's teaching, by comparison, seemed more consciously committed to the objective of building and maintaining a harmonious classroom community. It seems likely to me now that her focus on discrete activities and skills was linked to this goal in

that it allowed her students to create tangible products they could take pride in. Her classroom approach pointed overwhelmingly to the desire to keep her students happy, and it is reasonable to assume that student contentment was something she privileged in the name of also keeping them learning.

In this light, FMC may have posed her some problems. As I described it to the Study Group, FMC is especially committed to the oral negotiation of meaning in the classroom, not necessarily or overwhelmingly to the notion of constructing Field Models in visual form, of coming up with visible “products” of learning. As I described it, the how-to particulars were deliberately left up to the individual teacher. Lizabeth experienced difficulty making the transition to the classroom, and did not in fact do so with the same independence of the other teachers. She used the materials and ideas they had already used and, even as late as the Study Group’s last session, involved herself in continuing to quiz her colleagues about the precise steps they had used in explaining FMC to their students.

Both sets of facts—Lizabeth’s devotion to her students’ sense of accomplishment and the continuities between Eve’s background and teaching style and my own—point to what I feel I need to be aware of in the future as I continue to involve teachers in expanding their knowledge about language. Contrary to some of the assumptions with which I began my study, I do not need to be so much concerned with the clarity of my explanations of linguistic principles. “Known and New” turned out to be the most accessible piece of information I presented. It is an important concept with great promise, I feel, for helping teachers do some remarkable work and helping young language learners develop crack reading skills, but to show teachers how to do Field Model Construction, attention needs to be paid to the broader context in which the procedure is situated.

I had thought I was covering important bases here, as well, when I focused on profiles of the L2 reader during early Study Group work, but the context was even wider than I knew. What is just as important as knowledge about language and the needs of learner populations is attention to what Gordon Wells calls “the ecology of the classroom community” (1996, p. 96)—the unwritten rules of each teacher’s classroom that are based in the teacher’s beliefs about learning and social relations. Eve’s rules were very different from Lizabeth’s and were in fact very similar to my own, which were more embedded than I had realized in my ideas about L2 reading strategy training. Understanding FMC depended for my research participants on an understanding of my unwritten rules and how my rules compared to the teachers’; using it successfully depended on using my rules or, if not, at least finding others that would work equally well.

The literature on teacher education points out that novice teachers frequently reduplicate the unconsciously-acquired models of their own teachers and need to be provided with sufficient strategies to practice if they are to make the transition to new models (Pence, in press). Since neither Eve nor Lizabeth are novices, my experience

with them suggests that these issues are pertinent to the work of teachers across the experience spectrum, and that one way to raise pedagogical assumptions to the level of visibility is to provide strategies for practice as well as rich opportunities for interactive reflection on how the strategies mesh or do not mesh with the broader context of the existing classroom environment. Allowing my teacher-participants the freedom to develop their own classroom strategies for teaching FMC was very important to my study. If I teach FMC in the future with the less complicated, but more difficult, goal of simply *teaching* it, I will proceed somewhat differently. The ultimate objective—education reform—becomes possible when we understand that a shift in one small piece involves a shift in a number of other pieces as well.

NOTES

1. School name and participants' names are pseudonyms. Participants' names were self-selected.
2. The concepts of Known and New are more often termed *Given* and *New* by linguists. Halliday and other systemicists prefer prosodic indicators of New—emphasis given by the speaking voice. Other linguists use the semantic criterion of whatever has not been given previous mention in the text.
3. A standardized reading test used by the school district.
4. A class of high-performing students.

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Chapter 22

How MA-TESOL Students Use Knowledge about Language in Teaching ESL Classes

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INTRODUCTION

My current research agenda as a Ph.D. candidate in applied linguistics focuses on professionalization processes of teachers of English to speakers of other languages (ESOL). My goal is to work as a teacher educator in this growing field. As I observed, interviewed, and examined the participants in my dissertation study (all students in a master's program in teaching English as a second language, MA-TESL), questions gradually emerged: How will the knowledge about language (KAL) that these students are learning in their course work help them teach English? What is the connection between the declarative knowledge base they are building, and the procedural knowledge they will need in their classrooms? Finding a way to begin answering these questions, in theory, should better enable me to prepare the ESOL teachers of the future. I hoped to discover the links between *coursework* in an MA –TESL program and *classwork* in the ESOL classroom. These questions were beginning to be raised in the literature as well. What was the required underlying knowledge base for a teacher of ESOL (Fradd & Lee, 1998; Freeman & Richards, 1993)? How exactly do ESOL teachers put their underlying theoretical knowledge into practice (Jones & Vesalind, 1996)? What were appropriate components of teaching English as a second language (TESL) teacher preparation (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1997)? Some researchers have also argued for a need to completely reconceptualize the knowledge base of TESL teachers' education (Freeman & Johnson, 1998).

One problem which arises from these discussions is that “the assumptions that have underlain the practice of language teacher education have focused more on what teachers needed to know...than on what they actually knew, how this knowledge shaped what they did” (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 398). If one wanted to study what TESL teachers know and how that knowledge affects their teaching, how could that knowledge be gained? While specific aspects of language teachers' metalinguistic awareness (Andrews, 1997, 1999, 2001) have been examined, particularly with respect to their use

of metalinguistic grammar terms while teaching (Borg, 1998, 1999a, 1999b), the current study is an attempt to look at broader issues encompassing the whole range of KAL taught to MA-TESL students in order to answer the research question, "How do students in an MA-TESL program apply their knowledge about language to their ESL teaching praxis?"

THE STUDY

This chapter is based on four case studies which took place within the context of a larger longitudinal research project of a cohort of MA-TESL students' professionalization processes. During their four-semester, two-year program, the thirteen graduate students involved in the larger project were all observed in their MA courses, interviewed both in small groups and individually, and asked to fill out a variety of objective measures, including a questionnaire, a survey, and measures of their knowledge of applied linguistics. The four case studies presented here focus on four of these students who had simultaneously been hired as instructors in the program's English language institute (ELI). (See Popko [2003] for a detailed description of the progress of these four students and their peers throughout their MA-TESL program.) The site of the study was a mid-sized southwestern university (SWU)¹ with an MA program in TESL and a Ph.D. program in applied linguistics. The English language institute (ELI) provides 25 hours of English instruction per week for full-time students, many of whom would like to enter SWU or some other American university upon raising their test of English as a foreign language (TOEFL) scores. The three courses observed for this study were the Core class (an integrated study skills course), writing, and reading.

For purposes of the present study, a qualitative case study design was used (Creswell, 1997). Following Miles and Huberman (1994), the unit of analysis, or case, was "an individual in a defined context" (p. 26), in this instance, an MA-TESL student in the act of teaching an ESL class. In order to examine connections between knowledge gained in MA-TESL courses and ESL teaching praxis, each of the four participants was observed while teaching in the ELI. Each was interviewed both before and after teaching the observed class, on the same day if possible. The post-observation interview used a modified stimulated recall procedure in which the stimulus included both the observed teacher's lesson plans and the researcher's observation notes. (See Gass & Mackey, 2000 for a detailed discussion of stimulated recall methodologies used in second language acquisition research.)

As far as possible, the researcher (Jeff in the data) verbally walked each participant through the lesson using observation notes and the teacher's lesson plan, providing exact details and quoting student and teacher interaction. Participants were then asked to explain why they had made specific choices, where they had learned to use specific procedures, and how each specific activity related to what they had studied in their MA coursework. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using HyperResearch 2.0 (1999). The transcriptions were examined for evidence that these teachers' KAL, gained

during their MA–TESL courses as well as through prior teaching and learning experiences, was being used to inform their practice.

Patterns that emerged from the data were examined in a cyclical manner (Miles & Huberman, 1994). If a pattern appeared in one of the interviews, the rest of the interviews were reexamined for evidence of similar or contradictory patterns. The perceived patterns were organized into categories for each participant, and quotes were chosen to represent each perceived pattern. These quotes were then organized and written down as “cases,” proposed representations of each participant’s perspective (Wolcott, 1990). Participants were then invited to read and comment on their own case as written by the researcher. Changes suggested by the participants were incorporated into the final draft.

Participants

The four MA–TESL students who took part in the study reported here were all women in their mid to late twenties, who officially entered the MA–TESL program in the Fall 2000 semester. They chose pseudonyms used in reporting the data: Daisy, Joyce, Lilly, and Pako. All of them had taken Introduction to Linguistics, Grammatical Foundations, Fundamentals of Second Language Teaching, ESL Methods and Materials, and Sociolinguistics, and from one to three electives. In other ways, this particular group was not so homogeneous.

Lilly had an undergraduate degree in geology, and switched to the MA–TESL program from another graduate program in a different department. She had never taught before. Pako had an undergraduate degree in Spanish and had taught high school Spanish teacher for two years. She entered the MA–TESL program primarily as a career shift, hoping upon leaving to get a job in a Spanish–speaking country. Daisy had been teaching at an English language institute in Japan prior to entering the program. In Japan, she had taken the one month Royal Society of Arts (RSA) ESL certificate course. From the beginning of her program, she expressed interest in improving her professional marketability so that she could find a better EFL job. Joyce had taught adult ESL in a university setting, with colleagues who possessed MA–TESL degrees. She had decided that ESL teaching was her career, and to pursue a higher degree. Her goal was to get a job in some interesting foreign location. Lilly, Pako, and Daisy took summer courses in order to finish in December 2001, so their teaching was taking place in the fourth and final semester of their MA program. Joyce was following a more traditional two–year plan, and was teaching in her third semester. Pako and Joyce had taught freshman composition the previous year, but none of the students had previously taught in the ELI.

Definitions

Because the following terms have been used in a variety of ways by different authors, this study uses the mutually agreed upon definitions of the participants. The definitions below are intended to be functional rather than absolute.

Applied Linguistic Knowledge

The definition of “applied linguistics” is still being debated in the literature, but I agree with Widdowson (1993) that the field is certainly more than “linguistics applied.” The focus of the field is on solving language related problems, or as Brumfit (1995) puts it “the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue” (p. 27). As an applied field, it is interdisciplinary, involving such related subjects as psychology (especially cognitive psychology), sociology, anthropology, and education. Knowledge of applied linguistics, then, includes whatever KAL these related fields possess. This knowledge is instantiated in areas such as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language testing, language acquisition, and so on.

Knowledge About Language.

Unlike other terms defined here, KAL was not a term used by the participants in the study. Rather, it is used in this paper as a general umbrella term that includes knowledge about all aspects of language –linguistic, applied linguistic, and metalinguistic.

Linguistic Knowledge

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. As such, it provides knowledge specifically about language systems and subsystems (such as phonology, morphology, and syntax). It is focused primarily on the artifact “language” rather than on the producers and users of the artifact.

Linguistics Courses

Courses defined as “linguistic” include only those that focus on the language itself rather than on its users. Introduction to Linguistics and Grammatical Foundations are the two courses taken by all of the participants that were mutually agreed upon to be linguistics courses. The former includes a discussion of the primary divisions of linguistics: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. However, the focus is on the first three, while deeper discussions of the nature of semantics and pragmatics are held in Sociolinguistics. The Grammar course extends the linguistic discussion into the parsing and diagramming of sentences.

Methodology Courses

If the focus of a course was on methods, approaches, or techniques of TESL in the classroom, a course was considered methodology. Participants referred to Fundamentals of Second Language Teaching and ESL Methods and Materials in this category. KAL in the methodology courses is presented largely as underlying support for specific methods or techniques used in teaching ESOL.

Theory courses.

If a course focused on issues beyond the nuts and bolts of language, but not directly on classroom practices, it was considered a theory course. Sociolinguistics was agreed to be a theory course by participants.

OBSERVATIONS

Each of these four teachers incorporated her background knowledge in different ways while teaching. At times, the connections between underlying linguistic knowledge and pedagogical decisions were difficult to observe. In fact, even after probing into the teacher's justifications for using certain techniques or methods, it was occasionally unclear that the teacher herself could make those connections, which indicates how difficult it is to find direct evidence of a causal relationship between knowledge and action. The relationships are evident, but causality cannot be said to have been established. Two specific areas of linguistic knowledge were probed in order to discover how these teachers made classroom decisions: grammar and vocabulary.

Lilly: "I thought it was a useful thing."

The first participant I observed and interviewed was Lilly. She had not previously taught ESL, and was making a conscious effort to apply methodological approaches learned during her courses. A reading course lesson to prepare students for an upcoming exam was observed. In this class, Lilly focused on application of specific techniques (e.g., timed reading, Word Wall, sustained silent reading). Although she used grammatical categories, she denied teaching grammar in her reading class, because she viewed grammar as taught in writing or TOEFL classes.

Approach to vocabulary.

Lilly seemed to be focused on techniques for teaching rather than theories about language, combining concepts that she learned in the Methods and Materials course with traditional methods which she said she had experienced in grade school. For example, she showed KAL as she discussed finding word meanings, but used techniques remembered from grade school; she did not directly relate lexical analysis to the analysis of syntax or morphology, both of which she studied in her courses.

The technique of word recognition that Lilly used, where students have to match the word on the left to one of four words on the right, has firm linguistic justification from the reading research (c.f., Schmitt, 2000; Stahl, 1998), and one of the exercises for her Methods and Materials course was to create such a chart. When discussing her use of the word recognition technique, Lilly referred to the fact that it was suggested in a particular course by a particular professor, but she did not refer to the theoretical bases for the technique that were part of the readings and lectures for that course. Lilly also used the traditional "look the word up in the dictionary" approach, in a way that was not encouraged in her MA courses, even though it caused her students some problems. It is

interesting that she did not seem to differentiate between these techniques, one remembered from grade school, another suggested during her MA course work, and the last specifically discouraged in her courses.

Jeff: "Finding word meanings, how do you teach them that?"

Lilly: "I had them post words that are new...first decide on whether it's a noun. Is it a verb? What role does it play?...Just using the context. . . a word with, like, prefixes and suffixes we take it apart."

Jeff: "What is 'word recognition'?"

Lilly: "It's one of those exercises...one of those [professor's name] things!"

Jeff: "Why do you do that?"

Lilly: "To speed up their eye movement and help them recognize things."

Jeff: (Referring to the lesson plan) "What's the difference between 'finding word meanings,' 'word recognition,' and 'building vocabulary' as a separate concept?"

Lilly: "Did I write that?...We pulled out different words...we found their meanings using the word meanings, but then I did vocabulary quizzes with them."

Jeff: "How do you do a quiz?"

Lilly: "[the students] supply a definition and part of speech."

The following exchange indicates what appears to be a missed opportunity to apply KAL to a specific class activity. The use of translation dictionaries versus learner dictionaries was discussed in Lilly's methodology courses (Popko, 2003) but she never addressed that issue in the observed lesson. Moreover, when asked about learner dictionaries in the interview she stated that she had not used them with her ESL students. Her focus on having students do the work well meant, in the case of dictionary work, using a translation dictionary published in the US rather than one published in an EFL setting, despite the fact that her textbooks and her professor strongly recommended the use of learner dictionaries as a way to build vocabulary.

Jeff: "On the test, you said...you didn't want them to define the words, but you wanted to write those in a sentence."

Lilly: "Yes, because so many of them would just memorize exactly from the dictionaries. I couldn't tell if they knew it or not."

Jeff: "But then you told them where (which dictionary) to get the sentences from...aren't you expecting them to come back having memorized those examples?"

Lilly: "At least then they'll be useful definitions!"

"A useful thing."

The following exchange seems to indicate that Lilly's primary focus is on techniques rather than underlying KAL. When Lilly discussed reading activities both in class and in the interview, she tended to give rather broad, macro-definitions rather than focused,

detailed discussions of language. While she discussed specific reading techniques, she never took the opportunity to explain how language works. Lilly had learned the concepts of main clause, embedded clause, discourse markers, and subject–verb–object constructions in English (Popko, 2003). However, during the observation she did not provide these tools to her students to help them in reading activities, nor did she refer to them to explain or support her teaching practices.

Jeff: “You’re doing timed readings every day? What would you normally do following the timed readings?”

Lilly: “Then I’ll have them practice skimming things...the skimming and scanning they can do, so the faster ones I’ll have them practice that...Recognizing paragraphs is what we worked on recently just finding out if there’s time ordered, listing, all that.”

Jeff: “Where does that come from?”

Lilly: “In the book I’ve been using. I thought it was a useful thing.”

Lilly grounded her teaching in methodologies and specific techniques which struck her as potentially useful. In a sense, it is the application of theory as presented to her in ESL textbooks and methodology courses that had an impact on her daily teaching. In other words, in order for KAL to have an impact on her classroom, her teaching practices suggested that KAL first needed to be filtered through specific techniques and textbooks. Though she had studied semantics and vocabulary teaching theory, she drew upon techniques presented in textbooks rather than on her theoretical knowledge to explain her pedagogical choices.

Pako: “I guess I just have to go on teacher intuition.”

Pako was observed in a “core” class, which emphasized integrated skills for academic purposes. In the lesson she showed a video, discussed a reading, and played a game based on the theme of the travel and tourism industry. Pako exhibited KAL during the observed class, but during the interview, she downplayed its role in her teaching.

Pako’s background (teaching high school Spanish) provided her with alternatives to standard ESL classroom routines, and points of comparison between a variety of techniques that the other participants did not have. Like Lilly, Pako chose to focus on vocabulary learning in the observed lesson. However while Lilly was focused on individual word recognition and definitions, Pako chose a more holistic approach, focusing not only on pre-, during, and post-activities, but on the four skills.

Jeff: “Could you explain to me how you put the lesson together?”

Pako: “I always try to review a lot...multiple exposures...pre-, during-, and post-...That’s something I’ve learned from my methodology classes...I try to look at ‘Are they getting speaking practice? Are they getting listening practice? Are they getting some note taking? Are they getting some reading? Are they getting some writing?’ And I try to look at every day and see how can I get all five of those things in.”

Conscious choices

It is interesting that Pako seemed to have a clear sense of what she had done in Spanish classes. Yet, in her current ELI job, she also seemed to have rejected that type of linguistically based, grammar focused teaching. It appeared that her MA-TESL courses provided her with an alternative way to conceptualize the classroom. The curriculum at the ELI also provided her with flexibility to explore those alternatives without worrying about exit exams.

Jeff: "Was there any difference in what you would have done back when you were teaching high-school and what you did today?"

Pako: "I don't think I was as good in doing the pre-, during-, and post-...It had to be grammar based because...that's how you decided that you had the student ready to move to Spanish two or Spanish three...I had to get them to, you know, whatever, to pluperfect before they could go to Spanish four...The assessment was definitely done on grammar, a lot of explicit grammar."

The ELI where the participants taught has a tradition of designing syllabi from a content-based instruction (CBI) model. However, Pako actively rejects CBI as a model, claiming instead to use task-based instruction (TBI) to write her syllabi. There is some justification for her claim, in that she chose activities for her students (e.g., writing a report, summarizing a video) prior to choosing the topic of each exercise. Examples of "tasks" observed in the lesson included taking notes while watching a video and playing a board game that focused on the language of travel.

One of the themes raised by Pako was the difference between being a classroom Spanish teacher, largely controlled by curricular objectives not chosen by her, and being an ESL teacher trained in the areas of syllabus and curriculum design. She expressed a feeling of autonomy to design and carry out her own course that provided validation to her as a teacher. In moving from a grammar driven curriculum with exit tests at every level to a curriculum chosen by the teacher, Pako had lost her sense that needing to meet outside standards was the driving force for her teaching. This allowed her to implement her own "task-based" approach, not based on "the linguistic perspective."

Jeff: "Can you name the curriculum style that you think you prefer?"

Pako: "I like to think I'm task based...I try to find things that I think that the students will be asked to do in the regular university classes such as taking notes, lectures, and that task and I try to provide practice in that...I try to find things that I think that the students will be asked to do in the regular university classes such as taking notes, lectures...I try to provide practice in that...I have approached it as task based as my guiding principle."

Approach to grammar

Pako, unlike Lilly, did use one example of explicit grammar teaching in her lesson: a chart to explain comparative and superlative forms of the adjective. However, she did

not seem to see this type of explicit grammar instruction as a key element in her teaching.

Jeff: "You did that fill-in chart with the adjective, the comparative, and the superlative, do you use charts quite often?"

Pako: "To be totally honest with you...I haven't done explicit grammar a lot."

Approach to vocabulary

Like Lilly, Pako used explicit teaching of vocabulary learning techniques as a primary focus of the observed lesson. Yet she seemed to downplay the importance of this aspect of the lesson. Unlike her detailed discussions of recycling, task-based curriculum, and balanced skills, her responses to questions about vocabulary instruction were sparse.

Jeff: "I noticed that there were three techniques which you used for giving vocabulary: One was to give the antonym, right, one was to give a definition, and then one was to give an example...Are there any other vocabulary learning tools that you use?"

Pako: "I use synonyms a lot...I have them come up with sentences...vocabulary lists. That's all I can think about right now."

Approach to language

In general, Pako seemed more comfortable discussing methodology than language. During the observed lesson, her ability to draw on KAL to teach was demonstrated several times. Some of that knowledge either originated in or was reinforced by linguistics courses she had taken (e.g., the adjective chart; in her Grammar course, the ability to create a comparative is presented as one test to prove that a word is an adjective [Popko, 2003]). However, she did not credit these courses with having any influence on her teaching.

Jeff: "Was there anything that you did in class today that you think was either implemented or encouraged by what you consider to be the linguistics courses of this program?"

Pako: "You mean not in the methodology classes?...I seriously doubt that there was anything from the linguistic perspective."

Jeff: "On what do you base (ELI student) grades?"

Pako: "I give them a point breakdown...I give assignment points based on...is their writing...persuasive, and is it correct, is it grammatically correct?"

Jeff: "How do you make a decision that one is at an A-level of correctness, and another is at a B-level of correctness?"

Pako: "I guess I just have to go on teacher intuition."

Although she has gained KAL in her courses, Pako separates linguistic concepts, KAL, from pedagogical practice. While she might have chosen to consciously ground her ESL teaching in KAL in fact she did not appear to do so. Rather, she moved to holistic

teaching methods, grading student success based on what she calls her “teacher’s intuition.” This separation is perhaps not unexpected, given the way courses were structured in her MA–TESL program, with discrete classes labeled “Linguistics” and others labeled “Methodology.”

Daisy: “Actually, it just kind of came to me.”

Daisy’s observation took place in a core class, with an integrated skills lesson around the theme of national parks. Students had brought in some paragraphs they had written, did a mapping activity, and had a reading activity based on a travel brochure. In the lesson, the language focus included both grammar and vocabulary, with an emphasis on learning and mnemonic strategies. During the interview, I was particularly interested in finding out the source of the rules and pointers Daisy provided for her students.

Several questions were designed to elicit comments about Daisy’s course work. It seemed that she was resisting this attempt by focusing on her own prior language learning experiences rather than on KAL recently gained in MA courses. Daisy had taken Sociolinguistics, a course in which the linguistic concept of register variation is extensively discussed. Therefore, her attempts to separate spoken from written registers through teaching of specific grammatical markers during the observed class seemed to show a direct link to the KAL she had acquired during her MA–TESL coursework. However, while the following exchange seems to show that Daisy connected her pedagogy to ideas learned in her MA courses, she does not make those connections explicit. When the interview finally brought up a point that required an explicit grammar rule, Daisy could provide one, but she downplayed its importance, and when teaching, she “didn’t want to go into it.”

Jeff: “Do you remember...where you learned that ‘and,’ ‘but,’ and ‘so’ don’t go at the front of a sentence?”

Daisy: “From grade school.”

Jeff: “Not abbreviating, was that something also that you – it was a long term thing?”

Daisy: “Yes, I can’t remember where I learned that”

Jeff: “When did you decide that written English was different from spoken English?”

Daisy: “Just from my own use in papers and it not working.”

Jeff: “Do you remember studying that construction at all?” (On Daisy’s correction of ‘I think I wanna’ to ‘I think that I want to.’)

Daisy: “Yes, that clauses, it’s like the object of think. It’s the that clause D.O.”

Jeff: “Do you remember the deletion rules at all for that clauses?”

Daisy: “Well, I mean it can be deleted...in written it sounds better with it. I don’t know, what are they?...I didn’t remember it, and I didn’t want to go into it.”

In the end, Daisy clearly indicated her knowledge of grammar, even using the jargon term “D.O.” for ‘direct object,’ but her focus in the lesson was on the practical “it sounds better.” It is interesting to note Daisy’s choice not to focus on the grammar rules, in what seems a rejection of their importance at this point in the class.

Approach to vocabulary

During the observation, many techniques for determining the meanings of new words were used by Daisy’s students. Since Daisy had taken a methodology class in which an entire unit was dedicated to vocabulary acquisition (Popko, 2003), it seemed likely that she had applied KAL acquired in that course to her teaching, given this evidence of her students’ vocabulary learning techniques. Daisy had trouble making this connection, however. Eventually, when asked quite directly to make a connection, she acknowledged that some of her teaching strategies might be connected to KAL learned in her courses.

Jeff: “They seem to have some pretty good skills for determining the meaning of new words.”

Daisy: “We’ve done context clues, and prefixes, and suffixes, and stems...I tried to recycle that...how you know that this is an adjective.”

Jeff: “Why did you focus on vocabulary this way?”

Daisy: “I want them to try to guess it. I want to promote learner autonomy.”

Jeff: “Did you do that in Japan when you were teaching?”

Daisy: “No, not really. That’s more of an academic thing...It’s just a study skill that’s good for EAP.”

Jeff: “Did you get any ideas for ways to attack the words in the (MA–TESL) program? Can you think of any classes that you took where some of these ideas came from?”

Daisy: “Oh, grammar, looking at the pans of words, morphology.”

In general, it seemed to be difficult for Daisy to overtly connect what she did in practice with where she had learned the concepts. She taught students rules she remembered from her elementary school days (e.g., Don’t start a sentence with ‘and,’ ‘or,’ or ‘but.’), and from her time teaching in Japan (e.g., context clues), alongside concepts taught in her MA courses (e.g., learner autonomy, her morphological focus on affixes). It became apparent that Daisy was not resisting, but honestly trying to answer the questions about the ultimate source of her KAL. However, that knowledge had been gained slowly over time, and she often could not precisely say when she had learned it.

Connecting practice with theory

When she could remember a specific source for her knowledge, Daisy very directly presented that source. In the exchange below, she not only related a pedagogical practice to an underlying applied linguistic theory, she went on to state that “connecting practice with theory” is something she learned in the MA program. She further teased apart these

ideas by differentiating between the technique of reviewing and the explicit, theoretically grounded concept of “recycling” or “revisiting.”

Jeff: “Did you use skimming and scanning activities before you came to SWU?”

Daisy: “Well in my course that I took that certificate (the RSA), I learned about that and we did have to practice on students with that one.”

Jeff: “Can you remember where you first got the definition you gave them?”

Daisy: “From that course.”

Jeff: “Is there anything that you can think of that you do with vocabulary building that you didn’t know how to do before you came into our program?”

Daisy: “I learned, like Schmidt’s, noticing theory...I had the words underlined in that passage to bring it to their attention, maybe connecting practice with theory...Just recycling...I didn’t really know about, I mean not explicitly. I mean, I think I had thought about it, reviewing, but not recycling. I mean, what is the other one? Revisiting.”

In the following exchange, Daisy demonstrated how she applied her KAL, gained throughout her years of learning and teaching, to a teachable moment. This incident was particularly interesting in that it was a spontaneous classroom event. Daisy had not planned to teach word–attack skills, and had nowhere indicated that she used syntactic categories to explain vocabulary. At a key teaching moment, this aspect of her KAL became important, and was applied.

Jeff: “You led (one student) through that in a very kind of step-by-step way...Do you remember what steps you took to get...the right answer?”

Daisy: “I said ‘What part of speech is ‘attraction’?...What’s the word after that?’ I thought she’d know the word ‘is’ is a verb, you know, so ‘What’s the word after ‘attraction’? It’s a verb. What do you remember about the pattern SVO? What usually comes before a verb? Subject. What does a subject usually have? So, which word is the noun?’ And then I think she got ‘attraction’ at that point, that that was a noun, and I said, ‘So, OK, what comes before a noun?’

Jeff: “Then you reinforced that for her, that, yes, -tion is a noun.”

Daisy: “Oh ya, I asked, ‘Why is it a noun?’ and she didn’t know.”

Jeff: “Did you consciously consider that SVO pattern as a guessing technique for your students prior to the (MA–TESL) program?”

Daisy: “Not prior to today. Actually, it just kind of came to me... I was trying to use that for placement of parts of speech within a sentence. I guess it kind of worked.”

Daisy was an active consumer of her own education, picking and choosing among theories and techniques, filing away those she found interesting or useful to be retrieved later. The source of a good idea seemed to be much less important to her than her own

ability to take that idea and make it her own. In the end, the exigencies of the teaching situation brought her background knowledge forward to be applied as needed.

Joyce: "I'm constantly revising my own theories."

Joyce was observed in a writing class teaching one in a series of lessons on writing the academic essay. Students had come up with topics, and had been asked to create thesis statements to focus those topics. The interview focused on various techniques Joyce used to help students improve their thesis statements, including having the students write their statements on the board, and reading a few of those statements, either as they were written, or with corrections to the grammar.

Joyce's metacognitive awareness seems to apply not only to her application of KAL, but also to her ability to weigh the importance of KAL in a given teaching moment, and to make teaching choices based on criteria other than language. In the following exchange, she has chosen not to correct a student, based on what seemed to be sociolinguistic rather than on linguistic knowledge. In a later communication, Joyce stated that, to her, the issue here was more with keeping the flow of the lesson, rather than with issues of error correction. As the focus of the observed lesson was on "a good thesis statement," she chose not to make an issue of grammatical accuracy. However, she affirmed that, "especially in EAP writing, when the target language is pretty clear-cut, grammatical accuracy is very important." In either case, her choice not to correct the student's language use was a reasoned decision, not a lack of KAL.

Jeff: "One (student error) that you read exactly the way it was... 'Starbucks is the place where it makes everybody happy by smell and people can get a good mood easily all over the world.'"

Joyce: "To me, that is non-native-like but not necessarily grammatically incorrect. I mean, there might be a few things in there, but it was more it had to do with naturalness than glaring grammatical error... I understood what she meant... sometimes I like the way my students write even though it's non-native-like, and so I'm very careful with changing their phrasing... There are some arguments in sociolinguistics, you know, there isn't one necessarily one target that we're shooting for... in an EFL situation you would look at the 'appropriate target' rather carefully and see that your students are aware of with whom they're going to be using English"

The following exchange shows how Joyce applied KAL in creating a modeling exercise. Rather than focusing on details of morphology and syntax, she chose the model for this exercise in order to develop her student's discourse competence, drawing directly on the contrastive rhetoric hypothesis.

Jeff: "You gave the example from... a Chinese student who had written a paper in (your freshman composition class) and the outline of that paper. Why?"

Joyce: "I try to model everything that I want for them to do in class... Having each main point clearly stated and repeated and restating a thesis is not something that every culture does."

Jeff: “How do you know that there are different ways of doing it in different cultures?”

Joyce: “I think [my professor] came into one of our writing workshop classes²...but I had also heard a little bit about it when I had taught before. . . I remember her little diagrams of different cultures and how they like to organize their thoughts”

Jeff: “Any idea who – or what the hypothesis is, where that comes from?”

Joyce: “I don’t know. Does Kaplan talk about it?...We did read about it I believe in the Grabe and Kaplan book.”

Like Daisy, Joyce drew on knowledge gained “before I came here.” However, she focused on the theoretical aspects of her teacher preparation rather than on individual techniques or methods when discussing her lessons. Here, Joyce shows metacognitive awareness of the pedagogical choices she made. Having decided what her students “need to learn,” she has drawn explicitly on her KAL and specific theoretical concepts of linguistics to inform her teaching.

Jeff: “Do you have a standard belief system about error correction?”

Joyce: “Most of the error correction happens in their writing, because that is when the error correction is most important...If I draw attention to it...they can usually figure it out by themselves.”

Jeff: “Drawing attention to it?’...Where does that come from?”

Joyce: “Schmidt, I guess...and the whole focus on form versus focus on forms debate...Whether you want to present rules in isolation or not, I think some kind of attention should be on what you think your students need to learn.”

Jeff: “What kind of curriculum do you think you’re using?”

Joyce: “I think we read newspapers differently than you do articles...the purpose of reading is different...part of my class content-based, but it was mostly register.”

Jeff: “Had you considered register prior to arriving at SWU?”

Joyce: “I didn’t know what it was.”

‘Register’ is a concept, built on corpus linguistic analysis, which provides empirical linguistic bases for discussions of language use. Interestingly, though she had taken the same courses as Joyce, Daisy did not refer to register (in fact seemed not to remember it) when teaching her students not to use spoken forms in their written work. Joyce, on the other hand has embraced register as a driving force behind her teaching. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that Joyce professed to consciously making the effort to connect theoretical KAL in MA courses to her ESL teaching praxis.

Jeff: “Everybody in my project is stating very clearly, very strongly, that the [MA-TESL] program is very helpful, that they’ve learned a lot, and that they really are going to apply it. Yet observing four different people, I’ve seen four different ways of application, and not all of them can say why.”

Joyce: "It's not that I always sit down and say, you know, 'Now what do I need to use from what I've read in this lesson today?' I don't. But when I'm in...my own [MA-TESL] classes I instantly think of ways to use it in the classroom. I picture in the classroom when I'm reading and when, like, professors are lecturing, and so I think that's where I make the connection. And when I plan out a syllabus or I'm thinking about a whole curriculum I definitely draw from...classes and I get out my sources and look at them and think about what I want to accomplish from day to day...It's a mixture...pulling from other sources but of course you make it your own at the same time, and the way you interpret things is going to be different from other teachers...I did some research on focus on form versus focus on forms in SLA...and I, you know, draw different things from that and try to fit it into what I'm comfortable with and what seems to work with my students...I'm constantly revising my own theories...I'm constantly experimenting with what I feel comfortable with in my own classroom...I don't think I've ever read someone and thought, you know, that's completely useless, not that I can think of."

DISCUSSION

These four teachers had four ways of connecting theory to practice, of using KAL in their teaching. Lilly seemed to incorporate mainly ideas that had been pre-filtered and organized via the books she read or was using to teach and the courses she had taken. It would appear that to her, KAL applies to teaching if it has been organized into practical techniques, such as the observed 'word search' activity.

Pako apparently chose to resist incorporating KAL directly into the classroom. She openly claimed that she did not overtly teach grammar in her ESL classes, and questioned whether any concepts from her linguistics courses appeared in her teaching. Yet once the linguistic concepts had been organized, sorted, and packaged into a methodology, such as task-based curricula, she openly embraced them. She also seemed to be able to draw upon her underlying KAL to apply it to her teaching, as exemplified by her comparative/superlative chart.

Daisy used her KAL to teach, but in a way that was often not explicit. She drew upon any and all knowledge in her background to synthesize teaching techniques in a way that appeared to be quite spontaneous. If Lilly seemed to prefer using KAL that had been filtered into techniques and Pako those filtered into methods, Daisy seemed to act as the filter between her language knowledge and its application to classroom teaching praxis.

Joyce actively participated in the creative construction of her teaching practice from the bits and pieces of KAL that she had gathered in her career. In a conscious, metacognitively aware manner, she seemed to analyze, evaluate, and separate out useful pieces of information from her studies and experience, and then synthesize a workable approach to teaching, and apply it via a variety of techniques in the classroom.

It is difficult to prove anything given only negative evidence. In the case of these four teachers, KAL was seldom used directly in teaching ESL, but to what extent was this due to lack of opportunity? As an ESL teacher myself, with fifteen years experience, many times during the observations I caught myself thinking, "Now, draw on your knowledge of syntax." "Ah, here you can explain semantic categories." or "I would have

used an example from my L2 learning to make that point.” Unfortunately, I did not codify and count those perceived opportunities. Rather, I focused on trying to see how in a variety of ways, KAL was incorporated.

These four teachers had received very similar preparation in their MA courses. They heard the same (or very similar) lectures, read the same books, and took and passed the same comprehensive exam (Popko, 2003). Presumably, they therefore had very similar KAL. Yet their incorporation of that knowledge varied widely. For Joyce, the connection of KAL to teaching was a conscious effort. For Daisy, it was an unconscious, intuitive occurrence. For Pako, direct application of KAL was overtly denied, though it occurred as a natural part of her task-based pedagogy. For Lilly, KAL seemed to lurk beneath her teacher’s intuition as she picked pre-packaged techniques to use in class.

Whether, like Lilly and Pako, a teacher chooses to utilize KAL only when it is prepackaged as a set of techniques or methodologies or, like Daisy and Joyce, a teacher chooses to begin with the raw KAL material and create their own means of applying that material, it may be that what is evident in the classroom is not KAL as such, but the application of KAL during praxis. If that is the case, it may be that what is of importance to ESL teachers (my students) is not so much KAL, but the ways in which that knowledge can be used to inform their practice.

In the cases of Lilly, Pako, and Daisy, it seems that a major problem is the lack of overt connections between declarative and procedural knowledge, between KAL and the classroom, while Joyce seemed to make her own connections. Perhaps teaching about language in linguistics and grammar courses, with separate methodology courses is not the best way to approach ESL teacher preparation. Language knowledge itself seems to be helpful, but no knowledge is helpful without application. It may be important to ensure that our students have protocols for applying certain aspects of KAL to their own teaching. Applied linguistics courses might be better in that regard than hard linguistics classes.

Certainly, direct references to knowledge gained in linguistics courses was mentioned by Daisy and Joyce, but at the same time, all four participants referred to knowledge gained in their methodology courses. Perhaps their Grammar course, in which they spent weeks diagramming sentences, could have been more helpful as a pedagogical grammar course in which the focus would be on methods of teaching grammar. Alternatively, given that curricula are difficult to change, there might be other options. Perhaps the issue is really one of articulation between courses, for example, the methodology course might include a unit on how to get from tree diagramming to useful grammar explanations. Phonology might be followed by a unit on teaching pronunciation. At any rate, it seems to be the case that while these participants did apply their KAL to their teaching, they did not always do so in a disciplined way, and they were frequently unable to articulate how and why they were doing so. A more deliberate articulation of methodology and linguistics within MA-TESL programs might provide teachers with a more disciplined approach to utilizing their KAL in ESL classrooms.

NOTES

1. Pseudonyms were used for all participants and institutions named in this article.
2. The writers' workshop is a tutoring lab for freshman composition at which Joyce worked for one year. During a biweekly meeting of tutors, professors present in-service training sessions.

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Chapter 23

Applied Linguistics and Language Teacher Education: What We Know

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INTRODUCTION

Linguists and applied linguists argue that language teachers need to learn about the theories and research findings generated by linguists and applied linguists (e.g. Halliday, McIntosh & Stevens, 1964; Spolsky, 1979; Stubbs, 1986; Pica, 1997; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1997). These claims are often accompanied by lists of items or facts which L2 teachers should know.

“Teachers should be aware of the principles of word formation in English....They should be aware, for example, of such patterns as the *d/s* alternation in words like *evade* and *evasive*, *conclude* and *conclusive*...Teachers should be aware of certain accent-placement regularities involving the suffixes written *-y* and *-ic*....” (Fillmore & Snow, 2002: 23).

It is claimed that teachers will be able to transfer this knowledge to the activities and contexts of L2 teaching. The hypothesis is that, armed with this knowledge about language, teachers will, among other things, be able to understand and diagnose student problems better, provide better explanations and representations for aspects of language, and have a clearer idea of what they are teaching. For example:

“Understanding how languages can change and how dialects vary in their phonological rules provide teachers with insights into the pronunciation patterns of learners in a classroom, as well as an explanation for the consistent difficulties that language students experience in speaking” (Grabe, Stoller & Tandy, 2000: 6).

The problem with this argument is that the concept of knowledge transfer has been used more as “a justification for the activity of educators and teacher educators rather than an empirical concept [to be empirically investigated]” (Freeman, 1994: 4-5). The purpose of this chapter is to examine this hypothesis in light of the findings in studies on learning and using applied linguistics knowledge, as well as other related research.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON USING KAL

Knowledge Transfer

Several trends emerge from the studies in this area. The first is that courses in applied linguistics do seem to have the potential to be successful in changing novice teachers' conceptions about language and language teaching. Both Attardo and Brown (chapter 5) and Riegelhaupt and Carrasco (chapter 7) showed that an introductory course can help novice teachers change their conceptions of dialects and those that use them. The teachers in Angelova's (chapter 2) study reported that input on SLA helped inform their conceptions of language learning and teaching and the teachers in Yates & Wigglesworth (chapter 15) reported that doing research in pragmatics changed their conceptions of teaching languages. In addition, the teachers in Villamil and Guerrero's study (chapter 6) demonstrated that the KAL they had been presented with had changed their conceptions of the writing process.

Furthermore, applied linguistics courses can also change teachers' intentions of how they will teach. After a short course in Pragmatics the teachers in Chaves de Castro's study (chapter 16) said that they would pay more attention to pragmatic aspects of language in their teaching. In Attardo and Brown (chapter 5) the teachers changed the kind of feedback they would give to students of non-standard dialects. However, in one study, it was found that although teachers did have plans to change their teaching after a course in Discourse Analysis, these changes were not very substantial (Balocco, Carvalho & Shepherd, chapter 8)

The studies in this area also make it clear that not only do teachers feel that applied linguistics courses, even those which are not always seen as central to learning to teach languages such as sociolinguistics, are an important part of their professional development (Owen and Edwards, chapter 3; see also Grabe, Stroller, & Tandy, 2000), but also that teachers do try to use the knowledge gained from applied linguistics courses in their teaching (Burns & Knox chapter 14; Hazelrigg, chapter 21; Bigelow & Ranney, chapter 11; Hislam & Cajlker, chapter 17; Popko, chapter 22).

KAL

Nevertheless, the results of one study indicate that a high level of KAL, while helpful, is not necessary to be a good L2 teacher. Andrews and McNeill (chapter 10) show that even superior L2 teachers have problems with things like explaining errors or metalanguage. Thus while it seems like KAL may be able to help teachers improve their teaching, it does not seem to be a necessary condition for good teaching.

Problems with Knowledge Transfer

Furthermore, teachers' usage of KAL is not as straightforward as it is often claimed in the applied linguistics literature (e.g. Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1997; Fillmore & Snow, 2002). In some cases the KAL that teachers received did not prepare them to help them in doing related teaching activities. Knowledge of pragmatics did not help Chaves

de Castro's teachers (chapter 16) identify and address their students' pragmatic errors. The knowledge of grammar that the teachers in Hislam and Cajlker's study (chapter 17) received in their teacher education program may have been good for identifying parts of speech and diagramming sentences, but it did not help them prepare and execute quality primary lessons focusing on grammar. Despite two semester-long applied linguistics courses which placed a significant emphasis on knowledge of phonetics and phonology, the teachers in Gregory's study (chapter 12) mainly produced faulty explanations of problems students had with their pronunciation. This should not be surprising as the few studies on KAL transfer to L2 teaching have shown this to be very difficult (Andrews, 1997; 1999; Cajkler & Hislam, 2002; Morris, 1999; 2002; Lamb, 1995; Pennington & Richards, 1997). This is also true for other areas, for example physics, where it has been found that university students (and even professors) often have problems with scientific views of matter and movement after extensive instruction in physics (Clement, 1982; Halloun & Hestenes, 1985; Reif & Allen, 1992). In fact, research on general knowledge transfer has found that we humans are remarkably poor in transferring knowledge (Gick & Holyoak, 1980, 1983; Godden & Baddely, 1975; Reed, Dempster & Ettinger, 1985; see Detterman, 1993, for a summary).

In other cases, teachers were able to use their KAL somewhat, but this use was not extensive due to the constraints in particular classroom contexts that made the transfer of KAL difficult. For example, the teachers in McKenzie's study (chapter 18) used their knowledge of testing for their normal in class assessment, but did not use it when constructing the formal, end of year exams due to the constraints placed on the administration of the exams. Xiao (chapter 13) showed that the teachers in her study could use their KAL in classroom instruction if there was adequate time in class and the lesson developed as planned. However, when the teachers were under time pressure or had many things to attend to, they were not as able in drawing on their KAL. Burns and Knox (chapter 14) present a long list of local factors that seem to have as much influence on instruction as teachers' KAL. These results are very similar to Pennington & Richards' (1997) study of EFL teachers in Hong Kong. The teachers in their study attempted to use their conceptions of the importance of communication in language learning and teaching in designing lessons. However, constraints in their teaching contexts made this very difficult and they eventually abandoned any attempts to use communicative activities in their language teaching.

Teachers also had difficulty when the KAL was not very compatible with with (a) their previous knowledge, (b) their personal or cultural conceptions of language and language teaching or (c) their preferred learning style. Peiling, the teacher in Lo's study (chapter 9) did not use the knowledge gained from her SLA course because she did not feel that it was relevant in the teaching culture she worked in. Lisbeth struggled with Hazelrigg's Field Construction Model of reading because it was so different than how she was used to conceptualizing classroom learning (Hazelrigg, chapter 21). In a similar vein, the teachers in Belz's study (chapter 20) valued and pursued only those aspects of

Discourse Analysis which fit well with their professional practice as experts in literature or structural linguistics. Finally, there is the case of Lilly, a teacher in Popko's (chapter 22) study, who preferred to learn about teaching by focusing on techniques rather than beginning with the theoretical ideas behind them. (Kerekes, 2001, found this learning preference in a different study of teachers.) Lilly's university program, however, did not focus on teaching techniques, making it difficult for Lilly to use the KAL gained in her teacher preparation program.

There is also some evidence that some kinds of KAL are more difficult to transfer than others. Bigelow & Ranney (chapter 11) found that the teachers in their study could use their knowledge of context based instruction (CBI) to plan lessons focusing on grammar much better than they could use their knowledge of grammar in planning CBI lessons. Xiao (chapter 13) also found that teachers had more trouble identifying complex orthographic errors than simple errors.

Summary

These findings make it clear that helping teachers acquire knowledge and conceptions about language and language learning alone is not enough to significantly change their teaching, perhaps because the learning activities the teachers engaged in were not analogous to those activities they engaged in as teachers. (Both Hazelrigg, chapter 21, and Chaves de Castro, chapter 16, specifically pointed out that they did not work with the teachers on how the KAL they were teaching could be used in the teachers' practice.) This finding is supported by the meta-analysis of research on teacher education by Wideen and colleagues, which found "very little evidence to support an approach to learning to teach which focuses primarily on the provision of propositional knowledge" (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998: 160).

Research on Knowledge Transfer within Cognitive Psychology

Research on knowledge transfer has shown that for knowledge to transfer successfully, the practice tasks (i.e. what is done in the university setting) have to be as similar as possible to the target tasks (i.e. what L2 teachers do in schools) at both the surface level and at a deeper level. (Bassok, 1990; Bassok & Holyoak, 1989; Catrumbone, 1995; Holyoak & Koh, 1987; Lockhart, Lamon & Gick, 1988; Michael, Klee, Brasford & Warren, 1993; Singley & Anderson, 1989). "*Even if something is learned...for transfer to occur, this knowledge must be encoded in such a way that it can be used in the target domain*" (Lesgold, Rubinson, Feltovich, Glaser, Klopfer, & Wang, 1988: 302). It has also been found that that novices are much more dependent on surface similarity than those with more experience in a domain (Novick, 1988), meaning it may be especially important for novice teachers to have educational experiences in their teacher education programs which are clearly similar to the experiences they will have as teachers. (See Renkl & Atkinson, 2003, and Kalyuga, Ayres, Chandler & Sweller, 2003, for more information on the different cognitive needs of learners at different stages of expertise.)

Furthermore, when there is similarity between practice and transfer activities, there is less variability of knowledge transfer among the learners, making it a more equal opportunity learning experience than contexts where there is less similarity (Ackerman, 1988).

Factors Enhancing or Inhibiting Knowledge Transfer

What factors were important in determining whether KAL was transferred or not? One factor which emerges from these studies is the tangibility of the knowledge learned. Angelova (chapter 2) found that concrete experience with concepts from SLA helped the novice teachers in her class understand them. Lilly, from Popko's study (chapter 22), seemed to need to focus on specific teaching techniques in order to understand the KAL being taught. Similar findings have been reported by Kerekes (2001) and Pennington (1995). Hislam and Cajkler (chapter 17) claim that their teachers' lack of exposure to using KAL in specific teaching contexts made it difficult for them to use their KAL to make quality grammar lessons. Other research has also shown that contextualizing the knowledge to be learned (Sherwood, Kinzer, Bransford & Franks, 1987) and participation in, rather than observation of, hands on activities similar to the target activities (Berry, 1991; Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Garet, Porter, Desimone, Birman & Yoon, 2001) helps knowledge retention and use. Furthermore, it is not likely that knowing structural or rule-based KAL, for example: "Teachers should know the principles of word formation" (Fillmore & Snow, 2002: 23), alone will help L2 teachers (Andrews, 2001). Studies show that humans have great difficulty applying abstract rules (Griggs & Cox, 1982; Price & Driscoll, 1997; Wason, 1966; Wason & Shapiro, 1971) and, in many cases, find examples much easier to use than rules (Brown & Kane, 1988; Johnston & Goettsch, 2000; Stanley, Mathews, Buss, R., & Kotler-Cope, 1989).

Research also suggests that intensive work over a significant period of time using KAL to work on classroom problems is important for transferring KAL to use in the classroom. Teachers who worked intensively on an action research study on pragmatics reported gains in their knowledge of language and their conceptions of teaching language. However, this was not the case with teachers who only attended workshops which presented the findings of the study that the other teachers had engaged in (Yates & Wigglesworth, chapter 15).

Furthermore, the teachers in Hislam and Cajkler's study (chapter 17) reported that it was only through teaching and preparing lessons, not explicit applied linguistics instruction, where they gained expertise in using their KAL for teaching. In the most convincing demonstration of knowledge transfer in a complex domain, Carpenter and his colleagues ran a 4 week workshop for elementary school teachers aimed at (a) helping them understand how children develop addition and subtraction concepts, and (b) providing them with the opportunity to explore how they might use that knowledge for instruction. In this workshop only 40% of instructional time was used to help teachers understand the theoretical concepts and 60% of the time was spent experimenting how

these concepts could be used to design and teach elementary math lessons (Carpenter, Fennema, Peterson, Chiang, & Loef, 1989). Thus one possible reason why teachers have difficulties transferring their KAL may be that their instruction focused primarily on the KAL and devoted very little time to understanding what that knowledge could mean in specific teaching contexts.

Teachers of applied linguistics also need to be aware that language teachers use a variety of ways to learn the KAL in their classes. The four teachers in Popko's study (chapter 22) had four very distinct styles of learning KAL. Perhaps more important, some teachers, Joyce (Popko, chapter 22) and Zsanna (Borg, chapter 19) actively seek out KAL and are constantly working on integrating their KAL with their knowledge of teaching, while other teachers do not. This is similar to Tsui's longitudinal study of four ESL teachers of varying degrees of expertise. She found that it was not teaching experience that had the most important impact on the development of teacher expertise, but the willingness and ability of the teachers to consistently reinvest their time in learning more and more about their teaching (Tsui, 2003). This is interesting because it has also been shown that air force technicians who actively try to improve their mental models of the technical systems they use are able to use this knowledge when transferred to another system. However, technician who do not actively seek to enrich their understandings of the systems they work with are not able to use their knowledge of the previous system to understand the new one (Gott, Hall, Pokorny, Dibble, & Glaser, 1993). Furthermore, in the field of education, Franke and her colleagues showed that it was generally the teachers who continually sought to expand their understanding and facility with Cognitively Guided Instruction (CGI) in the 10 years after an intensive workshop that continued to use and expand their usage of CGI in their teaching practice (Franke, Carpenter, Levi & Fennema, 2001).

Ericsson, Krampe & Tesch-Römer (1993) refer to this as "deliberate practice" and define it as activities where (a) learners (even very advanced learners!) are motivated to concentrate on the task and exert effort to improve their performance, (b) the practice task is beyond the learner's present ability, but close enough that mastery can be obtained after short periods of sustained practice, (c) immediate informative feedback is provided, and (d) the learners repeatedly perform the same or similar activities, and (e) while this practice is guided by others at beginning levels, to achieve expertise learners have to develop their own tasks and provide their own feedback. Interestingly enough, this is in many ways similar to sociocultural views of learning, where (a) participation in an activity, (b) working in the zone of proximal development (ZPD) which consists of tasks beyond the competence of the learner alone but achievable with the help of others, (c) feedback on the situated appropriacy of the learners activities, and (e) moving from object-regulated participation, where learners receive help and feedback from other people or cultural objects, to self-regulated participation, where the learner is in control of this process, are all seen as crucial for learning (Vygotksy, 1978; Wertsch, 1985; Lantolf, 2000).

The results of Ericsson, Krampe & Tesch-Römer's (1993) extensive survey of studies on learning showed clearly that in a wide variety of domains high levels of expertise are gained not simply from long experience with an activity, but only through this kind of sustained deliberate practice. (See also Brehmer, 1980.) This would suggest that if developing conceptions and schemata of using KAL for specific teacher activities in specific contexts is left to the last 10 minutes of class or week 13 of the semester, then L2 teachers will not develop expertise in using their KAL to notice patterns of errors and explaining them, using their knowledge of negotiation of meaning to plan lessons, or using their knowledge of interlanguage variability to design assessment tools simply by acquiring KAL and then working as an L2 teacher. It may well be that applied linguistics courses will need to provide teachers with opportunities for engaging in deliberate practice and designing deliberate practice activities.

Finally, it is important to not only look at individual applied linguistics courses in terms of these issues, but also to examine teacher education programs as a whole. For example, many studies show that the coherence of the different elements within a teacher education program (which can mean more than classes) was a very important factor in helping teachers acquire and use knowledge about teaching (See Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998, for a review.) Related to this is the issue of the kinds of roles students are learning within different parts of language teacher education programs. In many programs it is assumed that language teachers learn to engage in specific roles in separate classes; they learn to be *L2 users* in language classes, *L2 analysts* in applied linguistics classes, *L2 teachers* in teaching methodology classes. However, as Cots and Arno (chapter 4) have shown, the roles of *language user*, *language analyst*, and *language teacher* are not exclusively the domain of particular subject matter classes, but are may all developed within one type of class. Therefore, it is important to investigate (a) the extent that the conceptions of language and language teaching are compatible and coherent or contradictory within the diverse parts of such programs and (b) the kinds of roles language teacher education programs prepare novice teachers for and the extent to which the images of these roles are compatible from class to class.

Summary

To summarize the findings so far:

- 1) The provision of propositional knowledge about language can be successful in changing conceptions of and intentions for language teaching.
- 2) The acquisition of KAL and the changing of conceptions of teaching alone does not appear to allow full and consistent transfer of KAL to L2 teaching.
- 3) Well formed KAL does not seem to be necessary to be a superior language teacher.
- 4) Situational constraints pose significant problem with transferring KAL.

- 5) Knowledge of context based instruction (CBI) was easier to transfer to planning grammar lessons than it was to use knowledge of grammar in planning CBI lessons
- 6) The factors that help knowledge transfer are: concrete information (vs. abstract), a focus on using the KAL on specific teaching activities, time spent on such practice tasks, deliberate practice, well developed mental models, and the cohesion of the teacher education program.

A COGNITIVE VIEW OF KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER AND USE

But why do local constraints pose such a huge problem? Why do we humans have such a problem with knowledge transfer in cases where the connection between knowledge and the new activity is not painfully clear? If we know understand what a pragmatic mistake is, why is it such a problem to notice learners' pragmatic mistakes? Why can't we just figure it out? The main problem seems to be what Bruer (1993) calls the "cognitive bottleneck". Explicitly working out the grammatical, lexical and pragmatic problems individual utterances might contain, especially in real time activities with learners, necessitates a considerable amount of cognitive computing resources in short term memory (Salthouse, 1991). However, our short term memory is very limited in the amount it can compute at once, so this kind of explicit knowledge use can lead to "cognitive overload" where the demand for cognitive capacity far outstrips the supply (Sweller, 1988). Thus, folk conceptions about knowledge use as step by step explicit application of propositional knowledge refer to a very inefficient use of our cognitive resources (Strauss, 2001).

Studies of expertise have shown that humans deal with this "cognitive bottleneck" by acquiring large amounts of domain specific information, especially schemata, about the activities they engage in. This allows people to simply recognize important information, which does not require much working memory capacity, rather than calculating what information is important and what it means. Chess players recognize weaknesses in opponents' strategies, doctors notice what clinical information is important for a diagnosis; all without the need for explicitly working through the situation (de Groot, 1965; Chase & Simon, 1973; Boshuizen & Schmidt, 1992; Patel & Groen, 1991). However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the field of applied linguistics does not represent the kind of domain specific knowledge that language teachers in order to avoid the "cognitive bottleneck" when teaching languages. (See Andrews, 2001, for discussion.)

Schön refers to this ability to understand situations and come up with possible courses of action without explicit reasoning as "knowing-in-action". One of Schön's major contributions to the field of education was the recognition that when professionals react in their practice without explicit, conscious reasoning, such as a teacher deciding how to respond to a student utterance, this is not some kind of automatic, Pavlovian response to stimulus. Instead these kinds of reactions represent complex, dynamic

cognition and it is this kind of cognition, not explicit reasoning using declarative knowledge, which fuels practitioners' practice (Schön, 1983).

Furthermore, Schön claims that it is principally through "reflection-in-action", or figuring out what one is doing while engaged in an activity, that one acquires this type of "knowledge-in-action". According to Schön, "reflection-on-action", or thinking about what one did during an activity, has a secondary role in helping prepare people for "reflection-in-action", but does not play a direct role in the acquisition of professional knowledge (Schön, 1987). Despite criticism of the data Schön uses to make for his claims (e.g. Eraut, 1995), others have similar explanations of how expertise is acquired. For example, after their exhaustive summary of research on expert knowledge, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1993) conclude that expertise is gained by solving both problems of procedure and problems of understanding within that particular practice. "There is no magic to how expert knowledge is acquired, but it is not enough to say that it comes about through study, experience and practice. Those terms explain mediocrity as well as expertise...problem solving provides the dynamic element in the growth of all kinds of expert knowledge." (74)

The work of Boshuizen and Schmidt, however, show that explicit, declarative knowledge can be useful in the development of expertise. They were interested why, in studies of the process of making a diagnosis, experienced doctors did not seem to be using their biomedical knowledge (knowledge of how bodily processes work and the effect of disease and injury on these processes). Instead, the doctors referred almost exclusively to the clinical information (information which can be obtained by examining and interviewing the patient) (Patel, Evans & Groen, 1989). Boshuizen and Schmidt showed that as doctors gained robust schemata for medical diagnosis, their biomedical knowledge became associated and subsumed under their schemata for clinical knowledge, a process they call "knowledge encapsulation" (Boshuizen & Schmidt, 1992). Thus when making a routine diagnosis, doctors only process clinical information directly, which results in less information to process and is thus cognitively efficient. However, in non-routine cases their biomedical knowledge is available to help with the diagnosis in conjunction with the clinical knowledge. While this may work well in a domain such as medicine where cause and effect are relatively clear and easy to assess, it remains to be seen whether knowledge encapsulation can work in the field of teaching where cause and effect are not as clear and are more difficult to assess.

Another strategy that people use in complex situations is to use rough "rules of thumb" which, although perhaps not always perfectly accurate, are highly cognitively efficient (Gigerenzer & Todd, 1999). Thus, a teacher who treat all mistakes as showing lack of linguistic knowledge by the language learner in situations where it is not instantly clear if the mistake was due to a momentary lapse or a deeper lack of knowledge about the L2 could be seen as efficiently using her cognitive resources.

An important part of this kind of expertise is schemata of what information is task-relevant and what information is task-redundant for a particular task or practice. Only

attending to relevant information reduces the amount of information that needs to be processed, making it more cognitively efficient (Haider & Frensch, 1996; 1999). When people use these schemata to filter out unnecessary information, it greatly reduces the number of details they pay attention to and is therefore cognitively efficient (Patel & Groen, 1991). This may be one reason why, as mentioned earlier, similarity between practice tasks and target practices is so important for transfer; the more similar the knowledge is, the easier it is to recognize and use relevant information. Unfortunately, studies of teachers' knowledge have shown that teachers' domain specific knowledge, although similar, is significantly distinct from academics' knowledge in the same area (Bromme, 1992; Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999; Tamir, 1992; Wilson, Shulman, & Richert, 1987). In addition, other studies have found that teachers often do not get knowledge in teacher education programs that are specific to their sphere of professional practice (Ball, 1990; NCRTL, 1991; Simon, 1993), although it must be noted that none of these studies looked at language teacher education.

A key aspect of any kind of knowledge teachers might have is awareness of constraints and affordances of a particular concept or situation (Greeno, et al, 1993; Duffy & Roehler, 1986). Constraints refer to factors inhibiting certain possible actions or states. While it may be helpful for teachers to know the difference between using open-ended vs. closed-ended questions in the classroom, they also need to be aware of the constraints of using either one. For example, in some classrooms using open-ended questions may result in problems in classroom management, especially for novice teachers, since individual answers to open-ended questions may occupy the teacher for longer periods of time, making it easier for the other students in the class to engage in disruptive behavior. The term "affordances" may seem a bit odd, but the idea behind it is fairly simple. Affordances refer to the opportunities that a certain idea or situation opens up for a teacher or what is possible to do in a particular situation or when using a specific idea. For example, many teachers do not think that grammar lessons provide opportunities to work on communicative skills. However, there are some types of grammar activities which also "affords" work on communicative competence. Inductive grammar activities where students analyze samples of language in groups, discuss patterns of form, meaning and use, and try to reach consensus on that aspect of grammar can provide plenty of communicative practice, negotiation of meaning, etc. as long as they are done in the target language. (For more in-depth discussion of affordances and constraints see Greeno et al, 1993).

Furthermore, the cognitive tasks used in different practices such as analyzing information and determining its validity are not universal, but rather different tasks are used for different practices (Amsel, Langer & Loutzenhiser, 1991; Bartels, 2003; Donald, 1995; Hativa, 1995; Brandes & Seixas, 1998; Patel, Groen & Arocha, 1990). Thus, it cannot be assumed that those cognitive tasks underlie applied linguists' practices such as the methodological analysis SLA studies (Gass, 1995) or testing "the validity of [teachers'] principles against the observed actualities of classroom practice_

(Widdowson, 1990: 25) of will be useful or cognitively efficient for L2 teachers. For example, there is evidence that language teachers and language researchers had starkly divergent ways of validating information and have different ways of using and incorporating information into their professional knowledge (Bartels, 2003).

Knowledge organization is also important for learning a particular practice such as teaching. Expert knowledge is highly organized around the tasks people engage in, meaning experts not only recognize important information in their environment, but also that this recognition triggers possible explanations, actions and options for that specific situation (Chi, Feltovich & Glaser, 1981; Lesgold, 1984; Lesgold, Rubinson, Feltovich, Glaser, Klopfer, & Wang, 1988; Leinhardt & Smith, 1985; Schempp, Tan, Manross & Fincher, 1998; Carter, Sabers, Cushing, Pinnegar & Berliner, 1987). Because explanations, actions and options do not have to be explicitly worked out in working memory, this allows for very efficient use of cognitive resources. Studies have shown that experienced teachers' knowledge is also organized around practice of teaching (Anders, 1995, Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Leinhardt & Smith, 1985; Tamir, 1992), with the linking of teachers' mental models of the curriculum and the lesson to classroom routines and possible explanations and representations of the subject matter (Leinhardt, Putnam, Stein, & Baxter, 1991). Studies of teacher education indicate that teacher education programs do not provide teachers with the kinds of educational experiences which would help them organize their knowledge in ways similar to experienced teachers (Carpenter, Fennema, Peterson & Carey, 1988; Calderhead & Shorrocks, 1997; Gess-Newsome & Lederman, 1993; Grossman & Richert, 1988; Morine-Dershimer, 1989).

This cognitive perspective of knowledge use can be used to interpret the findings mentioned in the first part of this chapter.

- 1) *The provision of propositional knowledge about language can be successful in changing conceptions of and intentions for language teaching.* One reason for this may be that the types of activities used in applied linguistics classes are very similar to the activity of *talking about* conceptions of language and language learning, thus making transfer cognitively simple.
- 2) *The acquisition of KAL and the changing of conceptions of teaching alone does not appear to allow full and consistent transfer of KAL to L2 teaching.* . The teachers in these studies did not engage in deliberate practice involving using their KAL to solve common problems of teaching practice. Perhaps while learning to teach they focused on problems of procedure (how to do things), but not on problems of understanding.
- 3) *Well formed KAL does not seem to be necessary to be a superior language teacher.* It could be that the type of KAL investigated is not key to engaging in the practices of language teaching. It is also possible that the teachers have situation specific "rules of thumb" which are as effective as complex KAL.

- 4) *Situational constraints pose significant problem with transferring KAL.* The teachers in these studies may have lacked the classroom based schemata and extensive mental models of using the KAL concepts in the classroom. This would then require them to do a lot of explicit processing which would result in cognitive overload.
- 5) *Knowledge of context based instruction (CBI) was easier to transfer to planning grammar lessons than it was to use knowledge of grammar in planning CBI lessons:* It would seem to be more cognitively simple to find one context for a particular grammar point and more cognitively complex to notice the great number of linguistic needs to complete a particular content task.
- 6) *The factors that help knowledge transfer are: (a) concrete information (vs. abstract), (b) a focus on using the KAL on specific teaching activities, (c) time spent on such practice tasks, (c) deliberate practice, (d) well developed mental models, and (c) the cohesion of the teacher education program.* All of these factors help teachers develop the kind of practice-specific, well-organized knowledge which reduces the cognitive complexity of using that knowledge for solving problems of practice in specific professional situations.

IMPLICATIONS FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS INSTRUCTION IN TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The research presented here indicates that to enable language teachers to take full advantage of knowledge about language in their teaching, a significant amount of time in applied linguistics classes needs to be invested in helping novice teachers develop and engage in a variety of deliberate practice activities. These activities should have the following characteristics:

- 1) They should work on solving the kind of problems of procedure and understanding that language teachers regularly face in their practice.
- 2) They should focus on procedures used in language teaching or which could be used in a cognitively efficient way.
- 3) They should help novice teachers develop schemata of language learners and language teaching, especially schemata of information that is task-relevant and task-nonrelevant for a variety of language teaching situations.
- 4) They should focus on helping novice teachers organize their knowledge so that relevant information triggers is triggered by each schemata.
- 5) They should help novice teachers develop appropriate “rules of thumb” for their practice.

- 6) Applied linguistics activities should compliment each other and help novice teachers form a coherent network of knowledge about their practice.

In summary, these findings echo the arguments of Freeman and Johnson (1998) who argue that language teacher education needs to focus on the activity of teaching itself, the teacher as a learner of teaching, and the situated contexts in which teaching takes place.

However, there is a problem in making the activities in teacher education classes more similar to those in specific teaching contexts. First of all, a focus on the situated practice of language teaching while novice teachers are within a university program may put novice teachers in a situation where they have to function in a number of discourse communities (university seminar, school culture, student culture, etc.), each of which place different demands and have different standards of behavior, which can itself cause cognitive overload for the novice teachers (Schocker-von Ditfurth & Legutke, 2002). There is a need for the development of educational experiences which help novice teachers negotiate different discourse communities and engage in deliberate practice activities within them in ways that do not overload their cognitive capacities. (See Renkl & Atkinson, 2003, and Kalyuga, Ayres, Chandler & Sweller, 2003, for more on designing learning experiences which seek to maximize human processing capacity.)

A further problem, as Larsen-Freeman (1983) has pointed out, is that language teacher education programs prepare teachers for such a wide variety of teaching contexts, that it is impossible to prepare teachers for each context they might find themselves in. How can we provide teacher education activities with enough surface and structural similarity to language teaching to allow knowledge to transfer if the individual teaching and teaching contexts are so diverse? First, the differences between different teaching contexts may be relatively superficial, which would mean that extended training for each context may not be needed. Furthermore, it is also possible that if teachers use KAL to investigate and solve specific teaching problems in a few teaching contexts, they will develop the skill and schemata for figuring out how to use that KAL in different teaching contexts, so that it would not be necessary to have them practice using KAL in all contexts (Anderson, Reder & Simon, 1996). In fact, there are teacher education programs who have developed ways to teach academic content in this way (e.g. Kessels, Lagerwerf, Wubbels, & Korthagen, 2001; Leinhardt, Young & Merriman, 1995; Wubbels, Korthagen & Brekelmans, 1997). Ways of reducing the cognitive load during learning are also being explored (Mayer & Moreno, 2003; van Merriënboer, Kirschner & Kester, 2003). However, these are issues that need further investigation in our field.

In addition, while it is often assumed that applied linguists provides at least part of language teachers' content knowledge (Snyder, 2002; Yates & Muchisky, 2003), this is not supported by the research mentioned here because of the differences between the practices of language teachers and language researchers. In most contexts the purpose of language teaching is for students to acquire communicative competence, not to become applied linguists, which would mean that communicative competence in the target

language is the content knowledge of language teaching. While language teachers may teach their students about phrase structure rules or negotiation of meaning, this is not the goal of the teaching or the content that students should gain, but rather a means for reaching that goal. Instead, the KAL produced by applied linguistics is perhaps better thought of as background knowledge which can be used to create knowledge used for teaching and to guide deliberate practice activities, much like biomedical knowledge is background knowledge which helps doctors understand and learn clinical knowledge, the principle knowledge they use in practice (Boshuizen & Schmidt, 1992, 1995; Schmidt & Boshuizen, 1992; Patel, Groen & Arocha, 1990).

QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

I would like to end this chapter by posing questions that need to be investigated in order understand the problem of applied linguistics in language teacher education more completely.

First of all, there needs to be more research on the cognitive aspects of language teaching. What kinds of procedural and conceptual problems do they engage in solving? What kinds of information is task-relevant or task-redundant for those problems in teaching contexts? What kinds of cognitive procedures are used by language teachers in their practices? How is teachers' knowledge organized and what kind of schemata are important and useful for the practice of language teaching? What kinds of "rules of thumb" do teachers use and which would be helpful if adopted? If we are to help provide teachers with domain specific knowledge, we need to have a much better idea of what this is.

Secondly, more information is needed on the link between task similarity and knowledge transfer. To what extent are teachers able to use declarative information on language and language learning to develop the kind of complex knowledge and schemata for language teaching? How similar do activities in teacher education have to be in order for knowledge to transfer? How long, intensive and varied do the practice activities have to be in order to facilitate transfer? Does this vary according to the type of knowledge being learned or according to characteristics of the individual teacher? How similar are the activities of teaching in diverse contexts? In general, there is a crying need for in depth studies of teachers acquisition of KAL in teacher education contexts and their subsequent use (or non-use) in later teaching contexts.

More research is needed on learning in applied linguistics classrooms: What kinds of educational experiences are offered in such classes? What sorts of practices are teachers apprenticed to? How do teachers understand and interpret the KAL presented in such classes and how is this similar to and different than the way applied linguists understand that KAL? What differences are there between classes in the different fields within applied linguistics (i.e. sociolinguistics, SLA, discourse analysis, etc.) in terms of the educational experiences offered, the tasks practiced, the teachers' learning, etc.

Furthermore, we need to know a lot more about possible forms of deliberate practice: How feasible are they? What kinds of knowledge do they help teachers acquire? What can be done in teacher education programs to foster the habit of deliberate practice? Do different types of people prefer different types of deliberate practice and are there some people who do not benefit from it? Do teachers need different kinds of practice at different stages of their development (e.g. Renkl & Atkinson, 2003; Kalyuga, Ayres, Chandler & Sweller, 2003)?

We also need more information on the variety of ways that the diverse parts of teacher education programs can be made more interconnected and coherent and the impact of this on teacher learning. It would also be nice to know how interconnected a program has to be in order to reap the benefits of this and whether there are aspects of teacher education programs that are more or less easy to link with other parts of the program.

Finally, we need more understanding of the cognitive complexity of certain areas of KAL. What makes it more difficult to transfer some kinds of KAL than others? What cognitive processes are needed in order to transfer such knowledge? What can teacher education programs do to make the transfer process less complex for teachers?

CONCLUSION

The research reviewed in this chapter shows knowledge of applied linguistics can have a positive impact on language teachers and has potential for a much greater impact if problems of transfer can be addressed. Therefore, when designing applied linguistics courses for language teacher education programs, it is not enough to simply provide a short apprenticeship in applied linguistics and hope for the best because the knowledge that teachers use in their practice is more complicated than just knowing facts and general conceptions of language and language learning. In order to produce better learning experiences for novice teachers we need to move more away from folk psychology conceptions of the mind (Strauss, 2001) to a more sophisticated and complex view of language teachers' knowledge, knowledge acquisition, and knowledge use which takes into account the insights from research in these areas. We need to take into account what kind of knowledge language teachers need (as opposed to using what knowledge we can offer as a starting point) and what kinds of learning experiences will help them acquire such knowledge. We also need to have a deeper, more sophisticated understanding of how our course designs, materials and activities effect teachers' knowledge growth, which provides a whole series of research questions which need to be investigated in the coming decade.

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