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ABSTRACT

Papers on issues in second language teaching included in this volume are: "After Methods, What?" (Theodore S. Rodgers); "An Eternal Triangle? Roles for Teacher, Learners, and Teaching Materials in a Communicative Approach" (Rod Bolitho); "Task, Group, and Task-Group Interactions" (Michael H. Long); "A System of Tasks for Language Learning" (Paul Nation); "An Empirically Based Methodology for the Nineties" (David Nunan); "Content-Based Language Instruction in Second and Foreign Languages" (JoAnn Crandall, G. Richard Tucker); "The Methodology of the Module: A Content-Based Approach" (Ian Martin); "Listening and Note-Taking in Higher Education" (Jane Jackson Fahmy, Linda Bilton); "Argument and Evaluation in Organizational Behaviour: Student Writing in an Introductory Course" (Pat Currie); "Area Studies and Language Teaching--A Practical Approach" (Karl Koch); "Language, Literature, and Critical Practice" (David Birch); "Towards Teaching a 'Grammar of Culture'" (David Marsh); "Conciliating Communication, Culture, and Language Awareness" (Denis Girard); "What Role for Grammar After the Communicative Revolution?" (Marianne Celce-Murcia); "Collocations: Where Grammar and Vocabulary Teaching Meet" (Graeme D. Kennedy); "Using Drama Techniques in Language Teaching" (Hyacinth Gaudart); and "Television News, the Computer and Foreign Language Learning" (Ulrike Hanna Meinhof). (MSE)

LANGUAGE TEACHING METHODOLOGY FOR THE NINETIES

Edited by
SARINEE ANIVAN

ANTHOLOGY SERIES 24

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FOREWORD

The papers in this volume have been selected from the end-products of the 1989 Regional Seminar. Some of the authors are very well known to the ESL/EFL teaching fraternity; others are up and coming. All, however, have something interesting to say.

Language Teaching Methodology is very much in tune with the overall SEAMEO-RELC five-year theme: "Language and Human Resource Development" since it is the key to language learning and teaching in particular and to education in general. As well, language is crucial to communication and information -- the essential ingredients to socio-economic development.

The mission of education is the intellectual as well as the emotional and physical well-being of individuals and the community as a whole. In the field of learning, the best results from language teaching are achieved when pedagogic efforts are focussed on the individual in a conducive condition. Given limited resources and time, the expedient need is to find language methodologies to train as many and as quickly as possible, in less than ideal conditions.

Methodology is the conduit through which the theory and ideas from research are brought to the classroom. The relationship is dynamic and complex since much of the research itself is now done in the classroom where variables such as materials, syllabuses and testing and evaluation are also to be taken into account. However, since the language acquisition process itself is not fully understood, methodology remains a necessary but still imperfect tool. The search for better theoretical knowledge, and greater application of what is known, goes on.

The 1989 Regional Seminar saw signs as to what the trends in development might be for the 1990s. The papers included in this volume are only a small selection, but I wish to commend them to language educators both within SEAMEO countries and outside, with the hope that they will find them professionally challenging, and serve as a point of departure for their own rethinking and adaptation in order to arrive at methodological solutions most appropriate to their own unique problems.

Earnest Lau
Director
February 1990

INTRODUCTION

The papers in this collection bring together some methodological issues that will continue to be important in the 1990s. The roles of the name specific methods are no longer pre-eminent although by no means completely abandoned. These methods co-exist with many evolving new ideas and innovations being experimented with and tested. But the current and foreseeable state of knowledge is unlikely to reach such a level of sophistication as to enable us to clearly discern the best method in every situation. The communicative approach will continue to be very widely accepted, even if some aspects of earlier versions are being questioned, revised and broadened. There are many areas of agreement in spite of the diversity and flux.

The views and practices explored by the paper in this collection can be considered as falling into two levels. On the one hand, they are concerned with the immediate learning/teaching situation. Methodologies of the 90s will concentrate on the interaction within the classroom to discover what features work in a particular situation, and see what is generalisable to other classrooms. Several papers in this volume describe some of these features -- task-based and content-based learning/teaching, grammar 'consciousness raising' activities, and learner and teacher strategies. Developments in these areas will continue to occupy the attention of language teachers and educators.

At the second level, there is greater recognition of, and willingness to incorporate into methodology, the less direct variables and influences, inside and outside the classroom, that go to make successful language learning. The need to be sensitive to culture, teaching styles and personality are seen to be increasingly important concerns for methodology in the nineties.

Starting at the broadest end, **Rodgers** analyses features, found in a cross section of methods, which heighten successful learning and teaching of languages. Which features can be adapted to particular situations depends on an analysis which should crucially include such factors as learning and teaching styles, cultural compatibility, and policy and administrative considerations.

In the classroom, **Bolitho** ascribes a prominent position to teacher effectiveness, without which the other key elements, learner centredness and appropriateness of materials, cannot be implemented. Teachers can only be enthusiastic about their communicative classrooms or be keen to participate in new pedagogical approaches if they themselves have been encouraged by their experiences during training, and have attained sufficient proficiency in the language they teach. Moreover, unless teachers have socio-economic security and stability they are not psychologically prepared to work beyond the "minimalist survival" level.

According to **Long**, teachers eschew "methods" to organise their work around classroom tasks. Therefore, it would be more useful to analyse, research and evaluate these tasks to find the features that promote language teaching and learning. The success of task-based learning might be influenced by types of tasks as well as the interaction between task types and participating groups.

A system of different types of tasks can be used to get to learners' language learning goals. **Nation** describes how the different types of tasks can be used to incrementally bridge the gap between the learner's initial level of proficiency and his goal.

The future of methodological research lies in the classroom. For **Nunan**, the classroom will be the centre of interest for researchers asking questions about language processing and production, classroom interaction, and acquisition and learning strategy preferences. Teacher involvement with the research, whether direct or indirect, will influence the quality of the research and ultimate usefulness of the findings.

Content-based programmes can provide depth and breadth to language proficiency, increase content knowledge and improve thinking and problem solving skills. Aspects of **Crandall and Tucker**'s US experience can certainly be adapted to other second and foreign language situations. With more interest in this approach in the 1990s, some solutions may be found to the problems listed by Crandall and Tucker. These include the lack of appropriate materials, deficient knowledge of the linguisitic features of content field registers, and the training needs for this approach.

The content-based approach can be enhanced when combined with a modular format. In **Martin**'s experience, flexibility is improved, and costs are lower than with other forms of content-based teaching. The modular format will certainly be useful in ESP classes where needed units may be embedded in the overall programme.

The problems of communication between native speaker lecturers and non-native speaker students will continue as English takes greater hold in the educational systems of many developing countries. The research in Oman by **Bilton and Fahmy** shows how variability of lecturing styles exacerbated difficulties in note taking for a group of students in a situation where the lecturing mode was important. This suggests that teaching of learning strategies will be a useful component of EAP methodologies.

Similarly, EAP methodology needs to teach writing strategies that enhance performance grades. **Currie**'s paper shows that the argumentation approach taken by students affects the grades awarded by their lecturers. Different discourse communities may take different approaches. EAP teachers need to be aware of the implications of the different approaches.

In part, area studies involve the systematic investigation of the broad socio-culture of a language area. Traditionally, language studies have been linked with literature and the culture of the language area concerned. That linkage has now been extended to other fields such as economics, business, politics and science -- ie, to culture in its broadest terms. **Koch** describes the rationale and advantages of area studies in general, and in particular, those of a German language and German industrial relations programme in England. In this situation, the impetus for language and area studies comes from the need for a European perspective as their peoples move towards a more integrated community after 1992. But the model is relevant to other situations such as the SEAMEO countries, where area studies can offer a means to greater depth and breadth in language teaching as well as offer a window to mutual socio-cultural understanding.

Content-based programmes and area studies tend to look at the world outside the learner and add an extra dimension to the learning and teaching of the foreign language. But the meaning that a reader takes away from a text also depends uniquely on his social and ideological background. According to **Birch**, "critical linguistics" argues that different groups, societies and ideologies have different understandings of reality because they classify and categorise with and through language in different ways. Meaning is thus not something that is contained within the words of discourse, but has to be formed within each user of the language. This new view calls for a reconsideration of teaching methodology, since methodology must ultimately reflect new theoretical developments in linguistics.

Since the listener will process and interpret according to his particular social, cultural and ideological background, it is vital that a discourse be conducted with pragmatic appropriacy, otherwise, there will be miscommunication. **Marsh** discusses this and suggests that classroom research can find differences in, say, conversational style which can partly be accounted for by the differences between the rules of appropriacy of the target language and those of the mother tongue. Learners can be made aware of such differences as part of a language programme, and this can help them bridge the communication gap.

Girard also argues that cultural awareness is crucial to communicative competence. Language teaching and learning will be hollow without a rich content. As well, he recognises the importance of grammar and that language cannot be acquired and understood merely through communicative interaction alone.

The need for grammar in the communicative competence of non-native speakers is also highlighted in the paper by **Celce-Murcia**. She proposes a new situational and text-based approach which will raise grammar consciousness of the learners in the communicative classroom.

Grammar through text-based studies is also advocated by **Kennedy**. He sees collocation analysis as a useful tool to describe the ecology of language terms. In a concordance-based study, the collocations of four prepositions, for example, showed that they could be better taught as vocabulary rather than grammatical items.

The two final papers offer contrasting approaches to the use of resources. Computers and other high technology equipment did not lead to the hoped-for breakthrough in the eighties and it is uncertain if they will make significant changes to the overall pattern and methodology of language teaching and learning in the 1990s. Nevertheless, there have been many interesting innovations. Teachers should not give up on technology because they do not have the best and the latest. On the other hand, imaginative adaptation can often turn simpler equipment to greater effect. Neither should the more traditional techniques be ignored, for they often contain aspects which no mechanical or electronic equipment can duplicate.

The drama techniques proposed by **Gaudart** can be applied in many ESL and EFL situations to provide face-to-face interactive practice in a meaningful context. The potential for real communication is great.

Meinhof describes the interactive manipulation of TV news using the computer. The benefits lie in the availability of up-to-date authentic texts (TV news reports) being coupled with the storage capacity and flexibility of computers. Foreign language learners can be helped to go through the processing strategies which native speakers go through when they listen to and understand the news.

The collection contains, then, numerous insight into the diverse components of teaching and learning Second or Foreign languages. The papers have been chosen to offer a multi-dimentional probe into some of the problems and possibilities that will exist in the 1990s. There are no forecasts as to which will be the most popular approaches although some trends are suggested. It is hoped that teachers and other educators will find opinions and practices which they can adapt for their own classrooms to make them more successful learning places.

AFTER METHODS, WHAT?

Theodore S Rodgers

INTRODUCTION

A couple of years ago Jack Richards and I did a book for Cambridge University Press in which we analyzed and mildly critiqued eight of the best-known methods for teaching second languages. We used for the purposes of description, analysis and critique a model which we called Approach, Design and Procedure. Within the categories subsumed under Design we considered Teacher Roles and Learner Roles - that is, we summarized for each method what was expected of a teacher or a learner operating according to the prescriptions of that method.

Two things we did not do in the book. One was to attempt to generalize across methods those features which seemed to be most central to reported method success. Second, we did not define how a learner or teacher might use the analysis in an attempt to identify those methods or sub-method strategies which might prove most appropriate or successful in individual learning and teaching situations. One of the goals of this paper is to extend the commentary to encompass these issues.

Let me first say, however, that I am not going to talk about methods. The 1980's was the decade of Methods, the 1990's will not be. One of the outcomes of method studies like our own was a realization of the many shortcomings of t aditional methodological approaches to language learning and teaching. Before proceeding to discuss what I do think the major influences in language teaching in the 1990's will be, it will be useful to highlight some of the shortcomings of method-based approaches to language education.

I MADNESS IN OUR METHODS

There have been several kinds of objections to method-based approaches to language teaching. Some of the objections have been definitional. What is Methodology? What does it mean - a Method? One confusion here was of our own doing and was created intentionally. The story goes as follows. The Richards and Rodgers methods' analysis model is summarized in the title of the journal article from which our book ultimately grew. The article is called,

"Method: Approach, Design, and Procedure" (Richards and Rodgers, 1982). In this article we took as our point of departure an older instructional model of Ed Anthony's. Anthony's model was summarized in his article title which is called, "Approach, Method and Technique" (Anthony, 1963). We liked Method as the umbrella term for our model and found it convenient - convenient for us if nobody else - to modify Anthony's terminology according to our own predispositions. Anthony's Method became our Design. So Anthony, and Richards and Rodgers both use the term Method but with quite different scope and intention.

When we got around to doing the book, the publisher urged us to do a chapter on Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) as one of the methods analyzed in the book. However, most of the major spokespersons for CLT were unhappy in our referring to CLT as a Method. They saw CLT as an Approach rather than as a Method. Unfortunately, we had already chosen to use Approach in a different sense in the book. We decided to finesse the issue by including CLT in our analysis and using as a book title *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*. We also retained Approach in the model designation "Method: Approach, Design and Procedure". So we used Approach in the title and Approach in the model in quite dramatically different senses. We felt it might confuse the reader to highlight this, so we decided not to mention it at all.

The issue can be belabored, if it has not been belabored already. The point is that Method and Methodology and related terms like Approach are used in several different, often incompatible, senses by those who write and talk about Methods.

A second objection raised in discussions of method-based instructional planning is that the methodology assumes a "top-down" approach to learning and teaching. That is, learning is held to derive from applying and putting into practice a particular model (Method) of language teaching. Hence, common to methods is a set of prescriptions as to what teachers and learners should do in the classroom. The teacher's job is to make his or her teaching style as well as the learner's learning style match the method. Thus, methodology is held to deny teacher effectiveness and learner uniqueness except as circumscribed by the method of application. (Richards, 1986).

A third objection to focus on methodology in language teaching is that competing methods are often indistinguishable in their classroom practices. In its strongest form, this objection holds that methods and classroom practices are only coincidentally related. Swaffar et al (1982) noted that "One consistent problem is whether or not teachers involved in presenting materials created for a particular method are actually reflecting the underlying philosophies of these methods in their classroom practices." Swaffar et al found that many of the distinctions used to contrast methods, particularly those based on classroom activities, did not exist in actual practice.

A final objection, and the one I am using as motivation for this paper, is

that methodology, with or without the delights and despairs cataloged above, is only one part of language teaching design and, perhaps, not the most important part. To support this claim, I want to introduce a model of instructional design which subsumes methodology and which I think more accurately represents how educational programs in general and language education programs in particular can and should be described and crafted.

Just before hopping into our latest Model T, I would like to alert you to a theme which will run, ramble and roam throughout the remainder of this paper.

II THE GANG OF FOURS

Numerology has always had a heavy impact on didactic parlance. "One" had its day... "One for all and all for one"... "The one Golden Rule"... "Two" has had its day as well. Dichotomies abound. Active/Passive, Product/Process, Behavioral/Cognitive, left brain/right brain... yin and yang... East and West... The Bad and the Beautiful...

In its time, "Three" has also had priority in the popular search for quantitative quintessence. The Three R's, the Three tenses, the Three persons have had their grip on language education, the fingermarks of which are still seen in many parts of the world. In rich evidence are The Three classes of intellect. Buddha's Three Signs of Being. Three Coins in a Fountain... wise men... Faces of Eve... o'clock in the morning...

But times change and new magic numbers emerge.

The emergent figure of fact and fantasy, fad and fallacy is, as you may have guessed, Four. Everything that's in for the late eighties and early nineties will come packaged in fours. In fact, probably the best indicator of intellectual rigor and worth of any educational proposal for the nineties is a positive answer to the question, "Is it packaged in units of Four?" I hope to demonstrate this fully in the following. However, to give you a feeling for the magic of Four in its full flush, this fourflusher has composed a brief song as prelude and mnemonic for that which, with your fourbearance and fourgiveness, will soon be presented more fourmally. Song: (To the tune of "I'm Looking Over a Four-leaf Clover").

I hope to bottle, my four part model,
That nobody's seen before.
One part's for **Teachers**, the second for **Lore**,
The third is for **Learners**, we hope more and more.
No need explaining the one remaining,
It's the **Principal** at your door.

Oh, I hope to bottle my four part model,
So please leave your notes at the door.
So **please** leave your notes at the door.

III DA KILA FROM MANILA

The first foursome off the model tee, and the one that will set the pattern for those to follow, I have called the KILA model of educational design. KILA is the acronym for the four considerations which in concert shape any educational program. **K** stands for Knowledge Considerations, **I** for Instructional Considerations, **L** for Learner Considerations and **A** for Administrative Considerations. Thus, **"K", "I", "L", "A" = "KILA"**. Why "KILA from Manila?" I think I mentioned a model like the first in Manila in the famous "Flutter like a Butterfly, Beep like a Bee" meeting with Mohammad Ali. Why DA KILA? "Dakila" in Tagalog has a meaning something like "premium, the finest." I felt such association with the model had to be helpful.

1. "K", KNOWLEDGE CONSIDERATIONS ("Lore" in my song)

Knowledge considerations involve both the input and output forms of instructional content. They include the derivation and organisation of content (input) as well as the anticipated learner outcomes--whether these are skills, capacities, changed behaviours, or appreciations. In language education, Knowledge Considerations involve the assumptions about what language is - a set of habits, sentences, rules, pre-dispositions or whatever. It also includes the content - the substantive range - of the instructional language examples or texts be these Arithmetic, Social Studies, Chemical Engineering, Waiter Talk, or English for Baggage Handlers. Knowledge considerations involve responses to questions such as:

* Is knowledge content held to be "liberal", "humanistic", "technical" or whatever?
* What knowledge base informs the educator as to the selection and organisation of content?
* Is there a 'structure' of knowledge assumed and is this structure to be reflected in the educational design?

2. "I", INSTRUCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ("Teachers" in my song)

Instructional considerations reflect the factors which impact on the design and delivery of instruction and reflect the input not only of teachers, but of paraprofessionals, resource people, content specialists and other staff involved in the program. They involve most conspicuously, from the point of view of this paper, instructional methods. Instructional Considerations also include programs and materials, technologies, educational environments, time and scheduling techniques and plans for reporting on learning progress to learners, teachers, sponsors, administrators and other interested parties. Instructional considerations involve responses to such questions as:

* Is there an instructional program or programs which learners and teachers are expected to follow?
* What media are used for instructional delivery?
* How do teachers view their role in the instructional process?

3. "L", LEARNER CONSIDERATIONS ("Learners" in my song)

Learner considerations involve the ages, proficiency levels, and developmental stages of the learner or learners. They include as well social background characteristics, world views and learning expectations. Considerations include learners' self-perceptions and prior learning experiences as well as preferred learning styles, strategies, environments, and groupings. If group or class learning is contemplated, characteristics of the group size, homogeneity, history, collective aspirations are of concern. Learner considerations involve responses to such questions as:

* How are intended leaners characterised--by themselves and others?
* Who determines learning goals for learners and how are these goals communicated to learners?
* Can learning styles and strategies be determined? Is there any intention to do so and is there any consequence of such determination?

4. "A", ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS ("Principals" in my song)

In studies of programmatic educational change, three administrative influences are typically identified--those from the central office, those from the 'program', and those from the schools. Administrative considerations at all levels will determine the scale, pace and style of educational delivery. Adminis-

trative agents are involved in the establishment, interpretation and implementation of policy. This includes promulgation of policy plans to public and political as well as to educational representatives. Plans for and execution of teacher and learner selection and promotion, environmental development and institutional image are also administrative considerations. Administrative considerations include answers to such questions as:

* Are the critical administrative groups clearly identified?
* How is policy made and how is it implemented?
* What sort of commitment do administrative agents have to in-place and proposed programs? Is commitment likely to be long term or short term?

In an ideal design situation, these four areas of consideration are coordinated and in balance. In the non-ideal or typical design situation, particular participants feel that one set of these considerations holds primacy over the others. Early participants in the Curriculum Project Movement of the 1960's valued knowledge considerations more highly than others. As a consequence, curriculum products such as those often associated with the 'New Math' and the 'New Science' were seen to be intellectually rich but instructionally disjointed, learner insensitive and administratively unwieldy.

Many of the so-called innovative language teaching methods are considered innovative not because they employ any new views of language or of language proficiency (knowledge considerations) but rather because they demand dramatically different teaching techniques. Silent Way, Total Physical Response, and Suggestopoedia are all examples of methods which turn almost exclusively around instructional considerations. Similarily, proponents of particular instructional technologies (programmed learning, language laboratories, educational television, computer assisted instruction) have been accused of promoting these on their instructional merits or claims, without adequate reflection on knowledge, learner, and administrative considerations.

It is relevant to note that what has been called Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has, in fact, reflected preoccupation with different kinds of considerations at various points in its brief history. The changing nature of CLT has, in fact, made definition and description of CLT often difficult to formulate and confusing to follow (eg Yalden, 1983). In its first phase -- the Wilkins Period--CLT concerned itself with attempts to redefine the knowledge base, principally by defining language organisation in terms of notions and functions rather than in terms of grammatical structures. In the second phase--the Munby Period--CLT focused on determination of learner needs through various mechanisms proposed for needs assessment. In its third phase, the Prabhu Period--CLT was defined by the kind of instructional tech-

niques employed--group work, task accomplishment, meaning negotiation, caring and sharing and the like. Thus, CLT in its short history has focused on knowledge considerations in Phase 1, learner considerations in Phase 2 and instructional considerations in Phase 3.

It is harder to find examples of language teaching designs biased towards administrative considerations, although the Westinghouse Teaching Contract System of the 1970's approximates a design wherein administrative considerations dominated all others. We can anticipate new administrative and organizational initiatives in the nineties. Administrative considerations involve such factors as creating and maintaining continuity of instructional goals and approaches across teachers, classes and grade or proficiency levels. In the past, program designers have attempted to legislate educational continuity by means of syllabus specification, objectives, curriculum design, scope and sequencing delineation, textbook series structuring and/or teacher training. It seems fair to say that all of these have fallen short without some sort of administrative agency given the power and will to enforce continuity in teaching and learning patterns. Demands for stronger administrative control of educational programs, whether exercised through coercion or cajolery, is already emerging on several educational fronts.

In the remainder of this paper I would like to consider several factors which have high probability for shaping language education in the 1990's. I will use the KILA model to organize and clarify these factors although the probability of their influence on language education in nineties is independent of one's faith in or committment to the KILA model.

IV KNOWLEDGE CONSIDERATIONS: FOUR BASES MAKE ONE RUN

In the brief preceding discussion of knowledge considerations in language education, I mentioned two kinds of knowledge which influence language learning programs. One kind of knowledge is linguistic knowledge. What is the theory of language on which the program is built? What are learners expected to know, either explicitly or implicitly, about the language they are learning? Designers of courses in general English concern themselves with these kinds of questions. The second kind of knowledge is subject matter knowledge. For what purposes is the learner learning the language? What is the structure of the subject matter which forms the basis for content selection in the language program? Language for Specific Purpose (LSP) course designers tend to be more interested in these kinds of questions.

These knowledge concerns will persevere in the 1990's and will be explored as method-independent issues. In his message for the 1980's Ewer commented,

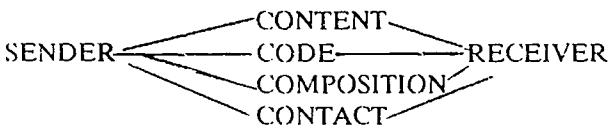
"Contrary to a surprisingly common misapprehension ESP does not rely for its successful implementation on some new and magic system of classroom methodology ...methods, in fact, are far less important than appropriateness of linguistic content." (Ewer, cited in Robinson, 1980)

The message remains the same for the 1990's.

There will be new and continuing inquiries into the nature of language and into the nature of academic content that will have relevance to language education. My bet is that linguistic inquiries will delve deeper into the nature of language functions, and that subject matter inquiries will delve deeper into the nature of disciplinary and occupational knowledge and their representations. A four square sampler from each of these two kinds of knowledge base inquiries will suggest some of the directions that studies in the 1990's may take.

1. STANDARD SIX TO A FUNCTIONAL FOUR

Models of communication typically look something like the following:



Roman Jakobson provided the insight that emphasis in any individual communicative act tends to fall unequally on these elements. (Jakobson, 1960). That is, if the **sender** is the most important element in the communicative act, the function tends to be an "I"- centered *emotive* one. If the **receiver** is the most important element, the function tends to be a "you"- centered, *persuasive* one. If the focus is on **content**, then the function is "it" centered - the so-called *referential function*. If on the language **code**, a *metalinguistic* function with focus on language "itself". If on the **composition** (or shape) of the message, a *poetic* function. (Pronominally, I have nicknamed this the "thou" function, in that it gives off a faint suggestion of Shakespeare). And if the weight is on the **contact** (or **channel** or **communion**), then the focus is on "us" as a communicative partnership. Jakobson calls this last the "phatic" function. Were I to pare these functions down to a Final Four, it seems the functions most critical to most second language learners are the emotive, persuasive, referential and phatic functions, and it is to the understanding of these functions and their realizations that applied linguistics will increasingly direct itself in the 1990's.

2. QUADRIVEL

Subject matter has its own well-established Fourmats. Medieval schooling was built around study of the Quadrivium - arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, much as the contemporary school curriculum has as its principle subject matter language, mathematics, science and social studies. Studies of academic faculty personalities have identified four personality types distinctively associated with the arts, the humanities, the sciences and the technologies. (Gaff and Wilson, 1970). In the 1990's we can anticipate further attempts to characterize the nature of disciplines and occupations and the language use and users associated with these. These studies will be of considerable interest to those involved in LSP and its related studies.

V INSTRUCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS: TYPE AND TRIPE

I want to consider briefly three sub-topics within the broad area of instructional concerns. These are method commonalities, teaching styles and media.

1. COMMON LAW METHOD MARRIAGES

Methods tend to be gurucsque. Method spokespersons stress the uniqueness of their method as well as, intentionally or unintentionally, their own idiosyncracy. Methods are typically described as novel in their nature and immaculate in their conception. Major descriptive sources for methods often come from vanity presses with names like Sky Oaks Productions. Consequently, talk centers on how methods are particular rather than on how they are similar. I anticipate that in the near future and before the methodological Big Band era is over, some attempts will be made to synthesize some of the major method claims and characteristics. I have made a modest attempt to do this myself. I have listed a number of factors which are held to facilitate language acquisition and have divided these into two sub-categories depending on whether the factors appear to be under the control of language teachers or whether the factors operate independent of classroom planning and organization. (Rodgers, 1986). The mnemonic device for remembering these factor items is that they all begin with the letter "B". Without going into these in detail, let me share with you a few items from each of the two lists with brief definitions of the Big B's. List One contains items which are held to positively influence language learning but which are **not** under the control of the language teacher.

LIST ONE

Birth - Native intelligence and aptitude

Bloom - The optimal age for language learning

Background - Ambience supportive of language learning in the home and community

Bath - Residential immersion in a new language situation.

List Two contains items that do appear to be under the control of language educators. (Initials code LT methodologies which assume to manipulate this factor in their methodological practices. AL = Audio-Lingualism; SLT = Situational Language Teaching; CLT = Communicative Language Teaching; SW = The Silent Way; TPR = Total Physical Response; CLL = Community Language Teaching; NA = The Natural Approach; S = Suggestopedia.)

LIST TWO

Brains - Requires use of problem-solving, thinking capacities in connection with LT (SLT, CLT, SW, NA)

Breezy - Conducts LT in a minimum stress, informal, low affective filter environment (SW, TPR, CLL, NA, S)

Buddies - Encourages language learning undertaken with practice and support partners (CLT, CLL)

Bugle - Provides attention calls and surprises to help keep learners alert and focused (TPR, NA).

The above is obviously crude and approximate. However, it does suggest how one might begin to look for and define similarities in method practices and philosophies.

2. STYLES OF TEACHERS AND LEARNERS: TELL US WE'RE TOO JUNG?

Interest in teaching and learning styles has burgeoned in recent years and will continue to swell in the 1990's. It is difficult to consider either teaching styles or learning styles independently since models for both derive from the same psychological parent. As well, learning and teaching style inventories are typically thought of and used in conjunction with one another. Therefore, I will here combine the discussion on Teaching Styles, which belongs in this section, with some discussion on Learning Styles, which rightly belongs in the next section on Learner Considerations.

Critical questions in the domain of learning/teaching styles are:

1. Have useful models of and accompanying instrumentation for individual learning/teaching styles been developed? If not, can they be?
2. Can match-making schemes be devised that will match learners and teachers to educational programs appropriate to their particular learning and teaching characteristics?
3. Can systems incorporating such match-making schemes be resourced and used in real time/real paradigm situations?
4. Should learners and teachers be encouraged to add new style variations to their current styles? Should learners and teachers be encouraged to abandon unsuccessful though preferred learning and teaching styles?
5. Should the entire system of style inventorying, classifying and prescribing be "open" to learners and teachers or should diagnosis and prescription based on style inventorying be restricted to expert analysts?

The history of style analysis probably dates from Carl Jung's early work on personality types. (Jung, 1923). Jung hypothesized two major modes of perception and two major modes of evaluation, the permutations of which yield four major personality types. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator is also fours-fed and defines "The Four Temperaments". A major contemporary figure in learning styles research is David Kolb whose Learning Style Inventory (LSI), not surprisingly, defines four adoptive learning preferences. He labels these learning style preferences

1. Concrete Experience
2. Reflective Observation
3. Abstract Conceptualization
4. Active Experimentation.

A sample item from the Kolb LSI will suggest how these are assessed.

When I learn
- *I like to deal with my feelings*
- *I like to watch and learn*
- *I like to think about ideas*
- *I like to be doing things.*

All of these are precursors to the development of the McCarthy Teaching Style Inventory (TSI) which, needless to say is called the 4Mat system. (McCarthy, 1987). The four teaching style preferences McCarthy posits are

1. Discussion Method
2. Information Method

3. Coaching Method
4. Self-Discovery Method.

A sample question from the TSI will suggest how these "Methods" are realized in reported teaching preferences.

The role of the teacher is primarily, to be:
- *An information provider and a skills trainer*
- *An informed, concerned champion of the public interest*
- *A caring facilitator*
- *A scholarly person.*

The 4MAT system is increasingly used in the United States in pre-service teacher education programs and in in-service teacher workshops. Like the left brain/right brain construct, the 4MAT teacher style categorization is becoming a belief system and a belief system that is likely to gain many more disciples in the 1990's.

At a recent national conference Thomas DeBello compared the variables, appropriate populations, validity of instrumentation and research behind eleven major learning style models. The number of learning style models is growing daily. Alas, so are the number of stylistic types. Five-style models are not uncommon (Dunn and Dunn, 1984), and at least one model reports learning style types approaching double figures (Keefe, 1986). However, I think it is safe to hold to a four part model for the 1990's, and I further think that the Kolb and McCarthy models, described above, are likely to gain and maintain popularity.

It is interesting to note in passing that the most useful source of information about and analysis of learning styles has been written by a teacher of English as a second language. This is Ken Willing's *Learning Styles in Adult Migrant Education* (1985) and its accompanying practical guide, *Helping Adults Develop their Learning Strategies* (1985).

3. MEDIA-TIONS

It seems unlikely if not impossible that one could leave a discussion of instructional considerations for the 1990's without saying something about the anticipated role of media and technology. However, I will come close to making such a unprecedented departure. Why?

Well, for one thing, the potential influence of media on language education has been dealt with at some length by other papers in this collection, and I feel that other factors need at least equal time.

Also my major concerns are with school education, rather than with home

learning, tertiary education, vocational and technical education and so forth. If one looks at the impact of technology on school education over the past fifty years, one is impressed by the rhetoric but disappointed by the results. There is little to suggest that this impact will change much in the 1990's.

Let me use as example my own experience in Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI) - now acronymized CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) - on our own field.

I became involved in applied linguistics by assignment. In 1959, I was an electrical engineer working for the Radio Corporation of America. I was assigned by RCA to explore the possibility of translating languages and teaching languages using a computer. I spent several years at RCA and at Georgetown University working on hardware and software designs to achieve these purposes -- with conspicuously modest success. I have returned to these early challenges several times since 1959, with similarly modest success. In looking at my own involvement in these inquiries, I count (you may be surprised at the number) four historical generations of attempts to institutionalize the teaching of second languages by computer. These four generations might be labelled and dated somewhat as follows: (Dates are approximate and perhaps intentionally contentious)

1. The Teletypewriter Era (1960-1965)
2. The CRT Touchscreen Era (1965-1970)
3. The Plato Era (1970-1980)
4. The Computer-Video (TICCIT/Atari) Era (1978-1982).

All of these have somewhat similar histories in the schools - enthusiastic promotion by developers and marketers, brief periods of visibility and limited use in manufacturer and/or federally supported schools, fading interest (and funding), obsolescence, warehousing and disposal.

We are now engaged in a fifth generation of computer-assisted language learning - the CALL era - founded on the micro-processor. (This fifth generation is not to be confused with the so-called Fifth Generation of "expert" computer systems or the singing group of the same name). Great hopes are held for this latest generation of computer assisted instruction as there were great hopes held for its predecessors. The record does not support undue optimism.

An advocate of computer-assisted instruction promises that "As computer systems become smaller and cheaper, they will more and more come to be accepted as classroom tools, much the way other classroom technology like cassette tape recorders, motion picture projectors and television are being used and accepted." (Campbell, 1980). Coming from one who earns a living as a designer of computer-based instructional systems, this sounds like a humble claim indeed. I think it's fair to say that, at least in my own country, the impact

of plug-in technology on school education has been modest to minute. If CALL aspires to an impact on language teaching equivalent to that of film, it may well achieve it. This seems to be a minor role, indeed.

Plug-ins will have a growing impact on language teaching in higher education and in industrial and domestic settings. As for schools, I suggest that teachers in the 1990's had best hang on to their chalk and erasers lest the dreams of media magic in their schools just go up in smoke.

VI LEARNER CONSIDERATIONS

I have already explored above one very important and influential area of inquiry into learner considerations - that of learner styles. I anticipate that increasing interest in learning styles in the 1990's will be paralleled by increasing interest in the determination of successful learning strategies. Earlier work on strategies based on interviews with "Good Language Learners" (eg Rubin, 1975) has been followed recently by more experimentally based strategy training studies (eg O'Malley et al, 1985). A useful survey of current research in second language learning strategies and some suggestions as to where such inquiries may next turn is found in Oxford (1987).

1. A CULTURALLY COMPATIBLE CLASSROOM?

An equally intriguing and considerably more controversial inquiry within the domain of learner considerations involves the role of cultural variables in learning preference and success. The strong claim here is that each culture has its own preferred learning styles, modes and grouping.

The case for culturally based learning styles is summarized in the abstract of a recent review of this issue by Roland Tharp.

> Some psychocultural teaching and learning processes - developed in the culture of the home and community - are deeply implicated in the teaching and learning of the literate and cognitive capacities that are central to the purposes of schooling. There are sharp differences in school achievement by members of different cultures: accounting for the psychocultural contributions to this social problem has been the task of several theories and a growing body of research and educational development. At least four classes of variables - social organization, sociolinguistics, cognition, and motivation - vary by culture in ways that are differentially compatible with the expectations and routines of schools. The evidence for the effectiveness of culturally compatible education is reviewed and found to be gener-

ally positive Cultural compatibility produces somewhat different classrooms for different cultures. (Tharp, 1989)

It would be too time-consuming to review the evidence for and against culturally-based learning uniqueness. An example from each of Tharp's four classes of variables will suggest the perspective of the whole.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Classroom arrangement, ambiance and study groups are primarily at focus here. Tharp notes that Hawaiian children (in this case defined as children who have 25% or more Hawaiian blood) work most effectively on school tasks in groups of four-five students of mixed sex. Among Navaho children of the same age, on-task effectiveness is observed to be greatest when groups of two-three students of same sex worked together on the same task. Tharp reviews organizational patterns promoting maximum on-task behaviour for black and Canadian Indian children as well.

3. SOCIOLINGUISTICS

There are enormous differences in the conventions of conversation across cultures and particularly children's expected performance in conversation. Often these conventions are at odds with the verbal behaviour expectations of the schools who serve children coming from these diverse cultural groups. For example, Wait-Time in teacher questioning appears to be a critically culture-sensitive classroom variable. "Pueblo Indian children in experimental science classes participated spontaneously twice as frequently in longer wait-time classes than in shorter wait-time classes...On the other hand, Native Hawaiian students have a preference for negative wait-time, a pattern that produces overlapping speech...This is often interpreted by other-culture teachers as rude interruption, though in Hawaiian society it demonstrates involvement and relationship." (Tharp, 1989). Other analysts have stated that where the classroom rhythm of emphasis (beat), rate (density), and silence are similar to the rhythms of home and community conversation, classrooms are most harmonious and learning greatest (noted in Tharp, 1989).

4. COGNITION

Schools generally expect and reward evidence of verbal/analytic thought rather than visual/wholistic thought. "Minority cultures whose members have cognitive functioning congruent with that expected by the school (verbal/analytic) may be expected to succeed in school, and that is the apparent pattern for the Japanese and Chinese." (Tharp, 1989). Where minority cultures exhibit cognitive functioning incongruent with that expected by the school, learning problems arise. "Native Americans consistently score higher in performance than in verbal abilities and higher in spatial than in sequencing skills...(but)...School instruction depends more heavily on verbal and sequencing skills..." (Tharp, 1989). Some thought has been given, particularly during the 1960's, as to how schools might accommodate and encourage these other kinds of cognitive functions, and we can anticipate some return to this kind of experimental schooling design in the 1990's.

5. MOTIVATION

Researchers have examined motivation from the perspective of "Trait" and "State". "Traits" are held to be relatively consistent and persistent and are supported by cultural and community reinforcement. Immigrant Hmong, Vietnamese, and Korean groups have enjoyed remarkable school success because the members of these cultures maintain "strong beliefs in education, high expectations for school performance, and constant admonitions to study." (Tharp, 1989). It is notable that many immigrant groups do succeed in American schools, although immigrant status is obviously not a guarantee of school success. "State" motivation refers to the incentive variables existing in the school and classroom and that are manipulable by teachers and administrators. A variety of such incentives are available, and many have been shown to be differentially attractive to students of different cultural backgrounds. These incentives may involve rewards, punishments, and attention or inattention from the teacher. For example, removing children from social interaction at recess is sharp punishment for Hawaiian children but is of little consequence to Navajo children who appear to be quite happy being on their own. (Tharp, 1989).

This ends the short tour though some of the current action in personality-unique and culture-unique learning styles and preferences. I should note that this kind of analysis and reporting always skirts the edge of ethnic and/or cultural stereotyping. Much of the internal argument in this area is rife with accusations of ethnic stereotyping by researchers one to another. Nevertheless, those who look to classroom reform in the 1990's and can stand the heat of ethnic controversy, are likely to find their philosophy and funding under the head of

Culturally Compatible Classrooms.

6. ADMINISTRATIVE CONSIDERATIONS: PRINCIPALLED AND UNPRINCIPALLED POWER

What shall be studied? Who shall be allowed to study? When and where will study take place? How shall instruction be organized and delivered? What rationale is offered for these particular studies for these particular students in this particular form at these particular hours and locations?

Those who determine the answers to these questions are those who are at the locus of administrative authority in the domains for which they determine answers. Administrative responsibility in the senses above suggested has typically been lodged in one of four "authorities". We designate these authorities as

The State
The School
The Teacher
The Learner

It is interesting to note that the locus of power in educational decision-making is constantly in flux, perhaps, never more so than at the moment. In a paper published in 1987, I proposed a graphic hazard illustrating the directions towards centralization or decentralization that educational policy-making in various parts of the world appeared to be taking. Already several of these arrows have to be turned around and headed in reverse directions. Since the graph was drawn, a national educational position paper in Japan has urged unstructuring of the highly centralized Japanese educational system. New Zealand has proposed abandoning its national Department of Education altogether. Australia was making sounds about a National Curriculum until people realized that these appeared to some to be echoes of a Margaret Thatcher proposal. The United Kingdom is being pushed by the present government to adopt something like a national set of curriculum standards. The United States educational picture is in even more complete disarray than usual with no leadership coming from the Bush administration or from any place else. Even little Hawaii, the only centralized school system in the United States, has recently opted for School-Based Management. Just now, the citizens of Hawaii are anxiously awaiting the budgetary decisions of our State Legislature as to when, how and if this will happen.

7. STATE-BASED EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY

Highly centralized or State-based educational decision-making has been a feature of most educational systems at one time or another. The European colonial powers left behind a legacy of nationally centralized educational systems which, in many cases, have survived national independence and the abandonment of such systems in the imperial homeland. The United States had a decade-long romance with large-scale national curriculum initiatives which gave us the New Math, the New Science and the New English. I am Associate Director of the last vestigal large-scale U.S. curriculum development agency. And while I would argue that our very survival indicates that we do some useful work for somebody, no new such agencies have been created in twenty years. The recently retired Secretary of Education and now the Anti-Drug Czar of the U.S., William Bennett, did outline and argue the case for a national curriculum plan for the U.S. But this plan has been abandoned if not forgotten since Bill Bennett has moved from education to drugs.

8. SCHOOL-BASED EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY

Many educational commentators have held that the school principal is the most potentially powerful educational change-agent. The principal, like the mayor of a medium-sized city, has the capacity through example, leadership, personal magnetism (or lack of these) to set the tone and ultimately, determine the success of the school. High enough to see the big picture and available enough to exert personal influence on staff and students as an individual, the principal can "turn a school around" and by doing so can show "how it can be done" and challenge other principals to turn around their schools. Unfortunately, few school principals have the preparation, time or will to reshape the educational program of their schools, and so energies go into plant beautification and increasing student self esteem. These are not unworthy goals, but they are not going to help restructure language learning or any other area of education.

9. TEACHER-BASED EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY

Other commentators, particularly those reflecting on the American scene, see classroom teachers as the ultimate arbiters of what gets taught and how it gets taught. Having no national examinations to prepare students for, with no school inspectors to account to, with little curriculum constraint other than that of their textbook choices, trained to believe that the classroom is a castle from which teachers are entitled, perhaps obligated, to repel all invaders, American

classroom teachers have great freedom to teach what they want to teach, how they want to teach it. However, I know very few teachers who appreciate or even acknowledge this license to educate. Teachers often feel buried in paper work, overtaxed by extra-curricular responsibilities, consumed by classroom management problems, discouraged by community unwillingness to appreciate their small successes and exhausted by the stresses of commuting, homemaking and often additional employment. Among the banners that teacher unions, professional groups and lobbyists wave in public places, I have never seen one that says,"**TEACHERS AS CHANGE AGENTS, NOW!**"

10. LEARNER-BASED EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITY

There are few learner-run schools. Summerhill and its analogues offered models of schools in which student councils were elevated to judicial but never policy-making bodies. The correspondence schools are still flourishing and finding new functional ways to serve lone-learners through telecommunicational and computer interfaces. Still, someone else sets the texts and standards.

The most long-term and well-known approach to offering language instruction on an as-requested basis is that put together by the Centre de Recherches et d'Applications Pedagogiques en Langues (CRAPEL) in Nancy. The organizers take as an underlying assumption that 'an educated person is one who can identify his own needs, set his own goals, develop strategies for meeting his needs, and be able to monitor his own actions in this process." (Stanchina, 1976)

Given the general disarray in the other centers of power, I anticipate that "Autonomous" language learning may finally come into its own in the 1990's. That does not mean that I foresee millions of language learners plugged into their car Audio-Phone tapes or hunched in front of their Macintosh 200ZX's or chortling along with the Moving Mouth on their Videophone. My personal forecast is that computers will be used as dating devices to help people get together who would like to form Language Learning Partnerships. Language is social in use and requires sociability in learning. If learners abandon language teaching classrooms, as well they may, it will be in favour of other social settings in which language learning is more interesting, more intense, and more intimate.

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AN ETERNAL TRIANGLE? ROLES FOR TEACHER, LEARNERS AND TEACHING MATERIALS IN A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

Rod Bolitho

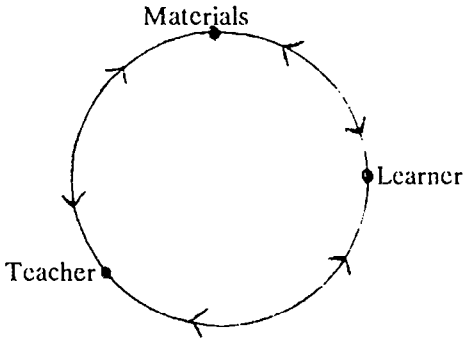
Over the last few months, I have on several occasions asked groups of language teachers to think about their relationship with their learners and their teaching materials, and to try to represent this relationship in a kind of symbolic diagram. The examples which follow are just a small number of the many permutations which have been offered, and the differing perceptions in these permutations have given rise to some fruitful debate:

(i)

Materials ----------> Teacher ----------> Learner

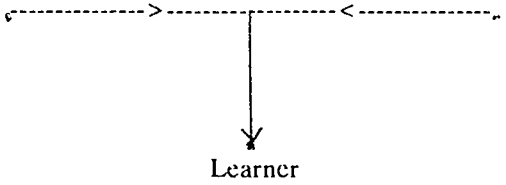
The most commonly chosen configuration, in which the teacher is seen as a mediator between the materials and the learner: the learner's only access to the materials is through the teacher.

(ii)



In this relationship, learning is seen as a constant flow, including the three important elements in the process in either order. The learner, in particular, either has direct access to the materials or can approach them through the teacher.

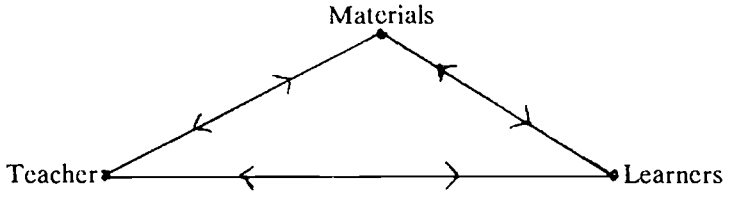
(iii) Materials Teacher



Learner

In this model, the teacher and the materials are seen as superordinate, conspiring (as one teacher put it only half-jokingly) to make the learner's life difficult.

(iv)



This relationship, described as 'the eternal triangle' by one teacher, has much in common with the circle in (ii) but it has been pointed out that triangles can have sides of different lengths (to imply distance) and that they can have an apex and a base, which can imply a hierarchy. More important to the teacher mentioned above was the tendency that teachers have to blame materials (or learners) when things go wrong, and the similar tendency displayed by learners to blame teachers (or materials).

Behind this apparently light-hearted exercise are some serious questions and some fairly far-reaching implications as we look at the current state of language teaching in a communicative context, and ways in which it might develop over the next few years.

Let us start with ***materials***, which means textbooks first and foremost. Here the weight of tradition is heavy. Ever since the advent of the printed word in the Middle Ages, textbooks in education have represented knowledge. The handing over of a set of textbooks by a teacher to a class is an act with symbolic significance: 'Here is your textbook. If you learn what is in it you will succeed' is the implication. This tradition still holds good in the overwhelming majority of educational contexts, worldwide.

Understandably, in such a tradition, a language teacher's preoccupation, shared with the learners, has been to complete the textbook by the end of the

allotted time. Wright (1987) puts it clearly enough:

> "One commonly held view is that the teaching of the materials is the primary goal; hence the attitude that the materials should cover the syllabus". (p.76)

Learners, in their turn, have been able to take the book home, to revise from it perhaps with the help of parents educated in the same tradition, and to go into end-of-year examinations confident of having covered all the materials necessary for success. Vocabulary lists and grammar rules could be learned by heart and applied in tests of linguistic competence. Set texts could be memorised and liberally quoted in literature examinations. Learning a language had much more to do with acquiring knowledge than with developing skills.

The development of a communicative approach to syllabus and materials design has, however, led to a fundamental redefinition of this traditional role for the textbook and this, in turn, has led to some questioning of traditional classroom roles. To quote Wright (1987) once again:

> "An alternative view is that teaching materials are only a means to an end. Teachers use certain materials because they help to promote language learning. Such a view would lead to the conclusion that teachers are best left to the fostering of a good classroom climate while the learners work on the materials". (p.76)

Such a view would produce an interesting variation on the diagrams used to introduce this paper. It is certainly at variance with the traditional view of the role of the textbook outlined above. But in a more traditional classroom setting than Wright envisages, the problem is exacerbated. The teacher distributes the (communicative) textbook at the start of the year. The learners receive it in the time-honoured way, believing they have in their hands the knowledge they need to succeed. It is at this significant point at the beginning of a course that a major misunderstanding occurs. Publishers, methodologists and textbook authors have been encouraging teachers to see a communicative textbook as a resource to draw on in teaching a course, even as a point of departure for classroom activities, rather than as a convergently conceived framework for study. But has anyone bothered to tell learners this? Or their parents for that matter? Five hundred years of educational tradition cannot be broken down overnight. As teachers, we are coming to accept the view that language learning has more to do with acquiring skills than with storing up knowledge, but do we discuss this with our learners? Do we explain how to make best use of a new-style coursebook? The early (mid seventies) communicative coursebooks *were* difficult for learners and teachers to use. Language was presented and packaged in different

ways, the organisation of text and exercise material was unfamiliar, and there were consequences for the teacher in classroom methodology. Many 'sacred cows' were called into question: stimulus-response drills, reading aloud, deductive approaches to grammar, are just three that spring to mind. Publishers and textbook writers soon had to respond to calls for more 'user-friendliness' in communicative materials: grammar summaries, consolidation units, cross-referencing between communicative and grammatical categories, word-lists and other important features began to be reintroduced within an overall communicative framework. Learner-training exercises have been introduced into many programmes and teaching materials. With such 'props' learners can once again use their coursebooks independently for preparation and revision. The message to publishers and textbook writers for the nineties is clear: teachers and learners need inspiring and interesting source materials, but learners also need solid practice and revision exercises to enable them to consolidate what they have learned.

Learners are entitled to have these minimum expectations of their materials, but they also deserve, whatever their age and background, to be brought into a discussion of their learning process and of the teaching approach which they are exposed to. In short, they need to know *why* they are asked to behave in certain ways in a language classroom, and *how* they can learn most effectively. Yet how many teachers go into classrooms and simply expect learners to do as they are asked without a word of explanation? In such situations, learners are too often tacitly required to suspend their disbelief and simply take part in an endless series of role-play, pair-work and group-work activities. The consequences can be quite severe, for learners and teacher alike. Learners who become disoriented by the increased responsibility they are asked to carry in a communicative classroom may become disruptive or unco-operative. Teachers blame the learners and the materials for this. But it is not as simple as that. Innovation in any context (including education) needs sensitive handling. Change which is simply handed down from on high will be resisted, whether the instigators be at ministry level (syllabus reform committees), in publishing houses or university departments. Communicative approaches *have* led us to consider our learners and to become more learner-centred in our classrooms, but it is a contradiction in terms to *impose* a learner-centred approach. Our learners must be valued and respected for the experience and opinions they bring to the language classroom. They must be brought into the rationale behind a particular approach to language study. For example they must understand how to achieve a reasonable balance between attention to accuracy and development of fluency. They must be trained to make the best of their learning opportunities, and to become, ultimately, autonomous users of a language. In all of this, they must have a clear idea of what they have a right to expect both from their teacher and their teaching materials.

But it is not only learners (and their parents or sponsors) who may resist change. Teachers, too, are justifiably cautious about new developments until their worth has been proved. The first decade of the 'communicative era' has been characterised by staffroom debate on the pros and cons of the new approach, usually as it appears in the materials rather than at the level of principle. There has been conflict between proselytes and those more reluctant to accept change without a rearguard action. One useful interim conclusion has been that a teacher must be sure of his/her new role before change can be accepted. Materials play a key part in a teacher's own view of this. Wright (1987) points out:

> If a teacher teaches *through* materials, problems may occur. With a textbook as the 'master'
>
> 1. the learning objectives are the textbook's
> 2. there is little room for improvisation
> 3. teacher and learner roles may well be predetermined and contrary to expectations
>
> If the teacher teaches *with* the materials, with the textbook as servant, then he is freer to improvise and adapt the course of lessons to the needs of learners'. (p.96)

There is no doubt which of the two roles is easier to fulfil, but equally no doubt which is likely to be more satisfying. In the former case a teacher is simply the bearer of someone else's ideas; in the second case she/he works creatively with materials devised by someone who has never met this group of learners to make sure their needs are met. But the choice is not so straightforward as it may seem, and the teacher not as free in making it as she/he might like to be. Li Xiaojou (1984) writing about the impact of the communicative approach in China, had this to say about the teacher's dilemma:

> ".... the teacher's role in a communicative class is completely different from that in any other type of class. In China, the tradition of the teacher occupying the centre in the classroom is still very much alive and teachers ..... naturally feel a bit uprooted when they are removed from that position. Some of them are taking it pretty easy though, because now they don't have to prepare a 'lecture' for every class, or supply the 'correct' answer to every exercise the students do. Other, more conscientious teachers feel somewhat guilty because they 'have nothing to do in class' and don't think they are doing their duty".

Many of the misunderstandings about a communicative teacher's role, including views which an uninitiated learner might quickly sympathise with, are expressed only too clearly in Li Xiaojou's comment. A teacher's own need to be seen to be doing her/his job in a classroom may ultimately prevent her/him from stepping gracefully but purposefully to one side to allow learners to get the practice they so badly need in order to develop their communicative ability. Widdowson (1987) and others have written about this role problem faced by both teachers and learners. Seen in Li's terms, then, a teacher's main problem in adapting to the communicative approach is psychological. A Hungarian teacher, Peter Medgyes, identifies a different, but equally troublesome, conundrum:

> "Most non-native teachers of English have split personalities. We find it a hopelessly perplexing task to teach this language which, like any other foreign language, is full of mystery to the non-native speaker. Sooner or later, every one of us regrets having chosen this career. Four or five hours a day, we have to face our students, attempting to teach something we ourselves invariably have a shaky knowledge of." (Medgyes, 1983)

In a communicative classroom where learners' linguistic output is not always predictable or subject to tight, accuracy-related controls, demands on a teacher's spontaneous ability in English are far greater. And in order to work with a textbook which has no overt grammar component, a teacher (as many native speakers have found to their cost) needs a greater, not lesser, degree of familiarity with the structure of English. In Western Europe, this has led to a burgeoning in the popularity of language refresher courses for non-native teachers, but these are not easily available to teachers working in politically, economically or geographically less favourable environments. To summarise here, a teacher was traditionally seen as an instructor (following a textbook and/or syllabus), a judge of correctness, an imparter of knowledge and the main initiator in a language classroom. Now (according to the various writers on methodology), he/she has to function as an interpreter of textbook and syllabus, an organiser of communicative activities, a co-communicator (with learners), a facilitator of learning, a resource (making knowledge available and fostering skills), a provider of support and security, a listener as well as a speaker (a big step, this, for many teachers!), and in many cases a materials writer and a tester or assessor. All this makes huge demands on a teacher who has almost certainly not been prepared for such a wide variety of roles on an initial training course. It is hardly surprising that many have felt threatened by the fresh challenges which have come with the communicative approach. Add to this the traditional insecurities in a profession bedevilled in many countries by low pay and low social status, even (in the era of high technology) by a feeling that language teaching is

in itself a Cinderella subject, and it becomes easier to understand why teachers resist change and cling to patterns of behaviour which protect their standing at least in the classroom and the staffroom. Ultimately, it is the teacher who has to go in and face a group of more or less co-operative learners early on a Monday morning at a time when textbook writers are often still in bed and many a ministry official is just settling down to her/his desk with the first cup of coffee of the morning. Teachers can only work successfully from a basis of personal security. If they are destabilised by change as well as wrestling with problems of low pay and self-esteem, they will not be able to give of their best and may well opt for a minimalist survival approach, which would be inimical to the development of communication in the classroom.

All of this naturally has implications for the way society views its language teachers. But there are also consequences for teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, and I'd like to examine these briefly here in the light of one more informal finding. Over recent months, I have asked groups of teachers and learners in several countries to list characteristics of the teachers they have liked most and least in their experience as learners. The positive and negative characteristics which they listed could all be grouped under three broad headings: *knowledge* ('ignorant', 'did not know his subject'; 'well-read', 'an authority on the English language'); *professional skills* ('couldn't keep order', 'couldn't teach'; 'really got us interested in English', 'never wasted a moment') and *personal qualities* ('unfair', 'sarcastic', 'hypocritical'; 'treated us with respect', 'patient', 'accessible'). It will come as no surprise to readers to learn that the contributions under 'personal qualities' far outnumbered those under the other headings. From a teacher educator's point of view, this could be bad news, reinforcing as it does the old adage that good teachers are born, not made. A more positive view might be that teacher educators could look at the design of their courses to see whether they allow scope for personal growth alongside the acquisition of knowledge and the development of professional skills. I suspect that many initial training courses focus too heavily on knowledge, and too insistently on teaching skills, on the grounds, perhaps, that the course represents the first and only opportunity for novice teachers to acquire these. And there is a danger that a teacher who is 'pumped up' with knowledge on a course will seek to inflict a knowledge-based approach on learners ('if you don't learn the rules of grammar, you'll never be able to speak English'). Worse still, if the language studies and/or methodology components of a training course are delivered by lecture, what price those trainees' ability to organise a classroom on communicative lines later on? In short, training courses which advocate communicative language teaching give trainers an excellent opportunity to practise what they preach. There can be no doubting the value of experiential learning. Any theory relevant to language teaching can be derived from practical experience on a course. There is no excuse for the gratuitous purveying of knowledge or theory

to teachers. David Nunan highlights these points in a list of principles for teacher development (Nunan, 1989) which could be applied to any sort of teacher training course.

But there is more to it than this. To prepare language teachers for the wide variety of roles now expected of them, some of which were listed earlier in this paper, and to help them to develop a more robust professional profile, a framework for long-term development, as well as for initial training, needs to be established. Both the content and the methodology of in-service training courses need to be reviewed and updated regularly. A teacher who wishes to take a minimalist view might, for example, question the value of a course involving materials writing or syllabus design by maintaining: 'I'm a teacher, not a materials or syllabus designer. My job is simply to teach what others provide'. This view reduces language teaching to the level of, say, technician level instruction from a manual. Small wonder if a teacher holding such a view suffers from a low self-image and resists change. A teacher who understands the principles of syllabus design and learns how to write materials is not only better equipped to respond to immediate classroom needs, but is also far better able to evaluate, critically and productively, any syllabus or materials she/he is asked to work with.

In early 1989, I worked for three months with a group of eighteen experienced Indian teachers of English on the first phase of a project aimed at redesigning the syllabus, materials and examinations for ninth and tenth grades in English-medium schools. They started very low on self-belief and feeling rather overwhelmed by the enormity of the task they were undertaking. By the end of the three-month programme, they had not only designed an outline syllabus and reproduced the first sample units, but had come to realise their own capabilities to the extent that many of them could not wait to return and share their ideas with colleagues back at home. Within weeks of their return to India, the first reports of field trials and of workshops run for local colleagues began to arrive in my mail. The syllabus and materials-writing process had raised, directly or incidentally, almost every major issue related to their teaching, their status and their professional relationships. All these matters (and many more) were discussed on the course. The learning was almost exclusively experiential but there was no attempt to dismiss or evade theory. Many of the teachers grew visibly in confidence and stature through the experience of presenting their ideas and materials to colleagues and course tutors in seminars, and having them valued, and thoughtfully evaluated. Pierre Kouraogo, writing about a curriculum project in Burkina Faso, endorses this view:

> "Teachers, heads and inspectors unanimously agreed that teachers should play a more active role in all aspects of curriculum renewal". (Kouraogo, 1987)

A teacher who has been involved in this way will be far better equipped to take part in helpful dialogue with publishers and textbook writers about materials, with ministry officials about syllabus, and with learners and their parents about change and the reasons for it.

But change can be achieved through and with the assistance of teachers only if they themselves have experienced it in a positive way on in-service training courses. You cannot expect a teacher with ten years' experience to enjoy the experience of being made to feel how little she/he knows when attending lectures by an expert on such a course. The only valid starting point is that which is provided by the collective experience of the participants. Ramani (1987) convincingly describes a consultative methodology for in-service training which puts this simple principle into practice. Only when it becomes a matter of course for teachers to be listened to with respect, to have their worries and professional insecurities appreciated rather than glossed over, to be encouraged to explore their potential in areas like materials, will the complicated relationships and roles in the 'eternal triangle' be more open and easier for all concerned to handle. The advent of communicative language teaching has made this task even more challenging, especially in contexts where noisy innovation in language classrooms may lead school principals and colleagues from other disciplines to react with hostility or, at best, scepticism. We have all begun to travel along this road to change. It is an inevitable consequence of the communicative approach we have chosen, but if we really believe in the approach, then it is a consequence we cannot escape. That is a true challenge for us over the next decade.

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TASK, GROUP, AND TASK-GROUP INTERACTIONS

Michael H Long

1 AGAINST METHODS

Despite the range of important issues to consider when planning a language teaching program, books, journals and conference programs in our field reveal a pervasive preoccupation with methodology. Not all the claims made are about this "brand name" method or that (Audio-Lingual Method (ALM), Grammar Translation, Silent Way, Suggestopedia, Counselling Learning, the Natural Approach, etc), but a large percentage deal with procedural issues in classrooms in one way or another. Much less attention overall is given to such areas as syllabus design, testing and evaluation, despite the fact that a lot of serious work has been taking place there, some of it producing quite radical innovations. Understandably, people want to know "how to teach", and as is usually the case when demand for a product is high, there are any number of people ready to tell them. Tips are plentiful, and can be quite useful on the rather rare occasions they have been evaluated first.

Underlying all the prescriptions and proscriptions about how to teach, all the books and articles advocating particular methods or reviewing methods are two basic assumptions. One is that discussion of methods makes a difference in the classroom. Yet it might be, for instance, that method is a useful construct in coursework in graduate level teacher education programs (although I know of no evidence of that), but fail to translate into changes in what teachers and learners actually do on Monday morning. A second, more fundamental assumption is that methods exist, outside books and discussions about methods, that is. Four bodies of evidence suggest that neither assumption is correct.

1.1 Prescribed Overlap

Even if implemented exactly as their inventors prescribe, methods overlap a good deal. Such superficially quite different methods as the ALM, the (Structural-Situational) Audio-Visual Method and the Silent Way (the first two of which, along with Grammar Translation, are probably still the most widely used), share much in common. All three are predominantly teacher-centered, use structural grading, provide minimal input (usually just a few model sen-

tences), attempt to elicit immediate production by learners of native-like target language constructions, prescribe "error correction" when the attempts fail (as they must), devote a majority of classroom time to (at best) pseudo communication, and assume communicative abilities evolve out of grammar, rather than the other way around. All three, that is, like most other methods and the vast majority of commercially published textbooks, proceed with complete indifference to the findings of twenty years of research on naturalistic and classroom language learning.

1.2 Lack of Conceptual Utility for Teachers

Numerous studies show that teachers of languages and other school subjects plan, conduct and recall their lessons, not in terms of methods, but rather as sequences of instructional activities, or tasks (for review, see Shavelson and Stern, 1981; Crookes, 1986). Such was the finding, for example, of an evaluation by Swaffer, Arens and Morgan (1982) of "comprehension" and "four skills" approaches to the teaching of German as a FL at the University of Texas. Despite having given teachers explicit training in the different methods, and despite the teachers then (supposedly) having taught using one or the other for a semester, Swaffer *et al* found through classroom observations and debriefing interviews at the end of the study that there was no clear distinction between the methods in the minds the two groups of teachers or in their classroom practices. They conclude:

> "... defining methodologies in terms of characteristic activities has led to distinctions which are only ostensible, not real, i.e. not confirmable in classroom practice ... Apparently, ***any*** analysis of methodologies needs to commence with definitions of ***task, order,*** and ***learning strategies***. This is the way we as foreign language teachers interpret the pragmatics of the classroom." (Swaffer, *et al* 1982: 32)

1.3 Homogeneity of Observed Classroom Procedures

Classroom observational studies consistently show very little difference in what teachers actually do, as opposed to what they have supposedly been trained to do and/or think they are doing. The same practices are reported across all kinds of classrooms despite differences in such factors as the "methods" teachers have been trained in (Dinsmore, 1985; Nunan, 1987), the theoretical orientation of the professional training they have received at the masters degree level and profess to hold (Long and Sato, 1983), the materials they are using (Phillips and

Shettlesworth, 1975; Long, Adams, McLean and Castanos, 1976; Ross, in press), teaching generations (Hoetker and Ahlbrand, 1969) and teaching experience (Pica and Long, 1986).

1.4 Null Findings of "Comparative Methods" Studies

Large-scale "comparative methods" studies have typically found either short-lived differences or no difference in the relative effectiveness of (supposedly) quite different methods, e.g. Grammar-Translation, ALM and Cognitive Code Learning (Scherer and Wertheimer, 1964; Smith, 1970) and inductive and deductive approaches (von Elek and Oskarsson, 1975; Seliger, 1975). The reasons for the null findings are impossible to ascertain due to the absence of a systematic observational component in most of the studies, but at least three interpretations are possible. One is that, while at least some methods can be clearly differentiated in practice, the teachers in the different treatment groups in the comparative methods studies were either simply doing the same things or differing only in the relative frequencies with which they exhibited the same behaviours, as has since been found to be the case in so many of the studies which have documented what goes in inside classrooms (e.g. Spada, 1987). A second possibility is that methods exist but do not matter. A third, more radical view is that methods do not matter because they do not exist, at least, not where they would matter if they did exist, in the classroom.

The overlap in prescribed and proscribed practices noted earlier would be consistent with this last reading. In addition, there must be a blurring of distinctions due to the need for pedagogic variety in lessons. It is no doubt possible to maintain potentially important differences, such as the provision or withholding of feedback on form, for some time, e.g. the duration of a public demonstration lesson, and for short periods to accentuate salient (but as far as we know, psycholinguistically trivial) idiosyncracies, e.g. whether feedback is provided verbally or via hand signals. However, there must also be a natural tendency over the course of a semester or a year for teachers to exploit most of the rather limited range of procedural possibilities, rather than stick to a narrower prescribed set of options.

1.5 From Methods to Methodology .

In sum, there really seems to be very little justification for the continuing debate about methods, let alone for the hunt for the single correct one. As far as we know, 'method' is an irrelevant construct when attempting to influence classroom language teaching. Worse, it may actually be counterproductive if it di-

verts us from issues which really do make a difference, among which, of course, are the many options available in *methodology*. Methodology is here defined broadly as the instructional strategies and learning processes employed by both teachers and learners in performing tasks which they engage in separately, in groups or as a whole class.

As numerous studies have shown, classroom processes do make a difference. First, they affect other classroom processes. The kinds of questions teachers ask affect the syntactic complexity and communicative potential of students' speech (Brock, 1986; Tollefson, 1988), for example. The kinds of "simplifications" employed in listening and reading materials affect student comprehension (Parker and Chaudron, 1987), and so on. More important in the long run, they affect at least some (presumably many) aspects of learning, although relatively little is known about learning consequences as yet (for review, see Chaudron, 1988). The question that arises, however, is what a relevant *unit of analysis* may be for examining and, where needed, altering these processes if "method" is not that unit, and what *intervention points* (Long and Crookes, 1986) we can identify to engineer such changes. I would like to claim that *task* is a viable candidate as the unit of analysis, and that *task-group interactions* constitute one of several potential intervention points suggested by classroom research.

2 METHODOLOGY IN AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO PROGRAM DESIGN

2.1 The Need for Compatibility with Other Domains

Most applied linguists would agree that there are six major areas to consider in the design of a successful language teaching program: needs (and means) identification, syllabus, materials, methodology, testing and evaluation. Of these it can be argued that the most important is syllabus design, and that within syllabus design, as elsewhere, the central issue is choice of the unit of analysis: word, structure, notion, function, topic, situation or task (for review, see Long and Crookes, 1989). The unit selected is crucial for two reasons: first, because it closely reflects the program designer's and teacher's theories, implicit or explicit (Ramani, 1987), about second language learning, the process programs are designed to facilitate, and second, because the choice made affects decisions the designer takes in all the other five domains. 'Logically *should* affect' would perhaps be more accurate, since many poorly designed programs exist where theoretically incoherent options were selected. Task-based syllabuses and materials, for example, may be taught using classroom procedures, such as pattern drills and transformation exercises, which involve structurally graded language practice. Similarly, a needs identification may be carried out to identify the tasks

required in a particular occupation learners are preparing for, yet the syllabus be based not on what the needs identification says about the learners' needs but on what a linguistic analysis says about the target language's structures, notions or functions.

2.2 Task as the Unifying Unit of Analysis

An extensive rationale for selection of *task* as the unit of analysis in course design has been presented elsewhere (see e.g. Long, 1985; Long and Crookes, 1989), where a distinction is drawn between 'target tasks' and 'pedagogic tasks'. *Target tasks* are the things the learners will eventually do in English, at school or university, at work, in a vocational training program, on vacation, and so on - a non-technical, non-linguistic definition. In *task-based language teaching* as described by Long and Crookes, which target tasks are relevant for particular groups of learners is established by a task-based needs identification. After classification of the relevant target tasks into (target) *task types, pedagogic tasks* are derived and sequenced to form a *task syllabus*. *Pedagogic tasks* are the problem-solving activities teachers and learners work on in the classroom. Especially in the early stages, they are usually simpler approximations to the target tasks that have motivated their selection, not just linguistically, but also in terms of the substantive content of the task, the number of steps the learners have to take, the options they have to choose from, etc.

The rationale for choosing task as the unifying unit in program design, will not be repeated here. Suffice to say that most other potential units, including word, structure, notion and function - and synthetic syllabuses (Wilkins, 1972) and Type A syllabuses (White, 1988) in general - do not sit well with what is known about second language learning. There is no evidence that the commonly employed target language units in such syllabuses make meaningful acquisition units. Nor is there any evidence, contrary to what is assumed by synthetic, type A syllabuses and materials, that structures, notions, functions, etc can be acquired separately, singly, in linear additive fashion, or that they can be acquired prior to and separate from language use. There is overwhelming evidence against all those ideas, in fact. (For reviews, see e.g. Hatch, 1983; Ellis, 1985; Larsen-Freeman and Long, in press.) As Long and Crookes (1989) put it:

> "(L)anguage learning is a psycholinguistic process, not a linguistic one, yet synthetic syllabuses consistently leave the learner out of the equation."

By way of contrast, analytic syllabuses and Type B syllabuses (Wilkins, 1972; White, 1988) in general, and those utilizing 'task' as the unit of analysis in particular, are at least *potentially* compatible with universal acquisition processes. To

give just one example, tasks can be combined with methodological options which allow for, but speed up, learners' progress through the obligatory stages in interlanguage 'development sequences', e.g. a short-term orientation to task accomplishment, not language accuracy, but with a focus on form when certain conditions are met (Long, 1988a, 1988b). Developmental sequences have been well documented by second language acquisition researchers for such phenomena as word order, negation, interrogatives, articles, auxiliaries and relative clauses (see, e.g. Johnston, 1985), as has the inability of formal instruction to alter them in any fundamental way (see, e.g. Pienemann and Johnston, 1987; Ellis, in press).

Task-based syllabuses are also an advantage for those seeking an integrated approach to course design. They are compatible with task-based needs identifications, which are relatively easily conducted and more likely to be valid than identifications using linguistic units (for details and examples, see Long, 1985). They also combine well with communicatively oriented, task-based methodology. Indeed, Nunan (1989) has argued that the use of tasks tends to make the traditional syllabus/methodology split redundant.

> ... the distinction between syllabus design and methodology becomes difficult to sustain: one needs not only to specify both the content (or ends of learning) and the tasks (or means to those ends) but also to integrate them. This suggests a broad perspective on curriculum in which concurrent consideration is given to content, methodology and evaluation.
>
> (Nunan, 1989: 15)

Tasks lend themselves to stimulating, intellectually challenging materials, especially those of a problem-solving nature, and as noted earlier, of a kind which seem meaningful to teachers planning and implementing lessons. They are well evaluated with criterion-referenced tests, and the kind of tangible products typically associated with task achievement should be attractive to program evaluators and consumers alike.

Needless to say, amidst all the advantages there are also some problems. These include establishing valid criteria for the selection and sequencing of pedagogic tasks (a problem with other units of analysis, too, of course), and various aspects of evaluation (Das, 1984). Further, as is well known by now, tasks of one sort or another have provided the basis for three distinct syllabus types: procedural (e.g. Prabhu, 1987), process (e.g. Breen, 1984, 1987) and task (e.g. Long, 1985; Long and Crookes, 1989), for some of which the "advantages" of tasks listed above would not be considered relevant at all. Some task-based syllabuses (e.g. Prabhu's procedural syllabus) are not derived from analyses of learners' needs, for example, much less analyses in terms of real world 'target tasks'; nor do they make a distinction between 'target tasks' and 'pedagogic tasks' (see Long, 1985, and for discussion, Nunan, 1989; Long and Crookes,

1989). Despite the brief history of task-based syllabuses, in fact, 'task', 'task-based' and 'task syllabus' already have a wide variety of uses and mis-uses. Most obvious in the latter category, several recent syllabuses and commercially published textbooks which claim to be 'task-based' are nothing of the sort, at least not in any of the senses outlined above, in which 'task' is the unit of analysis in at least some areas of a language teaching program. In some which even advertise themselves as structurally graded, 'task' is just a new word for 'exercise'.

3 GROUP WORK AND PEDAGOGIC TASKS

Differences in the various conceptions of task aside, some important questions for all those utilizing pedagogic tasks are the grouping of participants (teachers and/or learners) who work on tasks, the types of tasks they work on, and task-group interactions. We will take them in order.

3.1 Group Work

At least three basic groupings of interlocutors are possible in classrooms: individuals, groups (including dyads), and whole class, i.e. the teacher-fronted "lockstep" format, in which everyone (supposedly) attends to the same thing at the same time. All three arrangements undoubtedly have unique qualities and advantages, and our ultimate goal should be to ascertain empirically which ones serve which purposes best. They should be viewed as complementary, in other words, not in competition. That said, it is well known that individual and whole class work predominate the world over, often to the complete exclusion of group work, which is why it is easy to find oneself appearing to advocate group work "in preference to" the others. While badly organized group work is no better than badly organized lockstep work, group work is a very valuable but widely neglected asset, and also, it turns out, important for exploiting certain types of task. It is therefore worth briefly summarizing some of its general strengths before moving to the more subtle issues of task type and task-group interactions.

3.1.1 A pedagogic rationale

All other things being equal, group work (including pair work) has at least five major pedagogic benefits. (1) Group work increases the quantity of language practice opportunities. (2) Group work improves the quality of student talk in several ways. They can engage in what Barnes (1976) calls "exploratory" talk, and practice a functionally wider speech repertoire. (3) Group work

helps individualize instruction, potentially allowing students to work at their own pace, perhaps using different materials. (4) Group work can help improve the affective climate in the classroom, the intimacy of the small group setting often being especially valuable to shy or linguistically insecure students. Finally, (5) group work can help motivate learners because of the advantages referred to in (1) through (4) and because of the pedagogic variety it brings to a lesson.

3.1.2 A psycholinguistic rationale

A psycholinguistic rationale for group work has also been proposed. It is noted that the precision with which input can be adjusted to an interlocutor's comprehension abilities is likely to be greatly improved when the listener (or reader) is an individual (the other member of a dyad, for example) than a large group of people of inevitably differing proficiencies, i.e. the whole class. The more individualized negotiation for meaning which is possible in the small group format, in other words, should increase both the quantity and quality of comprehensible input available to students. There is, in turn, a variety of evidence for the necessity (although not, I believe, the sufficiency) of comprehensible input for language learning (for review, see Krashen, 1985; Long, 1981).

Classroom studies have shown that the negotiation work learners accomplish while talking together in unsupervised small groups (interlanguage talk) does not involve a decline in grammatical accuracy compared with the same learner's performance in lockstep work, which is exactly what would be expected from our knowledge of how interlanguage develop. The amount of negotiation work achieved in interlanguage talk is also greater than that in either lockstep work or native/non-native speaker conversation in pairs. Finally, classroom studies have found that the frequency of other-correction and completions by students is higher in group work than in lockstep teaching and not significantly different from that observed in native/non-native speaker conversations. Group members almost never miscorrect, and there is minimal incorporation of other students' errors. (For details and a review of studies, see Long and Porter, 1985.)

An important additional dimension to the psycholinguistic rationale has been provided by Bygate (1987), who begins with the observation that in conversations inside and outside classrooms, a good deal of spontaneous native speaker oral language production occurs, not in finite sentences, but in what he calls "satellite units" (SUs). SUs are defined as moodless utterances which lack a finite verb group ("Hands up", "Pencils down") and all other syntactically dependent units, finite or non-finite, that have been uttered in a turn which either (a) does not include a main finite clause to which the unit in question may be attached ("The man is riding a _____ ", left for a student to complete), or (b)

includes a related main finite clause, but one for which the dependent unit is syntactically superfluous, as when someone makes parenthetic additions or alterations to parts of an independent finite clause ("It was a boring paper, a long boring paper ... a dreadfully boring paper, one of his worst yet"). He cites numerous examples of SUs from a classroom study of group work to illustrate his claim, noting that they can consist of any dependent syntactic element, such as

Prepositional phrases:
S1: at the door
S2: yes in the same door I think
S1: besides the man who is leaving
S2: behind him

Verb groups:
S3: and the point is that we can start
S4: compare
S3: yes

Subordinate clauses:
S2: well that man I think he is a robber, a thief
S1: he might be
S2: because he is running with a handbag
S1: yeah (examples from Bygate, 1987: 68)

Bygate points out that teacher-fronted, textbook driven oral practice is traditionally "clause-down", and advocates a reversal if the work is to promote language learning. Students need time and opportunities to explore the ways dependent SUs can be formed and then combined to make clauses. Intra-turn repairs and cross-turn cooperative dialog, especially as induced by the need to negotiate meaning while working on a problem-solving task in a small group, provide both time and a place - a view which fits very well, of course, with claims by Hatch (1978) and others to the effect that syntax develops out of conversation, rather than the other way round. It is not that talk containing SUs is impossible in principle in lockstep work. It is just that descriptive studies show it rarely occurs there, and that classroom experiments comparing the same tasks in teacher-fronted and small group formats consistently find the small group setting produces significantly more of it (Long, Adams, McLean and Castaños, 1976; Doughty and Pica, 1986; Rulon and McCreary, 1986; Deen, 1988).

The existence of both pedagogic and psycholinguistic rationales does not mean, of course, that all group work is valuable. The small group setting may simply be used to increase the quantity of work done on a useless task. Aston

(1986), for example, has pointed out how poorly designed problem-solving activities can lead to a lot of negotiation work (what he calls "trouble-shooting"), but work which may reflect learner frustration with too difficult a task, unshared participant backgrounds and a need to enhance rapport rather than a successful attempt to secure more appropriate input for acquisition purposes. In other words, valuable though group work is, especially but not only in large classes, the term itself has no real meaning until the 'work' done is specified, i.e. until format is linked to task.

3.2 Pedagogic Task Types

Embryonic taxonomies of pedagogic tasks have begun to appear in the second language literature, along with various proposals for assessing task difficulty and a even a list of (twenty) qualities of "good tasks" (for review, see Crookes, 1986; Candlin, 1987; Nunan, 1988a, 1988b, 1989). With few exceptions, the proposals make no reference to the classroom research on task types (or to any research findings at all, for that matter), although there has been well over a decade of such work on the topic. Given the way these things tend to work in our field, it is safe to assume that many others will follow, eventually leading to a data-free argument about whose taxonomy or list is "best".

Most classifications so far have been pedagogic. While pedagogic criteria will eventually be important for materials design, they must surely be of limited utility until we know how they relate to the *psycholinguistic* properties of tasks. I would like to suggest that a more productive approach would be to continue to search for objectively and (preferably easily) recognisable structural features of task types - task types, not tasks, or there will be no generalizability - which can be demonstrated to relate systematically to the relevant psycholinguistic properties, since it is the kinds of task which promote second *language learning* that we need to identify. There are few clear findings of this sort as yet, but at least three lines of work have begun to produce interesting results: studies relating task type to quantity and quality of interlanguage negotiation work, and to interlanguage complexity and destabilization.

Just which of the many psycholinguistic properties are 'relevant', of course, and so which studies are considered 'interesting', will vary according to one's views about how people learn languages. Two properties among several which interest me are the following. (1) What potential does a task type have for encouraging negotiation work, and in particular for stimulating (both) teachers and learners (a) to reformulate their own and others' utterances and (b) to attend closely to feedback (on their performance in general, not just on errors)? (2) What is a task type's potential for "stretching" learners' interlanguages, for pushing them to operate at the outer limits of their current abilities, especially to

use (a) as linguistically complex speech as possible, and (b) as much optional syntax as possible (where each is sociolinguistically appropriate), and in these and other ways, to expose their interlanguages to constant pressures for destabilization? Not all task types are equally useful in either of these areas. I will illustrate with just three examples of such relationships, although many other patterns are emerging from a rapidly expanding body of research. It should be stressed that both types of pedagogic tasks in each of the following pairs may still be useful in the classroom, even if one type is more useful than the other in the ways of interest here.

Where both negotiation work and interlanguage "stretching" and destabilization are concerned, evidence from classroom studies is generally consistent with the following three generalizations, assuming variables other than those mentioned are held constant in each comparison.

3.2.1 Two-way tasks produce more negotiation work and more useful negotiation work than one-way tasks

The one-way/two-way distinction (Long, 1980) refers to the way information is distributed at the outset of a task and the requirement that the structure of the task imposes on participants to exchange that information if they are to complete the task succesfully. It is insufficient that information exchange can facilitate or improve task completion; for a task to be two-way, information exchange must be required for completion to be possible at all. One-way/two-way also has nothing to do with the number of participants. Nor is two-way the same as "information gap". One-way and two-way tasks are both information gap tasks, as that term is used in the pedagogic literature, but research has shown that it is two-way tasks, that are more conducive of negotiation work, for which many one-way tasks, and hence many information gap tasks, are quite useless, it turns out. Several studies support this generalization: for NS/NNS conversation, see, e.g. Long (1980), and for interlanguage talk, e.g. Doughty and Pica (1986).

An example may help clarify the distinction. A task in which one person (teacher or student) describes a picture which only he or she can see so that others can draw it is one-way. A task in which each member of (say) a four person group has exclusive access to information about a crime, all of which must be pooled before a villain can be identified, is two-way. For example, one student might hold information about the motives or lack of motive of six suspects, a second about their alibis, a third about the way the crime was committed, and a fourth about certain externally verified facts which, taken together, support some alibis but not others, and so on. None of the separate pieces of information is interpretable without the others, meaning that the group must

work cooperatively to exchange their information if the crime is to be solved.

3.2.2 Planned tasks "stretch" interlanguages further and promote destabilization more than unplanned tasks

Building on work by Ochs (1979) on linguistic differences between planned and unplanned native language discourse, Ellis (1987) and Crookes (in press) have manipulated degree of planning to assess its effects on written and oral work in a second language. Ochs found planned discourse, such as prepared lectures or expository texts, typically to contain more complex language and a wider variety of linguistic constructions (more relative clauses, noun modifiers, passives, and so on) than unplanned discourse, such as informal face to face conversations and personal letters. The L2 studies to date have shown that learners produce syntactically more complex language when given planning time than when performing the same tasks without planning or with less planning time.

Using a counterbalanced repeated measures design, Crookes (in press) studied the monologic speech of forty Japanese learners of English on two oral production tasks involving instructions on how to assemble Lego pieces to make a model house and the siting of buildings on the map of a town. All subjects completed one of two equivalently complex versions of each task. Half the subjects did one task after a ten-minute opportunity to plan the words, phrases and ideas (but not the exact sentences) they would use, and the other task after no opportunity to plan. The other subjects reversed the order of tasks and conditions. Crookes was careful to obtain evidence that learners actually had used the alloted time for planning in the form of written notes they were instructed to make but which were removed before they recorded their instructions. That is, he made sure the treatment had been "delivered". As predicted, Crookes found that the learners' speech was syntactically more complex on various measures, e.g. words, subordinate clauses and s-nodes per utterance, on both tasks after planning time. He also noted trends towards more target-like use of particular linguistic forms (articles) and use of a greater variety of words (higher type-token ratio) under the planning condition.

Crookes is cautious about drawing pedagogical implications from what was, after all, a tightly controlled laboratory experiment. He suggests, however, that whereas many writers on communicative language teaching (for good reasons) advocate provision of spontaneous language practice opportunities, teachers (and materials designers) might well consider systematically building planning opportunities for at least some tasks into their lessons, given the evidence that the same students on the same day can operate at a higher level, both quantitatively (the linguistic complexity measures) and, it appears likely, qualitatively

(developmentally more advanced in terms of percentage target-like use) if given planning opportunities. It seems quite reasonable to assume that, other things being equal, learners will improve faster if they engage in language work nearer the upper bounds of what they are currently capable than practice at levels below their current capacity.

This finding is of a different order from those concerning one-way and two-way tasks and other task types because it concerns a quality, degree of planning, which can in principle be manipulated, and fairly easily, for virtually any task with (potentially) the same results. One wonders what other features and conditions might be superimposed in this way to alter tasks in the classroom, possibly thereby creating new task types with significance for language performance and, presumably, language learning.

3.2.3 Closed tasks produce more negotiation work and more useful negotiation work than open tasks

Unlike the previous two claims, which have each been explicitly formulated and then tested in a number of studies, the proposal I am about to make concerning the relative merits of 'closed' and 'open' tasks reflects my own *post hoc* interpretation of a number of results, and should therefore be treated more cautiously. It has not, to my knowledge, been addressed in a second language study thus far. The argument, briefly, is as follows.

Negotiation for meaning is usually both fun and intellectually stimulating for teachers and learners alike if the materials writer is clever enough. It can also be hard work, however, most obviously when a task is too difficult for a particular group of learners in one or more ways. A least effort outlook will mean students (and some teachers, I suppose) will tend to avoid negotiation if the task itself does not demand it. Some tasks, even *within* other categories, such as one-way and two-way, elicit more negotiation work than others, some less, and some aspects of negotiation are probably more beneficial for language development than others.

The last point is well illustrated in research findings by Pica and her associates. In a study of NS/NNS conversation, Pica (1987) noted a tendency for NS interlocutors to model correct versions of NNSs' problematic utterances as confirmation checks following communicative trouble. While potentially very valuable in some respects, the seeming disadvantage was that the NNSs then had only to acknowledge in order to complete the discourse repair, rather than to attempt their own reformulations, as shown in this example:

NNS: I many fren
NS: You have many friends?
NNS: Yes

Pica, Holliday, Lewis and Morgenthaler (in press) found clarification requests, on the other hand, to be more successful at eliciting reformulations from learners, especially on tasks in which they had some control over the topic, a condition which can be built into a (two-way) task if the designer wishes, of course. Pica provides the following example:

NNS: ... you have a three which is ...
white square of which appears sharp
NS: Huh?

NNS: ... you have a three houses ...
one is no-no-not-*one* is not square
and *one* is square, but with a little
bit- a little small house

"Free conversation" is a particularly poor task in most respects where negotiation work is concerned, as can be seen in the consistent finding of a tendency for speakers in free conversation to treat topics briefly, to drop them altogether when serious trouble arises, to provide feedback to their interlocutors less often, to incorporate feedback from their interlocutors less often, and to recycle linguistic material less often than when the same speakers work together on various other "problem-solving" tasks.

Quantified demonstrations of these relationships can be found, among other places, in a study comparing the performance of the same fifteen dyads in free conversation and working on two so-called "problem-solving" tasks, Spot the Difference and Odd Man Out, by Crookes and Rulon (1985, 1988), who also provide a detailed discussion of possible casual relationships. Related findings of higher quantity and quality negotiation work have been reported favouring "convergent" over "divergent" tasks by Duff (1986), and (social, cooperative problem-solving) tasks combining "non-teaching goals and experiential processes" (e.g. construction of a Lego toy) over tasks emphasizing "teaching goals and expository processes" (e.g. instruction in the string-searching function of a laptop computer with the computer physically present) by Berwick (1988). Berwick's is the largest scale, most comprehensive study of these issues to date, and involved careful manipulation (singly and in combinations) of several variables, including task types, native language of teacher and learners, and the availability of visual support for tasks. There are several other relevant studies, too many to review here, and I have not done justice to the wealth of detail available even in those few I have mentioned.

The claim I would like to make is that a distinction between "open" and "closed" tasks would account for many (although by no means all) of the findings, and would be worth manipulating in a future study. The distinction is a modifi-

cation of one for a classification of questions first proposed, I believe, by Robinson and Rackstraw (1972), applied now to the classification of pedagogic tasks.

By an *open* task, I mean one in which participants know there is no predetermined correct solution, but instead a wide (in some cases, infinite) range of acceptable solutions. Free conversation, a debate, ranking favourite leisure time activities, explaining how something works (how you think it works, with no form of "test" of your interlocutor's competence after your explanation - not necessarily how it really works), and discussing and eventually choosing (individually or by consensus) the ten greatest world figures, would all be examples of 'open' tasks.

By a *closed* task, I mean one in which the task itself (as opposed to some construal put on it by the participants) requires that the speakers (or listeners, readers and writers, of course) attempt to reach either a single correct solution or one of a small, finite set of correct solutions determined beforehand by the designer of the task and again (crucially) known to the participants to have been so determined. There may only be one possible correct answer to who committed the crime, for example, exactly four differences between two otherwise identical pictures, only three countries out of ten whose GNP rose every year from 1975 to 1984, and so on. It is crucial that participants know whether the task is open or closed.

The idea is that the quantity and quality of negotiation for meaning will be higher on closed tasks, when participants know that task completion depends on their finding *the* answer, not settling on any answer they choose when the going gets rough and moving on to something else. The prediction is that, all other things being equal, closed tasks as defined above will elicit more topic and language recycling, more feedback, more incorporation, more rephrasing, more precision, and so on. These adjustments involve the kinds of reformulations noted earlier and are likely to lead to provision and incorporation of feedback, and hence, to interlanguage destabilization.

3.3 Task-group Interactions

In a study of Mexican university students of EFL working on (supposedly) "communicative" materials written by the research team, Long, Adams, McLean and Castaños (1976) compared language use in teacher-led, whole class discussions and in unsupervised pair work when participants were engaged in solving the same problem. This was to decide which of a list of characteristics (tool use, thought, etc) were unique to humans (I am ashamed to admit we wrote 'unique to *man*' in 1976) and which ones could be found in other animals. Contrary to our predictions, the materials had no apparent effect on the kinds of language use that transpired in the whole class discussions. Teachers continued to ask display questions, correct errors, drill target language constructions, and general-

ly to focus on forms, not communication. In the small group condition, however, which involved the student pairs doing the same task in an adjoining room at the same stage in the lesson, the materials seemed to "work". Students produced more talk, all of it with a focus on meaning, not language, a functionally wider range of talk, and more "exploratory" talk in Barnes' sense. We concluded, tentatively, that it was the ***combination*** of materials and grouping that had produced the result.

Similar findings have since been obtained in at least one other study. Pica and Doughty (1985) and Doughty and Pica (1986) compared various features of teacher and student talk, focussing primarily on negotiation work, on one-way and two-way "decision-making" tasks conducted in small group and teacher-fronted lockstep formats. Like other researchers (e.g. Porter, 1986), they found student speech was equally grammatical in both formats (as measured by the percentage of grammatical T-units), and that the students talked more and provided more other corrections and completions in the small groups. The two-way task involved each student planting flowers on a feltboard garden to which only he or she had access and which differed slightly from every other student's board, the object being for everyone to finish with the same final picture. Pica and Doughty report that the two-way task produced significantly more negotiation work than the one-way task in the small group setting, but found no effect for task type in the teacher-led lessons. When task type was held constant, significantly more negotiation work (the ratio of conversational adjustments to total T-units and fragments) was found in the small groups (four person groups and pairs) than in the lockstep, but differences between the pairs and the four person groups themselves were not significant.

On the basis of these two sets of results, it would seem that the amount and quality of language practice can sometimes depend not simply on the tasks or format employed, but, at least where some tasks and possibly some task types are concerned, upon the interaction of either task or task type and grouping. Both studies find the combination of communicative task with small group setting necessary to bring out the full potential of the task itself, and both find that a task's true potential may not be realised at all in a lockstep format.

How generalizable are these findings? At this point, we simply do not know. We need further studies of task-group interactions. It may be that well designed tasks are protected against the effects of one grouping arrangement or another. That would be the optimistic view, certainly. It might also turn out that these two studies were providing an early warning of a phenomenon that we would do well to investigate further. It would be a shame, after all, if we spent the next few years learning to do clever things with tasks only to have the effects of our work unintentionally preempted by the way those tasks were used in the classroom.

4 CONCLUSION

There is no evidence that "method" is a relevant construct for those interested in fostering change in classrooms. Worse, a concern with "methods" can divert us from methodological issues, which clearly are important. Methodology, however, will be treated more effectively as part of an integrated approach to program design, and the *task* has many advantages as the unit of analysis if that is the goal. It can serve in needs identification, syllabus design, materials writing, methodology, testing and evaluation alike. The potential of task-based language teaching for harnessing instructional and learning strategies in ways consistent with second language acquisition research findings is also considerable. If that potential is to be realised, however, careful attention needs to be given to the judicious use of group work, to the kinds of tasks teachers and learners work on, especially the psycholinguistic properties of task types, and to the optimal combinations of task types and groups, that is, to task-group interactions.

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A SYSTEM OF TASKS FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING

Paul Nation

This paper looks at learning goals for learners of another language and describes a system for reaching these goals. The system is based on the idea that language learning like most learning involves learners working on tasks that require them to cope with items or skills that are new to them or that they have only partly mastered (Doyle, 1979, 1983). The way that they are helped to cope with the tasks will have a major effect on the kind of learning that occurs.

Imagine that a teacher wishes to help learners in her class improve their writing skills. To do this she will get them to work on writing tasks that will take them beyond their present level of proficiency. But to make sure that the learners are successful in doing the tasks, she may have to provide some help. There are several ways in which she could do this.

(1) She could think of a topic that the learners are very familiar with, such as a recent exciting event. She then gets the learners talking about the event so that the ideas and their organisation are clear and so that the learners have an oral command of the language needed to describe the event. When all this previous knowledge has been stimulated, the learners are then told to put it in writing. Because the ideas, organisation and necessary language are all familiar to them, the learners have only to concentrate on turning these ideas into a written form.

(2) The teacher could think of a topic and then put the learners into groups of three or four. Each group has to plan and produce one piece of writing. By helping each other, the learners in each group are able to produce a piece of writing that is better than what any of them could have produced by working alone.

(3) The teacher finds or makes a guided composition exercise, such as a series of pictures with accompanying questions and language items.

(4) The teacher chooses a topic and then lets the learners get on with their writing. They may ask for help if they need it, but they are mainly left to work independently.

These four kinds of tasks are called experience tasks, shared tasks, guided tasks, and independent tasks.

One way to look at these types of tasks is to see their job as dealing with the

gap which exists between learners' present knowledge and the demands of the learning task. Experience tasks try to narrow the gap as much as possible by using or developing learners' previous experience. Shared tasks try to get learners to help each other cross the gap. Guided tasks try to bridge the gap by providing the support of exercises and focused guidance. Independent tasks leave learners to rely on their own resources.

Let us now look at learning goals before looking at the types of tasks in more detail.

LEARNING GOALS

Language learning techniques are used to reach learning goals. These goals can include learning of (1) language items such as sounds, vocabulary and grammatical constructions, (2) the content or ideas of the subject being studied such as geography, English literature, mathematics, or cross-cultural understanding, (3) language skills such as listening, writing, fluency in using known items, and strategies for coping with language difficulties, and (4) the organisation of discourse such as rhetorical features and semantic constituents. Table 1 elaborates these areas.

General goals	Specific goals
Language items (L)	pronunciation vocabulary grammatical constructions
Ideas (content) (I)	
Skills (S)	accuracy fluency strategies process skills or subskills
Text (discourse) (T)	text schemata or topic type scales

Table 1 Learning Goals

A more detailed elaboration of some of these areas can be found in Munby's (1978, pp. 175-184) taxonomy of language skills.

The use of language teaching techniques is justified to the extent that they achieve learning goals. This even applies to techniques that are used for fun to give the learners a break, because there are many language teaching techniques that are great fun and achieve very useful learning goals.

A major problem with learning goals is that the goal of a technique can change depending on how the technique is used. For example, if the ***listen and draw*** technique presents new vocabulary in a helpful context, it then has a language goal. If it does not contain new language items, is presented at an easy speed and requires learners to draw something associated with a new concept, it has a content goal. If it uses familiar language but is presented quite quickly, it has a skill goal. The purpose of the description of the learning goal however is to make teachers conscious of why they are using a particular technique.

Let us now look at experience, shared, guided and independent tasks in detail.

EXPERIENCE TASKS

A very effective way of making a task easier is to make sure that the learners are familiar with as many parts of it as possible. This has several effects. First, it makes sure that learners are not overloaded by having to think about several different things at the same time. Second, it allows the learners the chance to concentrate on the part of the task that they need to learn. Third, it helps the learners perform a normal language activity in a normal way with a high chance of success.

Bringing Tasks within the Learners' Experience

One of the most common examples of an experience task in foreign language learning is the use of simplified reading books, which are sometimes called graded readers. Once learners have a vocabulary of three hundred words or more, they should be able to read Stage 1 graded readers because these are written within that vocabulary level. Normally, such learners would not be able to read books written in English because unsimplified texts would be far too difficult for them. However, because Stage 1 graded readers use vocabulary that is familiar to the learners, use familiar sentence patterns, and involve simple types of stories, elementary learners are able to read the Stage 1 reader without too much difficulty and with a feeling of success.

Ways of bringing the task within the learners' experience		Typical procedures for reading activities
Control through selection or simplification	L	A reading or listening text is written within a controlled vocabulary and a controlled list of structures
	I	Learners describe their experience to the teacher who writes it to become the learners' reading texts
	S	The learners read texts which are closely based on the texts they read in their first language
	T	The teacher writes informative science texts as stories or personal accounts
Recall or sharing personal experience	L	The learners label diagrams and pictures based on the text they will read
	I	The learners are asked to predict what will occur in a text after they know the topic of the text
	S	The learners discuss how they take notes and summarise when they read in their first language
	T	The learners share their predictions of which kinds of information will occur in what order in the text
Preteaching	L	The teacher explains vocabulary that will occur in the reading text
	I	The learners collect and display pictures and articles relating to the topic of the text
	S	The learners do guided exercises or first language reading activities to develop the needed reading skills
	T	The learners are helped with the discourse analysis of a text of the same topic type as the text they will read

Table 2 Bringing Reading Tasks within the Learners' Experience

The task of reading a graded reader is made easier because the writer of the graded reader has brought many of the parts of the task within the learners' experience.

Here is another way of doing this which is often used in New Zealand primary schools. The teacher sits with a learner who has just drawn a picture. The learner tells the teacher the story of the picture and the teacher writes down the learner's words. This story then becomes the learner's reading text. It is not difficult for the learner to read because the language, the ideas in the story, and the sequence of ideas in the story are all within the learner's experience. The unfamiliar part of the task, which is also the learning goal of the activity, is the decoding of the written words.

There are several ways of presenting or controlling a task so that much of it is within the learners' experience.

Providing Learners with the Experience to do a Task

If learners do not have enough experience to do a task, then either the task can be changed so that it is brought within their experience, or the learners can be provided with the experience which will help them do the task. A common way of providing learners with experience is to take them on a visit or field trip. For example, the teacher may take the class to a fire station. While they are there, they find out as much as they can about the fire station. They may even have a set of questions to answer. After the visit the writing task should be easier because the learners have experienced the ideas that they will write about, they have used or heard the language items that they need in the writing task, and they can choose how they will organise the writing. Their only difficulty should be putting the ideas into a written form and this is probably the learning goal for the task.

A more formal way of providing learners with experience to do a task is by preteaching. For example, before the learners read a text, the teacher can teach them the vocabulary they will need, can give them practice in finding the main idea, or can get them to study some of the ideas that will occur in the text.

Checking Experience Tasks

When using experience tasks for language teaching, it is useful to have a way of checking to see what parts of the task are within the learners' experience and what part of the task is being focused on as the learning goal. In the section on goals we have looked at four sets of goals - Language item goals; Idea or content goals; Skill goals; and Text or discourse goals. The mnemonic LIST can

be used to remember these goals. A useful rule to follow is that any experience task should have only one of these goals and the other three should already be within the learners' experience. So, if the teacher wants the learners to master the ideas or content of a text, then the language items (vocabulary grammar, language functions) should all be within the learners' experience. Similarly, if the learners have the goal of increasing their reading speed (a part of the reading skill), then the reading speed passages should be written in simple language, should deal with largely familiar ideas, and should be written with a familiar type of organisation ie as a simple narrative or a regular step by step description. ***Speed Reading*** by E Quinn and I S P Nation (1974) and ***Reading Faster*** by E Fry (1963) are two such courses. ***Speed Reading*** is written with a seven hundred word vocabulary and a limited range of sentence patterns using texts based on Asia and the Pacific. ***Reading Faster*** is written within a 2,000 word vocabulary and has predominantly African based texts.

Control through selection or simplification	Using simplified material Using carefully graded material Using learner produced material Using material based on first language material
Recall or sharing of previous experience	Discussions Gathering and sharing pictures Questioning peers
Preteaching or experiencing	Direct teaching of sounds, vocabulary, grammar, text types ... Visits and field trips Direct teaching of content

Table 3 Ways of Providing Experience

So, when checking an experience task, it is useful to ask these two questions.

(1) What is the learning goal of the task?
(2) Are the three other aspects of the task kept within the learners' experience?

Features of Experience Tasks

We have already looked at the most important feature of experience tasks, namely that several aspects of the task are kept within the learners' previous experience so that the learners can focus on the learning goal. Another feature that has already been mentioned is that the task is done in a manner that is similar to the way it would be done outside the classroom. That is, if the task is a writing task, then it will be done with the same kind of fluency that a native speaker or a highly proficient second language learner may do the task. This is possible because several aspects of the task are well within the learners' control. This feature of experience tasks makes them popular with teachers who favour a communicative approach to language learning, because it allows a message based fluency focus in tasks. A further feature of experience tasks is that each task usually provides quite a large quantity of activity. For example, most reading experience tasks involve the learner reading several sentences or paragraphs rather than having them struggle over a few sentences. Similarly, listening experience tasks involve listening to substantial amounts of spoken language. Krashen's (1981) input theory of learning fits easily into an experience approach.

There is a considerable amount of research into the various factors involved in experience tasks and their relative effects. These factors include the activation of schemata (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983), preteaching of vocabulary (Johnson, 1981), predicting from pictures (Omaggio, 1979), and having the learners pose questions which they will try to answer when they read (Taglieber, Johnson and Yarbrough, 1988).

SHARED TASKS

A task which is too difficult for an individual to do may be done successfully if a group does it. A well known example is group composition where three or four learners work together to produce a piece of writing that is superior to what any one of the group could do alone. There are several reasons why this happens, particularly in second language learning. First, although learners may be of roughly equal proficiency, they will certainly have learnt different aspects of the language. Second, although learners may know a particular language item, they may find difficulty in accessing it. The prompting and help of others may allow them to do this. Third, where groups contain learners of differing proficiency, there is the opportunity for more personalised teaching to occur with one learner working with another who needs help.

Many experience tasks and guided tasks can be done in a group, thus increasing the help that learners are given with the tasks.

Most shared tasks have the advantages of requiring little preparation by the

teacher, reducing the teacher's supervision and marking load, and encouraging the learners to see each other as a learning resource.

Arranging Shared Tasks

Shared tasks are best set up by considering how the information and input needed to do the task is distributed among the learners in each group. Table 4 lists the possibilities.

Type of arrangement	Information distribution	Example
Cooperating	The learners have equal access to the same material	Group composition
Combining	The information is spread among the learners so that each learner has unique essential information	Strip story
Superior-inferior	One learner acts as a teacher or resource for the others. This learner has all the information	Passage reconstruction
Individual	All learners have the same information but use a different part	Say it!

Table 4 Types of Shared Tasks

The principles and applications of group work are described in more detail in Nation (1989).

GUIDED TASKS

Most coursebooks make tasks easier by using exercises that carefully guide the learners. This usually has the effect of narrowing the task that the learners have to do. For example, guided composition exercises such as picture composition provide the ideas that the learners will write about. The exercises often provide needed vocabulary and structures and determine how the piece of writing will be organised. The learners' job is to compose the sentences that make up the composition. Guided tasks provide a lot of support for the learners ***while*** they do the task. This has several effects.

(1) First, as we have seen, the task is narrowed. That is, the learners only do a part of the work that would normally be required in such an activity. This is good if that part of the task is worth focusing on and helps learners achieve a useful learning goal. It is not good if the narrowed task results in learners doing things that bear little relation to the normal wider task. Substitution exercises were often criticised for this reason.

(2) A second effect of the support given during guided tasks is that it allows grading and sequencing of tasks. Experience tasks require the teacher to be sensitive to learners' familiarity with parts of a task and to provide and stimulate previous experience where necessary. Guided tasks, on the other hand, are designed so that guidance is provided as a part of the activity. It does not have to be provided by the teacher. For this reason, most coursebooks for English language teaching contain a lot of guided tasks. For the same reason, teachers may be reluctant to make their own guided tasks because of the amount of skill and work that has to go into making them.

(3) A third effect of the support given during such tasks is the high degree of success expected. If learners make errors in guided tasks this is often seen as a result of a poorly made task, that is, the guidance was not sufficient.

Variety in Guided Tasks

Let us imagine that a teacher wants to give the class practice in understanding and giving directions. He has decided to use maps to help him do this.

(1) The teacher wants to give listening practice first so he uses a distinguishing

technique. He draws a simple map on the blackboard, and says a sentence, for example, "Turn to the right." Then he points to the map and by moving the pointer shows a turn to the right. The learners answer "the same". The teacher does this with several sentences. Sometimes the sentence is the same as the movement he shows on the map, sometimes it is different.

(2) To give further listening practice the teacher uses an identification technique. Using the same map on the board the teacher says a sentence, for example, "Take the second street on the left." After the teacher says the sentence a learner shows the movement on the map. When this is easy for the learners, the teacher speaks quickly or gives several directions and makes the learner wait a few seconds before the learner shows them all on the map.

(3) As a preparation for the learners saying the sentences, the teacher uses a completion technique. The teacher writes incomplete sentences on the blackboard. The teacher also marks a short journey corresponding to the incomplete sentences by looking at the journey on the map. The teacher can make this more challenging by letting the learners look at the journey on the map, and then rubbing the marked journey out before letting the learners complete the sentences.

(4) The teacher gives speaking practice by asking the learners to repeat sentences that he says. The technique can be made more interesting by asking the learners to listen to several sentences before they repeat them.

(5) The teacher arranges for more speaking practice by letting the learners work in pairs. The learners each have a copy of the same map. One learner marks a place on her map without the other learner seeing. The first learner, starting from a certain point on the map that both know, gives the learner directions on how to get to the place that has been marked. After the second learner has listened to the directions and followed them on his own map, he marks the place on his map. The two learners then compare their maps to see if the mark on each map is in the same place.

There are obviously many other guided tasks that can be made to give practice in commands using a map. Usually teachers only make use of a few of the techniques that they could use if they knew about them. By using the system described in Nation (1976) a teacher should be able to make most of the commonly used guided tasks and many others.

INDEPENDENT TASKS

Independent tasks require the learners to work alone without any planned help. Learners can work successfully on independent tasks when they have

developed some proficiency in the language and when they have command of helpful strategies. These strategies can develop from experience, shared or guided tasks. Let us look at learners faced with a difficult independent reading task, such as reading part of a science text. (1) The learners could read the text several times. During each re-reading, the learners have the experience gained from the previous readings. (2) The learners could ask the teacher or classmates for help when they need it. (3) The learners could guide their reading of the text by asking questions, or by using a notetaking or information transfer strategy.

A good independent task has the following features. (1) It provides a reasonable challenge ie it has some difficulty but the learners can see that with effort they can do it. (2) It is a task that learners are likely to face outside the classroom.

The difference between an experience task and an independent task lies in the control and preparation that goes into an experience task. Experience tasks are planned so that learners are faced with only one aspect of the task that is outside their previous experience. Independent tasks do not involve this degree of control and learners may be faced with several kinds of difficulty in the same task.

USING THE SYSTEM

The aim in describing this system of tasks is to make teachers aware of the possible approaches to dealing with the gap between the learners' knowledge and the knowledge required to do a task, and to make them aware of the very large number of activities that can be made to help learners. When teachers are able to think of a variety of ways of dealing with a problem, they can then choose the ones that will work best in their class. Let us end by applying the system.

Your learners need to read a text about land use in the Amazon basin. For several reasons this text will be difficult for them. There are new concepts to learn, there is new vocabulary, and the text is written in a rather academic way. What can the teacher do to help the learners with this task?

The first step is to think whether an experience task is feasible Can the teacher bring the language, ideas, needed reading skills, or text organisation within the experience of the learners? For example, is it possible to bring the language within the learners' proficiency by preteaching vocabulary or discussing the topic before going on to the reading? Is it possible to bring the ideas within the learners' experience by getting them to collect pictures and short articles about the Amazon basin? Can the way the text is organised be outlined and explained to the learners? If these things are not possible or if more help is needed, then the teacher should look at making the reading a shared task.

The reading could be made into a shared task in several ways. The text could be divided up with each learner having a part of the text to read and explain to the others. Alternatively, pairs of learners could read and discuss the text together section by section. If this is not possible or further help is needed, guided help can be given.

Some of the simpler guided tasks could involve answering a detailed set of questions based on the text, completing a set of statements that summarise the text, filling in an information transfer grid based on a topic type analysis of the text (Franken, 1987), or labelling a diagrammatic representation of the text.

The distinctions made here between experience, shared and guided tasks are for ease of description and to make the range of possibilities clearer. Experience or guided tasks can be done in small groups as shared tasks, just as experience tasks may have some guided elements.

The purpose of this paper has been to describe a system that teachers can use to give them access to the large range of possibilities that are available to them when they try to close the gap between their learners' proficiency and the demands of the learning tasks facing them. The job of these tasks is to help learners gain mastery over the language, ideas, language skills and types of discourse that are the goals of their study.

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AN EMPIRICALLY BASED METHODOLOGY FOR THE NINETIES

David Nunan

1 INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I shall survey the research which has been conducted in recent years which has implications for second language teaching methodology. This research can help us place the actual procedures we employ in the classroom on a much more secure footing, and can help to eliminate the pendulum effect which has bedeviled language teaching methodology over the years.

I have chosen to deal with the research under three main headings. First I shall look at what the research has to tell us about language processing and production. I shall then look at some of the work which has been done into classroom interaction and its effect on second language acquisition. Finally, I shall review the literature on learning strategy preferences. In this third area, the pertinent questions are: what methodological preferences do learners themselves have? and, what are the implications of these learning preferences for language teaching methodology?

In the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, methodology is defined as follows:

> (1) ... the study of the practices and procedures used in teaching, and the principles and beliefs that underly them. Methodology includes:
> (a) study of the nature of LANGUAGE SKILLS (eg reading, writing, speaking, listening) and procedures for teaching them
> (b) study of the preparation of LESSON PLANS, materials, and textbooks for teaching language skills
> (c) the evaluation and comparison of language teaching METHODS (eg the AUDIOLINGUAL METHOD)
> (2) such practices, procedures, principles, and beliefs themselves. One can, for example criticize or praise the methodology of a particular language course. (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985: 177)

Traditionally, in language teaching pedagogy, a distinction has been drawn between syllabus design and methodology, the former concerning itself with the selection and grading of linguistic and experiential content, while the latter is

concerned with the selection and sequencing of learning tasks and activities. In other words, syllabus design is concerned with 'what', 'why' and 'when'; methodology is concerned with 'how'. However, with the development of communicative approaches to language teaching, the traditional distinction between syllabus design and methodology has become difficult to sustain. As Breen points out, while syllabus design, as traditionally conceived, is concerned with the learner's destination, communicatively oriented syllabuses should:

> "... prioritize the route itself; a focusing upon the means towards the learning of a new language. Here the designer would give priority to the changing processes of learning and the potential of the classroom - to the psychological and social resources applied to a new language by learners in the classroom context ... a greater concern with capacity for communication rather than repertoire of communication, with the activity of learning a language viewed as important as the language itself, and with a focus upon the means rather than predetermined objectives, all indicate priority of process over content." (Breen, 1984: 52-3)

(For a detailed account of the effect of communicative language teaching on syllabus design and methodology, see Nunan, 1988a and Nunan, 1989).

For the purposes of this paper, I shall consider methodology from the perspective of classroom tasks and activities. The principal question addressed in the paper is: what does research have to say about language learning and use, and what are the implications of this research for the design of classroom tasks?

The very question itself marks a departure from the approach which has characterized methodology for much of this century. As Richards (1987) points out, the goal of many language teachers is to 'find the right method'. "... the history of our profession in the last hundred years has done much to support the impression that improvements in language teaching will come about as a result of improvements in the quality of methods, and that ultimately an effective language teaching method will be developed." He goes on to say that for many years it was believed that linguistic or psycholinguistic theory would uncover the secrets of second language acquisition, and then the problem of how to teach a second language would be solved once and for all.

Despite their diversity, all "methods" have one thing in common. They all assume that there is a single of set of principles which will determine whether or not learning will take place. Thus, they all propose a single set of precepts for teacher and learner classroom behaviour, and assert that if these principles are faithfully followed, they will result in learning for all. Unfortunately, little evidence has been forthcoming over the years to support one approach rather than another, or to suggest that it is the method rather than some other variables which caused learning to occur.

These 'designer' methods, which can be bought off the applied linguistics shelf, contain inbuilt assumptions and beliefs about the nature of language and learning. These beliefs reflect the dominant psychological and linguistic orthodoxies of the time during which the methods gained currency.

Most of these designer methods, are based on assumptions drawn, not from the close observation and analysis of the classroom, but from logico-deductive speculation. An alternative to them is the development of language teaching methodologies which are based, at least in part, on empirical evidence on the nature of language, language learning and language use. It is to a critical analysis of such evidence that I now turn.

2 RESEARCH INTO LANGUAGE PROCESSING AND PRODUCTION

There is a growing body of literature on language learning and use by both first and second language learners which can be drawn on by methodologists in the process of formulating principles for the design of classroom materials and learning tasks. In this section, I shall review a selection of the literature which speaks most readily to the concerns of second language education.

In terms of language processing, it is now generally accepted that learners need access to both top-down as well as bottom-up processing strategies. Bottom-up processing strategies focus learners on the individual components of spoken and written messages, that is, the phonemes, graphemes, individual words and grammatical elements which need to be comprehended in order to understand these messages. Top-down processing strategies, on the other hand, focus learners on macro-features of text such as the writer or speaker's purpose, the topic of the message and so on.

In comprehending spoken messages, it has been suggested that learners need the following bottom-up and top-down strategies:

Bottom-up listening strategies:
- scanning the input to identify familiar lexical items;
- segmenting the stream of speech into constituents, for example, in order to recognise that 'abookofmine' consists of four words;
- using phonological cues to identify the information focus in an utterance;
- using grammatical cues to organize the input into constituents, for example, in order to recognise that in 'the book which I lent you' (the book) and (which I lent you) are major constituents, rather than (the book which I) and (lent you).

Top-down listening strategies:
- assigning an interaction to part of a particular event, such as story telling, joking, praying, complaining;
- assigning person, places and things to categories;
- inferring cause and effect relationships;
- anticipating outcomes;
- inferring the topic of a discourse;
- inferring the sequence between events;
- inferring missing details. (Richards, 1987)

Until fairly recently, the focus in the language classroom was firmly on the development of bottom-up processing strategies. However, in recent years, the need for a balance between both types of strategy has been recognised.

Anderson and Lynch (1988) record an anecdote which illustrates the importance of top-down strategies to successful listening comprehension. An old woman, passing one of the authors in the street said, "That's the university. It's going to rain." At first, the listener had no idea what the woman was trying to say.

You might like to pause and consider what you think the woman meant. You might also like to consider what you would need to know about the speaker, the listener, the time, the place and so on in order to construct an interpretation of the woman's utterance.

The listener had to draw on the following information, none of which is actually contained in the message itself:

general factual information:
1. sound is more audible downwind than upwind
2. wind direction may affect weather conditions

local factual knowledge:
3. the University of Glasgow has a clock tower with a bell

socio-cultural knowledge:
4. strangers to Britain occasionally refer to the weather to 'oil the wheels' of social life
5. a polite comment from a stranger usually requires a response

knowledge of context:
6. the conversation took place about half-a-mile from the University of Glasgow
7. the clock tower bell was just striking the hour.

(Anderson and Lynch, 1988: 12-13)

By drawing on these various sources of knowledge, the listener was able to conclude that the old woman was drawing his attention to the fact that the wind was blowing from a direction which brought with it the threat of rain. The change in the wind direction was signalled by the fact that the university clock was audible. The woman was, in fact, making a socially acceptable comment to a stranger, ie talking about the weather, although she chose a rather idiosyncratic way of doing it.

Similar issues and factors to those we have seen in relation to listening comprehension also appear in the research into reading comprehension. For quite a few years, there has been a lively debate over the relative claims of bottom-up and top-down approaches to reading comprehension. The central notion behind the bottom-up approach is that reading is basically a matter of decoding a series of written symbols into their aural equivalent. According to this approach, the reader processes every letter as it is encountered. These letters or graphemes are matched with the phonemes of the language, which it is assumed the reader already knows. These phonemes, the minimal units of meaning in the sound system of the language, are blended together to form words. The derivation of meaning is thus the end process in which the language is translated from one form of symbolic representation to another.

A number of major criticisms have been made of the phonics approach. Much of this criticism is based on research into human memory. The first of these is that, with only twenty-six letters and over forty sounds in English, spelling-to-sound correspondences are both complex and unpredictable. It was this realization which led to the development of primers, in which stories were composed exclusively of words which did have regular sound-symbol correspondences. Unfortunately, as many of the most common English words have irregular spellings and were therefore excluded, the stories in primers tended to be unnatural and tedious.

Another criticism which has grown out of empirical investigations into human cognition and memory is that the serial processing of each letter in a text would slow reading up to the point where it would be almost impossible for meaning to be retained. Research by Kolers and Katzmann (1966), for example, demonstrated that it takes from a quarter to a third of a second to recognise and assign the appropriate phonemic sound to a given grapheme. At this rate, given the average length of English words, readers would only be able to process about sixty words per minute. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the average reader can read and comprehend from 250-350 words per minute. Given the fact that we can only hold in working memory about seven items at any one time, the reader should, under the bottom-up model, very often forget the beginning of a sentence before reaching the end.

More recent interactive models of reading give much greater prominence to top-down reading strategies, which obviate some of the shortcomings of a purely

bottom-up approach.

The importance of top-down knowledge to comprehension is illustrated in the following passage.

> "The procedure is really quite simple. First you arrange things into different groups. Of course, one pile may be sufficient, depending on how much there is to do. If you have to go somewhere else due to lack of facilities that is the next step, otherwise you are pretty well set. It is important not to overdo things. That is, it is better to do too few things at once than too many. In the short run this may not seem important, but complications can easily arise. A mistake can be expensive as well. At first the whole procedure will seem complicated. Soon, however, it will become just another facet of life. It is difficult to see any end to the necessity for this task in the immediate future, but then one can never tell. After the procedure is completed, one arranges the materials into different groups again. Then they can be put into their appropriate places. Eventually they can be used once more, and the whole cycle will then have to be repeated. However, that is a part of life." (Bransford and Johnson, 1972)

This passage is almost impossible to process, until one has an organizing framework or schema. Such a schema is provided by the title of the passage: 'Washing Clothes'!

The importance of interactive approaches to second language reading has been demonstrated in a growing body of empirical research. Nunan (1984), for example, found that the lack of appropriate background knowledge was a more significant factor in the ability of second language learners to comprehend school texts than linguistic complexity as measured by various readability formulae. Carrell et al (1988) also contains a wealth of data on the significance of interactive models of reading for second language reading programs.

It is worth noting that for most of its history, language teaching has focused on written language. It is only comparatively recently that the focus has turned to spoken language. Interest in spoken language was kindled, among other things, with the development of tape recorders which made it possible for researchers to record, transcribe and study in detail oral interactions between people. This research highlighted some of the contrasts between spoken and written language. Thus, while written texts are characterised by well formed sentences which are integrated into highly structured paragraphs, spoken language consists of shorts, fragmentary utterances in a range of pronunciations. There is often a great deal of repetition and overlap between one speaker and another, and speakers frequently use non-specific references. (They are more likely to say 'it' and 'this' than 'the left-handed monkey wrench' or 'the highly perfumed French poodle on the sofa'.)

Brown and Yule (1983) suggest that in contrast with the teaching of written language, teachers concerned with teaching the spoken language must confront the following types of questions:

- What is the appropriate form of spoken language to teach?
- From the point of view of pronunciation, what is an appropriate model?
- How important is pronunciation?
- Is it any more important than teaching appropriate handwriting in the foreign language?
- If so, why?
- From the point of view of the structures taught, is it all right to teach the spoken language as if it were exactly like the written language, but with a few 'spoken' expressions thrown in?
- Is it appropriate to teach the same structures to all foreign language students, no matter what their age is or their intentions in learning the spoken language?
- Are those structures which are described in standard grammars the structures which our students should be expected to produce when they speak English?
- How is it possible to give students any sort of meaningful practice in producing spoken English?

Brown and Yule also distinguish between two basic language functions. These are the transactional function (which is primarily concerned with the transfer of information) and the interactional function (in which the primary purpose is to maintain social relationships).

Another basic distinction is between monologues and dialogues. The ability to give an uninterrupted oral presentation is a different skill from interacting with one or more speakers for transactional and interactional purposes.

Researchers undertaking conversational and interactional analysis have also shown that interactions do not unfold neatly like textbook dialogues, and that meanings are not ready made. Participants have to work together to achieve mutual understanding, and conversational skills include the ability to negotiate meaning with one's interlocutors. These are skills which learners must acquire, just as they must acquire lexical and morphosyntactic knowledge.

There is also a growing body of research into the development of writing skills. Bell and Burnaby (1984) point out that writing is an extremely complex cognitive activity which requires the writer to demonstrate control of several variables at once. At the sentence level, these include control of content, format, sentence structure, vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling and letter formation. Beyond the sentence, the writer must be able to structure and integrate information into cohesive and coherent paragraphs and texts. These discourse level

skills are probably the most difficult of all to master, not only for foreign language learners, but for native speakers as well.

Some of the most interesting work on the development of writing skills is being carried out by researchers investigating the development of writing in first language users and using Halliday's systemic-functional model as their theoretical framework. (See, for example, Martin, 1985).

I shall summarise this section by setting out some of the skills which research shows learners need if they are to become successful users of the language. These have been extracted from Nunan (1989).

In relation to listening, learners need:
- skills in segmenting the stream of speech into meaningful words and phrases;
- recognising word classes;
- relating the incoming message to one's own background knowledge;
- identifying the rhetorical and functional intent of an utterance or parts of an aural text;
- interpreting rhythm, stress and intonation to identify information focus and emotional/attitudinal tone;
- extracting gist/essential information from longer aural texts without necessarily understanding every word. (Nunan, 1989: 23)

Successful reading involves:
- using word attack skills such as identifying sound/symbol correspondences;
- using grammatical knowledge to recover meaning, for example interpreting non-finite clauses;
- using different techniques for different purposes, for example skimming and scanning for key words or information;
- relating text content to one's own background knowledge of the subject at hand;
- identifying the rhetorical or functional intention of individual sentences or text segments, for example recognising when the writer is offering a definition or a summary, even when these are not explicitly signalled by phrases such as 'X may be defined as ... . (op cit: 35)

In relation to speaking and oral interaction, learners need:
- the ability to articulate phonological feature of the language comprehensively;
- mastery of stress, rhythm, intonation patterns;
- an acceptable degree of fluency;
- transactional and interpersonal skills;

- skills in taking short and long speaking turns;
- skills in the management of interaction;
- skills in negotiating meaning;
- conversational listening skills (successful conversations require good listeners as well as good speakers);
- skills in knowing about and negotiating purposes for conversations;
- using appropriate conversational formulae and fillers. (op cit: 32)

Finally, successful writing involves:
- mastering the mechanics of letter formation;
- mastering and obeying conventions of spelling and punctuation;
- using the grammatical system to convey one's intended meaning;
- organising content at the level of the paragraph and the complete text to reflect given/new information and topic/comment structures;
- polishing and revising one's initial efforts;
- selecting an appropriate style for one's audience. (op cit: 37)

3 RESEARCH INTO CLASSROOM INTERACTION AND ACQUISITION

In the preceding section, I reviewed what is currently known about the nature of language in use. In order to develop an effective, empirically based methodology for the nineties, this knowledge needs to inform and guide research into experimental design which is aimed at where the action is: that is, in the classroom itself.

I believe that the concept of 'task' can provide coherence to research agenda aimed at putting language teaching methodology on a more secure empirical footing. Those of you who attended my presentation at last year's seminar will recall that I defined communicative tasks as follows:

> "... a piece of classroom work which involves learners in comprehending, manipulating, producing or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form. The task should also have a sense of completeness, being able to stand alone as a communicative act in its own right." (Nunan, 1989: 10)

Tasks can be typified in many different ways. I have provided the following typification:

> "... in analytic terms, tasks will contain some form of input data which might be verbal (for example, a dialogue or reading passage) or non-verbal (for

example, a picture sequence) and an activity which is in some way derived from the input and which sets out what learners are to do in relation to the input. The task will also have (implicitly or explicitly) a goal and roles for teachers and learners." (ibid)

This schema which is set out in the accompanying diagram, can be utilized in the development of a coherent research program. The table following the diagram indicates some of the research issues which might be amenable to investigation. There is almost no limit to the number of investigations. Table 1 gives some idea of what these might look like.

Figure 1: Task elements (from Nunan, 1989)

Table 1: Task elements and sample research issues

ELEMENT	ISSUE
Goal	Effect of goal/input/activity mismatch on learning outcomes.
Input/data	Input genre and task difficulty.
	Speech processing constraints and task difficulty.
Activity	Effect of L1 modelling/formal instruction on output.
	Relationships between learning preferences and activity types.
	Negotiation of meaning and learning outcomes.
Teacher role	Relationship between teacher role variation and output.
Student role	Relationship between student role variation and output.
Setting	Effect of different grouping patterns on student output.

There is, in fact, a large and growing body of literature in which 'task' features as a central element. Given constraints of time, I can do little more than provide illustrative examples of some of this research.

SLA research can be divi ed into that which focuses on outcomes or learning products, and than which focuses on learning processes, or the means by which outcomes are achieved. Here, I shall focus on process-oriented studies, a selection of which are summarised in Table 2 which has been extracted from Nunan (1987).

In an early study, Long et al (1976) investigated the language used by adult learners when working in small groups in contrast with teacher-fronted tasks. They found that small group work prompted learners to adopt more roles and to use a greater range of language functions than teacher fronted tasks.

Bruton and Samuda (1980) working once again with adult ESL learners, found that when working in groups or pairs, learners are quite capable of correcting one another successfully.

In the first of a series of studies into the efficacy of communicative, information gap tasks, Long (1981) found that two-way tasks prompted more negotiation of meaning than one-way tasks. (Two-way tasks are those in which each participant has unique information which must be shared for the task to be

Table 2: Some process-oriented SLA studies

STUDY	SUBJECTS	DATA	RESULTS
Long, Adams McLean and Castanos (1976)	Adult ESL	Classroom transcripts	Groupwork prompts students to adopt more roles and use a greater range of language functions than teacher-fronted activities
Bruton and Samuda (1980)	Adult ESL	Classroom transcripts	Learners are capable of correcting each other successfully
Long (1981)	Adult ESL N Speakers	Conversation transcripts	Two-way tasks prompt significantly more conversational adjustments by NS than one-way tasks
Porter (1983)	Adult ESL 3 prof. levels	Conversation transcripts	Learners produce more talk with other learners than NS partners. Learners do not produce more errors when speaking with other learners
Varonis and Gass (1985)	Adult ESL	Conversation transcripts	most negotiation of meaning occurs when NNS are from different language backgrounds and proficiency levels
Brock (1986)	24 non-native speakers	Transcripts from teacher-fronted tasks	User of referential questions prompted sig. longer and more syntactically complex responses containing more connectives
Doughty and Pica (1986)	Adult ESL	Classroom transcripts	Required information exchange tasks generated significantly more interactional modifications than optional information exchange tasks. Small groups prompted significantly more modified interaction than teacher-fronted tasks
Duff (1986)	Adult ESL	Classroom transcripts	Convergent (problem-solving) tasks produce more negotiations than divergent (debating) tasks.
Long and Crookes (1986)	H. School LEP students	Classroom transcripts	Use of referential questions prompted greater mastery of content (not sig. but trend was in this direction)
Nunan (1987)	Adult ESL beginners	Conversation transcripts	Use of referential questions prompts negotiation of meaning

completed successfully. In one-way tasks, one of the participants has all of the information.) Long argues that the more negotiation, the greater the potential of the task to stimulate acquisition.

In an investigation of the effect of conversational partners on output, Forter (1983) found that learners produce more talk when carrying out a communication task with other learners than with native speakers. She also found (and this should be reassuring to those who worry about learners getting poor models from each other) that learners do not 'learn' each other's mistakes.

Brock (1986) found when teachers asked referential questions (ie those to which they do not know the answer) learners respond with significantly longer and syntactically more complex utterances than when responding to display questions.

In a follow up study to Long's work on one- and two-way tasks, Doughty and Pica (1986) found that two-way tasks generated significantly more modified interaction than one-way tasks. Significantly more modified interaction was also produced in small group work than in teacher-fronted tasks.

Duff (1986) came up with the hardly surprising discovery that convergent tasks (such as problem-solving) produced more negotiation of meaning than divergent tasks (such as debates).

Long and Crookes (1986) found that the use of referential questions resulted in learners mastering more of the content of their lessons than when display questions were used.

Varonis and Gass (1985) found that most negotiation of meaning occurs when learners are put into small groups with other learners who are from different language backgrounds and proficiency levels.

Finally, Nunan (1987) found that the use of referential questions prompted more negotiation of meaning, and that the discourse produced by learners more closely resembled that occurring outside the classroom. For example, learners initiated topics, they contradicted the teacher, and used more complex language when responding the referential rather than display questions.

While many criticisms can and have been made of many of these studies, they provide a powerful impetus for communicative, task oriented approaches to language learning in which classroom methodology is orchestrated around patterns of organisation which maximize interaction.

4 LEARNING STRATEGY PREFERENCES

The final area I wish to look at, where empirical research has something to say to methodologists, is in the branch of cognitive psychology which has investigated learning styles and strategies. Within the context of a learner-oriented approach to curriculum design, the issue of learners' preferences becomes cru-

cially important. Learner-centred curricula

> ... contain similar elements to those contained in traditional curriculum development, that is planning (including needs analysis, goal and objective setting), implementation (including methodology and materials development) and evaluation ... However, the key difference between learner-centred and traditional curriculum development is that, in the former, the curriculum is a collaborative effort between teachers and learners, since learners are closely involved in the decision-making process regarding the content of the curriculum and how it is taught. (Nunan, 1988b: 2)

One of the major outcomes of communicative learning teaching is that it has created the potential for massive mismatches in the expectations of teachers and learners. (For an excellent introduction to the problems and solutions relating to learner and teacher roles in the communicative classroom, see Wright, 1987).

A series of investigations reported in Nunan (1988b) into the learning preferences of learners and the teaching preferences of teachers revealed large mismatches in the respective expectations and preferences of teachers and learners. The mismatches need to be dealt with through processes of negotiation and explanation.

In a major study into the learning preferences of adult ESL learners, Willing (1988) came to a number of interesting conclusions. Willing's survey instrument learning group, aspects of language, sensory-modality options and 'outside class' activities. Learners, who were provided with first language assistance where necessary, rated these on the four point scale.

A post hoc factor analysis revealed patterns of variation in the responses with evidence for the existence of four different learner 'types'. These are as follows:

> 'Concrete' learners: These learners preferred learning by games, pictures, films and video, talking in pairs, learning through the use of cassettes and going on excursions.

> 'Analytical' learners: These learners liked studying grammar, studying English books, studying alone, finding their own mistakes, having problems to work on, and learning through reading newspapers.

> 'Communicative' learners: This group liked to learn by observing and listening to native speakers, talking to friends in English, watching TV in English, using English in shops etc, learning English words by hearing them, and learning by conversations.

'Authority-oriented' learners: These students liked the teacher to explain everything, writing everything in a notebook, having their own notebook, learning to read, studying grammar and learning English words by seeing them.

One of Willing's major aims was to look for correlations between such biographical variables as age, ethnicity, educational background etc. A surprising outcome of the research was that:

> "... none of the learning differences as related to personal variables were of a magnitude to permit a blanket generalization about the learning preference of a particular biographical sub-group. Thus, any statement to the effect that 'Chinese are X', or 'South Americans prefer Y', or 'Younger students like Z', or 'High-school graduates prefer Q', is certain to be inaccurate. The most important single finding of the study was that for any given learning issue, the typical spectrum of opinions on that issue were represented, in virtually the same ratios, within any biographical sub-group." (Willing, 1988: 150-151)

The thrust of much of the research into learning styles and strategies has been to identify those characteristics which typify the 'good' language learner. Rubin and Thompson (1983) suggest that 'good' or efficient learners tend to exhibit the following characteristics as they go about learning a second language.

1. Good learners find their own way.
2. Good learners organise information about language.
3. Good learners are creative and experiment with language.
4. Good learner make their own opportunities, and find strategies for getting practice in using the language inside and outside the classroom.
5. Good learners learn to live with uncertainty and develop strategies for making sense of the target language without wanting to understand every word.
6. Good learners use mnemonics (rhymes, word associations etc to recall what has been learned.)
7. Good learners make errors work.
8. Good learners use linguistic knowledge, including knowledge of their first language in mastering a second language.
9. Good learners let the context (extra-linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world) help them in comprehension.
10. Good leaners learn to make intelligent guesses.
11. Good leaners learn chunks of language as wholes and formalised routines to help them perform 'beyond their competence'.

12. Good learners learn production techniques (eg techniques for keeping a conversation going).
13. Good learners learn different styles of speech and writing and learn to vary their language according to the formality of the situation.

In a study of 44 'good' learners of English as a foreign language in South-east Asia, Nunan (1988c) was forced to conclude that certain strategy preferences did seem to typify the 'good' language learner. He states that:

> "The most striking thing about this study was the fact that, despite the diverse contexts and environments in which the subjects learned English, practically all agreed that formal classroom instruction was insufficient. Motivation, a preparedness to take risks, and the determination to apply their developing language skills outside the classroom characterised most of the responses from these 'good' language learners. The free-form responses reinforced the general pattern of responses provided by the questionnaire. Given the homogeneity of responses, it is clear that we cannot reject the notion that there is a correlation between certain learning strategy preferences and the 'good' language learner."

These studies have obvious implications for pedagogy. In particular, we need to develop strategies for learner training, and follow-up research needs to be conducted to determine whether learners who are by nature not particularly effective can be taught these 'good' learning strategies.

5 RESEARCH AND THE TEACHER

There is one final aspect of an empirical approach to methodology which I would like to refer to now. This is the involvement of the teacher in classroom research. This is not a new idea, of course. As far back as 1975, Stenhouse argued that it was not enough for teachers work to be researched. They need to research it themselves. More recently, Larsen-Freeman and Long have written:

> "There is a growing amount of attention these days being given to teacher-initiated ***action research*** whose intent is to help gain new understanding of and, hence, enhance their teaching. "Action research usually involves a cycle of self-observation or reflection, identification of an aspect of classroom behaviour to be investigated, and selection of appropriate procedures to investigate and interpret behaviour".
>
> (*Teacher Education Newsletter* 4, 2, Fall, 1988)

"The attention action research is receiving gives us cause for optimism. We hope that someday all language teacher preparation programs will implement a "train-the-teacher-as-classroom-researcher" component (Long, 1983). If such a development were to ensue, eventually we might find language teachers less vulnerable to the vicissitudes of language teaching fashion and more willing to rely on the power of their own research."

(Larsen-Freeman and Long forthcoming)

6 CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that language teaching methodology needs to be placed on a more secure empirical footing. Materials, learning tasks and pedagogic exercises need to be based, not on ideology or dogma, as is too often the case now, but on evidence and insights into what makes learners tick. I have tried to show that a considerable body of knowledge already exists and can be readily exploited by materials designers and methodologists. I have also indicated ways in which current research can be extended by a research agenda based on the organizing principle of the pedagogic task.

In the long run, research will only be effective to the extent that it is embraced by teachers. Therefore, there needs to be a much closer relationship between teaching and research and between teachers and researchers, and teachers themselves need to be involved in the research process. Such involvement is consonant with the vision of Barnes, who said:

"... to frame the questions and answer them, we must grope towards our invisible knowledge and bring it into sight. Only in this way can we see the classroom with an outsider's eye but an insider's knowledge, by seeing it as if it were the behaviour of people from an alien culture. Then, by an act of imagination we can both understand better what happens and conceive of alternative possibilities." (Barnes, 1975: 13)

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CONTENT-BASED LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

JoAnn Crandall and G Richard Tucker

Content-based language instruction is an integrated approach to language instruction drawing topics, texts, and tasks from content or subject matter classes, but focusing on the cognitive, academic language skills required to participate effectively in content instruction. The integration of language and content instruction and the subsequent development of content-based language programs is of growing importance in both second and foreign language instruction in the United States, and we suspect will be of interest to language educators in other settings as well.

In this paper we will:

1. discuss the intent and design of content-based instructional programs;
2. describe some of the strategies and techiques which characterize these programs;
3. outline some means by which such programs are implemented; and
4. identify some areas of needed research and development.

WHY INTEGRATE LANGUAGE AND CONTENT INSTRUCTION?

Increasingly, second and foreign language educators in the United States are turning to academic subject or content areas as a means of improving language instruction and meeting the special language needs of their students. The (English as a) second language teacher is faced with a dramatic rise in the number of language minority students in American schools and the need to prepare them to compete successfully in English-medium classes, while the foreign language teacher is faced with the increased recognition among language majority individuals of the importance of foreign language proficiency and the need to help students develop more than minimal foreign language skills.

Integrated language and content instructional programs offer an opportunity to both broaden and deepen a student's proficiency in the foreign or second language. Such programs provide students the possibility of acquiring the more formal, decontextualized, cognitively complex academic language used in solving

problems and communicating ideas and thoughts orally and in writing (Cummins, 1981; Snow, 1987). Content-based language instructional programs are designed to help students achieve language proficiency beyond development of social language skills which are more commonly addressed in language classrooms or the knowledge of the forms of language (Cantoni-Harvey, 1987; Curtain and Pesola, 1988; Mohan, 1986).

The integration of language and content instruction, then, is of major interest to both second (English) and foreign (Spanish, French, Chinese, etc) language educators. For second language educators, the need is acute. During the past fifteen years, the number of language minority individuals in the United States has increased dramatically and today, it represents the fastest-growing population. As a result, in many metropolitan school districts, the majority of the school-age population comes from homes in which a language other than English is spoken. Because of demographic trends, these numbers are rapidly increasing; by the year two thousand, the majority of children in major metropolitan area schools will most likely be language minority.

Although some of these students enter school with some proficiency in English, their proficiency is not usually adequate for them to undertake the complex cognitive tasks in English that school demands, and for those who enter with little or no English, the challenge is even greater. Bilingual education programs are provided in some areas, enabling students to continue cognitive and academic growth in their mother tongue while they are studying English, but these programs are relatively scarce. More common are transitional programs in which students are provided with English as a second language instruction for an hour or so a day, usually for one to three years, during which time they are expected to acquire sufficient grounding in English to be able to receive all their instruction in regular, English medium classes with their English-speaking peers. Unfortunately, as a number of studies have demonstrated, while these students often are able to interact socially in English--to talk informally with other children and with their teachers--they are not able to perform the more cognitively complex academic language tasks which are required of them in their math, science, or social studies classes. They lack what has been called Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (Cummins, 1981; Dawe, 1984) or the ability to deal with increasingly decontextualized language (Snow, 1987), the kind of language proficiency needed to understand math language and solve math problems; to read science textbooks, conduct experiments, and write lab reports; and to interpret maps, graphs, and charts and write essays in social studies. Almost immediately after being "mainstreamed," that is, after being exited from their ESL programs, these students begin to experience difficulty in their academic work, falling progressively behind their English-speaking peers (Collier, 1987).

The problem is especially great for Hispanic students who constitute the largest minority language group. Approximately 50% of these students will leave

school before graduation. One statistic alone illustrates the severity of the situation: if a student in the United States is Hispanic, was born outside of the United States, entered school speaking no English, lives in a family which is at or below the poverty line, and is male, his chances of graduating from high school, statistically speaking, are almost 0%! (Cardenas, Robledo and Waggoner, 1988). While socioeconomic status, educational role models, cross-cultural communication problems, and other factors play a role, a significant factor in the educational failure of these students is the burden which English language medium instruction places on them, especially in mathematics and science (Crandall, Dale, Rhodes and Spanos, in press; Cuevas, 1984; Duran, 1979).

For language majority students the need is also great. Relatively few American students study a foreign language for more than two years, and those who do rarely achieve sufficient proficiency to gain access to more than basic or simplified texts written in that language or to be able to carry on discussions of a complex nature or otherwise interact or negotiate effectively in that language. If students are not presented with complex cognitive texts and tasks, with opportunities to develop advanced oral and written language skills in their foreign language classes, then it is not surprising that they exit from their foreign language programs with only minimal proficiency. Foreign language educators, then, are looking toward content-enriched or content-based language instruction to help expand the proficiency of language majority students by presenting at least a portion of the academic curriculum through a foreign language (Curtain and Pesola, 1988; Schinke-Llano, 1985).

CONTENT-BASED LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION: SOME PROGRAM MODELS

Content-based language instruction is not really new to English language teaching. It has been used in tertiary programs in English for Specific Purposes or in secondary or tertiary programs which teach English for Academic Purposes; in adult programs which teach Vocational English while teaching related job skills; and even in programs to train foreign teaching assistants at the university. Traces of its origins can also be found in efforts to teach writing across the curriculum or reading skills in the content areas. (See Crandall, 1987 for a fuller discussion.) However, the scope has increased dramatically in the current integrated language and content instructional programs, with instruction provided by language teachers, content teachers, or teams of both.

Foreign language teachers have implemented content-based language instruction in a number of programs. These include partial or total immersion programs, where a part of the child's academic instruction is received through the medium of a foreign language; the delivery of an academic course (often

history or related social studies) through the foreign language; and innovative two-way interlocking or bilingual immersion programs in which students of two or more ethnolinguistic backgrounds are brought together to receive part of their instruction in each of the two languages (Tucker and Crandall, 1985, 1989; Campbell, Gray, Rhodes and Snow, 1985).

Integrated language and content programs can be found in the elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels in the United States. These programs may be the purview of the language teacher, the content teacher, or both. In a content-based language program, the language teacher (usually with assistance from a colleague who teaches another content area; for example: a math teacher, science teacher, or social studies teacher) develops a special language class which uses concepts, texts, and tasks from the content area to teach the language. The class might be a Math/ESL course which teaches the English language skills required for mathematical problem solving or a history course taught through the medium of French of Spanish. Both of these seek to enable students to acquire academic language skills in that language, but the degree to which the language teacher is responsible for the actual subject matter instruction varies from only providing skills to enable the students to participate in another content course to actually providing the content instruction (Short, Crandall and Christian, 1989; Crandall, Spanos, Christian, Simich-Dudgeon and Willetts, 1987).

Conversely, subject matter teachers (often with the assistance of the language teacher) may adapt their instruction to accommodate different levels of language proficiency in their classes. These classes, known variously as sheltered English or language sensitive content classes, are increasingly provided in schools in which language minority students constitute a large population. Here the language teacher acts as a resource to other teachers, helping them to increase the means by which linguistically different students can learn the academic concepts and skills. These techniques might include the use of demonstrations, visuals and or other objects to establish meaning; the use of interaction and communication activities in the classroom to enable students to communicate effectively in the register or language of the subject area; and often the use of adapted or simplified texts and materials (Short, Crandall and Christian, 1989; Crandall, Spanos, Christian, Simich-Dudgeon and Willetts, 1987).

Some programs have parallel instructional designs, sometimes referred to as paired or adjunct courses (Snow and Brinton, 1988). In these, students receive instruction from two teachers, a language teacher who may focus on the reading or writing skills required for a history or psychology course, while the history or psychology instructor focuses on concept development. These paired programs are often found at the tertiary level.

An example of a program which uses all three approaches, with integrated instruction offered by the language teacher, the content teacher, and in parallel

courses, is the program provided by CAL to Honduran students in Tegucigalpa preparing for university study in the United States. In that program, math and science classes are taught by bilingual instructors, who integrate progressively more English language in their instruction during the three trimesters, beginning with Spanish medium textbooks and instruction and then switch to sheltered English instruction, ending with English as the medium for texts and instruction. At the same time, English teachers are introducing progressively more content into their instruction, using both content-based and parallel instruction. The program is particularly fortunate to have one science instructor who is also a qualified English language instructor, but the majority of the program design has emerged from cooperation across the disciplines.

At the elementary level, a two-way bilingual or interlocking immersion model may be employed, whereby students from two different language and ethnic groups are brought together in one class to receive some of their academic instruction in one language and the remainder in the other. In these programs, all instruction must be sheltered or integrated with language development, since at any time at least some of the students in the class will not be proficient in the language of instruction. (For more information on these and other foreign language models, see Tucker and Crandall, 1989.)

ATTRIBUTES OF A CONTENT-BASED INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

Regardless of program design, the following eight attributes are characteristic of a content-based instructional program. (For a fuller discussion, see Snow, Met, and Genesee, 1989; Short, Crandall and Christian, 1988; Cuevas, 1984).

1. Instructional objectives are drawn from language, academic content, and thinking or study skills, usually at the intersection of these. A language teacher might focus on the ways in which addition is signalled in mathematics or algebraic word problems--for example, through *the sum of, plus, and, increased by* or *in addition to*,--and help students to use this language in paired, small group, or cooperative learning activities which promote interaction in that language. The math teacher, on the other hand, might focus on strategies for setting up and solving these problems, while noting the special language in which these problems are embedded. Both would directly or indirectly involve thinking skills of analysis and classification. (See Crandall, Dale, Rhodes and Spanos, in press and Spanos, Rhodes, Dale and Crandall, 1987 for a fuller discussion of lexical and semantic, syntactic, and discourse features of mathematics and algebra which pose difficulty to both linguistically different and English-speaking students in mathematics prob-

lem solving.)

2. Schema or background knowledge must be developed in the language. This is usually accomplished through oral language activities, which precede extensive reading and writing activities, although it is possible to use writing--especially interactive writing such as dialogue journals or computer networking--as a means of developing and activating schema at the same time as academic language is being developed. Using top-down processing, general knowledge is developed before details are addressed.
3. Both content-obligatory and content-compatible language can be included (Snow, Met and Genesee, 1989). That is, while the teaching of magnetism necessarily includes teaching such terms as *to attract, to repel, magnetic properties, magnetic fields* and classification language and skills, it also provides an opportunity, among others, for developing vocabulary of a variety of items (which can be evaluated as to their magnetic properties), as well as descriptive language and rhetorical skills concerning the patterns iron filings make on paper when magnets are used.
4. Paired and small group interaction are used to develop and to demonstrate proficiency in the academic language. Cooperative or collaborative learning and peer-tutoring may be employed. Activities are specifically developed to encourage student interaction with the content material and negotiation of meaning. When possible, class size and conditions permitting, the teacher's role may shift to facilitator of learning, rather than direct presenter or lecturer of information. Although direct presentation is still necessary, teachers may spend more time interacting with small groups of students when they need redirection or clarification or other explanations.
5. A wide range of materials is used in the classroom. Traditionally, language classes focused on two kinds of texts: extended discourse, such as that found in textbooks or novels, and dialogues, such as those found in plays or sadly, only in other language textbooks. However, broader and deeper uses of the language require that students be able to interact with and produce a variety of texts: maps, charts, graphs, tables, lists, lab reports, diagrams, timelines, and other forms and documents. Authentic materials, drawn directly from the content area, can be used, although it is often necessary to adapt the information to make it more accessible to students with less developed language proficiency. This does not mean that the material is "watered down" or somehow less rich in concepts; it does require, however, that the information be restructured so that relationships between ideas become clearer and new vocabulary is adequately contextualized in the early presentations while schema are being developed in that language. Ironically, the restructuring of large amounts of connected discourse often results in the presentation of that information in other kinds of texts such as flow charts or tables, exactly the kinds of texts which students need to

master anyway. For example, in a lesson dealing with the various branches of government, it may be more effective to draw a chart with reflects the specific roles and responsibilities of each branch, clarifying the concepts while developing the language needed to discuss this topic. If appropriate, students may be asked to read a long passage in which these ideas are presented as a later activity.

6. Multiple media and a variety of presentation techniques are used in the classes to reduce the reliance on language as the sole means of conveying information or demonstrating meaning. Thus, content-based language programs or language-sensitive content programs use demonstrations, a wide variety of audio visuals, authentic materials, objects, and even guest speakers. For example, an elementary science class on animal classification might benefit from a visit by a veterinarian or zookeeper who brings animals to the class and points to differences and similarities, allowing students close observation and perhaps even touch as a means of really understanding the classification system. Although oral and written language are employed, they are supported by many other sources of information for the students.
7. Experiential, discovery, and hands-on learning are also used to encourage students to develop concepts and interact with each other, placing the language learning into relevant, meaningful frames. Experiments and research projects are particularly appropriate, as are the use of games, role plays, and simulations. When students can work together, cooperatively, in doing experiments and presenting results, the important academic language is learned as are the concepts.
8. Writing is included both as a means of thinking and learning and as a means of helping students to demonstrate what they are learning. Language experience stories, students as authors, dialogue journals, learning logs, and other writing activities are used. Even asking students to draw pictures or diagrams and labelling these can be helpful as can developing stories sequences which reflect activities in which students have been engaged. Both provide opportunities for students to develop sequencing skills at the same time as language skills. Of particular interest is the practice of having students write their own mathematics word/story problems, since in doing so they are demonstrating mastery of the special language in which word problems are embedded as well as their understanding of mathematical/scientific formulas such as that of ***distance = rate times time***. Writing activities can also serve as models for those which are required in the content area: for example, lab reports, essays, and research papers may all be introduced in the language class.

Some sample strategy sheets or lesson plans, describing lessons for students

at various levels of language proficiency, are provided in Short, Crandall and Christian, 1989; Cantoni-Harvey, 1987; Mohan, 1986, as well as in several other texts and papers listed in the references.

A MODEL INTEGRATED CLASS

Perhaps what would be most useful here is to describe a particularly successful high school algebra/ESL class which one of us recently observed. The 25 students in the class were all relative newcomers to the United States, having been there no more than four years. The students were from a number of ethnolinguistic backgrounds (about half were Hispanic, from a number of Central and South American countries) and their English proficiency varied widely. Although the classroom was very small and cramped, students sat at round tables, with six or seven students per table. As students began to settle down, the teacher passed out sheets with questions relating to the previous night's homework. Students worked in pairs, asking and answering questions about what the problem is asking, what is already known, or how the problem might be solved as the teacher moved about the room, providing help when necessary. Students then volunteered to go to the board, often in pairs, to explain their answers. Following this was a short review on solving inequalities, followed by a vocabulary game in which the teacher gave a definition ("I'm thinking of a term for...") while students working at tables sought to spell the word with letters on the table. The teacher awarded students a point for the first right answer and another point for spelling it correctly. (These points can later be added to quizzes or tests to improve the scores.) A lot of discussion and negotiation was heard as the students tried to figure out the word. After about fifteen minutes, the teacher collected the letters and shifted to a classification activity. She put on the board a variety of different algebraic expressions, equalities, and inequalities, without giving any information about any of these, and then asked students to point out what kinds of similarities they could find within the many items. Students pointed out that some are binomials or have several variables, before they arrived at a way of classifying these into the three categories. Whenever students offered explanations or points of similarity, the teacher would ask the class whether others agreed or not. Students worked until they arrived at agreement and correct answers, though the teacher did not openly label any answer as "correct" or "incorrect." Subsequent activities included reading aloud the various items, and copying them onto the proper place (expressions, equalities, inequalities) in a chart on the board. While competition is a part of the class in the vocabulary game, the majority of learning is cooperative, with students who have more advanced mathematics or more proficient English skills helping those with less. Although the teacher does some direct presentation, so

also do the students, providing ample opportunity for the teacher to determine how well the students are able to use mathematics language productively in thinking and solving problems. There is a textbook, but the teacher has supplemented that with materials which focus attention on language and break down problems into several steps; other "texts" such as charts are developed by the students in their classwork. Students write out explanations and talk them out, as well as perform the more usual algebraic tasks of setting up and solving problems. What is particularly important about this class is the enthusiasm and the degree to which students are actively engaged in their education. Not surprisingly, these students also experience a great deal of success. Classes taught through an integrated language and content approach can be found throughout this school and overall school success is also high. Some 85% of the students who enter remain in school and graduate.

Admittedly, this is an exemplary class in an exemplary school, but classes with various degrees of integrated instruction can be found at all levels, taught by a wide variety of teachers, using a number of different activities and materials. As student enthusiasm and learning from these classes increase, so does the likelihood that more integrated instruction will occur within these classes, spreading to other teachers and classes who learn of their colleagues' success.

IMPLEMENTING A CONTENT-BASED INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

Content-based second and foreign language programs often result from collaboration between a single language and single content teacher, then spread to collaboration between disciplines/departments, to collaboration among teachers in a number of departments in the institution, and even throughout a school district. A language teacher may initiate the collaboration, seeking to make the language instruction more relevant or more challenging to students. However, the language teacher may also become a resource to a content teacher who is seeking to find alternative ways of making the content accessible to a wider variety of students. In some cases, schools may decide to integrate the teaching of language--especially reading and writing--across the curriculum and thus teams of language teachers and other subject matter teachers work together to develop a more integrated program. In still others, a school district may decide to develop integrated curricula, to enable teachers to more effectively integrate their instruction. One school district has developed an elementary curriculum which takes objectives from all the content areas and integrates these with English as a second language objectives into one curriculum.

Programs usually develop because of interested teachers, who seek to learn from each other through classroom observations, interviews, and analyses of

texts, tests, and other materials. To accomplish the shared discussion and collaboration, some planning time must be provided by the administration, both before the academic year and during it Time is needed to plan the curriculum and develop lesson plans, as well as to revise these as they are implemented.

A key factor in program success is the support of an administrator who provides time for joint planning, preservice and inservice training, and curriculum development. It is also important for administrators to ensure that teachers attempting parallel instruction have the same students in their classes. Although this may sound obvious, more than one paired program has experienced difficulty because this kind of planning had not taken place.

FUTURE INITIATIVES

Since this approach to integrating instruction is relatively recent, there are a number of areas in which additional work is needed. Among these are teacher education, student assessment program evaluation, and the preparation of textbooks and other instructional materials. Additional research into the academic language and specific registers of mathematics, science, or other areas is also needed.

Except for the occasional course in content-based language instruction, such as one that one of us (Crandall) recently taught at The American University or that was offered at the 1988 TESOL Summer Institute at Northern Arizona University, current language teacher preservice education does not specifically address ways of integrating language and content instruction or even provide adequate instruction to enable teachers to perform their own needs assessments or analyze subject matter texts and classroom tasks for their language and cognitive requirements. As a result, language teachers may feel inadequately prepared to structure and teach a content-based course.

To help provide needed education and training, a number of seminars, institutes, and other inservice educational programs have been developed for elementary, secondary, and tertiary level instructors at local, state, and national levels. For example, there are summer institutes for elementary foreign language immersion teachers, as well as institutes for college and university instructors seeking to integrate English and math, science, or other instruction. But these exist in short supply and are often isolated educational activities. Only rarely is it possible to build in peer observation and feedback or sustained coaching to assist the teacher in implementing the innovation.

What is needed is a comprehensive educational program, inserting appropriate coursework into preservice education and then providing an ongoing program of inservice education, involving observation, discussion, demonstration, and coaching for teachers attempting to implement this challenging approach.

Ideally, master teachers should be identified and trained to function as trainers in their institutions, providing observation and feedback and collaborative learning.

Student assessment represents another challenge. What should be assessed, and how? If a program is truly integrated, then both academic concepts and language should be tested, but currently, few if any appropriate instruments are available. Instead, teachers use a battery of language proficiency tests, achievement tests which are intended to measure academic achievement in the first language, and other informal measures. Some informal measures of mathematics language are being developed by linguists and mathematics educators in a current project at CAL, but these are merely a beginning. What is needed is a series of measures which evaluate how well a student has mastered academic language and content in the target language, as well as tests which separate these sufficiently to identify whether what is needed is additional attention to the language or the conceptual development. Some initial attempts in both second and foreign languages have been made, testing language within a content framework. In addition, a series of sample assessment items in mathematics have been developed which teachers can use to measure student progress in understanding math language and concepts. Papers describing these tests; discussing the problems in developing appropriate measures; identifying relevant trends in assessment of reading, mathematics, and language proficiency; and other issues related to assessment were delivered at a recent seminar on student assessment in integrated instruction which was held as part of the activities of the Center for Language Education and Research at CAL (Crandall, ed, forthcoming).

Program evaluation is also needed. Not surprisingly, no longitudinal evaluations of content-based instructional programs have been undertaken, since evaluating the relative efficacy of using various language methods is notoriously complex and slippery and even more so when academic content is included. Moreover, since these programs are relatively new, they are difficult to characterize and thus to evaluate--quantitatively or qualitatively. However, if we are to convince others of the efficacy of this approach--something many of those involved in both second and foreign language instruction in the United States firmly believe--then evaluations will need to be carefully structured to provide both formative and summative information.

Perhaps the most pressing need of all is adequate materials upon which to base these programs. Currently, teachers or schools develop their own materials, something which requires inordinate amounts of time and is inefficient. But the development of integrated curricula and materials is very complex and demanding, as those of us involved in the development of a new ESL series for elementary students are discovering. Identifying grade appropriate objectives from the various subject areas taught to elementary students and then combining

these with second language and language arts objectives, as well as the development of thinking skills, is enormously challenging. Still, such materials are needed if we are really to encourage more teachers to increase the academic and cognitive load in their language teaching. Foreign language teachers have a right to expect texts on geography, history, government, business, and culture to be available in the languages they teach, and even to be able to set aside one part of the current curriculum to be taught in another language, as is done in some innovative language programs which enroll elementary immersion program graduates.

Additionally, a great deal more research is needed to describe the ways in which language is used in math, science, and other content learning and to identify the specific lexical and semantic, syntactic, and discourse features which are characteristic of the registers of these fields. Especially important is the analysis of protocols of students engaged in negotiating meaning in learning these various content areas, although classroom observations, interviews with students and teachers, analyses of classroom discourse, texts, and tests are important as well. Using these various methods, several colleagues at CAL have been investigating the ways in which students develop and use math language in their mathematics and algebra learning, with special attention to places in which the language serves as a barrier to effective problem solving (Spanos, Rhodes, Dale and Crandall, 1988). Some intitial research in secondary biology and physical science classes has also been undertaken. These, and comparable work by Dawe (1984), Mohan (1986), and others are providing a much better research base upon which to develop classroom activities and curricula, but additional research of this type is sorely needed.

In the meantime, the number of innovative programs of integrated language and content instruction is increasing in both second and foreign languages, at elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Additional research, teacher education, materials and test development, and program evaluation can only serve to strengthen what has emerged as an exciting instructional approach.

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THE METHODOLOGY OF THE MODULE: A CONTENT-BASED APPROACH

Ian Martin

It is a basic principle in this paper that the WHAT of language teaching gives us considerable insight into the HOW, whereas the reverse is not the case at all.

In other words, an approach to second-language instruction which takes content at its starting point content is a better basis from which to address the learning needs of intermediate and high-intermediate learners than an approach from process alone.

I would also argue that the alleged theoretical dichotomies commonly advanced such as those between product-oriented and process-oriented syllabuses, between analytic and synthetic curricula, between usage and use and so forth, can be softened in the context of a content-based approach.

I propose to limit myself in scope to the making of what many refer to as "thematic modules": that is, a unit of study in a language course intermediate in scope between the lesson and the course. The module, not the individual lesson, it is suggested, constitutes the basic unit of study in a content-based approach.

In the modules I and my colleagues make up at York University, they seem to last from nine to eighteen hours which, in our non-intensive undergraduate format where classes meet three hours per week, amounts to from three to six weeks. In our intensive pre-sessional programme for international students, a module might run about a week or two.

The "content" I refer to may be drawn, as it is in many educational settings, from the various subject-matter courses "across the curriculum" at the university, and its "content face-validity" may be screened by subject specialists. Alternatively, the content of modules may not be "dependent-academic", but have independent academic value - and academic credit - in their own right (as is the case in my college). Here, topics are drawn from what ESL teachers believe will interest international students coming to Canada, and have an explicitly culture-learning focus.

In recent years, with an increased concern for the global environment, my colleagues and I have been developing modules on such topics as: War and Peace, A Global Culture?, human rights, women and development, population control, the information environment, the ozone layer and so forth. We have made modules on particular countries and cultures, regional conflicts, specific

world crises or issues.

The audience for this particular module-making activity has largely been international, heterogeneous classes of foreign undergraduate students at York, as well as speakers of French from Quebec, Canada's francophone province, who have decided to live in the English-speaking multicultural environment of Toronto while studying in a user-friendly atmosphere afforded them by a bilingual (English-French) college of York University, Glendon.

Any good content-based teaching in whatever format has the well-known advantage of involving learners in interesting, cognitively demanding first-second and third-person content - enabling them to enlarge their knowledge while broadening and deeping their linguistic skills.

The argument for the modular format combined all the content-based advantages with the flexibility of being self-contained and embeddable into existing (not content-based) programmes. An important additional practical consideration is the relatively low cost of content-teaching through modules, when compared with the various formats whereby language teachers work together with content teachers over the duration of a whole course; such adjunct courses, sheltered seminars, team-teaching arrangements and the like are quite costly.

At one (common) extreme, a course may consist of several modules arranged in sequence and those who have already adopted one form or another of content-based syllabuses in their own practice may have begun at the point at which my paper leaves off, and may not see their units or themes as separable into modules.

In Glendon's curriculum, approximately one-quarter of our courses consist either of sequenced modules or are predominantly modular. In the latter case, modules are separated from each other by a focus-on-form session or a focus-on-learner training session which may draw upon modular content but is not restricted to it.

The other courses are largely skill-based (integrated-skills or skill-focussed) or genre-based (drama, literary and non-literary text, non-print media, print media). Content is far from absent in such courses, but they are not, strictly-speaking, content-based. In our ESL courses on grammar, on language learning, and on translation and comparative stylistics (English-French), a single thematic module may be employed at some point in the course in order to practice skills in a cognitively demanding theme, against a backdrop of another syllabus format.

The notion of trialling a content-based module may appeal to programme planners who wish to experiment with minimal changes within their existing programmes without need of tackling the complexities of designing a full course with a new syllabus format. Each teaching context has its own peculiarities, and it would be a valuable professional development tool for a small team of teachers to be asked to get together to design a module which could be used across the programme.

Modules are useful in three other practical ways. In teacher-education programmes, they permit greater focus on process-methodologies than do traditional single-lesson practice-teaching tasks. In a tailor-made York/Glendon Certificate Programme in EFL Teaching with Special Reference to China, offered a few years ago, the teaching practicuum involved pairs of teachers from the PRC preparing a module designed to last over several lessons, and they were observed and evaluated at various phases of the module as it unfolded. They were able to delve more deeply into both the content and the process in this way, and came to see the communicative value of content. I have since learned that they have relabeled their upper-year courses-formerly called "intensive reading" or "extensive reading", "newspaper reading" and so forth with "content labels" (Youth in the West, World Issues, Introduction to Management and so forth), and have achieved encouraging results.

Second, modules fit in to the contemporary communicative performance testing format which slowly (but, I hope, surely,) will replace the TOEFL and MELT discrete-point tests as evidence of language competence for North American university entrance. These tests adopt, in effect, a minimal form (two-three hours or so) of the content-based module (pre-input organizers, spoken and written textual inputs as prompts, tasks in which both the learner's experience and the textual input interact to produce both spoken and written outputs, evaluation for both form and content) and, it is to be fervently hoped, will produce a significant washback effect on overseas teaching of candidates expecting to attend North American universities.

Third, and most recently part of my experience, the module may prove to be a valuable tool in the early stages of ESP course design, encapsulating as it does the smallest valid unit of the content-learning process. In a Canadian-sponsored human resource development project in Southeast Asia with which I am associated, we are in the process of investigating the learning contexts of course participants at the various SEAMEO Centres focussing on such fields as environmental science, tropical medicine, science education, agriculture, and archeology. We are considering preparing, as part of the needs analysis, "diagnostic modules" for each of these fields. In each module, appropriate content, learning tasks, learner training, overt language support, and evaluation will be built in, trialled as a sort of probe, the results of which will serve general needs analysis and anticipate materials development to come (which may or may not be modular or module-supported).

Finally, students on the whole like modules. As is the case with any good content-based programme, they claim to like the idea that they can "kill two birds with one stone". Two cases in which modules don't work, it may be due to one of two mismatches: (1) the content chosen is simply too complex, remote, context-reduced, boring, irrelevant, or culturally inappropriate for the particular learner or learners, or (2) the content is too trivial for learners who are already

experts in the field dealt with.

These problems can be handled by a sensitive teacher. The first problem arises naturally when material is in the trialling stage and - assuming that the topics chosen are motivating and culturally appropriate - they can usually be solved either by finding more appropriate input texts or by revising the methodological variables (any or all of the following: decreasing the amount or complexity of input, strengthening the linguistic or motivational aspects of the pre-input preparation by, enhancing the treatment of the input, or varying the expected outputs).

BASIC DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS

Modules may be (a) context non-specific or (b) context-specific.

In the first case, they are simply designed according to generalized pedagogical and second-language learning principles and may be targeted to general-purpose language-learners or a heterogeneous population of specific-purpose learners. Modules of the first type are typically designed by language teachers without specialist knowledge of the subject matter being treated.

In the second case, the module's design may be sensitive to the methodology, preferred learning modes and cognitive landscape of a specific discourse community. These are true ESP modules, aimed at a well-defined, relatively homogeneous learner population, and are typically designed by language teachers possessing specialist knowledge in the field in question or by language teachers in conjunction with subject specialist.

GENERAL PURPOSE MODULES

The general structure of a general purpose module is a concatenation of these elements:

STARTER + INPUT I + TREATMENT (I) + INPUT II +
TREATMENT (II) + SYNTHESIS (I+II) + OUTPUT TASK + EVALUATION

Other common elements such as BRAINSTORMING, LANGUAGE FOCUS, LEARNER GLL AWARENESS TRAINING, INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION, CRITICAL ANALYSIS are not positioned a priori, but rather may appear at appropriate points along the chain as determined by pedagogical considerations. Nor are INPUTS necessarily limited to a magic number; nevertheless, two is the bare minimum (for the SYNTHESIS phase to operate at least two inputs are required).

Many of these elements need no explanation: STARTERS are motivators, frame-setters, and probes designed to establish what schemata the learners bring to the topic, and where they might wish/need to go with it. STARTERS generally include such methodological devices as advance organizers (discussion or handout), which chart the course over the length of the module, specify what learning objectives might be accomplished and establishing some ground rules (time, resources available, form of evaluation etc).

BRAINSTORMING (some call this activity clustering or mind-mapping) is a cooperative exercise in which the participants (usually teacher-directed) freely generate concepts within a topic. The teacher writes down these fragments (principally of lexis) as they pour out and may contribute him/herself. Next, the teacher would attempt to order them into a visual "map" of the schematic territory. BRAINSTORMING often is part of a STARTER or it may come later and focus sub-schemata.

LANGUAGE FOCUS is a floating element in the design. It may include a focus at any grammatical or rhetorical level, and is likely to feed in to LEARNER GLL AWARENESS TRAINING (some call this "learning strategy instruction"), which also is a floating but nonetheless essential element in the concept of module presented here.

LEARNER GLL AWARENESS TRAINING is aimed at engaging the learners' interest in their own processes of learning by supplying them with some cognitive and metacognitive language with which to describe and comment upon their own learning. This is a noble tradition in Toronto, which dates back to the "Good Language Learner" (GLL) project and the various applications of this study. In fact, some of our courses actually begin with a module on "How to be a Better Language Learner", and this content is available during the remainder of the course.

TREATMENT is a cover-all, frankly teacher-centred, term for the phase immediately following the INPUT phase(s). Here, the range of methodological "moves" is extremely varied, ranging from more input-tied (processing of input) to activities which are less input-tied (reacting to input, doing something with the input).

SYNTHESIS is the phase during which two or more discrete inputs and the various "gaps" set up by them are "resolved" through TREATMENT or TASK activities. TREATMENT activities at the synthesis phase, such as comparing and contrasting the two inputs, aims at using the two inputs (if complementary) to build up a composite picture or, (if they are divergent) to take a new position.

TASK is nowadays familiar as it focuses on the phase in which the learner is transformed from being largely a 'consumer' of others' information (receiving and processing the INPUT) to becoming a 'producer' of his/her own information or an "applier" of the given input (and, commonly and importantly, additional data gathered through INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION) to his/her own

interests and concerns. Larger tasks, requiring considerable outside data-gathering or library research are called PROJECTS. According to the design aspect described here, while every module must have a TASK phase, the teacher may well not choose to require full-blown PROJECTS from each and every module.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS, described here as a floating activity, represents for my colleagues and me at Glendon a necessary deepening of input comprehension, looking as we do at the "ideology" of texts and the schemata which they exemplify - often in implicit "between-the-lines" terms. Here, we would engage the learners in a discussion of the underlying cultural, social, and political assumptions contained in a textual input. We look at fact/opinion, bias and viewpoint and implicit presuppositional information.

INPUT deserves more extensive discussion, since the modules content is based upon a careful selection of "new information" proffered to the learner and upon which the learner will work with a view to eventually producing his/her own output.

The following ten design aspects have evolved over the years at Glendon/York. They do not pretend to be startlingly innovative, nor do we always draw upon all equally in every module. They represent guidelines for module-makers and teachers are invited to select from, modify and add to the list accordingly.

1. It should be potentially comprehensible (ie at or just beyond the learner's linguistic (including schematic level). Input texts which are "authentic" for (idealized) native speakers or those "discourse community club-members" - native or non-native-speakers - who would be familiar with the concepts of the field may not be authentic for particular learners.
2. It should be potentially interesting or non-trivial to learners; ie it may deal with content which is salient in their local, regional, national environment; or, if not, it may deal with material which encourages learners to "think globally, act locally".
3. It should have content face-validity with respect to the knowledge (schemata) held by some valued discourse community (local-national or inter/supranational) with respect to the same topic. Putting this another way, it should contribute to actual or potential "club membership" into such a discourse community.
4. It should possess sequential potential, leading the learner cumulatively over the course of the module (and beyond, hopefully) into greater depth of understanding of the topic.
5. It should serve as a stimulus for and easily lead in to a variety of treatments and concatenated learning tasks (both text-focussed and permitting "jumping off from text").
6. It should have a high "magnetic" value and be capable of attracting other

"found" inputs to it (eg inputs from the media, conversational culture, etc).

7. It should be drawn from a variety of sources: inputs may be spoken/print media, may cater to popular/academic audiences, may presuppose no/lay/familiar/specialist/expert background knowledge, may be "live" or not, may be computerized or not (in which case, it may be interactive or not). In Glendon's programme, we have a particular bias for multi-modal inputs:
   film (biased) + text (balanced) + live lecture (biased against the film) ("the ozone layer")
   lecture (balanced, frame-setting) + field-trip + student oral presentations ("Canadian landscape art")
   field-trip + lab work + text-book chapter (natural science topic)
   case study + text-book chapter+ lecture-discussion (management science topic)
   popular science article + film + expert lecture ("ape language")
   video + simulation game + library research + student oral presentations + field-trip ("native-white relations in Canada")
8. It should stimulate debate critical analysis of bias/viewpoint/opinion/value-orientation of the inputs. Inputs are both to be built up and deconstructed, so that learners not remain in a passive stance or be overwhelmed by the input; the process of transformation of input of intake to learner-output is paramount.
9. It should allow for the possibility of cognitive dissonance among the inputs. There are many cases of lectures providing quite opposing views to those contained in the text-book chapter. If a module establishes a partial schema through INPUT I and then challenges this schema's validity through INPUT II, it leads to more powerful learning in many cases than if all INPUTS point ideologically in the same direction.
   A recent module I developed on "Canadian landscape Painting" (with expert help!) led international students to learn the vocabulary of traditional realistic outdoor landscapes, and later challenged this schema by a lecture and field trip on "abstract expressionist landscapes". The dissonance and uncertainty created a lot of cognitive tension from which some very good argumentation developed.
10. It should be teacher-developed (wherever feasible, in conjunction between language teachers and subject specialists), kept as one of a module-bank of materials and activities, and continually refreshed and re-evaluated. If the theme is topical and generative, new input texts will suggest themselves and be included in the module package.

Finally, guidelines for the EVALUATION of content-based modules can only be touched upon here. The main point to make is that evaluation is conducted as part and parcel of the learner's output; there does not need to be a

"language quiz" at the end of each module (there have been, after all, opportunities for language focus during the module). Instead, the output is evaluated on the basis of its initial objectives, and linguistic form is focussed upon only within the larger context of the output task.

SPECIFIC PURPOSE MODULES

ESP modules, once produced, possess many of the design characteristics of the general-purpose module described above, but filtered through our knowledge of the teaching-learning processes, the inputs and outputs, of the subject-matter field in question.

Here, the ESP analyst must undertake a preliminary analysis of the communicating community contexts, both ideal and instantiated, of the discourse community whose content will provide the subject focus of the module. Essentially, this is the same sort of investigative phase as in standard ESP analysis, but with the advantage, suggested earlier, that an early product of this analysis would be a unit of content - the "probe" module - which could be trialled earlier and less disruptively than could a full-blown course.

Content face-validity must derive principally from a process-oriented subject specialist (especially one who is interested in transforming outsiders into members of the "club" represented by those who practice the subject). I am reminded of Swain's (1987) cautionary remarks to the effect that "typical content teaching is not necessarily good second language teaching". Our objective with modules is to achieve both good content teaching and good language teaching simultaneously, and this objective can only be reached when "insiders" to the content collaborate with language teachers, who are by nature trained to be process-oriented.

Design characteristics for ESP modules vary according to the field, but can broadly be analysed according to INPUT and OUTPUT phases, with certain broad characteristic typical of the kind of epistemological enquiry the learner is engaged in. Various typologies have been suggested (the disciplinary divisions of the ELTS revision project are: arts and social sciences, life and medical sciences, physical science and technology). Each type has its own communicative contexts and preferred teaching-learning styles and registers, its own degree of permitted link between the abstract and the concrete.

Our point is merely that ESP field-specific schemata can be analysed according to (a) their declarative (ideational) content, (b) their preferred interpersonal means for processing, teaching-learning and investigating content, and (c) preferred textualizations of (a) and (b) together. It is the ESP module designer's challenge to make such a sensitive investigation and to encapsulate this understanding in the form of a probe module.

METHODOLOGY: THE HOW

It will come as no surprise that I suggest that, having fully investigated the implications of the content in question, there is relatively little to be said for the existence of an independent "how" - an autonomous methodology.

Already, the module teacher has been kept quite busy, with activities focussing primarily on content presentation, processing, manipulation (treatment), synthesis, output and evaluation!

The content-based teacher will have assembled the module and sketched out its main "menu". She will have provided an initial framing, brainstorming and have stimulated interest in the topic. She will have provided ongoing content-processing support (advance organizers, built-in redundancy, resonance between and among inputs, visual support, argumentation diagrams and so forth); she will have "fastened onto the content" herself, involved in the deepening conversation within the topic at hand (and discovering through her students aspects of the topic she was previously unaware of); she will have provided opportunities for evaluation and self-evaluation so that input processing and task-work is carefully monitored; she will have maintained her usual level of language support, directing learners to make better use of dictionaries, grammar handbooks, and other self-access learning aids, all within the focus of continuous GLL Learner Training.

In a content-based module such as the ones I have been discussing, methodology is subordinate to the overall objective of dealing with content. I think that a rediscovery of the extremely rich communicative potential of the WHAT in language teaching permits us to explore new integrated methodologies which serve that content-based objective.

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LISTENING AND NOTE-TAKING IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Jane Jackson Fahmy and Linda Bilton

Why should EAP instructors take an interest in research about lecturing? *Most* information is still conveyed to university students through lectures. This teaching method requires sophisticated listening and note-taking skills and poses additional difficulties for non-native students. Therefore, research is needed to identify those areas which might be amenable to improvement through teaching. This paper briefly reviews research on lectures and describes a linguistic study undertaken at Sultan Qaboos University in the Sultanate of Oman, which has implications for EAP methodology.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Most research on the lecture method has been undertaken in a native-speaker context. Bligh (1972, 1980) and Beard and Hartley (1984) have examined the ways information is presented in lectures and recommendations for improving students' study skills have been made by Gibbs (1981) and Brown (1979). Only a small number of researchers have considered the special problems of foreign students in understanding lectures given in English.

Wijasuriya (1971) analyzed forty-six taped lectures in a variety of disciplines and suggested that logical connectors and discourse markers were an important but neglected aspect of "classroom" language. He recommended that these features be included in listening comprehension exercises for foreign students.

Holes (1972) investigated the English language problems of overseas post-graduate students at the University of Birmingham. He found that many students' problems were caused by their being unaware of culture-bound knowledge, by their inability to interpret either the speaker's intonation or stress, and their ignorance of colloquial expressions and changes of register. He pointed out that speech has a lower level of redundancy for the foreign listener than for the native.

At the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Morrison (1974) set out to determine and rate the listening comprehension problems that overseas post-graduate students encountered in Science courses. By means of questionnaires he identified the following linguistic features (in order of difficulty):

1. the referential system (anaphora, cataphora, etc; transition markers and logical connectors)
2. lexis (especially idiom and nominalized groups)
3. phonology.

Both Holes (1972) and Morrison (1974) stress the need for EAP courses to be based on a descriptive analysis of spoken discourse. In line with this recommendation, a study of the linguistic features of lectures has begun at SQU with the aim of providing pedagogical guidelines for EAP materials writers and instructors. The first area of inquiry has focussed on lexis and addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the dominant means used by lecturers to explain and elaborate vocabulary?
2. Is there a relationship between the lecturer's method of explaining and the way the students record information?

SQU STUDY

BACKGROUND TO STUDY

While previous studies have dealt with foreign students in Britain attending lectures alongside British students, the SQU study involves native-speaker professors lecturing to groups of non-native speakers. This situation is becoming common as more institutions of higher education are opened in developing countries to meet the demand for science and technology.

Sultan Qaboos University, Oman's first university, opened in 1986 - a major achievement since formal education did not begin in the Sultanate until 1970. The overall English language proficiency of students entering the institution is low. To upgrade their English and develop their study skills, the first two semesters are devoted to a foundation course which is comprised of fourteen hours per week of English language tuition and six hours of Science.

SUBJECTS

Two British geologists, who had no previous experience of teaching NNS, lectured to students in the Science Foundation Course.

METHOD

Both professors introduced Geology in a series of fifty minute lectures spanning four weeks. They presented the same material to three separate groups of twenty-five freshmen in regular classrooms. The first and last lectures of each topic were audiotaped for both lecturers and forty were transcribed, noting such prosodic features as intonation, stress, rate of speech, pause and nonverbal features (eg writing). This type of transcription permitted a functional analysis of the discourse of explanations.

Following Chaudron's work on vocabulary elaboration (1979, 1982, 1988) the material selected for our analysis included "all instances of the use of special terminology or expressions that the teachers in some way qualified, explained, questioned, repeated, paraphrased, or expanded on" (1979, p. 5). Analogies were also considered in this regard.

In order to discover the most frequent means by which lecturers explained and elaborated vocabulary, it was necessary to devise a quantifiable unit of analysis which we have termed an ***elaboration***. It consists of a base word or phrase followed by one or more reformulations.

In our coding scheme, all base words are coded as A and subsequent reformulations as B, C, and so on. The following excerpts illustrate typical elaboration patterns. *The base words are in italics* and **reformulations in bold face.**

(i) AB Pattern: a simple elaboration with a base word followed by one reformulation:
We can see that quartz is sometimes ... completely *colourless* ... you can see here ... **has no colour**
Here is a rock which is composed *entirely* **completely of ooliths**

(ii) ABC Pattern: a base word followed by two reformulations:
Some of the beds have *clasts* . **stones or what we call pebbles**
biological **or organic precipitation . that is with the help of animals and plants**

(iii) AAB Pattern: a base word followed by a repetition and then a reformulation:
This mineral *effervesces* ok it *effervesces* ... it bubbles with HCl and that's quite a useful word
You know *crystallization* .. *crystallization* **is the formation of crystals.**

Some examples involved up to seven reformulations, often with other elaborations embedded, making the explanation very difficult to follow. Such instances we have termed ***verbal mazes***. In the following excerpt Lecturer B attempts to explain "conglomerates" and in the process elaborates on two more terms

"bonded together" and "finer sediments" and also gives an analogy far removed from the scientific context.

> *Conglomerates* . rocks in which pebbles are rounded . and they're *bonded together* held together . by *finer sediments* or by cement the - same word as for cement that we use for building . uh it just means sticking together .. so a variety of different minerals . can act to hold together . there are - some of this is cemented by iron compounds .. so *conglomerate* roundy rounded pebbles . held together . all all *conglomerate* means is a bringing together . uh . you can also have - if you have a number of companies in business . that join together . then they are also called a *conglomerate* . so *conglomerate* just means . many different things together (Lecturer B).

For each elaboration a check-list was devised to record information about such features as:

1. type and complexity of pattern
2. discourse markers
3. speed and stress
4. overt signals of importance
5. type of explanation
6. technicality of terms used.

The data were then analyzed by computer using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSSX). Frequency counts and cross-tabulations of variables were performed to determine significant associations.

RESULT

(a) Type-Token Ratio

Language variety was measured by taking a type-token ratio of twenty lectures - ten by Lecturer A and ten by Lecturer B. All incomplete words, spellings and single letters, such as chemical symbols, were omitted and a variety of fillers ("ah, oh, er") was reduced to one type. Comparison of the type-token ratio between the two lecturers revealed a stylistic difference in the amount of vocabulary used in that Lecturer A employed more than B (Table 1). A difference was also noted in the amount both lecturers used in the first and last lectures of each series, with Lecturer A slightly increasing his vocabulary in the last lecture whilst Lecturer B did the reverse.

Table 1

Type/Token Ratios (20 Lectures)
(Lecturer by Position)

	first lectures (10)	third lectures (10)	Row Avg.
Lecturer A	6.08	6.47	6.28
Lecturer B	4.95	4.35	4.65
Column total	11.03	10.82	10.93
Type/Token Ratios	5.52	5.41	5.47

(b) Type of Elaborations

Out of the 921 elaborations identified in the twenty lectures, 429 were used by Lecturer A and 492 by Lecturer B. This fairly even distribution probably reflects the uniform content of the lectures.

The most frequently used elaborations are portrayed in Table 2. The dominant type of pattern was the simple elaboration AB. The next most common one was the verbal maze which included as many as seven reformulations and contained many repetitions of either the base and/or its reformulation.

Approximately 80% of the patterns were simple; that is, without a second elaboration being embedded, but of the 20% that were complex, not surprisingly, half of them were verbal mazes. These were almost equally distributed between the two lecturers and also between the first and third lectures. One might have expected the language of explanation to have been more controlled by the final lecture of each series.

An examination of the constituents of the elaboration patterns revealed that 60% of bases and 50% of first reformulations were either nouns or noun phrases. This may be due to the predominance of scientific terminology in the lectures. Grammatical parallelism (noted by Chaudron, 1979), was strongest between the base and its first reformulation; thereafter greater grammatical variety was evident. As one might expect, phrases were more common in the reformulations as the lecturer expanded on the base word.

Table 2

Patterns of Elaboration

	Frequency	Percent
ab	407	44.2
verbal maze	219	23.8
abc	77	8.4
aab	51	5.5
aba	34	3.7
abb	19	2.1
misc	114	12.4
Total	921	100

(c) Entry

In most cases (64.2%), both lecturers began their elaborations directly (Table 3). It is of pedagogical importance that only a very small number of elaborations were initiated by questions from students. A cross-tabulation of lecturer by mode of entry revealed that Lecturer B was twice as likely as A to introduce the elaboration with a comprehension check. Another stylistic variation was that Lecturer A used three and a half times more discourse markers as entry signals than did B. As detailed in Table 4, the ones most frequently employed were "pause", "so", "now", and "and".

Table 3

Cross-Tabulation of Mode of Entry by Lecturer

Mode of Entry	Count Row Pct.	Lecturer A	Lecturer B	Row Total
	direct	239 40.4%	352 59.6%	591 (64.2%)
	discourse marker	142 78.0%	40 21.9%	182 (19.8%)
	comprehension check	37 32.5%	77 67.5%	114 (12.4%)
	student query	11 32.4%	23 67.7%	34 (3.7%)
	Column Total	429 46.6%	492 53.4%	921 100%

Table 4

Cross-Tabulation ... ıtry Signals by Lecturer

Entry Signals	Count Row Pct.	Lecturer A	Lecturer B	Row Total
	pause	58 74.4%	20 25.6%	78 (39.2%)
	so	26 78.8%	7 21.2%	33 (16.7%)
	now	26 96.3%	1 3.7%	27 (13.6%)
	and	19 95.0%	1 5.0%	20 (10.1%)
	slower speech	11 78.6%	3 21.4%	14 (7.0%)
	misc.	15 55.6%	12 44.4%	27 (13.6%)
	Column Total	155 77.9%	44 22.1%	199 100%

(d) Connectors

Nearly half of all elaborations contained one or more sentence connectors. The most common ones were "so" (33.1%), "or" (25.7%), "and" (16.6%), and "ok" (14.5%) (Table 5). "So" featured in all patterns. "Or" was used most commonly where there was only one reformulation, such as in the AB pattern; but in complex patterns "and" was the favoured connector.

Table 5

Cross-Tabulation of Connectors by Lecturer

Connectors Count / Row Pct.	Lecturer A	Lecturer B	Row Total
so	110 64.3%	61 35.7%	171 (33.1%)
or	65 48.9%	68 51.1%	133 (25.7%)
and	44 51.2%	42 48.8%	86 (16.6%)
ok	73 97.3%	2 2.7%	75 (14.5%)
now	17 85.0%	3 15.0%	20 (3.2%)
misc.	17 53.1%	15 46.9%	32 (6.2%)
Column Total	326 63.1%	191 36.9%	517 100%

Besides using more discourse markers as entry signals, Lecturer A employed a greater variety of sentence connectors. For example, some of his explanations were linked by such explicit phrases as "another word is", "we call them", "which means", and "in other words".

(e) Exit

Fifty two percent of all elaborations concluded with a discourse marker as a special signal, two and a half times more than were used on entry (Table 6). Of the two lecturers, A used almost 20% more than B, who preferred to continue as if the elaboration was a parenthesis or simply exited directly. Only 6.8% ended with a comprehension check by the lecturers. None of these solicited information from the students to confirm that they had understood, rather they served more as discourse markers to signal the end of a topic.

Table 6

Cross-Tabulation of Mode of Exit by Lecturer

Mode of Exit	Count / Row Pct.	Lecturer A	Lecturer B	Row Total
	discourse markers	280 58.5%	199 41.5%	479 (52.0%)
	parenthesis	67 37.2%	113 62.8%	180 (19.5%)
	direct	58 34.3%	111 65.7%	169 (18.3%)
	comprehension check	6 9.5%	57 90.5%	63 (6.8%)
	student query	18 78.6%	12 21.4%	30 (3.3%)
	Column Total	429 46.6%	492 53.4%	921 100%

The results of a cross-tabulation of exit signals (discourse markers) by lecturer are shown in Table 7. They reveal that both lecturers tended to pause at the end of an elaboration (45.4% of cases). The most frequently verbalized discourse markers were "so" (12.7%), "and" (10.1%) and "ok" (7%). Lecturer A was almost four times more likely to employ "so" than his colleague and five times more likely to use "and" as exit signals.

Table 7

Cross-Tabulation of Exit Signals by Lecturer

Exit Signals	Count / Row Pct.	Lecturer A	Lecturer B	Row Total
↓	pause	115 46.6%	132 53.4%	247 (45.4%)
	so	54 78.3%	15 21.7%	69 (12.7%)
	and	46 83.6%	9 16.4%	55 (10.1%)
	ok	28 73.7%	10 26.3%	38 (7.0%)
	faster following	12 37.5%	20 62.5%	32 (5.9%)
	misc.	52 51.0%	50 49.0%	102 (1.9%)
	Column Total	307 56.5%	236 43.5%	543 100%

(f) Stress and Speed

Studies by Henzl (1973), Wesche and Ready (1985) and Mannon (1986) have suggested that native speakers speak louder and more slowly to emphasize lexis when addressing non-native speakers. However, this study does not reveal any systematic use of stress or speed for this purpose.

In more than half of the elaborations, the entry was not stressed, which was quite unexpected. In 62.2% of the cases there was no stress on exit either. The reformulations were emphasized slightly more than the base only in the case of Lecturer B.

In just under 40% of the elaborations there was no change in tempo. Further analysis revealed no systematic use of tempo by either lecturer.

(g) Importance Signals

Only 8.3% of the elaborations were accompanied by verbal markers of importance, such as "you'd better commit this to memory". However, 46.5% of the time, the lecturers either wrote on the board or referred to the students' handouts, thereby underlining the importance of the verbal message. The amount of writing accompanying the elaborations did not change between the first and third lectures, perhaps again due to the controlled syllabus. A cross-tabulation of lecturer by writing showed that Lecturer A used 20% more writing than did his colleague.

(h) Technicality of Vocabulary

Of all the elaborations, 55.8% (514) of base words were technical, 33.6% (309) non-technical and 10.6% (98) semi-technical. In this study, a semi-technical term is an everyday word which has a specific application in the scientific context. In the following example, hardness would be defined as a semi-technical term. "The property of ***hardness*** is a measure of the resistance of a mineral to scratching".

Fourty five point eight percent (422) of the first reformulations were also technical, 45.9% (423) non-technical and only 8.3% (76) semi-technical. This shows that the incidence of non-technical terms increased from the base word to the first reformulation by 12.3%. An even larger reduction of technical vocabulary in the reformulation might have been expected, but an investigation of this variable by lecturer revealed that Lecturer A tended to stay technical throughout an elaboration whereas Lecturer B introduced more non-technical vocabulary as his elaboration proceeded. In summary, both lecturers tended to start with a

technical base but Lecturer B switched more readily to a non-technical register.

It was observed that if the base was technical the lecturers tended to use more than one reformulation as shown in the following example where Lecturer A makes three attempts to explain the term saturated

> does anyone know the term it's *saturated* .. well it means basically that the sea water cannot dissolve any more salt it is full uh there's no more room for it- it won't dissolve any more -- it's *saturated* it is full of salt (Lecturer A).

Both professors spent more time explaining the technical vocabulary to ensure that the students understood the basic concepts of Geology, whereas the non-technical vocabulary was less important to them.

(i) Definitions

Half the elaborations in the corpus are some form of definition, accomplished by such structures as "that is called", "this/x means", "we define/describe as", "x/this is ... a (kind/type of)..". For example:

(a) *Minerals that have a glassy lustre* we describe as being vitreous
(b) *Diagnostic* - it means that it is helpful in identifying
(c) *Lustre* is the property of the mineral to reflect light.

Seventy five percent of all these definitions began with the term that was defined, as in Examples (b) and (c) above. Inversion of the term defined and its definition (Example (a)) occurred in only 25% of the cases.

Sixty three point one percent of all definitions were accompanied by writing on the board or reference to the lecture handout. This provided some technical definitions which the lecturers expanded on. Seventy point two percent of all definitions were of a technical nature. A cross-tabulation of definition type by lecturer revealed that Lecturer A employed two-thirds of all the technical definitions. Not surprisingly, the majority of the technical definitions (78.7%) involved some writing or a reference to the handout.

Of significance was the small number (5.9%) of definitions actually arising from students' questions. Comprehension checks by the lecturer introduced almost a quarter of all the definitions, far more than for elaborations in general. The lecturers asked a similar number of questions about non-technical and technical terms. This may reflect their awareness of the limited vocabulary of their students.

(j) Analogies

A pedagogically interesting form of elaboration is the analogy, which can sometimes make a concept easier to understand. For example, Lecturer A explained the term "symmetry" by referring to a face and a mirror. At other times an analogy served to enliven the lecture and establish rapport with the audience.

In the following excerpt the lecturer tries to explain the scientific term "preservation" by means of story-telling as he takes students back in geological time and involves them in the discovery of a fossil. He also shares a joke with them and further personalizes the discourse through the pronoun "you".

> A few people who were working up there .. a few tens of years ago.. 1930's discovered that there were some mammoths beautifully preserved . in ice in the glacier ok.. and . the way they figured this had been - this had happened was that there was this mammoth walking along . a big ear two tusks walking along. it fell into a crack in the ice... and it was frozen beautifully preserved.. and the scientists were told about this by some locals who were working up there and when the scientists arrived and saw this mammoth .. they were a little bit too late because of the- locals had eaten half of the mammoth . because the meat was still fresh it was just like putting a chicken into your freezer .. and being deep frozen .. they must have had mammoth steak for supper (laugher) .. and the scientists . had a look at the uh - the structure and it's now refrigerated still .. in some uh the deep - uh they dry they freeze-dried it you know like coffee it's been dried by being a - a frozen all the water was removed. and you know you may have heard of people who a - a want to a - have eternal life and when they die they ask for themselves to be frozen so that if in the future there is a - a cure for their - a - their disease they will be unfrozen and a ... themselves and their wives will be united again (Lecturer A).

In moving from a scientific term to an everyday one, problems in communication can arise from the different backgrounds of lecturer and audience. For example, the lecturer's references to the freeze-drying process and freezing for the afterlife may be lost on Omani students. What is part of the lecturer's day-to-day living may not always be shared by his audience. In other lectures Omani students may have been further baffled by the lecturers' references to "skyscrapers", "hi-fi", "bubble-gum", "treacle", "molasses", "tax", "crown", and "a business conglomerate". There are dangers with this type of elaboration: what is intended to clarify may, in fact, mystify and moreover attention may be directed away from the original concept as in the following example. Lecturer B moves from the scientific realm to what he supposes to be the common everyday one

but, in fact, goes beyond his audience's experience and then fails to return to the original context.

> net means . the product . of a number of processes . uh the - if you - if you take the upslope movement away from the downslope movement . then- there is . a net . movement downslope because there is more movement downslope than up do you have uh do you have income tax here in Oman d'you - if you - if your uh parents earn money do they have to pay some to the government
> S: no no
> if - if there was income tax here . let's say you earn 1,000 - let's say you earn a 1,000 rials a day .. ok . any you have to pay 200 rials of that in tax . then your net salary would be 800 . that's what net means (Lecturer B).

In these Geology lectures, analogies tended to move from formal scientific discourse to a colloquial register, which was full of idioms, witticisms, vagueness terms (eg lots of, sort of, etc) and shifting pronoun reference. Such features would have been unfamiliar to many of the students whose exposure to English has been restricted to a formal classroom setting. Thus, comprehension may be impaired by semantic and cultural biases which are not shared by the lecturer and his audience. At times, both parties may suppose that effective and accurate communication is taking place when each is actually giving a different meaning to the message. Further barriers to communication are discussed in the following summary of the key findings of the discourse analysis.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The most frequently used type of elaboration was the simple AB pattern, with a base word followed by one reformulation. At first glance this would seem to facilitate comprehension. However, ambiguities can occur with co-ordination and apposition, where students may have difficulties distinguishing between new information and alternative terms. For instance, in the following example, it may not have been clear that the lecturer was using two terms for the same thing.

> *Detrital* or clastic sediments are produced by physical sedimentation

For NNS who have not been alerted to the use of grammatical parallelism in elaborations, synonyms may be decoded as additional items of information as in:

> The mineral has a *vitreous* glassy lustre

The second most common pattern in the corpus was the verbal maze with its complex arrangement of elaborations. Assigning the proper connections between the elements and retaining this information all the way through the verbal maze is an impossible challenge for many overseas students.

With most elaborations there was no explicit phonological or verbal marking, so students would not be expecting this teaching strategy and would likely not be prepared to note the explanations that followed.

Of special interest to EAP instructors is the fact that stylistic differences between the lecturers were found in almost all the areas examined, including: the amount and variety of vocabulary, the number of technical terms and definitions, and the use of discourse markers and explicit signals of importance. Such stylistic variations will be accentuated with lecturers from widely different backgrounds, as is the case in most universities today.

All these factors taken together would tax the listening skills of even the most proficient students.

STUDENTS' NOTES

METHOD

The relationship between the lecturers' method of explaining and the way the students recorded information was investigated by means of a detailed examination of notes on one topic. "Sedimentary Rocks" was selected as it was the only one that spanned two class periods and therefore provided more material for analysis. All of the elaborations were listed and the ones employed in both the first and last lectures were noted for each lecturer. These short lists of base words were thought to represent the key terms on Sedimentary Rocks as the lecturer felt it necessary to explain them on both occasions. This list was used to provide a measure of the completeness and accuracy of the Ss notes. In addition, the notes were examined for organization (hierarchy, sub-headings, numbering), clarity and succinctness.

RESULTS

In "Sedimentary Rocks" (Parts I and II), 186 elaborations were used by Lecturer A and 232 by his colleague. In the introductory lecture (Part I), Lecturer A increased his number of elaborations from 38 in his first session to 50 in the last; whereas Lecturer B decreased his from 71 to 50. No such variation occurred in Part II.

A listing of the key words (Parts I and II) showed that less than 10.0% of all

basewords were repeated in the lecturers' parallel lectures, eighteen of Lecturer A's and 23 of B's.

Most of Lecturer A's key words and two-thirds of Lecturer B's words were written on the board or referred to in the Ss handout. Lecturer A verbally signalled the importance of two-fifths of his terms, while his colleague did so in only a few cases. An interesting observation was the fact that key words were explicitly signalled much more frequently than were the base words that were not repeated in subsequent lectures.

All of Lecturer A's and almost all of Lecturer B's terms were technical or semi-technical. This supports the earlier findings that the non-technical vocabulary played a subordinate role, occurring as spontaneous discourse, whereas technical vocabulary formed part of the syllabus.

(a) Handouts

An examination of the Ss' notes revealed that 63.8% made independent notes in English, while 36.2% simply wrote on their handouts. Of the latter category, 17.2% used English and Arabic, 12.1% Arabic, and 6.9% English only. On the handouts, the majority of annotations were simply glosses of individuals words and in most cases no attempt was made to add information such as examples detailed by the lecturer. Whereas some students recorded the lecturers' reformulations, others wrote down what they thought the translation was. These students did not make full use of the lecture to improve their level of English and may also have mistranslated, resulting in an inaccurate record. In a few instances, some even placed the elaboration next to the wrong base word.

On their handouts, Lecturer A's students recorded 16.1% of the explanations of the key base words, whereas a mere 2.9% were noted by Lecturer B's. It is possible that since Lecturer A verbally signalled the importance of many of the terms, his students recorded more of them.

Effective use of underlining, numbering, and highlighting was evident in 61.9% of the cases where Ss used only handouts, but only 19.0% copied down diagrams or illustrations. A positive observation was that the majority of handouts were neatly annotated.

(b) Independent Notes

When students took independent notes in English, it was found that, on average, they elaborated on far more key base words than did those who restricted themselves to handouts alone. Lecturer A's Ss recorded half and Lecturer B's just under one-third of the elaborations. Furthermore, almost all

students amplified their independent notes with examples and illustrations; hence, they had a more complete record of the lectures.

While three-quarters of the notes were accurate, 20% of them contained inaccuracies, mispellings that interfered with communication, or unfinished phrases, where the Ss had been unable to get down the full explanation.

Most of the Ss' notes were neat and legible and more than half well-organized. The Ss showed effective use of headings and subheadings, ordering of details, and distinguished between important and less important information by highlighting or underlining key points. However, a quarter of the students made notes that were very disorganized with no systematic arrangement of ideas. Some underlined indiscriminately and also had problems labelling diagrams, either omitting words or misplacing them. As much as one third of the students' notes included superfluous information and in the entire body of data, only one example of an abbreviation was found.

SUMMARY

In summary, note-taking is a highly complex activity which simultaneously involves listening, writing, and, to some degree, reading. Students must listen to the lecture, select and organize what they are going to record and perhaps modify what they have already written whilst attending to the constant flow of information.

Our analyses of both handouts and independent notes revealed that many students were not aware of the cues given by the lecturer to signal his key base words and had difficulty extracting them from the ongoing discourse. A few attempted to write down everything said. When students did try to record important points, they made no use of standard abbreviations or any form of shorthand and, thus, had difficulty limiting themselves to information-carrying words. In almost half of the cases where independent notes were made, layout was poor and relationships between items of information were not clearly indicated. As a result, students were left with an incomplete and misleading summary of the lecture.

Based on the findings of this study, some suggestions are made to promote a more effective technique of note-taking.

SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE LISTENING AND NOTE-TAKING SKILLS OF NNS

1. Materials for the Study Skills course should, whenever possible, be based on EAP instructors' observations of their students' lectures. Features of the

lecturer's delivery could be noted using a small number of items from a checklist which should include the lecturer's use of:

- logical connectors (eg, "but", "so", "and" etc)
- discourse markers of frames (eg, "right", "now", "ok", speed and stress) signals of importance (verbal and non-verbal)
- techniques of defining and explaining.

2. Students can be encouraged to recognize and take advantage of their lecturer's cues. For example an awareness of his signals of importance will alert students to the necessity of recording information and should result in more complete notes.
3. Students should be advised to eliminate from their notes such phrases as "There are many different kinds of", "in other words", and "..is defined as" so that they restrict themselves to information-carrying words. They should practice the removal of redundant items such as articles, the verb "to be", modal verbs, and unnecessary repetitions.
4. A list of standard abbreviations and symbols should be provided along with suggestions on how to devise one's own.
5. Students should be told:
   (a) when it is appropriate to interrupt a lecture
   (b) how to ask questions politely with correct intonation and stress
   (c) how to make requests (eg, "Please would you speak more slowly")
   (d) how to seek clarification when the lecturer uses anecdotes or elaborations and to ask whether the information is additional or alternative.
6. The advantages of taking independent notes and annotating their handouts in English should be stressed.
7. Extensive practice should be given in copying texts and diagrams from the board or OHTs.
8. The Study Skills course should start with guided notes, where possible based on the observed lectures, and gradually reduce the amount of support.
9. When making independent notes, Ss should be encouraged to use a wide margin and to leave plenty of space between their jottings during the lecture so that, if necessary, inserts can be made.
10. Students need to be shown how to organize these jottings so that the relationships of the various points of the lecture are clear. For example, instruction should be given in the use of underlining, numbering of points, subheadings and indentations so that after the lecture they are able to reconstruct the lecture in the form of an outline. Ss should be shown how to take advantage of arrows, decision trees, Venn diagrams, and flow charts to organize the information they extract from their notes.
11. A very useful classroom activity is proposed by Gibbs (1981). After a lecture, students, in pairs, examine each others' notes with a view to finding

out what strategies were employed. Then, in small groups, each student explains his/her partner's notes and the groups consider the characteristics of all notes, selecting those which are the most useful. This activity is intended to foster their awareness of the process of note-taking.

12. Students could use their notes to replay part of a lecture in small groups. This activity should draw their attention to the need for complete and well-organized notes.
13. If observation of lectures is not feasible, EAP instructors should at least exploit authentic lecture material, preferably videoed and close in subject matter and level to the lectures their students are attending.
14. Ideally, all listening comprehension and note-taking material for EAP courses should be based on analyses of authentic spoken discourse, as recommended by Holes (1972) and Morrison (1974), and echoed by Murphy and Candlin (1979).

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ARGUMENT AND EVALUATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOUR: STUDENT WRITING IN AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE

Pat Currie

The evaluation of student academic writing is of considerable interest to all teachers, but of central importance to those involved in attempting to prepare students for academic study. In their university careers, it is largely on their writing that our students will be evaluated. It is in their writing that students must convince the professor not only that they have learned the basic concepts of that course, but also that they have learned to think and argue in ways acceptable to the academic community. Bartholomae (1985) defines that task as follows:

> "The student has to learn to speak our language, to speak as we do, to try on the particular ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding, and arguing that define the discourse of our community." (p. 134)

Central to our task of student preparation, as we were reminded by Shaughnessy (1977a), is an understanding of the nature of the task they are facing. Part of the problem in trying to understand one aspect of the task -- evaluation -- is caused by what Shaughnessy termed the "dual nature of the relationship" between the student and her evaluator. While on the one hand the relationship is cooperative, in the sense that both student and professor are trying to understand each other, on the other hand it is also a relationship of conflict, in terms of the time and effort each is willing to spend on the other. There is a limit to the extent to which the evaluator will try to interpret what the student is trying to say. Thus, if she is to convince the professor that she has mastered not only the course concepts, but also the ways of thinking and arguing valued by that discipline, the onus is on the student to communicate her ideas clearly and appropriately to the professor -- largely through the written product. As such, then, the written product is the rhetorical solution to the task or assignment.

I wish to thank the faculty and students from the School of Business at Carleton who participated in the study. I am particularly indebted to one professor: Geoff Mallory. I also wish to thank Aviva Freedman and Stan Jones for their insightful comments during the revisions of this paper.

A second reason for the elusiveness of the nature of evaluation is suggested by research which focused on the expectations as stated by the evaluators themselves. Studies by Rose (1979), Johns (1985), and Faigley and Hansen (1985) found discrepancies between what evaluators said they wanted, and what they actually did with what they got. In Rose's study, professors who claimed to consider global features of discourse more important than content instructed the TAs who were doing the grading to "sift through poorly organized text" for the right answer. If the information was correct, the student got the marks. Johns' study led her to question some of the evaluators' claims that while they considered sentence level errors irritating, such errors did not influence the grades. Finally, Faigley and Hansen found significant differences between one instructor's stated criteria and those actually applied in grading. Such findings indicate that in our efforts to understand academic evaluation, we need to go beyond the explicitly stated criteria of the evaluators.

Furthermore, the students attempt this task for what has been characterized (Shaughnessy, 1977a) as a very demanding audience:

> "The academic audience is, however, the least submissive of audiences, committed as it is ...to the assessment of new and as yet unproven interpretations of events. The writer is thus expected to make "new" or arguable statements and then to develop a case for them, pushing his inquiry far enough to meet his audience's criteria for fullness and sound reasoning."
>
> (p. 240)

Such criteria for "fullness and sound reasoning", of great relevance to any understanding of academic evaluation, are the focus of much of the ongoing research into the nature of argumentation. We have learned from current research (eg, Bazerman, 1981; Freedman, 1988; Herrington, 1983) that the knowledge, values, perceptions, and beliefs of a given academic community are manifested in conventions. According to Maimon (1983), such conventions create "expectations in the minds of readers".

We need to examine the extent, if any, to which such conventions might influence a professor's evaluation of student writing -- how evaluators actually respond to students' attempts to imitate the ways of thinking, knowing, and arguing in the academic community -- and to determine which approximate behaviours are rewarded, which penalized. We need to explore, for example, what it in is the nature of the student's argumentation that fails to convince the evaluator that she has completed the required intellectual task, perhaps even if the right information is actually there. We need to ask which, if any, features of the argument can compensate for other, perhaps serious, weaknesses in the answer. Studies such as those by Herrington (1983) and Freedman (1988) have already contributed to our knowledge of the evaluation of real responses to real

tasks, as students attempt to write themselves into genres in the fields of chemical engineering and law.

This paper will focus on the evaluation by the professor of one assignment given in a course on Organizational Behaviour. The results suggest that argumentation format does, in fact, influence grading, both positively and negatively. The paper will also consider implications for EAP/ESP classroom instruction and curriculum development.

The forum (Herrington's terms for a group within a discourse community) for this study is Organizational Behaviour, a sub-group of business studies at Carleton University. The course is an introductory, required course, generally taken in the second or third year in the Bachelor of Commerce programme, which programme is offered within the School of Business in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Carleton. It is one term long (ie, thirteen weeks), and consists of two one-hour lectures per week -- given by the professor -- as well as in a one-hour tutorial -- led by a TA. It is necessary, at this point, to stress that the student writing done in this course is not writing for business in the sense of letters or memos, but rather writing about organizational situations and problems for an academic audience; ie, academic writing for the social sciences. Apart from the examinations, students write nine two-page assignments, which account for 35% of their final grade. Each assignment requires the students to apply the O.B. concepts from one chapter in the textbook and to respond to questions set either by the professor or by the text.

The three students who participated in this study were all non-native speakers of English: two from Hong Kong who were in their second year in Bachelor of Commerce programme; and one from Macao, in her third year. All had been exempted from further ESL instruction, either by their TOEFL scores or by virtue of their having studied in a Canadian high school for more than three years. As well, all three had taken the composition course required of business students who do not achieve a certain standard on a test essay, given at the beginning of their first academic year. All three had passed the course, which consists largely of grammar-based instruction.

The particular question under discussion, based on a case study in the course textbook, formed one part of the third assignment, due in the fifth week of the course. Unlike many of the assignment questions, which required the students to provide examples or other data to support their statements, this was one of the few that required them to present an argument in the form of a train of reasoning.

The process by which the professor (who was also the course coordinator) provided me with information regarding his evaluation of the assignment was as follows: first, he graded the assignments, and briefly rationalized his grades, all in writing; later, in a departure from the normal process, he evaluated them a second time in the course of a more detailed and focused interview with me.

Thus, he evaluated each assignment twice.

The rhetorical analysis by Toulmin, Rieke, and Janik (1979) provides a useful framework for the discussion of the evaluation. According to Toulmin *et al*, observers of organizational operations have identified a standard deliberative process very similar to that found in sciences, law, and other fields. It is by no means unique to business. Such standard procedures for resolving an issue are as follows:

1. Facts are gathered,
2. Criteria on which the decision will be made are set out,
3. Alternative decisions are suggested,
4. The best alternative is chosen through careful argumentation.

In order to understand the nature of argumentation involved here, it is helpful to analyze it using a categorization employed by Toulmin *et al*. They divide argument into six major elements which they have labelled the "claim", the "warrant", the "grounds", the "backing", the "rebuttal", and "modalities". In this discussion we are concerned with the first three of these components. The claim is the "assertion put forth publicly for general acceptance" (ie, the thesis -- the conclusion you reach, the prediction you make, or the decision you arrive at). The "grounds" are the "specific facts relied on to support a given claim" (ie, the statistics, the examples, or details derived from a careful analysis of the situation). The "warrant" is the principle that enables you to use these particular grounds in support of a particular claim.

In their text *An Introduction to Reasoning* (1979), they note that stating a warrant explicitly is less common in business because those values or principles are usually accepted by those in the organization; ie, they are "givens".

In Assignment Three, Part II, the section under discussion, the topic was goals, efficiency, and effectiveness. The two companies involved in the case study -- Acme and Omega -- represent two very different organizations. Acme is a very efficient organization internally, with clear responsibilities and narrowly defined jobs. It is well integrated vertically, with good communication and coordination within the departments. The goals are profitability and internal efficiency in the high volume manufacturing of printed circuits.

Omega is a different organization. Where Acme is efficient, Omega is effective. Unlike Acme, Omega is well integrated horizontally with good communication and coordination across departments. At Omega there are no organization charts, as management feel they would put barriers between specialists who should be working together. Omega's goals are not internal efficiency and profitability, but rather the effective use of human resources, creativity, and employee understanding of all aspects of the organization's activities.

In the case study, the firms are competing for a contract to design and pro-

duce hundred working models of a prototype of a memory unit for an experimental copier. In part two of the assignment, the students were asked to predict the winner and justify their decision: "Which firm do you think will produce the best results? Why?" The prompt itself provides no critieria for making the decision.

According to the course coordinator, it is possible to argue for either company. In Figures 1a and b, the arguments have been displayed according to the schema outlined by Toulmin *et al*. If you argue for Acme (Fig 1a), you need to argue or warrant your grounds on the basis of the O.B. concept of "efficiency", the result of the company's vertical integration -- the detailed organization charts and job descriptions -- which ensure coordination and communication within each division, and the ability to produce the required one hundred prototypes within the specified time limits. Because of the lack of vertical integration at Omega (the absence of organization charts and detailed job responsibilities, it is not efficient.

ARGUMENT FOR ACME

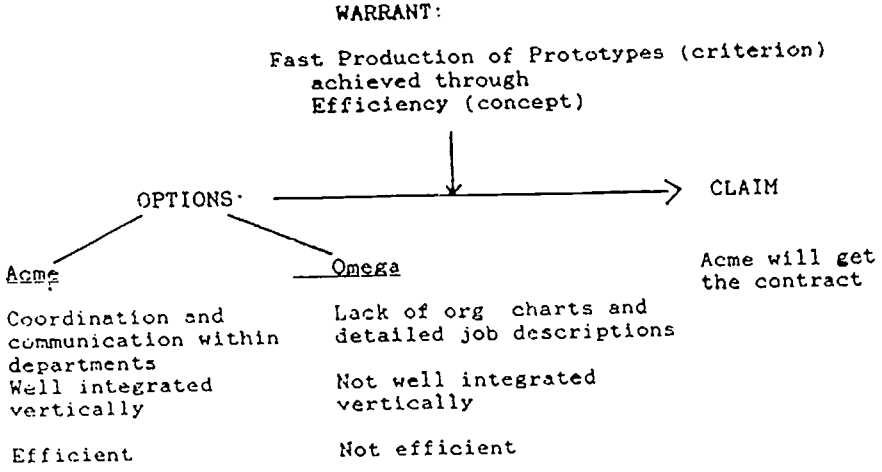

Figure 1a: Rhetorical Pattern of the Argument for Acme

If, on the other hand, your argue for Omega (Fig. 1b), you do so on the basis or warrant of "effectiveness": that good communication and coordination across the functional divisions would enable them to create a good prototype. Unlike Omega, Acme have the horizontal integration that would enable them to do this.

ARGUMENT FOR OMEGA

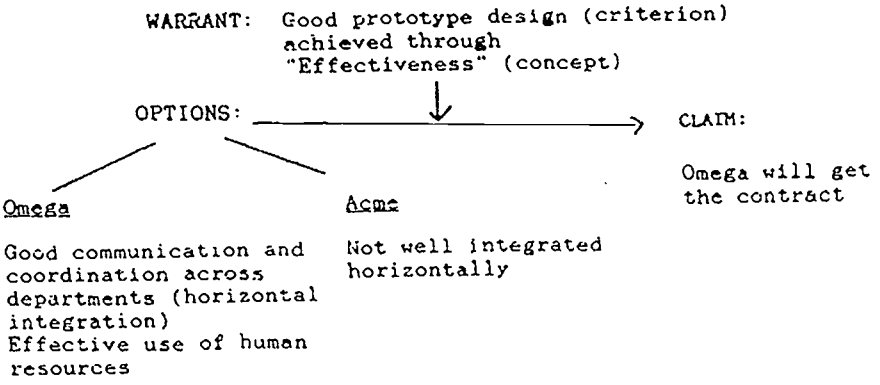

Figure 1b: Rhetorical Pattern of the Argument for Omega

The warrant involves a definition of the terms "best results" (fast production/a well-designed prototype) as well as a statement of the O.B. concept (efficiency/effectiveness) that would enable the company to produce these results.

The next section will examine both the responses of the three students and the course coordinator's evaluation of each.

STUDENT A

Student A's response to part two, which was graded as five out of ten in both evaluations, is as follows:

In order to predict either Acme or Omega will provide the best results, we need to summarize the characteristics of the two different organization structure.

Acme is a highly centralized, formalized and specialized organization. They have good vertical and horizontal structural linkages. They have detailed organizational charts and job descriptions. They rely on the formal type of communication where messages are flowed through memos. They are under a closed buffer system. They are confident of their competitive power. By concluding all these factors, we will not deny to admit that Acme will produce the best results.

Omega is a highly decentralized, less formalized and less specialized organization. Even though the President is an expert of that field, he cannot be the only one to make all the credits. They believe that formal communication will act as a barrier against their work. Most of the time will be spent in assisting every employee to be certain of his duty in the organization. This will lead to a time of meeting demands. Their jobs are not guided by rules so they may have conflict about their real roles in the organization. As a result, their performance will be violated. They can be efficient but are not very effective.

In both his first and second evaluations, the professor strongly criticized Student A's answer. In his written comments he first questioned whether she had really answered the question ("We will not deny to admit that Acme will produce the best results"). On further consideration, he apparently changed his mind accepting the language, noting, "I suppose so but she does not say 'why'". In the later interview he explained that what he meant here was that some of her support (grounds) was either incorrect or irrelevant. For example, the text wrongly describes Acme as well integrated horizontally, and as having a "closed buffer system" (this notion is illogical, as buffers operate between the organization and the environment). Such problems also beset her argument against Omega. Again, inaccurate grounds (that time in meetings precludes good performance, and that Omega is efficient but not effective) show her misunderstanding of the situation. Furthermore, some of the grounds are irrelevant ("Acme are confident of their competitive power", and "the president of Omega is an expert in that field").

His main criticism, however, was that she had not stated the criteria by which she was judging the alternatives: "She's missed the "So what?" part -- how this support constitutes an argument for Acme". In Toulmin's terms, she had not adequately warranted her grounds on the basis of any theory or principle. Consequently, she failed to convince the professor of her ability to think in a manner valued by this community.

Her answer strongly suggests that writing for organizational behaviour is

not the same as writing for business. As noted earlier, according to Toulmin *et al* (and later confirmed by the professor), in business it is less common to state your warrants because they are generally organizational givens. In the context of the social sciences, however, when you are a university student trying to prove that you understand the concepts and can argue appropriately, it appears that if they are not specified in the question, you must state your warrants.

The professor's comment -- "Ho hum here we go again" -- on Student A's first sentence ("In order to predict either Acme or Omega will provide the best results, we need to summarize the characteristics of the two different organization structure"), is relevant to an evaluator's limits of time and effort. It is possible that his attitude was influenced by two considerations: first, as he explained, that the question did not require the student to summarize; secondly, that the surface errors signal that the text will not easily accessible, and consequently will require more effort.

STUDENT B

In the initial grading, Student B's entire assignment three was graded as "5-ish"; part two, which follows, was later graded as 5-1/2 to 6:

> From all the given facts in the case analysis, it is likely that Acme Electronics will succeed. The reason being that Acme clearly establishes the responsibilities and tasks of all employees so that the jobs will be carried out thoroughly and efficiently. Consequently, timely production is avoided and the firm is able to keep up with the customer's demand. In comparison, Omega Electronics spends a considerable amount of time in meetings. Therefore, the firm is not capable of meeting delivery.

Although the answer contains a linguistically clear and appropriate claim, the rest of the answer contains three major problems. The first problem -- caused by lexical choice -- relates again to the expenditure of time and effort. The coordinator's written comment on this assignment when he first graded it was "not good - I did not understand the answer." The reason was the phrase "timely production". It can be argued, I suppose, that the professor might have figured out the student's intended meaning, either by guessing, or by continuing to read, using subsequent clues from the text. This suggestion, however, denies the social context within the student was writing. In academic writing, the burden of proof of mastery of knowledge rests with the student; the decision about the amount of time and effort spent rests with the professor.

Guessing might present problems in both areas. If, for example, he used a common definition -- opportune -- the meaning would not make sense in the

context. If he next tried attributing to "timely" a meaning more directly associated with the word itself - "on time", the phrase would still not make sense, as an organization is not likely to try to avoid punctual delivery. Given the context, however, and the clue that the student is obviously referring to time, the professor could simply slotted in the meaning that would make the best sense -- late. With this solution, the problem becomes more complicated, in that if the coordinator chooses to interpret the word in this way, he is, in fact, constructing a meaning opposite to what the student has actually said. The result is that it is he, not the student who is answering the question.

The second option is to continue reading in the hope that the meaning will become clear. In this text the professor's confusion only increased, with a misuse of the word "demands". Whereas, in a business context, "demand" usually carries the idea of "ongoing", this contract involved only one order. According to the professor, the precise word would have been "requirements". These two errors in lexical choice, which suggest the student's failure to learn the language of the community, appear to fit Shaughnessy's (1977) category of "messages which writers can't afford to send". They further support Santos' (1988) findings that professors regard lexical errors as the most serious. All students beginning a new discipline must learn the language of that community. For those with less of a background in the subtleties and nuances of language as for example, is generally the case with those whose first language is not English--those to whom "demands" and "requirements" seem indistinguishable in meaning, the task may at times seem insurmountable.

A third option -- giving up -- appears to have been his choice. Confused, he apparently stopped trying to interpret what she was trying to say.

The second weakness noted by the professor was the student's failure to explore why at Omega the coordination and communication were done through meetings rather than formalized systems. If a student wants to make this claim, she must at least attempt to support it. Nothing in the text, however, indicated that the time spent in meetings led to an inability to meet a production schedule; consequently, her grounds were inaccurate.

The professor's response to the third major problem casts light on the importance accorded warrants in the field of organizational behaviour. His discussion suggests that warrants should precede and be distinct from the grounds. Criticizing the placement of "efficiently", he commented that it should have appeared nearer the first of the sentence, where it would have "located her argument". Before assessing the grounds, he needs to know the nature of the argument that the student is making, ie, the warrant for the grounds she is offering. Without that warrant, he is unsure of the relevance and appropriateness of her grounds. Perhaps, too, having to wait to discover the nature of her argument increases the effort he must make in evaluating the answer. When asked what his evaluation would have been had the student stated, near the beginning, that

what was needed was an efficient organization, he said that in that case her argument would have been much more acceptable: "It's what I would expect in a good answer." In argument, as is decision-making, the criteria on which the decision will be made must be established before the argument can proceed; ie, the warrant must be clear.

Nor was it enough for her to place it in the grounds, at the end of the sentence -- theoretically, a position of emphasis. Perhaps what is required is that it appear at the beginning to signal the stance the student has adopted toward an organizational situation, the interpretive framework that she will use in her argument. As it will serve as a given in the rest of her argument, it must be placed near the beginning to provide coherence to what follows. Thus, at the end of the sentence, it may violate the "given-now" order. By putting it at the end, the student may have signalled that the criterion for judging the company was not part of the central warrant, but that the information was secondary, or part of the grounds. Studies of reading structure (Meyer, 1975), suggest that sentence-initial information is more likely to be recalled than information in sentence-final position. It is possible, given the good reader's strategies of prediction, that he did not even see it.

It is also possible that in its adverbial form -- "efficiently" -- the warrant was made even less accessible than it would have been as the noun "efficiency". Perhaps the combination of these factors -- having the warrant at the end of a sentence, following some of the grounds, and in an unexpected syntactic form -- made it impossible for him to view it as a warrant.

STUDENT C

In contrast to the first two assignments, the one by Student C received a very favourable response in the initial evaluation. The professor, commenting, "Very good" gave it a score of eight out of ten. Part two, which follows, was later graded "6".

> The major concern on this case is which company can produce one hundred prototypes within the stated period, so the major goal here is fast production. In this case, it does not concern about output level and external environment. Internal efficiency is more important. Inside Acme, coordination and communication between departments would be a problem. When problem occurs, it would take time to solve. On the other hand, inside Omega, each department has better communication with others and departmental activities mesh with one another to have high productivity. Omega would take the advantage of internal organizational health and efficiency. So I think Omega would produce the best results.

The argumentative structure of this answer fits the template put forward by Toulmin *et al* -- the "standard procedures" for resolving an issue. As the professor put it, the student "locates his argument" in the first sentence by stating the criterion he will use in making his decision ("fast production, not output or volume") as well as the key characteristic (the concept of "internal efficiency") through which the company will achieve that goal. Thus, before stating the grounds of his argument, the student has established his warrant. It is noteworthy that in this answer, the concept part of the warrant appears as the subject of its own sentence, in the form of a noun. The student then assesses each of the two alternatives in terms of its ability to achieve this goal, providing grounds for his claim ("So I think Omega would produce the best results") warranted by the concept of efficiency and the criteria selected. In the initial grading, the professor gave this assignment eight out of ten, noting that this part was "very good" but criticizing two other sections of assignment.

His attitude changed in the more focused and detailed interview, where he found several weaknesses. First, he noted the lack of support (grounds) for the claim that "when problem occurs, it would take time to solve".

The next criticism, however, far more striking and significant, suggests that a well-formed argument can compensate not only for inadequate grounds, but also for an incorrect claim. Having established the warrant of 'efficiency', the student went on to claim that Omega, not Acme, would produce the best results. Yet Acme is the efficient organization, Omega the effective one.

As the reason why the professor failed to see the error, I would like to propose the nature of the student's argumentation. The professor is accustomed to seeing arguments in a particular format. This text, which closely matches the familiar genre, enabled him not only to fill in an information gap, but also to reconstruct what was actually there to suit his expectations. Because of his prior knowledge of the structure of an acceptable argument, he was led to believe that his expectations of content would be fulfilled.

The professor did, in fact, regard this as a very plausible explanation of what happened. Reading is, after all, an interactive process, with the reader making predictions about what will appear in the text. I would hazard a guess that this professor is not alone, that other evaluators of student papers have practised strategic reading of this sort -- reaching conclusions based on prior knowledge of content and organization. Schema theory tells us that discourse organization -- the global features of discourse -- facilitates comprehension, that the rhetorical organization of a text interacts with the schemata or prior knowledge of the reader to help her create meaning out of that text.

One contributing factor to his strategic reading might again involve the time and effort he felt he would have to spend on a text by a second language writer. Once the argumentative structure was so clearly highlighted, and the initial content deemed correct, he may not have troubled to read thoroughly the less

accessible grounds. Indeed, it is possible that he stopped reading anything after "Inside Acme", which begins the sentence immediately following the warrant.

These data suggest particular connections between the nature of the argumentation and the evaluation of student writing. For one thing, it appears that in an introductory course in organizational behaviour, if it is not specified in the prompt, an acceptable argument includes a statement of the chosen criteria as well as the concept being applied to the given situation, as well as an explanation for the selection of that concept. The argumentative structure may further require that, in order for the writer to locate his argument, the warrant both precede the grounds and be explicitly signalled as distinct from such grounds, thus enabling the grader easily and efficiently to assess their relevance and appropriateness. A well-formed argument may require that the concept be realized in its own sentence, perhaps even in a particular syntactic form. It may also be the case that insofar as the student must convince the professor that she is reasoning according to the values of the discipline, the claim may be less important than the grounds and warrant.

From the data, it also appears that the warrant is what determines the relevance of any grounds offered in support of a claim. In her argument for Acme's predicted success, Student A wrote that Acme was confident of its ability. Because the concept or warrant of efficiency does not include the notion of confidence, her grounds were considered irrelevant to the argument.

If, as rhetoricians tell us is the case, this "mode" of reasoning is not limited to organizational behaviour, or even to business, but is shared by other disciplines such as science and law, what implications do these preliminary results hold for us as EAP/ESP teachers?

For one thing, since it appears that there are mistakes our students *can* afford to make, especially if they occur within a well-reasoned answer, this study suggests that we prioritize. Instead of concentrating on errors that offend our English teachers' perceptions of accuracy and grammaticality, we might more profitably spend our time and energy on the errors that a student cannot afford to make -- on errors that put evaluators in a situation where they have to do the work of the student.

But more importantly, what we are discussing here is what criteria this professor actually applied in evaluating the students' responses to the task. What he was, in fact, grading was the degree to which the argumentative nature of each of their texts matched the genre with which he is familiar. This judgment was also influenced by the accessibility of the text. In the first evaluation, Student C's answer, which most closely approximated that genre, received the highest grade. Student B's response, which matched his expectations less closely, and in which language obstructed the meaning, received a score of "5-ish" (5 to 5 1/2). Student A, whose answer looked least like the familiar genre, scored "5". Yet in the second evaluation, the scores were within one mark of one another.

Student C was lucky; for some reason, he was able more closely to match the expectations of his evaluator for an acceptable argument. Student B was less lucky, though perhaps she had understood the situation as well as Student C. Student A was the least lucky of all: perhaps unaware that she had failed to answer the question, 'Why?', she was even less able to create an acceptable rhetorical solution to the problem.

It appears that their grades depended less on their ability to complete the conceptual task than on their ability to argue acceptably -- to construct a rhetorical solution that matched what the evaluator had in mind. In one interview, Student A captured the essence of the student's task when she said, "It's easy to get an A if you can read through the mind of the professor."

Thus the task facing these three students, and many others like them, in numerous disciplines, is to learn to resolve an issue. Yet the successful resolution must be displayed through "standard procedures" which are by no means standard in either our textbooks or our classrooms, where the focus so often is on the typical modes of organization, such as comparison/contrast, cause/effect, and chronology, instead of the nature of argumentation.

Students who do not understand what Shaughnessy (1977b) termed "rituals and ways of winning arguments in academia" have great obstacles to overcome in their efforts to succeed at university. This task is perhaps even more difficult for second language students. If so, then for us in EAP is becomes even more important that we attend to the calls of scholars such as Maimon (1983) and Bizzell (1982) to make academic discourse more accessible than is currently the case. Our classroom can provide students with materials and activities that require them to engage in conceptual and rhetorical tasks similar to those required at university. Like content classes, our classrooms can provide issues that need resolving, and a perspective on how such issues are argued and resolved within the various disciplines. We need to make explicit the nature of argumentation -- the web of conventions and assumptions -- that has until now remained largely tacit.

To achieve this goal we need the results of studies on the nature of argumentation in the various discourse communities, as well as greater collaboration with our colleagues in other fields. We will all benefit -- ourselves, our colleagues, and our students. As teachers of writing, we will benefit not only from our expanded awareness of the universe of discourse, but also from the knowledge that we have helped initiate our students into the rites they must learn if they are to succeed in academe.

For our colleagues, the advantages may include a more conscious awareness of what they value and therefore expect their students to be able to do. If, in turn, they make more explicit to their students what is expected, they may well find their students more able to match such expectations. And finally they may appear to be less diligently "guarding the tower" (Bizzell, 1982). Perhaps what is sometimes perceived as the mystification of academic expectations is really the lack of explicit-

ness that derives from not having had to articulate to non-members of the community just what the evaluative criteria are. If we ask, we may find an enthusiastic response to our questions.

For our students, the benefit can be a forum for the development of the skills necessary to their growth as individuals and to their success in the academic community, in order that they might participate more fully and more successfully in the intellectual enterprise.

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AREA STUDIES AND LANGUAGE TEACHING - A PRACTICAL APPROACH

Karl Koch

INTRODUCTION

The Treaty of Rome, which marked the birth of the European Economic Community, was the first step towards the frontier-free Europe which is to be implemented with the harmonization of the member states in 1992. The creation of this large market, with its emphasis on providing common regulations and systems in the social, economic, industrial and business sphere, to name just some examples, has already had profound effects on European educational thinking.

As might be expected it has been particularly the business community, with its awareness of an integrated market of around 320 million consumers available to them in 1992, which has provided impulses for innovation and change. A key issue has been the provision within the educational system of the training and qualifications for the future managers within the Member States of the Community.

The concept of 'Business Studies' has played a central role in formulating educational strategies, from the secondary to the tertiary sector, in respect to producing a 'Euro-manager'. The terms 'Business Studies' or 'Management Studies' have no clear definition; they are subjects consisting of a conglomarate of multi- and interdisciplinary subjects which may be combined in many different ways. Thus applied business economics, business or commercial law, marketing, financial management, business policy, information systems, personnel studies and numerous other subjects may all be offered to varying degrees(1).

What is common to those courses which clearly aim at a trans-national objective in the education and training of managers, or managerial skills, is the inclusion of a language component. Britain has seen a noticeable increase in the tertiary and continuing education sectors concerned with providing courses which have an international perspective; central to this approach is an understanding of the institutions, cultures and languages of other countries.

The thrust of the language component has not been exclusively in the direction of acquiring and expanding oral and written skills, but in placing the language skills in a relevant cultural framework. It is this aspect that I wish to explore in this paper, in particular the paper aims at discussing the relationship

between language teaching within the context of the broader aims to which reference has been made; that is the area studies input. To illustrate how these elements, language teaching goals and area studies, might be integrated, a concrete example will be drawn on from German and one aspect of business studies, namely industrial relations.

Let me first clarify what I take to understand by area studies.

AREA STUDIES

From the historical point of view the relationship between the acquisition of language ***skills*** and the totality of the language experience has not always been implicitly recognised; the traditional attitude of a "reading knowledge" for purposes of literary or other studies is a legacy dating back to the genesis of language studies as an academic discipline. However, even at this early stage in the evolution of languages as a field of study the process of osmosis between the language element and the literary element began to erode the rigid demarcation lines and lead towards approaches of, at the very least, a multi-disciplinary nature. The German concept of ***Philologie*** embodies the multi-dimensional endeavour in the field of language study with its reference to the study of literary texts, its wider applicability to the study of culture and civilisation through texts and its roots in the scholarly study of the ancient Greco-Roman civilisations.

The methodological basis of such approaches formed the framework for the study of language and culture which emerged in the nineteenth century in the British world of learning. It is not the purpose, interesting though this would be, to trace the historical line to the establishment of *Germanistik* as a discipline, but merely to note that there is such a line. *Germanistik* introduced the concept of German culture, in its broadest sense, into the academic sphere and thereby diverged from the literary based study of the German language and included such subjects as, for example, history. The term culture in this context is difficult to define and its semantic definitions are complex but for purposes of this paper Robins definition is useful. -

> "The term is taken from the technical vocabulary of anthropology, wherein it embraces the entire way of life of members of a community in so far as it is conditioned by that membership. It is manifest that in such a conception of culture language is a part thereof, and indeed one of the most important parts, uniquely related to the whole by its symbolic status."(2)

According to this definition it is self-evident why *culture* became a central notion for the concept of *Germanistik* but, perhaps, we are already looking far ahead, from the nineteenth century, to the contribution of contemporary linguistics.

What does need to be emphasised is that *Germanistik* was very much the response to the socio-cultural constellations of its time; language study as related to the ethos and necessities of the nineteenth century. If this premise is accepted then the origins and nature of *Landeskunde*, that is the German notion of Area Studies, can be interpreted as partly a demand from the language acquisition side for a contemporary initiative and partly from the deep socio-cultural changes which have occurred since the end of the second world-war. Area studies understood in this way removes the acerbic debate of literature versus area studies; indeed this debate has always misunderstood the dynamism inherent in the pedagogies of language studies. Advanced language skills have always been taught and acquired through presenting the student with a broad, diverse and multi-rooted disciplinary approach. If, and when, some of these strands become cohesive, systematic and analytically manipulative then one can identify a new approach, as, for example, was the case with *Germanistik*.

The impetus towards the development of area studies are to be found in the establishment of the post-war industrial society. Not only was this society rapidly moving away from the pre-war values and structures, but accelerating towards new demands in many and varied economic, political and social spheres; the value, relevance and significance of languages to this society was one aspect. The earlier humanistic tradition, which argued that a country's literature provided an analysis of that culture, needed to be expanded and supplemented to incorporate their socio-cultural advances.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the technological universities and polytechnics with their awareness, not only of scientific and technological significance for the societal framework, but also their willingness to be innovative, should be the focal point in Britain for the development of the area studies approach.

Recognizing and understanding that the traditional base of language courses, the literature and culture tradition, had to be extended was, perhaps, the first step in identifying the problem areas. The issue was frequently clouded because many academics regarded the move from literary topics to non-literary topics in terms of students disenchantment with the traditional approach, thus causing a schism between the new and the traditional. The protagonists failed to understand that an evolutionary process was at the root of the dilemma; language, in its broadest sense, was being extended by the societal developments. Literature and language were not in a cul-de-sac but were branching out into wider and newer areas to facilitate the acquisition of contemporary language skills.

The nascent stage of a move towards area studies was marked by experimental mixes of disciplines leading to a variety of multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches. Politics, economics, sociology, literature, history and geography were all thrown into the arena and immediately confronted student

and teacher with the problem of how substantive the conceptual and theoretical basis of these subjects could be under such conditions. This was a pertinent and necessary debate and lead as a matter of course to the central question of what role the language teacher should take in these new developments.

The debates, taking place in Britain, the USA, France and Germany, concerning the status and role of area studies, served the useful function of focusing attention on the integrative nature of the problem. What disciplines were used, and in what particular combinations, were, perhaps, left to individual curriculum requirements the only assumption being that:

> "It is a key tenet of area studies that no disciplinary perspective is rejected *a priori* from a course programme. In these problem-centred courses, disciplines are applied selectively, rather than defended vigorously and each can be a prism through which to study some part of the reality of a contemporary national reality and its language"(3).

This illuminates the integrative approach to area studies but does not define what elements each individual approach must possess before it can qualify for the term 'area studies'. There are, in my opinion, a number of criteria which, from the pragmatic point of view, provide useful guidelines:

1. An area studies subject must contain pertinent factual information for the relevant language area. Information which is so selected that it is meaningful for understanding the socio-cultural problems and structures of that area.
2. The factual dimension must be presented in a *systematic* and structured manner; this implies that there must be a progression. An example might be where history forms the base of subsequent courses which lead to an examination of the socio-political features of a language area.
3. Area studies should have the aim of providing an analytical instrument for understanding a particular language area. It enables the student to dissect the complexities, to understand the structures and to integrate himself in the *Zielkultur* of the foreign language he is acquiring.
4. Finally, area studies must be aware of its role as an intimate partner, not just a corollary, for the language teaching element. It deliberately has the task of providing and extending technical registers and embedding its content in the approriate contextual environment of the target language.(4)

There may be disagreement concerning the criteria, but the case for approaching the teaching of languages within the business context, as set out at the beginning of this paper, on the basis of a link between language and the business element is, surely strengthened.

How then should integration between the language and area studies proceed?

INTEGRATION MODEL

I assume that there is general agreement that it is pedagogically desirable to aim at courses where language and area studies are integrated. I would not wish to argue that this is appropriate for every course or at every level of language acquisition but that there are stages, certainly at the tertiary level, where this objective should be a logical conclusion. As has been argued, the term *'Area Studies'* can be regarded as one which designates a subject which has a disciplinary genesis: politics, history, economics or industrial relations, for example, and deals with its subject matter in a systematic, as well as an analytical manner and has a defined linguistic aim. Language students are consequently faced with specialised registers; the problems associated with acquiring a specific terminology but set in the relevant 'cultural' framework.

West German Industrial Relations, which I will be discussing, as an area studies contribution should, therefore, be part of a cohesive course structure and not an arbitrarily added option. I would like to emphasise this point: The success of a truly integrated language and Business Studies course depends on whether the individual elements composing a course are defined by a rationale, and ultimately whether or not some fusion is achieved. I am aware that the desired model may not be realised because of constraints, particularly staffing and resources. There is, of course, no *one* correct model; again institutions will have a variety of answers to specific design problems and what significance the different components of a course are to be given. I offer one suggestion of an integrated model which might be of interest. Fig. I represents an attempt to demonstrate how the diverse demands from language, area studies and the special subject, ie business studies, may be fused. Central to this model is the language core, regarded as the binding element between area studies and the special subject, in this case business studies.

A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE: WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

West German Industrial Relations offers a number of cogent reasons for inclusion in German and Business Studies courses. It is, of course, a subject that finds a rightful place after introductory courses on the area studies side and after students have attained a sufficient level of oral and written competence in the German language. A German history course, an introduction to the West

German political system and a course which has dealt with post-war economic development of West Germany are possible pre-requisites.

Depending on the particular mix of the Business Studies course, the Management Science course, the Business Administration course or the International Management Course, students may also have had systematic introductions to personnel management, industrial relations, labour economics or other relevant areas.

The reasons why West German Industrial Relations are so pertinent for students of German and Business Studies are, as indicated, manifold. The obvious one is that it offers an insight and understanding of German industry and commerce which contributes towards an explanation of the West German economic performance in the post-war period. There may be controversy over the magnitude of industrial relations as a factor of national prosperity but there is agreement, from the international industrial conflict statistics, that West Germany has benefited from very low incidence of industrial conflict compared with most European countries.

However, industrial relations also provide the student of German and Business Studies with the opportunity of extending his understanding of the historical factors germane for an analysis of contemporary Germany, the structure, organisation and management of commercial and industrial undertakings and the essence of personnel management.

It, therefore, provides a bridge between the knowledge and expertise acquired from the Business Studies component and the data from the German area studies programme. But over and above this, it is the German language which provides the fabric for this bridge and which allows the students to compare and contrast the *content*, the *substance* and the *concepts* he is required to assimilate.

It also allows broader societal questions to be included, such as for example the West German attitude towards conflict and the efficacy of West German democracy at grass root levels. Thus industrial relations, as a field of study in this context, need not only fulfil a pragmatic purpose, but can be used to extrapolate questions relevant for West German society in general.(5)

A further point is that many German and Business Study courses include a period abroad, frequently this is spent in an industrial or commercial work placement. Project reports, or dissertations, in German often form part of a degree course and the linkage between this and the work placement needs no emphasis. In my own institution, and elsewhere where I have externally examined, industrial relations and management topics related to specific company placements have resulted in first class pieces of work.

COURSE DESIGN: WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Applying the principles of the area studies criteria discussed earlier a course design for West German industrial relations might operate with the following objectives in mind:

1. A systematic subject approach;
2. The presentation of data;
3. An analytical dimension;
4. Specialist terminology, and the manipulation of the language within the context of the registers of the Area Studies option.

There is, as far as the design of a course for West German Industrial Relations is concerned, a crucial decision to be made. The term industrial relations, translated as *Der Terminus industrielle Beziehungen*, has an alien connotation in the German language and for German Social Scientists. Despite the fact that Ralf Dahrendorf in his work *'Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland'*(6) used the formulation *'Industrielle Beziehungen'* in 1965 and the attempt of Walther Müller-Jentsch in his book *'Soziologie der industriellen Beziehungen'*(7), published in 1986, who made a strong case for this term to be used, it is not universally accepted by German Social Scientists; Dahrendorf and Müller-Jentsch were, of course, both influenced by the British School of industrial relationists.

The equivalents of industrial relations in German include: *Arbeitgeber - Arbeitnehmer-Beziehungen, Sozialpartnerschaft, Austauschbeziehungen zwischen Kapital und Arbeit* and even *Arbeitsmarktparteien und Sozialkontrahenten*. Apart from the ideological connotations implied in some of these designations it is difficult to regard any of them in the sense of a German *Wissenschaftsdisziplin'*. Indeed, from the German perspective, *Industrielle Beziehungen* can only be regarded as an umbrella concept for such recognized disciplines as *Arbeitsrechts, Betriebssoziologie, Betriebswirtschaftslehre, Industriesoziologie*, etc.

If, then, industrial relations were to be taught from a predominantly German perspective, it would be of a cross-disciplinary nature as, indeed, is the case in many courses in the United Kingdom. Some of the central contemporary issues, such as unemployment and collective bargaining, become part of an economics course or the important subject of co-determination is included in an analysis of German society, often based on a sociological approach. The other alternatives, from this perspective, is either a thematic or problem-orientated treatment.

It would be my contention that there are cogent reasons for designing an industrial relations course on the basis of the principle that national industrial

relations can be identified as *systems*, and therefore, structured on a systematic and cohesive basis. Firstly, from the students point of view one would move from the familiar, the known, towards new areas, a procedure that, in pedagogic terms, is beneficial for the learning process, particularly when courses are conducted in the target language as it provides a confident basis on which to build.

Secondly, a course can be designed which has an internal logic, a developmental line and progression to which the learner can relate. Thirdly, for the language student wishing to acquire the practical know-how needed for business, industry and commerce many of the most significant concepts in the industrial relations field can only be fully understood in a context which has been systematically evolved. To give one example here, how would one explain the complexities of the phrase: *Allgemeinverbindlichkeitserklärung eines Tarifvertrages*? The possible translation: statement of a collective agreement to be generally binding, provides, at the best, a crude guideline for understanding this formulation. I suggest that where the aim of degree courses is to produce graduates who are to be linguistically ***active*** in the world of commerce and industry as, perhaps, negotiators, exporters and managers, simple translations of such specialised terminologies is not sufficient.

What is required is a full and deeper understanding, set in the proper context and linked to other relevant areas. This can only be achieved through systematic and directed study.

In addition, a course on West German Industrial Relations should address itself to those questions which are specifically generated from a British perspective if the course is taught in Britain. Examples abound: Why are strikes so infrequent? Why are there so many industrial agreements at regional level? Why are there no sectional conflicts in German industry? Why does co-determination play such a central role?

It is not the vague explanations provided by 'cultural' differences that provide answers, but the analysis that can only be found through a methodical approach. Contemporary writings on Germany in general, and industrial relations in particular, are still peppered with explanatory statements on industrial relations issues in terms of 'collective discipline' or 'deep-rooted' authoritarian attitudes in German society. The area studies specialist and the language teacher have the task to demolish these mythologies and replace them with conclusions derived from the systematic approach for which I am arguing.

COURSE CONTENT: WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The content is partly determined from the systems framework and allows coverage of the subject in detail, a high density of specialist terminology and in-depth analysis. My assumption is based on a combination of lectures and seminars, in German, say, two hours per week, running over two or three academic terms. There is, of course, no rigid rule; one could imagine a perfectly sensible and useful course over one term.

A possible suggested outline might be:-

(a) The German labour movement;
(b) Trade Unions in West Germany;
(c) Trade Union Organisation and Role;
(d) Employers' Associations;
(e) Plant level industrial relations;
(f) Works Councils;
(g) Collective bargaining;
(h) Co-determination.

Such a scheme moves from a historical introduction of the German labour movement, which allows a discussion of the pertinent historical predispositions for the West German system, to the major actors within that system and finally the relationship between them. Co-determination, a specific form of worker participation, with a long historical evolution, occupies a central role as it provides explanations for the remarkable industrial peace which has been such a major feature of the West German industrial relations environment. It also enables students to examine the role of management structure and, finally, poses significant questions concerning industrial and political democracy in West Germany.

Fig. II places the course content into the overall framework of the systems approach and Fig. III demonstrates how collective bargaining, one aspect within the general framework, can be tackled. The sophistication and specialisation of the terminology thus acquired by the student of German becomes self-evident.

COURSE MATERIAL

A very brief statement concerning course material. There is, in fact, very little available in German which elucidates the 'systems' approach. *Muller-Jentsch* and *Wolfgang Streek*(8) go some way towards it.

However, there is a great deal of material concerned with labour law, trade

unions, employers, crafts, labour history, the economics of collective bargaining, etc. A word of caution. Much of this material, particularly on trade unions, is written from a strong ideologically biased base. Providing texts and sources are balanced, this can form an extremely useful starting point for seminar programmes. For instance a discussion on the role of trade unions in the Federal Republic might use: *Norbert Blum's, Gewerkschaften zwischen Allmacht und Ohnmacht*(9) and *Walter Breum u.a., Die Gewerkschaften der BRD*(10), the former by the Labour Minister of the FRG and the latter by a Socialist Study Group.

Indeed one of the great advantages, from the point of view of availability of material, is that the major interest groups in the industrial relations arena provide excellent material, ranging from statistics to policy statements; usually this is gratis. It provides invaluable material for the student, as well as, the teacher of German.(11)

CONCLUSIONS

There would, I suspect, be general agreement that industrial relations, management and related fields, are essential for an understanding of West German society. I would favour, as I have indicated, a solution to the methodological and conceptual problems of teaching a course on West German Industrial Relations, in German, within a *'systems'* framework.

For the British student, with his knowledge and background of his indigenous and very ideosyncratic industrial relations systems, the superficial appeal of the highly structured, legalised West German system should be modified to provide a clear and analytical perception.

I would deem the approach which I have outlined to you, a success if students had assimilated the appropriate terminology, and an understanding of West German industrial relations in terms of a highly centralised system which exhibits a complex and sophisticated approach to the resolution of industrial conflicts via cooperative modes of regulation.

The example, which I have described, can be used as a model for many more language and area studies combinations; the essential principle of area studies and language integration has tremendous possibilities and I hope that I succeeded in stimulating interest in its development.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *See LISTON, D and Reeves, N. 1985. Business Studies, Language and Overseas Trade. London: MacDonald and Evans.*

2 *ROBINS, R H. 1965. General Linguistics, An Introductory Survey,. London: Longmans. p. 29.*

3 *CHAFER, T and Findlay, P. 1984. Cracking the Cultural Code in the Times Higher Educational Supplement.*

4 *Full Discussion of Area Studies in K Koch. (ed) 1988. Area Studies and Language Teaching. University of Surrey and Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, Guildford.*

5 *For Discussion of Industrial Relations: K Koch. 1989. West German Industrial Relations in K Koch (ed), West Germany Today. London: Routledge.*

6 *DAHRENDORF, R. 1966. Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland, R Piper. Munchen.*

7 *MULLER-JENTSCH, W. 1986. Soziologie der Industriellen Beziehungen. Campus, Frankfurt/New York.*

8 *STREEK, W. 1984. Industrial Relations in West Germany. London: Heinemann.*

9 *BLÜM, N. 1980. Gewerkschaften Zwischen Allmacht und Ohnmacht. Bonn Aktuell.*

10 *BREUM, W. u a. 1981. Die Gewerkschaften der BRD. VSA. Hamburg.*

11 *Figs 1, 2 and 3 and the West German Industrial Relations example were also Presented at 'German and Business Studies' Seminar Series, Goethe Institute, London, 1987-1989.*

PROPOSED MODEL : GERMAN AND BUSINESS STUDIES

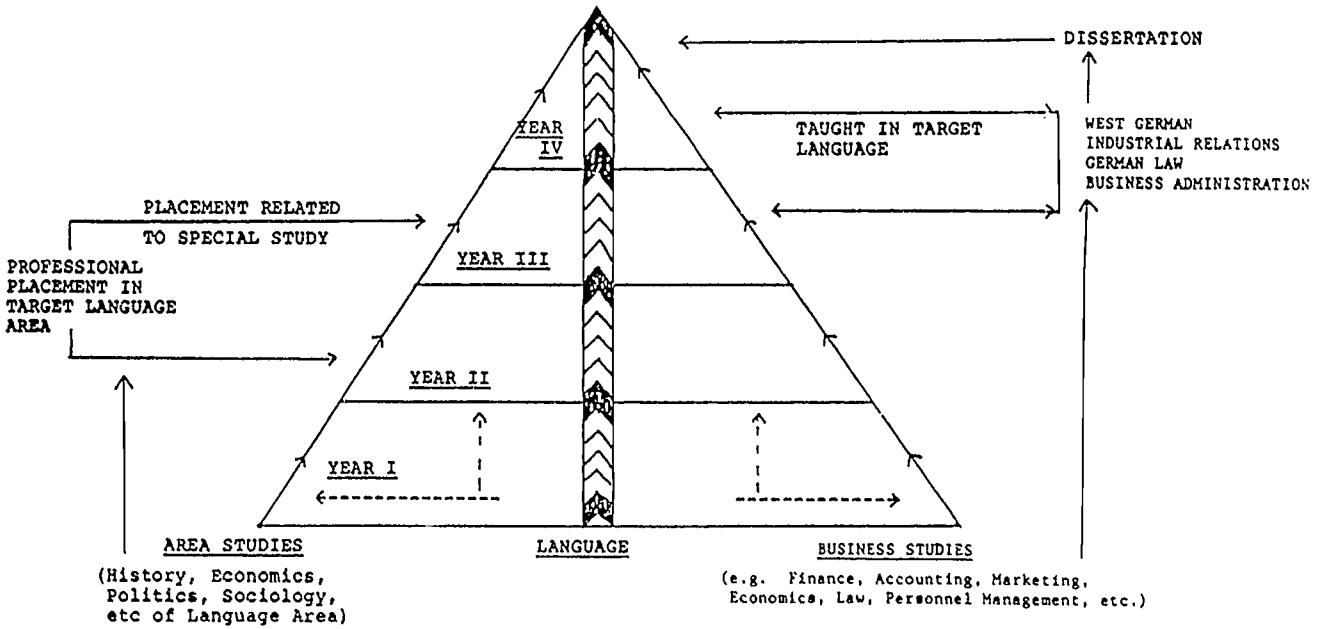

FIG. I.

SYSTEM DER INDUSTRIELLEN BEZIEHUNGEN

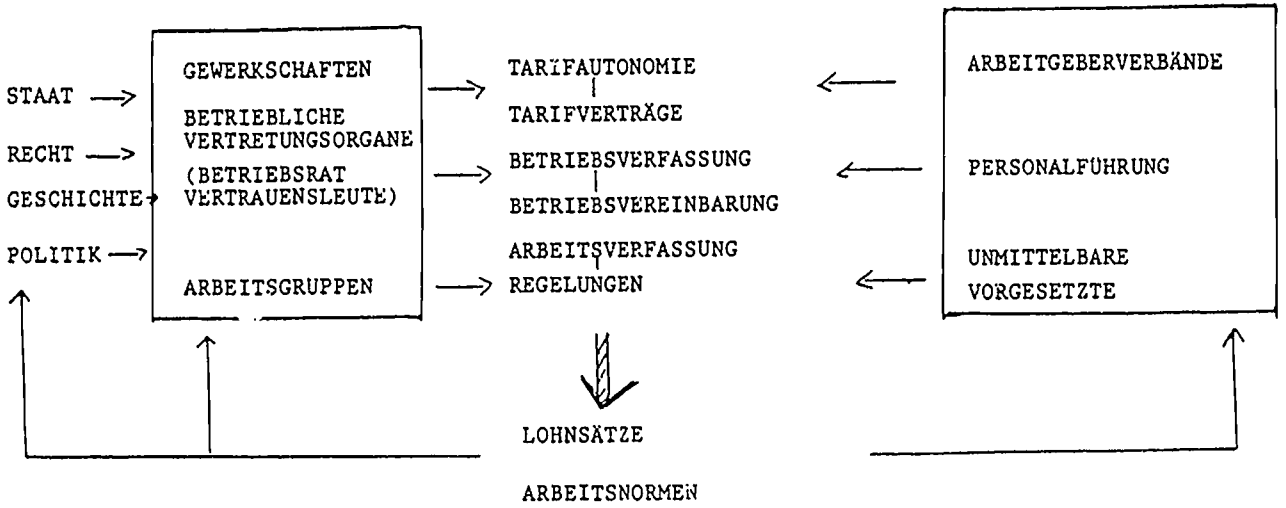

FIG II

TARIFVERHANDLUNG

Tarifvertragsgesetz - 25.9.1969

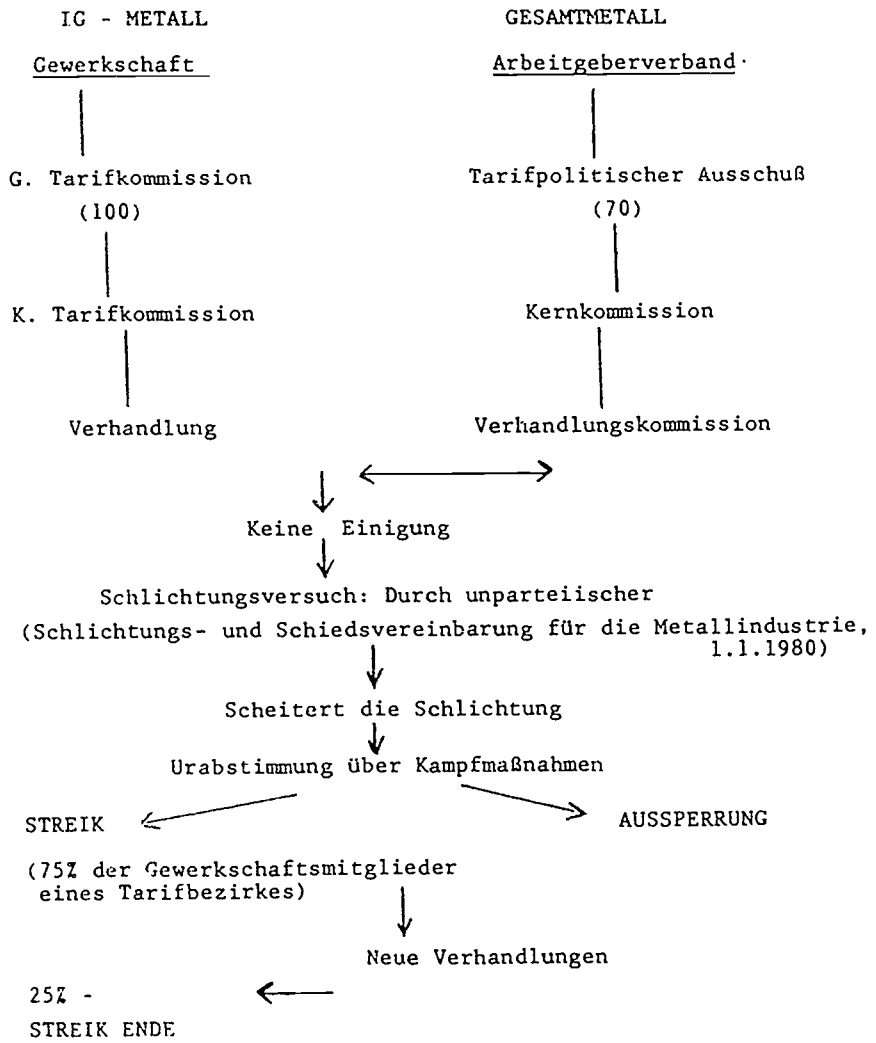

FIG III

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CRITICAL PRACTICE

David Birch

The critical study of language is a study not just of the structures of language and texts, but of the people and institutions that shape the various ways language means. In a functional theory of language, analysts are not just interested in *what* language is, but *why* language is; not just in *what* language means, but *how* language means. In the critical linguistics that has developed since the mid-1970s, the assumption is that the relationship between the form and content of texts is not arbitrary or conventional, but that it is determined (and constrained) culturally, socially and ideologically by the power of institutional/discursive formations. The choices and selections that producers of text therefore make from the system of language are principled choices, instituted by social, messy, 'real' worlds of discourse, not by idealised abstract worlds. The structures - the forms - of language do not pre-exist social and cultural processes; they are not encoded in some sort of psychological imprint. The forms, and hence meanings, of language are shaped and determined by institutional forces. Analysis of text, therefore, according to this way of thinking, is analysis of ideologically loaded structures and meanings, not of innocent, arbitrary, random structures. Answering the question of how texts mean therefore answers the question of how institutions mean. This is therefore analysis of language which is concerned with discourse as process, not with language as idealised product.

The critic and theorist Paul Ricoeur, amongst others, argues that structuralist linguistics excluded too many important aspects of language phenomena, most importantly the *act* of speaking, that is, language as performance (Ricoeur, 1981). Analysis of texts that marginalises language as meaningful activity therefore marginalises the primary aim of language, which is to say something about something to someone, in order to *do* something. Ricoeur's hermeneutics, that is, his theory of linguistic interpretation, is consequently discourse-based because discourse is realised in 'real' time and is always about something and someone and, as a consequence, 'refers to a world which it claims to describe, to express, to represent'. (Ricoeur, 1981: 198) Discourse is also about interaction and exchange; about people, institutions, power and status; about relationships and differences. In such circumstances analysis of language becomes more than just an attempt to recover meanings: it is always interpretation, always criticism, always, as with the philosopher Martin Heidegger, a process of understanding

'discourse as projecting a world'. Texts have no fixed meanings, no centres of signification, no routes to closure. Analysing texts, therefore, is about interpreting language as meaningful action. It is a process of guessing and construing possible meanings, possible readings: it is a 'cumulative, holistic process', never right or correct, never completed, never closed:

> ... understanding has nothing to do with an immediate grasping of a foreign psychic life or with an *emotional* identification with a meaningful intention. Understanding is entirely *mediated* by the whole of explanatory procedures which precede it and accompany it. The counterpart of this personal appropriation is not something which can be *felt*, it is the dynamic meaning released by the explanation ... its power of disclosing a world.
>
> (Ricoeur, 1981: 220)

Critical linguists argue that it is through and with language that we classify and therefore make sense of such worlds. We therefore experience the world because of language. We do not relate *directly* to the world except through a mediating system of classifications and categorisations. These classifications differ from group to group, society to society, ideology to ideology. Analysis of the classifications of language is therefore analysis of ideologies. Structuralist linguistics and 'modernist' criticism have not for the most part, been concerned with such things because they have been concerned with idealised worlds, not 'real' worlds of discourse. Roger Fowler made the point some years ago that 'contemporary linguistics cannot be absorbed into criticism without real modification'. (Fowler, 1975a: 120) That modification rests firmly on a recognition that analysis of text - literary or otherwise - needs to treat text as discourse; needs, in Saussurean terms, to be *parole*-based. The resultant, re-oriented, linguistics needs to recognise that all texts are multi-levelled, multi-layered, multi-meaninged; that these meanings are not the sole property of the speaker/writer but are constructed and produced in communicative interaction; it needs to recognise the importance of 'real' discourse with its messiness and fuzzy edges; to be concerned with language as showing and doing, and not just with language as saying; to recognise that the judgements and choices we make in producing texts and making meanings are not arbitrary, but are institutionally and therefore ideologically determined; and that analysing language is analysing the process of making meanings in discourse.

Linguistic and literary analysis requires a curiosity about the way language works in discourse, and it is this curiosity that requires an analyst not simply to describe by using a series of grammatical and linguistic labels, but to probe the language. This probing requires a quite dramatic shift of attention away from the idea that meanings are contained *within* the words and structures towards explaining and understanding meanings constructed by all producers of language

writers/readers, speakers/hearers. What that means in effect is recognising from the beginning that when we are faced with analysis, for whatever reason, we need, in the first instance, to engage with (and I would suggest, reject) two assumptions:

1. that there is a meaning *in* a text 'put in' by a writer which has to be 'fished out' by the reader/hearer/critic/analyst in order for the interpretive process to take place
2. that a text can be treated as self-contained, a contextless artefact, a text 'in its own right'.

Central to this rejection is the crucial notion that analysing text is an activity which is concerned with understanding *how* a text means, not with *what* a text means, (cf. Belsey, 1980; Easthope, 1983; Norris, 1982, 1984).

Analysing *what* a text means implies a position that involves finding and extracting meaning(s) from a text; it is a 'search and remove' activity. This undertaking is based on theory that states that meanings have been 'put into' the text by the writer or speaker, and that it is the job of the reader/hearer/analyst/critic to discover them. It is effectively a static operation, and has produced over many years a wide variety of *formal* objective approaches, in which the personality, beliefs, background and biases of the *reader/critic* are considered not only irrelevant, but a positive hindrance to textual interpretation.

Analysing *how* a text means involves a much more dynamic activity, whose underlying theory suggests that meanings aren't simply 'put into' a text by a writer/speaker, but are constructed by the reader/hearer. That doesn't mean that the writer/speaker has nothing to do with the text - what it means is that the only way we have of constructing a reading for a text is through our *own* socially determined language as reader/hearer. In effect, that means each time a reader reads a text, a *new* text is created. Whose text is it? The writer/speaker's or yours? That of the editor of the book or yours? That of the performer in a poetry reading/play or yours? Whose voice are you when you are reading? Yours? Or the writer's? When you are attempting to make a text coherent - to understand how it means - what criteria do you use for discarding what you don't think necessary or relevant? Criteria developed by the writer or developed by you?

George Lukács, writing in 1936 and broadly following the theories of Karl Marx, argued for a recognition that the forms of literature (for example, the novel) do not change internally, that is, they do not change as a result of some autonomous force solely within the genre, but they change as a result of political, social and economic pressures brought to bear, for one reason or another, upon the genre.

Understanding the meanings of discourse, therefore, is a question of recog-

nising social, political and economic realities. But what constitutes reality'? Broadly speaking, a Marxist position, like the one established by Lukács, grounds social reality in a history of struggles centred upon class and systems of production, reflecting at any given moment a dialectical relationship between history and society. The capitalist society of 'modernistl' and post-modernist criticism in the west, has been founded on a base of exploitation, and as a consequence Marxist analyst of that society is effectively centred on conflict, of one form or another.

Pierre Macherey, following the Marxist position of Louis Althusser, developed a theory of reading the relationship of the literary text with a view that asserts that 'Literature "produces" ideology by writing it out.' (Forgacs, 1982: 148). In other words, this theory assumes that ideologies need a shape, a form, in which to exist. Conflict is therefore a part of the literary text, because 'literature challenges ideology by using it.' (Macherey, 1978: 133). This is a crucial point because it focuses not just on the status of literature, but also on the status of criticism. A traditional understanding of interpretation implies that a text has a coherent meaning that simply needs to be discovered by the critic. Macherey, Althusser and other contemporary critics, Marxist or not, would disagree and argue that meaning isn't located *within* the text, but is best understood in terms of its larger site of production:

> '... a true analysis does not remain within its object, paraphrasing what has already been said; analysis confronts the silences, the denials and the resistance in the object - not that compliant implied discourse which offers itself to discovery, but the condition which makes the work possible, which precedes the work so absolutely that it cannot be found in the work.'
>
> (Macherey, 1978: 150)

Central to this kind of thinking, then, is the analysis of ideology; and crucial to any understanding of ideology is the role of language.

Macherey did not develop this idea to any great extent, but the work of Mikhail Bakhtin/Valentin Voloshinov did. (Bakhtin used several of his friends' names in order to publish some of his work, which might have been published or banned if published under his own.)

The work of Bakhtin/Voloshinov, mostly written in the 1920s (Bakhtin/Voloshinov, 1930, 1968, 1973, 1981) has gained prominence in the 1980s, mainly through the work of Julia Kristeva (Kristeva, 1980) and Roger (Fowler, 1981). Roger Fowler in particular, together with many others now including Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge, Terry Threadgold, Deirdre Burdon, Michel Pecheux, Pierre Bourdieu, have been concerned with developing a critical practice concerned with ideology. The theory of language established in this critical practice rejects the neat dichotomies of structuralist linguistics and liter-

ary theory and argues that the text is a site for the 'negotiation of meanings': meanings that result from a range of other texts and contexts - other 'voices'. The text is the product of *social* interaction and intertextualities; the basic unit of language is interactive, *dialogic*, 'a two-sided act' (Bakhtin, 1973: 86). The 'sign' is multi accented *(heteroglossic)*, resulting in discourse as an 'arena of struggle' (Threadgold, 1986: 23). Ideology is thus defined as 'the material embodiment of social interaction' (Forgacs, 1982: 161), with the emphasis upon discourse, dialogue (see Bakhtin, 1981), and literature as practices rather than innocent expressions of social reality. The subject is therefore a social subject constituted by material forces - ideology - rather than by some form of rational consciousness.

What this therefore means for the analysis and interpretation of literary and non-literary language is that an analyst cannot make a statement about a particular idea *in* a text. What you can do is to make a statement about a particular idea that you have constructed *for* the text. You have to use your own language in order to get to the writer's, and in so doing you can never actually get to the writer's because your own language and the institutions which have created it get in the way. You cannot escape your own language, and you cannot stop using your own language in order to construct a reading of what you might consider to be someone else's text. What you construct is your own linguistic engagement with the text - your own language, which is itself constructed and determined by social, cultural, ideological and institutional forces - what Wittgenstein referred to in his definition of language as institutional being-able-to. The American literary critic and theorist, Harold Bloom, puts it this way: 'I only *know* a text, any text, because I know a reading of it, someone else's reading, my own reading, a composite reading.' (Bloom, 1979: 8)

This is a very important argument and one that stands against the idea that literature exists for its own sake - beyond a reader's experience of it. F W Bateson presents the other side of the argument, the one more familiar to the majority of traditionally-minded critics today, in his book *Essays in Critical Dissent*:

> As the *Mona Lisa* exists both within and outside the various reactions to it by visitors to the Louvre, so there is an objective *Hamlet*, behind our individual experiences of it, which enables us to say of a particular performance that it is wrong-headed or one-sided. (Bateson, 1972: 9-10)

But the question we need to ask is where is this objective *Mona Lisa* or *Hamlet*? Is it the one constructed by the painter/writer? When the Louvre is closed for the night, the galleries are in darkness and no one about, is the painting on the wall still the *Mona Lisa*, or does it require recognition as the *Mona Lisa* before it 'becomes' the *Mona Lisa*? Similarly for *Hamlet* - for any text. Do they exist

beyond people's experiences of them? If they do, as Bateson and others would argue, where do they exist, and in what form do they exist?

As language users we tend to assume that texts are designed to mean, and as a consequence we construct coherences for a text which may well have little or nothing to do with writerly design or intention. In an extremely interesting experiment in his book *Telling How Texts Talk* (McHoul, 1982) Alec McHoul designs an exercise that offers to readers what appears to be a fourteen-line poem by Pierre Reverdy. Each line is offered cumulatively and readers are asked to comment as the 'poem' develops. The results are an interesting collection of commentaries, all of which seek to make the text work coherently. In practice, the poem is a collection of the randomly chosen first lines of fourteen separate poems. Had the readers known that, their search for making the text coherent might well have taken quite different routes to the ones they took. My position is that we can never make our critical practice writer-centred because we can never recover the writer's language. We can only work with a construction - a reading formation based on differing institutional constructions and ideologies. We can therefore only ever talk about *readings*, not *writings*.

The consequences of this position are that your language, your background, biases, ideas, beliefs, politics, education, etc *determine* your understanding. But they are not invented by you as an individual. They are socially determined by the institutions and discursive practices that constitute the social networks you are involved in. Consequently, whatever you construct as a reading of a text is what you as reader/critic have created for that text, and it is the result of critical decisions that have been developed as an integral part of your background. They do not stand innocently and separately from who you are. As analyst you are not an archeologist digging out other people's words and ideas; you are a critic actively engaged in understanding your reaction to a text which has been initially created by someone else. Much as you might want to talk about that 'someone else' you can only ever talk about your reading, your intertextuality. And no matter how appropriate you think your reading to be, there is no way that you can make that reading the 'correct one' by implying or declaring it to be the same as the writer's.

As analyst and critic you are not a nameless and faceless explicator of someone else's meaning. You are involved in explaining how texts mean for *you* and no one else. And to do that requires that you are *known*.

This is a crucial idea and needs to be developed further, because *how* a text means, and who you are, isn't theory-less. The way you construct meanings for texts depends on the way you construct theories about the world - about realities.

There isn't a single theory of the way the world works, and, just as crucially and relatedly, there isn't a single theory of the way language means. Following on from some of the ideas of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, there is no such thing as *the* single meaning, *the* correct meaning, *the* right meaning.

There are many meanings associated with many theories of reality. And theories of reality are, like theories of language, a means of classification, a way of ordering the world. Different cultures, societies and individuals classify and understand the world in different ways and this recognition needs to be a crucial part of the thinking involved in a *dynamic* textual interpretation. It is this dynamic textual interpretation which has to be the way of the future, and in the context of this seminar, the development of language teaching methodology in the nineties and beyond. As readers/critics - as people living amongst other people - we make choices about the way we view the world, the way we classify, the way we order our lives, our political positions. These decisions are critical because we have made them - even if constrained and repressed by more powerful agencies than ourselves - from a position of choice. The 'rightness' of a decision, of an act of classifying something, of an idea about the world, is relative not to some inherent correct order for the world ordained somehow in nature, but to a theory, a position, a set of ideas, institutionally created and constructed. Put simply, there is nothing inherently correct or right about anything; there are levels of appropriateness relative to particular ideas, theories and systems of classifying.

I'll develop this a little further by looking at an example of a text from Michael Halliday (1976) which at first appearance might seem to have a single 'straightforward' meaning:

THE TEACHER TAUGHT THE STUDENT ENGLISH

One of the traditional ways that linguists have of understanding how a text means is by classifying its grammatical structures according to a form of labelling that has its semantic roots in classical Greek philosophy. So the functions of the principal structures of this text might be classified as

THE TEACHER	TAUGHT	THE STUDENT	ENGLISH
[subject]	[verb]	[indirect object]	[object]

The subject of the sentence - grammatically - is the teacher, though you might consider that the subject of the activity, supposing this text is describing a 'real event', is either the student (who is subjected to the teaching) or English (which is the subject being taught). Labelling the language in this way puts the teacher into a position of power - the teacher is the subject of the activity, that is, the process of teaching. The student is an object, like English, in the control of the teacher, and is not a part of the activity, but rather a passive receiver - in an indirect way - of an object, English. The grammatical classification of the elements of this text therefore suggests that these are not neutral, objective labels, 'simply' classifying an activity, but that they are a powerful means by

which to create a world - that of an unequal power relationship in which a teacher controls the means of gaining knowledge, the knowledge itself, and the recipient of the knowledge. Neither the student nor English are an active part of the process of teaching, but are passive participants in someone else's activity. In other words, the means of classification are not formal - innocent - tools, but are a powerful way of expressing a particular reality - one that, in terms of education, and, in many ways, of the world at large, privileges unequal power relations and accords high status to certain members of society. *How* this 'simple' text means depends on you recognising that its 'formal' grammatical classification of - *subject, verb, object* is integrally connected to a philosophy of the world, and that the use of this classification system is a *critical* decision that implies that the critic accords with this world view. In other words, if you as critic/analyst use this system, you are engaging in more than an innocent, objective, analytic process: you are expressing a particular ideology from which, in the use of these labels, you cannot escape.

How this text means is therefore not 'simply' a question of what the words mean, but how their functions and connections are perceived and classified by the reader/critic. This is a crucial point to understand if you are to engage at all with this type of critical practice and interpretation.

The traditional grammatical classification is not the only classification choice open to you, though. There is nothing 'in' this text which requires you to see it in that way. Classified as follows, the text becomes a different text with new meanings, new world view

THE TEACHER	TAUGHT	THE STUDENT	ENGLISH
[actor]	[material process]	[beneficiary]	[goal]

This, Halliday suggests, can be paraphrased as 'The teacher imparted English to the student'.

Classifying 'taught' as a material process indicates that something more than the idle labelling of a word is happening here. A material process implies that there is some sort of physical - material - action involved, so that teaching might be considered as a transaction, a handing over of a commodity to a recipient. If you see that recipient as a beneficiary then you are signalling that the act of receiving has benefits, though you are not normally saying what those benefits are. At least there is no foregrounding of an indirectness in the act of receiving, as there is in the first example. With this type of labelling comes a sense that the classifying of processes and participants involves a view of the world that is concerned with the apportioning of responsibilities. Here, the responsibility is on the teacher to give the best possible English, which is the goal of the activity. The prominent feature here is therefore 'English' rather than 'the student'. And in that sense this is quite different text from the one that has subjects and objects

even though the words may look the same.

Take another look at the sentence:

THE TEACHER	TAUGHT	THE STUDENT	ENGLISH
[actor]	[material process]	[goal]	[range]

This might be paraphrased as 'The teacher instructed the student in English'.

The process is still considered to be material, but the teacher is now doing something to the student rather than to the language. The student, rather than the language being taught, is the goal, so the process involved here has more to do with the person than with the commodity. English is seen as the range, or scope, of the activity of teaching, thus specifying more precisely the concerns of the process of teaching. The action is now directed at the student, though the role is still passive inasmuchas the student isn't doing anything. The teacher is still the person controlling the activity and the student is still manipulated by the teacher and controlled by the range of the activity. Is this the 'same' text as in the first two readings?

Another classification of the sentence might run as follows:

THE TEACHER	TAUGHT	THE STUDENT	ENGLISH
[initiator]	[material process]	[actor]	[range]

Paraphrased, this might read: 'The teacher caused the student to learn English'.

The student, as actor, is now the person *doing* something so that the purpose of the teacher is to initiate a process whereby the student learns. The process is still a material process as action is involved, and 'English' is still describing the range of this action, but unlike the first three readings the student is perceived, through the classification system itself as someone who is *actively* involved in the process of teaching, rather than as a passive receiver of a commodity.

So far we have moved from a classification system that puts all the power into the hands of a teacher to one that suggests teaching to be much more of an *interactive* process. There are, of course, pedagogical, social and political consequences in a critical practice that seeks to understand how language means in this way. The labels you choose reflect the ideology you espouse. They are not, as indeed no word is, innocent of ideological consequences. The last example should indicate this quite clearly.

THE TEACHER	TAUGHT	THE STUDENT	ENGLISH
[initiator]	[mental process]	[cognisant]	[range]

Paraphrased, this might read 'The teacher enabled the student to come to know

English'.

The process is now considered to be a *mental* process, not a material action one. This signals that the student now participates more fully in the process because it is the student's cognitive faculties that are involved, rather than the physical actions of the teacher. The student is foregrounded, but is still involved interactively with a teacher who initiates the process of learning. Learning is not now seen as the passive receiving of a commodity, but as a cognitive activity involving interaction between student and teacher. This places the student in a quite different political position than in the other four readings.

There are other classifications, other readings, other ways of articulating how this text means, but the point has been made, I think. There is no single text with a single meaning. Meaning is relative to ideology, and the way we classify a text as 'working' in a particular way says a great deal about the ideologies we are practising - consciously or otherwise. Analysis of how language means is therefore analysis about how the world means, how ideas and institutions mean. What we are involved in here is therefore a critical practice that is both *political* and *historical*. The decisions you make about how you classify language are political ones that accord with the way you see, and wish others to see, the world. This political act is not something that should be swept under the carpet; it should be recognised for what it is - a crucial, necessary and inescapable part of the interpretive process, and this it seems to me is the most crucial move that has to be made in developing language teaching methodologies for the nineties - recognition of the different ideologies involved in the classification systems we choose to incorporate into the classrooms and textbooks of linguistic and literary analysis, and more importantly deciding to demonstrate these different meaning options to students.

What we need to recognise therefore is that we are, or need to be, involved in a socially and politically oriented *explanation* of language relative to a range of views of 'how the world works' in many ways, ie in an explanation of social realities and ideologies - and not simply involved, as it so often the case at the moment, in a neutral description of how the world works in one single way. (See Kuhn, 1962). This form of analysis is therefore a *critical linguistics* (see Fowler *et al*, 1979; Fowler, 1986; and cf. Steiner, 1985; Frow, 1984; Birch, 1989; Fairclough, 1989; Birch, forthcoming 1990).

The relationship of ideology and meaning is something that has influenced a great deal of work in language and literature studies over the last twenty years or so, and many of the theoretical influences have come from disciplines like philosophy, sociology and political science (see Coward and Ellis, 1977; Burton and Carlen, 1979; Silverman and Torode, 1980; Fowler and Marshall, 1985; Frow, 1986; Kress, 1985a, 1985b, 1988c. It is important to realise how the face of textual analysis has changed, and continues to change, because of a commitment to ideas and beliefs which at one time would have been considered totally inap-

propriate for 'literary' analysts. This has resulted not only in a broadening of the theoretical and philosophical interests in language and literature studies, but also in a considerable widening of the range of texts people are looking at. This has come about, for the most part, because many analysts are no longer interested in simply studying a text 'for its own sake'. The choice of text is no longer constrained by a traditional literary canon because critical linguists have an interest *beyond* the text. This move, towards a broadening spare of the sorts of texts analysts are interested in, is one that inevitably has to be made in the language and literature pedagogical practices of the future. The move is one towards a *social semiotics* which is considerably more inclusive of a much wider range of texts than is currently considered appropriate in most curricula (Hodge and Kress, 1989). This social semiotics recognises as one if its fundamental premises that all discourse is ideologically, institutionally and textually determined.

The view of language as determining, not simply reflecting, reality, is an important one, and central to much contemporary thinking about the way language and society work (see Kress and Hodge, 1979; Fowler *et al*, 1979). The theory that language is simply a means of representation - language as saying, if you like - is really a very inadequate one. Language does more than say; it does more than pass on information or reflect an already existing reality 'out there' somewhere in the world. Language is about action and interaction; it is about performance, about showing, about doing. Language is not a neutral instrument: it is biased in a thousand different ways, and those ways of course are determined by any number of differing ideologies, knowledge and power systems, and institutions. And it is the role, it seems to me, of a responsible critical linguistics - a responsible social semiotics - to develop the means of understanding and explaining the mechanics of those thousand different ways.

The main goal of this sort of thinking, and its consequent analysis - is much larger than that of simply being able to describe linguistic or stylistic structures in texts; such analysis plays a major part in understanding the nature of language, and hence in understanding people and the discursive practices they are engaged in.

The Cartesian view that we are individuals free from context is still a dominant one in many circles; it is a convenient means of maintaining classist and elitist views, of suggesting that a minority of people are more sensitive, more able to 'understand' the world than the larger mass of people. It is a view that is at the very roots of traditional literary criticism, and is something that is vital to any understanding of how certain views of how texts mean have developed, and continue to be developed, in linguistic and literary studies.

Linguistic theory claims to offer explanations of the processes of communication, but so far it has done so with scarcely a glance at 'real' interaction between people. The concentration on understanding the system of language has resulted in a marginalisation of discourse analysis, with discursive meaning

formations playing a decidedly minor role in the linguistic analysis of text. The failure of structuralist linguistics to account for how texts mean, and therefore how societies and institutions mean, has been spectacular. This is the legacy of a twentieth-century preoccupation with a scientificity that has demanded explicitness and objectivity in a world that operates, for the most part, as a denial of the explicit and objective. It is therefore a scientificity that seeks to compartmentalise and pigeon-hole the world into categories and classifications - structures and relations - that allow statements to be made about idealised worlds, not actual worlds. This is a scientific, formal convention, the convenience of which has modelled the world as something that it is not - neat, ordered and unproblematic.

One of the difficulties with treating the world as neat, ordered and unproblematic is that analysis of the texts that make up that world tends also to be neat, ordered and unproblematic. In a word, they tend to be lifeless. This is certainly the criticism that Roger Fowler made in his important introduction to a collection of essays he edited following a one-day conference held at the University of East Anglia in 1972. He writes of such analyses that they are 'distant from the interpretation; the poems become, paradoxically, meaningless when exposed to a technique which is supposed to reveal meaning'; (Fowler, 1975b: 10). He was writing, in particular, of the more formal and mechanistic analyses, and was concerned that analysis of literature should 'reconnect critical interpretation and linguistic analysis... based on the assumption that it is legitimate to take account of the reader's response' (Fowler, 1975b: 10). This approach does not advocate abandoning the techniques and insights of structuralist linguistic analysis; on the contrary, it proposes to use these techniques and insights to the full within a critical context. Nor does it suggest, as some linguistic analyses of literature had seemed to, that there is no role for any sort of literary criticism in such analyses. The question is rather 'what sort of criticism and what sort of linguistics are to be re-connected?' For Roger Fowler and others beginning to work in what came to be known as 'new stylistics', and later widened to be known as 'critical linguistics', one crucial issue was clear: structuralist linguistics and intrinsic literary criticism needed to be considerably modified if there was to be a successful interface of linguistics and literature. The key to any future success would lay with *interdisciplinary* approaches to analysis. This would mean recognising the restrictions and constraints of single disciplinary approaches to the subject, ie linguistics and literary criticism treating a literary text for their own distinct purposes. What was needed was an approach which embraced insights from other disciplines, like sociology, philosophy, history, politics and so on. Fowler wrote:

> An urgent priority for contemporary stylistics is to determine just what additional fields of knowledge are relevant to literary discourse, how they relate to the diversification of language outside of literature and, perhaps

most fascinating of all to the linguistics-inclined critic, how these systems of literary knowledge are coded in the structure of language.

(Fowler, 1975b: 122)

There are a number of very important points raised in what Fowler had to say here. Raising the issue of what additional fields of knowledge are relevant to literary discourse, also raises the crucial distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic criticism. To consider other fields of knowledge *other than* the text itself, is to advocate a move towards a more extrinsic form of criticism, and this move towards the more extrinsic is a central tenet of critical linguistics. Moreover, the use of the term 'discourse' in 'literary discourse' is not as arbitrary as it might first appear. The work of many philosophers and social scientists had widened the reference of this term to include philosophical, social, economic and ideological contexts. Discourse no longer simply signalled an alternative word for 'text'; it signalled a political commitment to widening the notion of 'literature' by incorporating various fields of knowledge involved in the making and reception of the literary text. And of course, what this means, is that literature becomes associated with other discourses, not normally considered by many critics to be in the same league as literature, and this did (and does) create difficulties for some critics who wish to maintain the distinctiveness of their work, and more importantly, to maintain strict boundaries marking out their discipline as a distinct discipline, different from someone else's. It is this intellectual protectionism which probably above all else is considered by critic linguists to be the most intransigent obstacle to interdisciplinarity, and hence more effective, analysis of language.

Also crucially important in Fowler's call for determining additional fields of knowledge is the role of language. Forms of language are not as freely chosen as we might like to think. We choose according to circumstances, and those circumstances are ideologically and socially determined. Interpretation of those texts is therefore interpretation of socially determined language, and that means being involved as analysts in understanding the processes, functions and meanings of social interaction. This, in turn, means being involved in the politics of interaction. And this involvement is what makes the linguistics *critical* because it assumes that the links amongst people and society are not arbitrary and accidental, (see Fowler *et al*, 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Kress, 1988a; Hodge, 1988). The nature of the criticism is therefore to select and deconstruct these links and to understand the patterns of meaning involved in order to understand the nature of language and society; because people categorise the world, and are categorised themselves, through language. This process of selection and deconstruction is not arbitrary either. It is informed by the insights gained from interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the world and applying those insights in a selective and critical way. This necessarily suggests to many critics, suspicious

of such approaches, that the selection is subjective, and hence unscientific, and they therefore condemn the approach. But to do this is to miss the point. It is that very process of subjectivity which gives reasons for the analysis because it operates on the principle that the *form* of a text is not the only thing that critics should be concerned with. This was a central issue in the debates that Roger Fowler had with literary critics following the publication in 1966 of his *Essays on Style and Language*, in particular the debate with F W Bateson in the journal *Essay in Criticism*. In 'Linguistics, stylistic; criticism?' (reprinted in Fowler, 1971, 32-42) which was first published in 1966, Fowler makes the point that linguistics had reached and impasse because it did not consider criticism as part of its brief for the analysis of literary texts. This, Fowler argued, resulted in a 'blind competence' which 'has produced many a fatuous or useless analysis; technical analysis without thought or sensitivity' (Fowler, 1971: 33). Mere description of texts was not sufficient because it was not critical. It was too thorough in the sense that it could 'lay bare the formal structure of the language in more detail than any critic would want' (Fowler, 1971: 38). The point about structuralist/descriptivist linguistics was that it was not selective: 'It describes everything, and all data are of equal significance' (Fowler, 1971: 39). For *critical* analysis 'one must know (or have some at least marginally positive clue) *why* one is undertaking verbal analysis: and this knowledge will inevitably direct the manner of the analysis' (Fowler, 1971: 39). Despite caveats like this, there was considerable hostility expressed by some critics towards any sort of linguistic analysis of literature, to the extent that one reviewer of Fowler's 1966 essays went so far as to say that 'linguists as a species are incapable of treating literature' (Fowler, 1971: 44). Such objections were unfounded, but indicative of the protections some non-linguists felt had to be put around themselves and their discipline. Critics of linguistic analysis of literature felt that linguists had to produce revelations about the texts which were gained from formal, 'objective', analysis of the language of the texts, in order to justify their incursions into the literary field. Such revelations weren't evident, and so the analyses were condemned. In his reply to a review by Helen Vendler of his 1966 volume of essays, Roger Fowler made it clear that his position was not that linguistics claimed to have a sensitivity about literature which literary critics did not have, but that the 'closest claim is that the consciousness, concentration and fidelity to text demanded by the act of analysis may help in working out hunches about a work, and may aid in catching effects possibly missed through laziness' (Fowler, 1971: 51). The accusation of laziness, amongst other things, was bound to provoke response because it touched on the central issue of language analysis. F W Bateson, the editor of *Essays in Criticism*, responded with a view that the problem with linguistic analysis of literature was that it *required* the analysis of language in a text. His position was that 'For the native speaker, except occasionally and superficially, this is simply not true' (Fowler, 1971: 62). In other words

native speakers of English, for example, knew all there was to know about language without needing linguistics to help them. Bateson was of the opinion that language was a separate activity to literary meaning - preliminary to understanding the style of a *literary* text, which in turn was a preliminary to the *literary* response 'in its fullest sense' (Fowler, 1971: 79). Linguistics had therefore been disqualified, as Fowler made clear in his response to Bateson, as 'a discipline of relevance to literature' (Fowler, 1971: 65). Bateson's position, of course, confuses the distinction between knowing *about* a language, and knowing a language, and it is this 'knowing about' which is a crucial part of defining the notion of critical analysis for Fowler. At the time of his debate with Bateson the 'about' was still mainly concerned with the formal structures of language, but this developed into a more detailed awareness of the social, functional and ideological meanings involved in language.

There are, as Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress make clear, 'strong and pervasive connections between linguistic structure and social structure' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 185), to the extent that linguistic meaning is inseparable from ideology. This also applies to critical linguistics itself, and as a consequence, not only should linguistic analysis be aware of the ideologies involved in the construction and reception of discourse, it should also be aware of the theoretical and methodological assumptions which form its own practices. The structures of language cannot be separated from language use; texts are 'the linguistic part of complicated communicative interactions' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 195) which are in turn 'implicated in social processes' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 195). Language, they argue, is 'not just a *reflex* of social processes and structures', but contributes 'instrumentally to the consolidation of existing social structures and material conditions' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 195-6). As Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress make clear in their most recent book, *Social Semiotics*, a theory of language 'has to be seen in the context of a theory of all sign systems as socially constituted, and treated as social practices' (Hodge and Kress, 1988). Interpretation, therefore, 'is the process of recovering the social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts' (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 196). As the contributors to the volume edited by Roger Fowler *et al* entitled *Language and Control* (Fowler *et al*, 1979) make clear, and in the words of Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge, 'Language is an instrument of control as well as of communication' (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 6). People can therefore be both informed and manipulated by language, and of course can inform and manipulate others (see Fairclough, 1989 and Birch, forthcoming 1990). Theories of language are therefore theories of ideology and as such are organised presentations, in one way or another, of social realities (Kress and Hodge, 1979: 15). In that respect a critical linguistic approach is not concerned with developing a theory of language which is specific to literary texts only, but attempts to theorise language as ideology

with respect to all texts, whether they are poems, Mafia underworld language or liturgical responses. As Kress makes clear 'all texts are subject to the same linguistic and social determinations, so-called literary texts no less than so-called non-literary texts' (Kress, 1988b: 127) - a shift in thinking which is characteristic of critical linguistics.

This shift in direction within critical linguistics and discourse analysis away from the privileging of literature as a high culture text needing to be treated sensitively, towards an analysis which has the potential of including any text, might suggest a levelling of all texts to a single common denominator. This would be true if the analyses were carried out without rhyme or reason, but they are not. *Why* the analysis is being carried out determines the choice of texts. The 'why', within critical linguistics at least, has tended to be politically motivated, not least with concerns of class and gender injustices. What this means, of course, is that from an intrinsic critical viewpoint, critical linguistics is concerned with matters usually considered extrinsic to both the text and to literary/linguistic analysis. But it is this very 'extrinsicity' which is, for critical linguists, the crucial focal point, because it is this that determines the 'why' of the analysis. It also, importantly suggests that critical linguistic analyses need to be *intertextual* ie aware of other texts and readings which inform the ideological processes involved (see Threadgold, 1988; Thibault, 1988; Kress, 1988a, 1988b; Birch, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990 forthcoming).

An example from Gunther Kress in a paper entitled 'The Social Values of Speech and Writing' should give a clearer idea of the analytic consequences of some of the thinking I've been discussing so far.

Central to Kress's argument in this paper is that most education systems take the written language as a standard for measuring the 'quality' of someone's spoken language, thus viewing, in his useful phrase, 'speech ... as a deformation of the norms of the writing model'. (Kress, 1979: 56) Most of us will be familiar with the sorts of judgements made about 'correct' spoken English that suppose that the grammar of any variety of spoken English is the same as the grammar of standard written English. It is not, of course, and considerable work has been done in the last twenty years or so that demonstrate quite different grammars in operation. (See in particular Halliday, 1985a, 1985b; Stubbs, 1980) For the most part the judgements that are made don't actually affect the course of most people's lives. But there are situations in which value judgements are made by people in control of others based on the fallacy that spoken language should somehow approximate written language, and people's lives can be affected as a result. Gunther Kress takes the example of a transcript made by a speech therapist of a spoken text produced by an eight-year-old boy. He was given a picture book and asked to recount the story he saw there:

That's a bus and driving down the road and the drive round road and try and mend them is stop try stop running away try catch him and can't. He see engine him follow him Make funny funny funny er pictures and he run away and go in tunnel and his bus go away.

Kress's initial point - and it's one we've already come across in this chapter - is that this text is not a neutral, objective reflection of reality. The production of this text requires a therapist to hold, consciously or not, a theory of language that enables the therapist to shape the text according to a set of principles underlying how the therapist believes language works. The consequences of this transcript are that they represent the boy as someone without any coherent command of syntax: sentence structure is 'poor', tense and time are confused, gender and number are mixed up. The sorts of decisions that would be made by a therapist about the child's command of English are likely to be made using these observations as a base for developing a programme of 'corrective' action. This, after all, is what speech therapists presume their job to be. The point that Kress makes is that decisions about a child's spoken language are likely to be made using notions of what constitutes 'good' grammar and coherent English in written English. So, for example, conceptually, the sentence is considered to be the basic unit of thought, because this is how it is described in written English. Consequently, judgements can easily be made about the child's conceptual abilities, based on a perception that he or she cannot make sentences. In practice, the sentence is one of the least useful ways of describing how spoken language is structured, but if you use it as a judgemental base the next step is to argue that the child is unable to make logical connections between sentences. Similarly, because a sentence is defined by grammarians in terms of subject/actor, verb and object/acted-upon, decisions could be made about the child's undeveloped notions of causality because of the absence of grammatically expressed sentence constituents. Continuing in this way a therapist is likely to make judgements about the child's poor understanding of the notion of time because of problems with time and tense in the text. In other words, judgements about how the text means are made as if it were written language, and these linguistic judgements are used as a base to make value judgements about the child's conceptual abilities. The child can therefore be categorised as having mental problems which, in practice, are effectively textually determined by the way a therapist decides to transcribe the data.

But Kress suggests that a transcript of the text based on information units of speech rather than on a sentence-based writing model might look something like this (underlining indicates major pitch movement and // marks of major information units):

//I saw a bus// a ... driving down the road// and it drive s there (that)// round the (na) road// an try and mend them// is s stop p// try// that were running away// and try to (a) catch him// and can't// He see an engine// it follow him// make funny funny a funny a pictures// and he ran away// and he go in tunnel// and his bus go away.

What this transcript immediately does is to treat the grammar of spoken English in a radically different way from the grammar of written English. Kress also includes information from the tape that was 'cleaned up' in the therapist's version. Importantly, the passage is marked by clearly defined information units, consisting for the most part of a single clause. This is expected behaviour for spoken English. The child clearly has a good grasp of the basic unit of speech and an ability to order these units in complex ways. As is common in speech, much is 'understood', for example, ellipsed subjects, but more importantly, I think, this transcript demonstrates clearly that the child has a good understanding of direction and movement in storytelling, because the placing of intonation focus falls on the major components of the story: bus, road, drive, etc. Kress also makes the crucial point that the therapist's transcript takes no account of the child's dialect. It is in fact a variety of English from East Anglia in the UK (Norwich English). In this dialect verbs tend not to be marked for the third person or for past and present tense (see Trudgill, 1974). But Kress's point, and it is an important one, is that if you don't happen to be a speaker of Norwich English, and therefore don't know these features, the decisions you make about the speaker's language, and possibly their intellectual capacities, are influenced by a quite different model and theory of language. Consequently, you can construct, textually, a quite different picture of a child's linguistic and intellectual abilities or problems. The version from the therapist shows a child barely able to express himself through language; the other, by Kress, shows a competent eight-year old speaker of Norwich English. Kress suggests, therefore, that an interpretation of the child's discourse, based on his transcript, would be something like this:

I saw a bus, driving down the road; and it drives there, round the road, and try and mend them. It has stopped, try ... (inaudible) running away, and try to catch him and can't. He see an engine, it follow him, make funny, funny, funny pictures. And he ran away and he go in tunnel, and his bus go away.

This is a text less likely to result in value judgements determining the child to be less capable than he really is. How this text means is quite different from how the therapist's text means. Quite different realities are presented with quite different ideological bases for modelling language and the world.

It is these different realities which need to be recognised and incorporated

into the theory and classroom practices of language teaching, both now, and in the nineties, and, this, I would suggest, should be a major direction for linguists and educationists to be moving in.

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TOWARDS TEACHING A 'GRAMMAR OF CULTURE'

David Marsh

1 INTRODUCTION

Language in its socio-cultural context is an object of interdisciplinary study which is without fixed boundaries or stable definitions. This area of study could be seen as analogous to Antarctica; claimed by many, explored by not so many, and understood by few. It is an area with riches that lie largely undisturbed though tapped for centuries by people from a variety of backgrounds, often with quite different intentions. Needless to say it also has a long line of victims in its wake.

Within this area of language study cross-cultural communication has attracted a considerable interest because it is here that the role of socio-cultural background knowledge is most visible, and hence open to analysis. It has invited a response from a wide range of academic disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, and education. These have understandably often approached the subject from different angles.

Linguists have sometimes been said to distance themselves from the social environment in which language is used, and 'concern themselves more with the study of linguistics than the study of language' (Halliday, 1977: 19). In recent years, however, there has been a new and powerful surge of interest in the study of language in relation to its proper context of society and culture. This tendency has been most evident in the fields of sociolinguistics and pragmatics which have provided valuable insight into how to improve the teaching of languages.

1.1 CONSTITUENTS OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Any second/foreign language teaching curriculum said to be communicative in orientation can be reviewed in terms of which types of communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) it aims to develop. This term originates from a rejection of the concept of ideal speaker-listener (Chomsky, 1965), in an attempt to produce a linguistic theory which incorporates language and culture. Hymes's original use of the term examined how the language learner acquired four key skills, namely, knowledge of what is possible, feasible, appropriate or what can be performed in a target language.

Approaching these skills from a pedagogic angle Canale (1983) describes four aspects of this competence: grammatical (what is formally possible); sociolinguistic (an understanding of social context, role, purpose); discourse (interpreting patterns and meanings) and strategic (use of strategies that people use in communication to accomplish goals such as for initiation, re-direction or repair).

Although the emphasis in this paper is towards spoken language and for the sake of exemplification, English, the aspects of communicative competence described relate to the teaching of both verbal and textual skills. If a curriculum which is designed for learners who aim to use the language in interpersonal communication lacks a clearly-defined approach to the development of the fundamental aspects of communicative competence, then it can be regarded as inadequate. It is possible that, in the past, some second/foreign language curricula have been regarded as communicative in orientation because of emphasis on the elicitation of learner-based talk and the transfer of information through spoken language. This attitude, if held, neglects the major function of language as a means for developing interpersonal communication through, for example, the creation and maintenance of relationships, negotiation of meanings and sharing of reality.

1.2 THE CULTURAL SPECIFICITY OF LANGUAGE

The sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic aspects of communicative competence are in the domain of what could be described as a 'grammar of culture' (D'Souza, 1988). This amounts to a description of the relationship between linguistic structures and recurring communicative patterns in a culture. It refers to features such as politeness phenomena (Brown and Levinson, 1978), questions of conversational implicature (Grice, 1975), pragmalinguistic features (Leech, 1983), and others (cf. Dittmar, 1976) which concern appropriacy and context.

The distinction between having knowledge of a language and understanding how to use it in social encounters has been described as a difference between structural and social competence (Edmondson and House, 1981). Social competence can be seen as involving mastery of social rules concerning context and talk, understanding conversational norms and having an ability to use certain organizational levels in conversation. In this paper social competence refers to the often demanding and highly significant aspects of using a language described above; namely, the sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic elements of communicative competence.

It is necessary to be highly cautious about how we use terms in any discussion of cross-cultural communication. There is a plethora of terms presently

used in academic and pedagogic discussion on this field. Some such terms actively inhibit understanding and others even attempt to disguise elitist and myopic views of different cultures and thus also the communicative styles they represent in human interaction.

For example confusion surrounds use of the term 'social competence'. It should not be used to refer to a set of objective behaviours found in the repertoire of a specific speech community. Rather we should see the components which make up a persons' social competence as a combination of relative processes, all dependent on culture, personality and at what point in time and in what context a specific communication takes place.

Some academics who discuss ways of teaching social competence in English to second/foreign language learners fall into an old trap; that of advocating that the teacher be prescriptive about teaching the 'cultural rules' of the target language. In so doing they erroneously indicate that rules of usage in the target culture are sets of objective behaviours and that the learners should learn these and use them when communicating in the target language. In a distinctly homogeneous speech community it may be justifiable to generalise about a specific set of cultural rules but with a language as international as English such description is problematic.

Scollon and Scollon (1981) compare the 'bush consciousness' of the Athabaskan Indians of North America with the 'modern consciousness' of the West. Although their work does not bear traces of cultural elitism their choice of terms is hardly constructive. However, it is not only choice of terminology which can provoke misunderstanding in this area. It can also be a matter of condescension. For example, Glenn (1981), Chief of Interpretation and Special Assistance for Intercultural Research for the US Department of State, manages to convey the idea that culturally-embedded ways of communicating are evolutionary in nature and thus the world comprises 'inferior' and 'superior' communicative styles. A compilation of problems emanating from modern published research on questions of cultural communicative styles lies outside the scope of this paper but are dealt with at length elsewhere (cf. Singh, Lele, Martohardjono, 1988; Verschueren, 1984).

In the study of cross-cultural communication we are faced with the following dilemma: on the one hand we must deal with and explain systematic cross-cultural differences. Such differences have been found to be reflected at all levels of language use and to be learned early in life, thus often becoming unconscious and difficult to change. They have their origins in long-established historical traditions and are maintained through networks of interpersonal relationships and, in cross-cultural encounters, can unwittingly result in miscommunication.

On the other hand, we have to study each interaction as a separate achievement on its own, and take into account the particular participants, their

background, their current state of mind, attitudes towards each other and willingness and ability to co-operate in the particular interaction. At the same time we must bear in mind the multiplicity of other situation-specific factors which affect the communication process.

1.3 TOWARDS A 'GRAMMAR OF CULTURE'

One way of approaching the concept of 'grammar of culture' in pedagogic terms is to attempt to describe a culture or speech community in terms of its frequently used communicative style. This is also called 'conversational style' (Tannen, 1984), which neglects the fact that a style is not restricted to speaking but can often be found in many forms of written communication which reflect politeness features often found in face-to-face encounters.

The notion of communicative style refers to a way of communicating characteristic to a particular group of speakers who share certain culturally-determined attitudes. It is closely linked to the views developed by Goffman (1959, 1967, 1974) in which the rules according to which a particular culture functions, influence the ways in which speakers transfer information and present images of themselves in social interaction.

In addition its use involves simplification of a host of complex aspects of human communication. One of the most obvious of these is the constant dilemma surrounding the pursuit of a definition of culture. This is particularly significant when we critically review the assumptions lying behind the existence of a communicative style because of the problem of asserting where culture ends and personality begins in the style(s) used by any particular person.

In our search for making our curricula fully communicative through paying attention to the sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic levels of language use, we need to avoid the quagmire surrounding the largely academic controversies concerning definitions of culture and personality. Seelye (cf. Robinson, 1987: 7) sums these sentiments up: I know of no way to better ensure having nothing productive happen than for a language department to begin its approach to culture by a theoretical concern for defining the term'. Adopting this view is not to be apologetic but pragmatic for once a language learner has proficiency in a target language, questions of communicative style should not be neglected.

The ways in which people from different backgrounds use language involve a set of cultural and social attitudes which influence how they choose to express themselves. The linguistic manifestation of such expression is often of secondary importance to the perceptions that the participants in a given situation may have towards what constitutes appropriate communicative behaviour. It is evident that a person's perception of a participant in a social encounter is not

formed by simply understanding the words, phrases, intonation or non-verbal language they choose to use but also by what he/she considers to be the intentions and attitudes of that participant. The ways in which people appear to judge the intent (and personality) of a speaker are strongly influenced by how that person appears in sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic terms.

There is evidence (cf. Thomas, 1983) which suggests that command of a second/foreign language in structural terms assumes a corresponding ability to use the language efficiently in interaction. In other words, if a person's structural capability is obviously faulty then 'allowances' are made more easily when communication fails due to apparent mis-handling of social features of language use.

1.4 ON TEACHING PRAGMATIC APPROPRIATENESS

When we teach a language through a communicative framework we aim to equip our students with skills which they will need to possess in order to function effectively in face-to-face encounters with native and non-native speakers. At times these encounters will involve a high degree of face-work and interactional complexity.

Interaction with native or non-native speakers of the target language, as with some second language students, is not necessarily advantageous in terms of understanding differences of communicative style. It cannot be assumed that experience of cultural diversity through communicating with people of different backgrounds can be directly linked to achieving social competence in the target language. On the contrary, such experience may fuel the development of prejudice and bias if not supported by insight into the workings of different communicative styles.

For example Thomas (1983) discusses how a person who spends many years living in a predominantly monolingual foreign language environment may not achieve a sufficient degree of social competence in the language of the country but continue to follow the conventions of their first language. The term 'pragmatic fossilization' is used to explain this phenomenon. It only constitutes a problem when such a person's intentions are frequently misunderstood and she/he is unable to communicate on an optimum level in the target speech community.

The question of teaching communicative style is not a matter of making qualitative judgements about good or bad ways of communicating. To do so is to impinge upon the autonomy that all human beings should have in the ways they wish to communicate with others. The teaching of pragmatic appropriateness is only concerned with extending the language learner's social competence through making him/her more aware of alternative ways of expressing meaning

in the target language. In addition it must be stressed that one does not need to embrace the values and attitudes of an alternative culture in order to study communicative style in a language learning curriculum.

English, for example belongs to the 400 million non-native and 350 million native-speakers said to actively use the language. Any speaker of English can only have access to and competence in some of the many variations of socio-cultural norms frequently reflected in the way this language is used throughout the world. This may be hard for the purist to cope with but it is a fact of life and one that must be reflected in language teaching. English belongs to each and every person who uses it and it is problematic to suggest that features of English found in some social circles in certain countries are superior or inferior to others. Equally we cannot attempt a prescriptive description of the shared conventions of native-speakers of the global language that English has become.

To reinforce the point that we should not attempt to teach sets of cultural attitudes to our students, let us take the case of predominantly monolingual native-speakers of English at universities in the UK and USA. Universities in both these countries are looking closely at the first language oral abilities of their students. Certain educated native-speakers of English are described as being 'verbally illiterate', which is probably not due to a mis-handling of structure but rather to an awkwardness in the use of the language as an efficient tool for conveying information and developing social relationships. As a result emphasis on communicative style is being actively incorporated into degree-level teaching.

When we teach pragmatic appropriateness in our second/foreign language learning curricula we describe those aspects of face-to-face encounters where our language learners face difficulties in adjusting to the cultural conventions followed by those with whom they communicate. We can determine what these difficulties are by conducting needs analyses which may reflect varying levels of empirical complexity. One such way of conducting a needs analysis which determines where rules of appropriacy in the target language may be different to those of the mother tongue is now described in this paper.

2 FINDING DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATIVE STYLE ACROSS CULTURES: A CASE STUDY

One of the most straightforward approaches to finding where significant differences exist in the communicative styles of two cultures, that is between those of the mother-tongue and target-language culture, is to use a questionnaire format. This could be fielded in a variety of different ways depending on the environment in which one teaches. For the sake of example we will look at the

sorts of questions which may reveal differences in communicative style where the language learners have some exposure to using the language with native and non-native speakers. All over Southeast Asia speech communities differ considerably with regard to the role which English plays and sometimes it is difficult to determine whether English is a second or foreign language. The needs analysis described in this paper was done with respondents who have English as a second language.

The questionnaire design attempted to find where adult language learners perceive differences to exist between Brunei-Malay and English on the sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic levels. It sought information on six key functions. These are (a) Greetings and Leave-takings; (b) Asking and Answering Questions; (c) Expressing Opinions and Feelings; (d) Frequency and Character of Speech; (e) Listening Behaviour and (f) Voice Tone and Body Language. A total of twenty-one questions were put to the language learners about these functions.

Depending on the extent of cultural homogeneity, maturity and target language proficiency of the group of learners involved, it may be interesting to obtain some background information about the respondents in this type of research. This initial probe might collect information on age, gender, mother-tongue, experience of contact with native and non-native English speakers, assessment of the degree to which they use English and description of the situations in which this occurs. Admittedly a teacher may already be in possession of this type of information if he/she is familiar with the background of the language learners but it is surprising how often this is not the case.

2.1 QUESTIONS ON GREETINGS AND LEAVE-TAKINGS

The four questions on this area seek to elicit attitudes towards greetings and leave-takings in relation to levels of (a) formality; (b) intimacy; (c) friendship and (d) abruptness in social encounters.

A question format may be:

Do you think that native-speakers of English tend to be:

(a) Much more
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less

formal in the ways in which they often greet you?

2.2 QUESTIONS ON ASKING AND ANSWERING QUESTIONS

Five questions on this area look at (a) asking personal or intimate questions; (b) asking about opinions and interests; (c) on being open in answering questions; (d) on how honest answers are perceived to be and (e) directness.

A question format may be:

Do you think that native-speakers of English tend to be:

(a) Much more
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less *direct and straightforward* in the ways in which they ask and answer questions?

2.3 QUESTIONS ON EXPRESSION OF OPINIONS AND FEELINGS

The four questions look at (a) expressing opinions on social, religious and political issues; (b) expressing personal opinions; (c) changing opinions frequently during conversations; (d) expressing opinions not believed in or really meant.

A question format may be:

Would you say that native-speakers of English are:

(a) Much More
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less likely to *express an opinion that they don't really mean or believe in than* XXXX-speakers?

2.4 QUESTIONS ON FREQUENCY AND CHARACTER OF SPEECH

Here four questions probe into (a) quantity of talk; (b) treatment of silence; (c) interrupting behaviour and (d) use of small talk (phatic communion).

A question format may be:

Do you think that native-speakers of English are:

(a) Much more
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less *likely to start speaking at the same time as someone else or to interrupt another person when talking* than XXXX-speakers?

2.5 QUESTIONS ON LISTENING BEHAVIOUR

The two questions in this section look at (a) being good listeners and (b) being overtly responsive in conversation.

A question format may be:

Do you feel that native-speakers of English tend to be

(a) Much more
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less *responsive in letting you know how they feel about what you are saying to them than* XXXX-speakers?

2.6 QUESTIONS ON VOICE TONE AND BODY LANGUAGE

Four questions on (a) use of voice as a means of expression; (b) expressing emotion; (c) use of facial expression and (d) use of gesture and body movement are used in this area.

A question format may be:

Do you think that native-speakers of English tend to be:

(a) Much more
(b) Somewhat more
(c) (About the same as)
(d) Somewhat less
(e) Much less *expressive of their emotions with gestures and body movements* than XXXX-speakers?

3 RESULTS OF AN ANALYSIS OF BRUNEI-MALAY SPEAKERS ATTITUDES TOWARDS USING ENGLISH WITH NATIVE-SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

The type of needs analysis outlined above was used in 1988 with seventy first year university-level students who have Brunei-Malay as their mother-tongue. Many of these students had experienced extensive exposure to native-speakers of English, mostly British, during the course of their education. Thus the majority of the students had only used English as subordinates with native-speakers in teacher-pupil encounters. However most of the respondents had a high degree of exposure to English language TV and video media, the bulk of which originated in the USA. The sex ratio of the students was almost equal and their average age was twenty-one years old. The questionnaire was circulated in Malay. Respondents were encouraged to seek advice on questions which they found ambiguous before attempting to answer questions.

3.1 GREETINGS AND LEAVE-TAKINGS

The degree to which formality, intimacy and friendship are expressed in greetings and leave-takings were regarded as similar in English (E) and Brunei-Malay (BM). However, a significant proportion of the respondents (60%) found that in (E) people seemed to be more short and abrupt than in (BM) when greeting and leave-taking.

3.2 ASKING AND ANSWERING QUESTIONS

Forty seven percent of the respondents considered that in (E) people ask personal or intimate questions more often than in (BM). Fifty four percent stated that in (E) questions on opinions and interests were more commonplace than in (BM). In answering questions 56% of the respondents indicated that in (E) people are more likely to be open and candid than in (BM). A question on how honest a person is when they answer and ask questions reveals no significant difference. However, 74% of the respondents considered that in (E) people are more direct and straightforward in the way in which they put questions than in (BM).

3.3 EXPRESSING OPINIONS AND FEELINGS

Fifty three percent of the respondents considered that in (E) people express opinions about social, religious and political issues more often than in (BM). Seventy seven percent commented that overt expression of personal feelings and emotions is more common in (E). The respondents did not consider there to be any difference between (E) and (BM) in the degree to which people changed their opinions during the course of conversation. But on the question of speaking with conviction, 51% regarded the expression of opinions not really believed in or meant as more common in (E) than in (BM).

3.4 FREQUENCY AND CHARACTER OF SPEECH

Forty seven percent of the respondents felt that in (E) people used more words and spoke more than in (BM). Forty three percent suggested that in (E) people are less likely to tolerate periods of silence in conversation. Thirty nine percent considered that in (E) people are more likely to interrupt someone who is speaking than in (BM). Finally, 41% of the respondents felt that in (E) people use more 'small-talk' than in (BM).

3.5 LISTENING

On questions of appearing interested in hearing what a person has to say and responding to talk, 52% suggested that in (E) people are better at listening and 44% considered them to be more overtly responsive when talking than in (BM).

3.6 VOICE TONE AND BODY LANGUAGE

In this final section 52% of the respondents considered that in (E) people are likely to use voice tone more than in (BM) to convey meaning. Forty one percent considered that gestures are used more often in (E) when conveying emotions, 52% noted more use of signals conveyed by facial expressions in (E) and 48% observed that in (E) gesture and body movement is more widely used than in (BM).

CONCLUSIONS

Results such as these provide the teacher with some insight into where the second/foreign language learner may face difficulty in understanding the intentions of certain native-speakers of English. In face-to-face interaction in a second or foreign language participants often interpret the content of what a person says in direct relation to what they perceive to be the personality or intention of that person. The judgements that people make about others from different backgrounds may often be due to their not understanding differences of communicative style.

The different types of communicative style which exist between speakers can thus damage the communication process and lead to misinterpretation and breakdown. Instances of communicative breakdown may then affect the relationship between the speakers and, indeed, result in such problems as ethnic stereotyping and prejudice.

These results only reflect the opinions of the respondents involved and it is not possible to generalise the findings and talk of pragmatic differences in language use between English and Brunei-Malay. Analysis of cross-cultural talk is necessary before one can discuss the nature of those differences said to exist between the communicative styles under analysis. However, this sort of approach does give the teacher an immediate advantage in starting to see where differences are perceived as existing, which might, in some circumstances, threaten the successful outcome of communication in different situations.

Through this type of approach we aim to identify the problem; that is, how breakdown can occur through the misinterpretation of cultural values as they are revealed in communication. The importance we can attribute to this problem remains open to debate. However, studies on prejudice, ethnic stereotyping and conflict resolution (cf. van Dijk, 1984) do indicate that the statement "It's not what he said but the way he said it" is often uppermost in people's minds when things go 'wrong' in cross-cultural communication. Thus, as language teachers, we should start looking at what rules govern the 'ways' people express themselves.

Once we can ascertain where differences may exist what can we do about it in the classroom? We can instruct our students to be aware of the types of area, such as those above, which cause difficulty in cross-cultural communication between people of their own culture and those of others. Such training might encourage them to be prepared for problems and develop the resources necessary to repair communication which breaks down. This approach may be referred to as a form of 'consciousness-raising'.

Even only going as far as this is to achieve far more in this area than can be gained through teaching structurally-based objectives. Our interest here goes beyond mere structure and involves interactional considerations which is crucial if

we are to equip our language learners to be effective and confident communicators in the target language.

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CONCILIATING COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE AWARENESS

Denis Girard

Long before the *communicative approach* for language teaching was launched in many countries throughout the world, *communication* was felt by a large number of linguists to be the "essential function" of language, to use the well-known phrase to be found in André Martinet's *Eléments de linguistique générale*:

> "The essential function of the tool we call language is that of communication. French, for example, is first and foremost the tool which enables French-speakers to enter into an understanding with each other. We can see that if a language becomes modified in the course of time, it does so in order to satisfy the communication needs of the community that speaks it as economically as possible". (Martinet, 1960)

That quotation from a book published nearly thirty years ago is remarkable not only because of the importance attached to communication but also for its first reference to speakers' *needs*, what we now commonly call "language needs". But we must not ignore the fact that Martinet's concern was with general linguistics and not language teaching. His reference is to people who can already speak a language as their mother tongue, not to learners of a foreign language.

Other linguists went much further into the study of how language works as a tool for communication: J L Austin (1962) and J R Searle (1969) demonstrated "How to do things with words" and how to perform "speech acts". Then a few years later, it was an American sociolinguist, Dell Hymes, who invented and defined the new concept of "communicative competence" (Gumpertz and Hymes, 1972).

But the decisive role in applying these new ideas to language learning and teaching was to be played by the team of experts appointed by the Council of Europe, under the responsibility of Dr J L M Trim to "investigate the feasibility of a unit-credit system for modern languages in adult education". The seminal work accomplished during the decade 1971-1981 led to what came to be called the "Council of Europe Approach" which we must now quickly describe.

To be able to establish a "unit credit system" for language learning throughout Europe, one needed other criteria than purely linguistic ones (those given by

structuralism or even Chomsky's transformational grammar). Language universals had not been easy to discover through a formal analysis of languages and even more difficult to turn into practical purposes, for language teaching and learning. It was felt *language use* (what the average native language user *does* with the language when he communicates) was probably more important than *language usage* (the formal grammatical rules, however important they may be). Yet what we do with a language when we communicate with other members of our language community depends on a variety of factors connected with the situations in which the language is to be used (the roles played by the speakers, the settings, the topics) and also, of course, with the language activities concerned (involving the four skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing).

What came out as the "Council of Europe Approach" was a framework of principles on how to define concrete objectives for language learning whatever the language concerned (except of course when selecting the language items) but taking account of the kind of learner one was aiming at and his/her special *needs*. If we try to put it into a nutshell, the "systemic approach" we are referring to consists of:

- an assessment of learners' *needs* and *resources*
- a definition of *terminal objectives* in terms of what the learners will eventually be *able to do* with the new language (communicative *functions* and *notions*)
- an inventory of *linguistic contents* to be used as needed (grammar and vocabulary)
- an appropriate *methodology* involving the selection and use of teaching *materials* and *techniques*
- a constant *assessment* of the results obtained, allowing for permanent adaptation.

As a matter of fact, the expert group did not have enough time to deal with all the five elements of their systemic approach. What they produced, in the form of "threshold levels" (ie the first level of the projected "unit credit system"), was a new way of defining language learning contents through a comprehensive inventory of communicative functions and notions, starting with Jan van Ek's *Threshold Level for English*, *Un Niveau-seuil* for French and many other such studies for most European national and even regional languages.

Nothing was done to try and define a new methodology, although the emphasis put on communication in defining objectives was bound to lead to learning activities that would develop a communicative competence. That was the reason why the new Council of Europe project, No. 12, 1982-1988, was clearly labelled "Learning and teaching modern languages for communication". Among the studies carried out under the new modern languages project was one

I had proposed and was responsible for on "Selection and Distribution of Contents in Language Syllabuses", meant to establish the real impact of the Council of Europe on national and regional language syllabuses and, as a consequence, its effect on language teaching practices. Among the positive aspects of our findings, we mentioned "a constant and common desire for the reform of foreign language teaching/learning by striving to attain three objectives: (a) to develop the learner's communicative ability, (b) to inform him about the civilisation which the foreign language embodies and to instil in him a liking for it, (c) to develop his general education and training." (Girard, et al 1988)

What we felt to be less positive was perhaps an exaggerated faith in the new approach: "The communicative approach is going the same way as the structural-behaviourist audio-visual method: it is being seen by some people as a panacea." (Girard, et al 1988). The dangers of "pseudo-communication" are just as great when a learner is asked to express a non felt surprise or fear as when asked to produce a negative sentence with the modal "can" or "may".

A LANGUAGE FOR COMMUNICATION OR COMMUNICATING TO LEARN A LANGUAGE?

Bearing in mind the basic function of communication of language, it is difficult to imagine the teaching/learning of a modern language that would not give primary importance to building up communicative competence in the learner. It was only in the old days of the grammar/translation method, inherited from the teaching of Latin and Greek, that communicating in the language was not considered a worthwhile objective. Ever since the beginning of the direct method insisting on the use of the language by the learners and even more so with audio-oral and audio-visual methods, being able to speak the language has been the fundamental aim, best illustrated by the motto "Teach the language, not about the language".

Yet language teaching still needed the help of fundamental sociolinguistic research to understand clearly what communication really meant. W Rivers was one of the first applied linguists to warn us against the dangers of "pseudo-communication" as opposed to real communication (Rivers, 1968). There are two main forms of pseudo-communication in the language classroom: one is the hackneyed repetition of a dialogue or fragments of conversations; the other one, more insidious, is the artificial exchange of questions and answers between teacher and learners, where the questions are not real questions because the questioner knows the answer perfectly well and the answers are consequently more meant as part of a school ritual than as a way of imparting useful information. In the first stages of language learning, it is not always possible to avoid pseudo-communication completely but ways must be found to provide as many

opportunities as possible for real communication. The best way is to take learner-centredness at its face value and develop the learners' responsibility and autonomy from the very beginning. The surest guarantee of complete failure would be to create the illusion that after a painful boring phase of gathering information and some artificial practice of the foreign language fluent and efficient language use would suddenly appear and allow the learner to be a good communicator. Quoting W Rivers again, we must not deceive ourselves with the idea that "skill using" will follow naturally after a long period of pure "skill getting". The two should be carried on simultaneously. In other words, learning a language for communication is best achieved through communication as a way of learning rather than as a consequence. That does not mean that all classroom activities will always be communicative: some exercises will be needed to create or reinforce some basic skills. But it implies that learners will be trained from the very beginning to communicate with their peers as often as possible to ask for information and express personal ideas and feelings. The traditional teacher-learner dialogue between one who knows and has the privilege of asking questions and thirty learners who are only allowed to answer questions or required to repeat is the very type of situation that cannot be maintained in a communicative approach.

The communicative approach, in my experience, has often led to two misunderstandings that must be dispelled. One is the idea that a communicative syllabus (with functions and notions and lists of speech acts, corresponding to various situations and topics and language needs) can only correspond to very elementary types of exchanges of a survival nature (How to find one's way in a town, Where can one buy a medicine? Is there a restaurant in the neighbourhood? etc). That is of course completely wrong except that it can probably be accounted for from the fact that a "threshold level", as the phrase suggests, only refers to the first unit of a projected "unit credit system", is *not* a complete syllabus and only provides material for the building of syllabuses.

When a country like mine decided to promote a communicative approach for the teaching of English throughout the seven years of secondary education, it used the Threshold Level's framework as a convenient tool, providing all the necessary additions to make it suit its wider purpose and scope, taking into account Jan van Ek's warning in his *Threshold Level for Schools* that the content was meant only "to enable learners to survive, linguistically speaking, in temporary contacts with foreign-language speakers in everyday situations." (van Ek, 1976)

The second misunderstanding is in fact connected with the first one. A communicative approach is often considered to be referring exclusively to oral communication and more specially everyday conversations. There again the misconception may be partly due to the fact that in *The Threshold Level* "The language activities were to be especially oral communication". We are now

better aware, through the development of discourse analysis, of the kind of communication which takes place, silently, between writer and reader, whatever the kind of written document, be it a novel, a magazine article or an advertisement. H Widdowson has shown convincingly that any author of a written text makes use of "interactional procedures which are identical with those typical of spoken conversation. Yet the absence of immediate interaction necessitates a different mode of exploitation". (Widdowson, 1984).

Seen in that perspective, the exploitation of a written text in class can give birth to a variety of interesting activities where learners play the prominent part, taking the initiative of analysing the text, of questioning it, as it were, with the teacher working as a resource person. The silent elements of communication in the text can be made explicit, with different interpretations according to various readers. An information gap can easily be created, with different parts of the text being read by several groups. Anticipation techniques can be encouraged in different ways, starting with the title (and subtitle) and any informative illustration to make reasonable guesses about the general content, then using the first paragraph in the same way. Some texts will lend themselves easily to a "jigsaw puzzle" by having various groups in the class reading different paragraphs and then enquiring from other groups to reconstruct the whole text. The artificial character of the exercise is usefully balanced by the naturalness of the interactive situation created.

COMMUNICATION VERSUS CULTURE?

The question must be answered because the two aspects have often been considered to be antagonistic ever since an effort was made to help learners become communicators in the foreign language.

In our old guidelines for language teachers in France, the basic aim for the first three years was said to be "practical", which meant learning about the language to become capable of understanding simple sentences and of producing similar utterances when asked to do so. At a later stage, in the final years of secondary education, the objective became "cultural" and the foreign culture was understood to be literature. With the introduction of our audio-visual methodology in the sixties, we succeeded in making the "practical" stage much closer to a communicative approach. But the decision to concentrate on everyday conversations both for oral practice and as reading material made it difficult, except through pictures and listening to native speakers, to give any real insight into the foreign culture in its wider meaning (all significant aspects of a human community's ways of life, traditions, craftsmanship, artistic production (including literature), scientific and technological achievements, religion, etc).

The communicative approach, with its emphasis on face to face interaction

in everyday situations, notably at threshold level as we have pointed out, reinforced the idea that whenever learners are trained to communicate, the foreign culture is being sacrificed to that goal.

In all fairness, one must recognize that the criticism is sometimes justified by the excesses of those I like to call "extremists of communication" who are so keen on having their students communicate that they simply forget to give food to their communication, I mean meaningful topics. And when learning a foreign language no topic is more meaningful than one of the aspects of the foreign culture which I have just suggested.

What we must realize is that there is no intrinsic contradiction between communication and culture provided the material used as a basis for discussion of any cultural aspect is well suited to the age and interests and communicative competence of the learners. Of course, the more competent they become, the easier it is to find a huge variety of suitable texts or visual or audiovisual documents between which one can select the most appropriate and build up interesting classroom activities. In my workshop I will be suggesting activities for advanced level students, in connection with science fiction.

For that reason, I would like to refer now to much younger learners and propose a little poem by Shel Siverstein recently published in FORUM:(1)

Homework Machine

The Homework Machine, oh the Homework Machine,
Most perfect contraption that's ever been seen.
Just put in your homework, then drop in a dime,
Snap on the switch, and in ten seconds' time,
Your home work comes out, quick and clean as can be.
Here it is --- "nine plus four?" and the answer is "three".
Three?
Oh me...
I guess it's not as perfect
As I thought it would be.

One can easily imagine splitting the poem into two equal parts, for pedagogic purposes.

Yet before inviting the class either to read or listen to the first part of the poem as read by a native boy or girl, one could draw upon their imaginative power by just giving the title and thus initiating lively interaction on what a

(1) *Vol. XXVII Number I January 1989*

"homework machine" might be. The anticipation stage would create sufficient curiosity about the content of the poem for the children to be anxious to read it or listen to it to discover the extraordinary machine. The second part, ending with the user's expression of disappointment about the new gadget being "not as perfect as he thought" will then provide a transition to discussing concrete examples of all the wonderful machines and devices which can make life easier in industrialized countries, although they also have their drawbacks. Developing a balanced appreciation of sophisticated technologies may, already at the level of young beginners in the learning of EFL, constitute a worthwhile outcome of some cultural and general educational value. As one reaches higher levels of performance and communicative competence, the cultural element can easily become more important through documents with much richer contents, whether purely informative (newspapers and magazine articles) or belonging to literature.

At all levels, it is clear that a communicative objective is no obstacle to a cultural one which can best contribute to making the communication more rewarding, especially when the students are efficiently encouraged to express their own views on every topic discussed, orally as well as in a written form, when suitable.

STRENGTHENING COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE THROUGH A CONSTANT DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE AWARENESS

Teaching and learning a language for communication does not imply that all classroom activities should aim at developing a communicative competence without making sure that students understand the way the foreign language works.

Many writers in the field of language teaching have insisted on the necessity of building up a degree of language awareness while giving ample opportunity to practise genuine communication in natural or simulated situations.

Pit Corder can be quoted here quite appropriately:

> "Learning is seen as fundamentally an inductive process but one which can be controlled and facilitated by descriptions and explanations given at the appropriate moment and formulated in a way which is appropriate to the maturity, knowledge and sophistication of the learner". (Corder, 1973)

Besse and Porquier more recently, in a book devoted to grammar and language didactics, asserted that "It would be hazardous to assert that communi-

cating actively or interacting intensively in a language class is enough to ensure that the foreign grammar is acquired, as a sort of bonus." (Besse and Porquier, 1984, quoted in Girard, et al 1988).

What these authors do not clearly indicate is in what way the necessary acquisition of grammar is going to take place if the "inductive process" triggered by the practice of communication is not enough. When Pit Corder suggests "descriptions and explanations given at the appropriate moment", one may fear that the teacher should indulge in a teacher-centred grammar lesson instead of just helping the students, when the need arises, to observe, describe and justify the way the foreign language works to express this or that notion, as compared for instance to how the same or a similar meaning is expressed by the mother tongue or any other language. That is the way French teachers of English are advised to do it by our recent syllabus and guidelines for secondary schools: "Pupils should, from time to time, be invited to think about the grammatical or even the linguistic implications".

Discovering how the foreign language works is one of our three fundamental objectives throughout the seven years of learning EFL in our schools, the other two being developing a communicative competence (as a first priority) and learning about foreign cultures. The three objectives are felt to be connected, inasmuch as each of the three has the power to strengthen the other two.

One could give many examples of the way students can be invited to pay attention to how English grammar gives users of the language (speakers and writers) the means to express various "semantico-grammatical categories" (using D Wilkins's phrase in his book already quoted, *Notional Syllabuses*).

I will illustrate my point by using a short extract from a book by Laurie Lee, a British author who is very popular with French teachers of English and textbook writers because of his simple language, sense of humour and his lively exploitation of childhood memories. In the following passage, Laurie Lee tells his readers about his girlfriend Ellie: it is a first love story of special interest to young teenagers in their fourth year of English study:

> Then one evening Ellie said her mum and dad had gone away for a week and left her in charge of the house
> very act seemed ordained by legend. I saw the open window above my head and started climbing the spout towards it. What would happen when
> I leapt into the room and confronted the sleeping girl? Would she gasp with pleasure and open her arms, cry for mercy, or lose her reason?
>
> Laurie Lee ("First Love" in *I Can't Stay Long*, A Deutsch, 1975)

The extract is meant as listening material, being recorded by a native speaker. After listening to the whole story (from which I have only quoted two paragraphs), the class will usually pick out the factual elements in their own

words drawing upon the linguistic and functional contents of the text, with the help of their teacher. Temporal relations play a very important part in such a story which is told in the simple past but with reference to previous events and to what is going to happen next. They will provide good opportunities for communicative activities making full use of various verb forms. Nobody would deny that such activities are an essential element of the learning process. The question is whether they are sufficient to make the students aware of the grammatical and semantic rules which govern the foreign language. My contention is that after these practical activities, a little amount of time spent on an and to what is going to happen next. They will provide good opportunities for communicative activities making full use of various verb forms. Nobody would deny that such activities are an essential element of the learning process. The question is whether they are sufficient to make the students aware of the grammatical and semantic rules which govern the foreign language. My contention is that after these practical activities, a little amount of time spent on analysing how the language works will ensure better understanding and memorisation.

In the two paragraphs by Laurie Lee, for instance, the teacher may ask the class to pick out all the verb forms alluding to events which have not yet taken place and therefore, in a story about past events, represent "the future in the past". The students will then have to account for each of the items discovered, in particular for the difference in meaning between "It *was going to be* lovely" (with the added sense introduced by "going to") and "she'*d sleep* in the big brass bed" or "What *would happen*...?" The verb form "leapt" in the sentence "What would happen when I *leapt* into the room..?" offers an excellent opportunity to have the students give some thought to the use of some words beyond the usual grammatical function with which they are normally connected. The context makes it clear that the past form of the verb "to leap" does not always refer to an event in the past. In the sentence, it expresses an imaginary action in the future, which exists only in the hero's mind. Other examples could be found by the students in connection with the verb "to wish". A translation into the mother tongue (French in our case) would show that other languages will use the same verb form in the two clauses ("Qu'arriverait-il quand je sauterais dans la chambre?"). Pointing out similarities and differences between the first language and the target language can be a great help in the learning process. Language awareness also has undeniable cultural and educational value, which is another good reason not to neglect it.

One should not, of course, overdo it and spend too much time teaching about the language. Using the language in a variety of communicative activities must remain a central goal. That is why I suggested inviting the class to observe language features at work in the text only *after* they have communicated about the content of the text. In the case of the extract by Laurie Lee which I have been using, it would be a mistake to interrupt the story, as I have done, with the

suspense created by the hero's questions ("What would happen...?") to have the class study the language forms of the text. The suspense must be fully exploited communicatively, to imagine Ellie's reactions and then discover the real end of the story which I must now give you, so that you do not feel too frustrated:

> "... I wanted to kneel to her then, first to worship, then to love. A floorboard creaked. Ellie stirred, then dreamily turned towards me.
> "Oh, no! Not *you* again, really! Arnold(2), you bad, bad boy ..."

As a conclusion, I would like to quote what we wrote in our Council of Europe study on syllabuses (Girard, et al 1988):

> "Learning a foreign language is an opportunity to acquire new skills which extend those acquired in the study of the mother tongue: being able to analyse or observe rules of grammar, appraising, forming an opinion, learning to analyse and synthetise, all this can be improved by learning a foreign language...
>
> The communicative approach does not mean abandoning cultural syllabuses ... Communicating should be taken in its widest sense: learning a foreign language is to come into contact with a new culture... Provided they are selected and apportioned in the interests of the child, cultural elements provide an excellent springboard for communication."

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(2) Laurie's best friend

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WHAT ROLE FOR GRAMMAR AFTER THE COMMUNICATIVE REVOLUTION?

Marianne Celce-Murcia

PRELIMINARIES

Whenever I give a talk involving the term "grammar" to a small group, I like to begin by asking everyone to write down a definition of "grammar" on an index card so that we can compare definitions, and so we can see very clearly that the term "grammar" means different things to different people. A group that I addressed earlier this year came up with five different kinds of definitions:

1. Aesthetic - a grammar can exemplify the best or most elegant way to express an idea or message.
2. Prescriptive - a grammar is rules that show you what is correct (eg, There are two books on the table) and what is incorrect usage (eg, There's two books on the table).
3. Social Etiquette - a grammar decides what is acceptable usage (eg, He isn't...) and what is unacceptable usage (eg, He ain't...).
4. Psycholinguistic - a grammar is the unconscious system of rules in the mind of a native speaker.
5. Descriptive - a grammar describes the rules or the system that a particular speech community follows when it uses language for communication.

From the perspective of descriptive grammar, of course, some of the so-called "incorrect" usages of prescriptive grammar and some of the so-called "unacceptable" usages of social etiquette become "grammatical" if one takes into account situational factors such as register, modality and speech community. In fact, in truly objective and non-judgemental descriptions, even the non-target-like interlanguage of second language learners can be considered grammatical to the extent that it is systematic and describable (Selinker, 1972).

From the perspective of foreign or second language teaching, the fifth and final definition given above--that of grammar as a description--is the one generally accepted and it is the one I shall follow most closely in this talk; furthermore, I would like to limit the scope of the term "grammar" to morphology (grammatical inflections on words) and syntax (word order and function words such as articles and prepositions). The speech community generally selected for descrip-

tion in foreign or second language teaching consists of well educated native speakers. This being the case, some of the other four perspectives on "grammar" can become part of the description at times, since well-educated native speakers make use of several different registers and varieties of English. (I'm leaving aside the issue of differences in geographical dialect, which is yet another source of grammatical variation).

If we accept the premise that language is a system developed for the purposes of communication; grammar (or structure), which reflects the form of language, is only one aspect of language--the other two being meaning and function. Language cannot be used for purposes of effective communication unless all three aspects are present and interacting with each other. In fact, all comprehensive models of communicative competence (see Canale and Swain, 1980, for an overview) include at least these three dimensions of language; they often include some other considerations as well.

Let us now turn our attention to language teaching methodology and the place that grammar has had within the profession during the past 35 years.

METHODOLOGY SINCE 1945

The Audio-lingual approach of the forties and fifties (eg Fries, 1945) and the Cognitive approach of the mid-sixties and early seventies (eg Jakobovits, 1970) were different in that the former was based on structural linguistics and behavioral psychology while the latter was associated with transformational generative grammar and cognitive psychology. However, both of these approaches were preoccupied with sentence-level grammatical structure. In pedagogical applications of both approaches, the structural syllabus was the only known way of organizing a language course and the purpose of second or foreign language instruction was to enable the learner to be able to use the forms of the target language accurately.

The lack of success of these two form-centered approaches in getting learners to communicate effectively in the target language and the growing popularity of socially-motivated models of communicative competence, particularly those proposed by Hymes (1972) and Halliday (1973, 1978) led to the emergence of the communicative approach to language teaching in the mid-seventies.

Wilkins (1976) was one of the first to suggest that a language syllabus should be organized according to meanings (ie, notions) and functions rather than forms (ie, structures). There were even some rather extreme proposals made to the effect that no instruction in grammar--implicit or explicit--was needed, ie, that language, which includes grammar, would emerge as a result of interaction and communication (Hatch, 1978) or that it would emerge as a result of comprehensible input (Krashen, 1981, 1982). The logical outcome of either of

these two points of view was that grammar had become obsolete. There was no need to teach grammar to students and no need for language teachers to spend much time learning about grammar since it had become more important for language teachers to know how to teach interaction and communication or how to make language input comprehensible to the learner.

There were, of course, more balanced views in applied linguistics right from the start of the communicative revolution concerning the continued importance of structure (or form), (see Wilkins, 1976: 66, and Canale and Swain, 1980). However, the language teaching profession, swept off its collective feet by the communicative revolution, often paid little attention to these voices of moderation. Now, however, there is both anecdotal and empirical evidence from second language acquisition research and classroom research (Higgs and Clifford, 1982; Long, 1986) indicating that adolescent and adult learners do not master the grammar of a second language merely through using or understanding the language; and many conservative classroom teachers, teachers who may never have fully accepted the communicative approach, are beginning to preach a back-to-basics sermon, which entails--first and foremost--the gospel of sentence-level grammar.

I saw and heard evidence of this newly rediscovered doctrine at the TESOL convention in San Antonio (7-11 March 1989). Many sentence--level grammar review texts from the fifties and sixties have been republished virtually intact; the only thing new is the cover. The unhappy editor of a publishing house that had developed a very sound contextualized and communicative grammar series told me at TESOL that one of their largest buyers was dropping the communicative series and going back to a sentence-level review because the sentence-level text prepared their students better for the TOEFL examination.

Even teachers who are fully sympathetic with the communicative approach have come to accept, for the most part, the fact that some focus on form--or "grammatical consciousness raising", as Rutherford and Sharwood Smith (1988) call it--is needed. There is, however, a great deal of confusion about how grammar can be successfully integrated into a notional-functional syllabus and implemented within the framework of the communicative approach.

Perhaps now that the communicative approach has reached adolescence (assuming that "birth"--in terms of public history--is approximately 1974 or 1975, which means the approach is about fifteen years old), we can reassess somewhat more objectively the challenges facing those who would like to integrate focus on form with a communicative approach to language teaching.

PREDICTIONS

In order to look ahead to the 1990's and predict how grammar instruction will be integrated with communicative language teaching, I made my own predictions, but I also consulted one of my most trusted colleagues: Dr Elite Olshtain of Tel Aviv University, Israel. We both agree that grammar is an integral part of language teaching and that it is now enjoying a rebirth, in marked contrast to its status ten years ago. We have thought about integrating grammar with communicative language teaching and have come up with slightly different predictions and suggestions, largely, I think, as a result of focusing on different student populations. Dr Olshtain works with teachers of younger, lower proficieny secondary-level EFL students whereas I work with teachers of older second language learners in adult school or university, some of whom have (or need) a high level of proficiency in English.

Dr Olshtain's predictions thus apply well to the foreign language study of younger beginning-level EFL learners in elementary and secondary schools. She feels that for such learners grammar must be presented very differently from the previous sentence-level treatments so that they can develop an understanding of how language works without a lot of drudgery. She gives the following series of activities as an example unit for this population.

First the pupils provide personal information by filling out a simple matrix or grid or by writing lists in response to simple instructions. In one matrix students can list the names of family members and then give everyone's name, relationship to self, age and height. This will allow for practice of comparative and superlative forms in a context completely familiar and meaningful to the learners:

- I am taller than my sister Sarah.
- My grandfather is the oldest in the family.

The pupils will also work in dyads in the classroom completing similar information on a grid about themselves and the other classmate in the pair; each pair will then make comparisons using very concrete and specific information:

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{I am}\\ \text{Ari is}\end{matrix}\right\} \text{ older than } \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{you are}\\ \text{Zev is}\end{matrix}\right\}, \text{ but } \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{you are}\\ \text{Zev is}\end{matrix}\right\} \text{ taller than } \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{I am}\\ \text{Ari (is)}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

The following column headings elicit lists which Olshtain asks pupils to generate:

THINGS I LIKE TO DO WHEN I HAVE TIME	THINGS I HAVE TO DO EVERY DAY	THINGS I DO OCCASIONALLY
go to the beach	make my bed	visit my aunt
play football	study	travel to Haifa
	do the dishes	
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.

These lists can then be used for practicing the simple present tense. Again, working in pairs, the pupils will write two sentences, or two short paragraphs, corresponding to each list:

- Every day I make my bed, study, and do the dishes.
- Every day Eli walks his dog and practices the violin.

This gives the learner practice with verbs in the simple present tense--both the uninflected first person singular as well as the inflected third person singular.

As a second step, the pupils will use the information they have generated and practiced during the first step to write a simple letter introducing themselves to a pen-pal in the US, thus incorporating the target structures into a meaningful piece of communication.

In the third step the teacher will present in class data that the students themselves have generated, with the data grouped according to each structure being taught (comparative, superlative, simple present tense). The teacher will get the students to come to some kind of grammatical generalization in their own words about each structure.

In the fourth and final phase, the teacher will give the pupils the formal rule for each structure and let them compare it with the rule they themselves have generated in step three.

Olshtain concluded her comments by stating that with this way of approaching the teaching of grammar within a communicative framework, the learners will need to take risks and to be more responsible for their own learning. And the teachers will need to know the material and the grammar thoroughly, to be flexible in responding to what the learners generate, and to be good classroom managers so that all practice (individual, pair and small group) is carried out efficiently.

My own perspective on the need for--and an approach to--grammar in the post-revolutionary 1990's has evolved from a chapter on text-based approaches to teaching grammar that I wrote for my most recent publication in this area (Celce-Murcia and Hillies, 1988). My prediction is that much of what we now

treat as sentence-level grammar will be reanalyzed and subsequently taught in relation to its role in discourse. It is only through an examination of how grammar operates in discourse--oral and written, using all common genres--that we and our learners, will truly come to understand what the "rules" of grammar are with reference to communication. Let me give you two examples.

Example One

Structural and traditional grammarians have long speculated as to the difference between the past habitual forms *used to* and *would* in the context of sentences such as the following:

- I (used to/would) go see my grandfather when I had the time.

However, beyond stating that *used to* is a more explicit and unambiguous marker of past habit than *would*, or that *used to* more clearly marks some sort of constrast of the past with the present than *would* does, not much useful information has been discovered by such paradigmatic and introspective analyses that would clarify for textbooks writers, teachers, or learners exactly what the difference between these two forms is.

One of my UCLA graduate students, Kyung-Hee Suh, has carried out a discourse analysis of past habitual forms in English as her M A thesis research (Suh, 1989). Among the many interesting things that she has discovered is the fact that in discourse *used to* typically sets up, or frames, a past habitual narrative episode by expressing the rhetorical equivalent of a topic sentence--whether in speech or writing--and that *would*, and sometimes the simple past tense or even the past progressive, mark the details that follow and expand on or elaborate the topic. My student has found dozens of naturally occurring examples of this discourse pattern. A few excerpts will suffice:

In Studs Terkel's *Working* (1974), which contains a great deal of transcribed spoken narrative, Ms Suh found many episodes like this one:

> The bad thing was they *used to* laugh at us, the Anglo kids. They *would* laugh because we*'d* bring tortillas and frijoles to lunch, they *would* have their nice little compact lunch boxes with cold milk in their thermos and they*'d* laugh at us because all we had was dried tortillas. Not only *would* they laugh at us but the kids *would* pick fights.

Not surprisingly, Ms Suh has also found the same pattern occurring in written narrative. The following example is from J D Salinger's novel *Catcher in the Rye* (1951):

When she was a very tiny little kid, I and Allie *used to* take...old Phoebe with us (to the park...especially on Sundays). She*'d* wear white gloves and walk right between us, like a lady and all. And when Allie and I were having some conversati[illegible]out things in general, old Phoebe*'d* be listening. sometimes you*'d* forget she was around, because she was such a little kid, but she*'d* let you know. She*'d* interrupt you all the time. She*'d* give Allie or I a push or something and say, "Who? Who said that? Bobby or the lady?" and we*'d* tell her who said it, and she*'d* say "Oh," and go right on listening and all. (p. 89)

These and other such texts can obviously function as an important part of a unit on expressing past habit in English. Learners would be exposed to a varied and rich data base, first for reading comprehension and then for analysis. For the analysis phase, they would have to answer questions like these: what is the meaning and function of *used to* in these text? What is the meaning and function of *would*? Do you see any other verb forms being used to express past habit in these text? How are all these forms distributed in the texts in relation to each other? Then learners would be asked to produce--orally and/or in writing--a past habitual narrative by selecting from four or five appropriate topics:

- What I used to do when I was (_____) years old
- What I used to do during my school vacations
- Things my grandmother/grandfather used to do
- Things my best friend and I used to do.

In the course of sharing and rewriting these narratives, students become ever more confident of using the rhetorical strategy that relates the use of *used to* and *would*; their understanding of these forms and related forms, take them well beyond the level of the sentence into the realm of discourse and communication.

Perhaps a second example making quite different use of discourse would be helpful at this point.

Example Two

Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 147) present and discuss various alternative forms for expressing the generic use of articles with countable nouns, where ("generic reference is used to denote what is normal or typical for members of a class"). They present the following sentences:

- The German is a good musician.
- A German is a good musician.
- The Germans are good musicians.
- Germans are good musicians

and observe that "singular or plural, definite or indefinite can sometimes be used without change in the generic meaning". Several years ago, Susan Stern (1977), one of my graduate students in Applied Linguistics, did some research on these forms because she found the lack of any meaning difference reported in Quirk and Greenbaum and in many other sources to be unsatisfying. She used entries from the 1962 edition of **The Encyclopedia Americana** as her database since an encyclopedia seemed a logical source for finding nouns used in their generic sense. Also, she decided that she needed to look at texts dealing with semantically different kinds of nouns since the possible generic forms that a noun could take seemed to vary with the semantic category of the noun. In other words, while nouns expressing nationality, ethnicity, or some other socio-political distinction could take all four of the generic patterns that Quirk and Greenbaum indicated, other types of nouns denoting plants, animals and inanimate objects such as musical instruments and inventions seemed to be more limited in the range of generic patterns they could take.

Stern selected one or two nouns from each of the semantic subdivisions and analyzed the passages she found for them in the encyclopedia, recording all instances where the noun was found generically. In describing national or socio-political groups, Stern found the *the +noun + plural* pattern to be the most frequent form, used typically to describe some physical, tangible characteristic:

Eg, *The Swedes* have been less subject to intermixture than many peoples.

In fact this pattern occurred with no other type of noun. In dictionary entries dealing with plants or animals, Stern found the abstract *the + noun* pattern to be the dominant one; the entries focused on giving the characteristics of the species:

Eg, *The rose* is of great importance to the florist and nursery business.
The tiger attains its full development in India.

The same pattern dominated for inanimate nouns referring to musical instruments and inventions:

Eg, The ultimate step in creating *the modern piano* was cross stringing.
Johannes Kepler subsequently developed the theory of the *the telescope*.

However, for inventions such as the telescope there were almost as many instances of the *zero article + noun + plural* pattern as of the *the + noun* pattern. In all such cases, there was a modifier present, which indicated that the statement was a generalization about a particular subclass rather than the more general class as a whole:

Eg, The mirrors of early *reflecting telescopes* were made of speculum metal 1.

In reading through the encyclopedia entries Stern found only a few instances of the generic *a/an + noun* pattern:

Eg, The very nature of farming requires that *a farmer* have his own home and family.
A wounded tiger has been known to spring on an elephant and to inflict serious wounds on the driver and occupants of the howdah.

Both examples generalize from individual cases; in the first example, *a* means *each* or *any*, whereas in the second example, use of *a* indicates that there are several instances where a tiger has best known to behave this way. Had the author used the generic plural noun phrase *wound tigers* instead of the singular with *a* to make this generalization, the reader might envisage two or more tigers attacking as a group 'n any given instance, instead of understanding that there were simply several incidents, each involving one tiger. Here the singular interpretation is clearly what the author intended to convey.

I have restated Stern's findings in some detail because I believe that ESL teachers and advanced ESL students, given the appropriate data to analyze, would be able to read texts involving definitions and descriptions--eg, encyclopedia entries or other such texts--and come to basically the same conclusions as Stern did about article usage with generic noun phrases in discourse. I feel that this is a more appropriate way to present this aspect of article usage than is the sentence level paradigm approach adopted in Quirk and Greenbaum (1979) and virtually every other reference on English grammar that one can currently consult.

Again, the reading and analysis will serve as preparation for the writing of a definition-description text by the learners. In fact, I would recommend that two texts be written: one dealing with a social-political group or a nationality so that the *the + noun + plural* pattern can be used; and the other text dealing with a plant, animal or invention, topics which would allow practice of the *the + noun* and the *zero article + noun + plural* generic patterns.

Ultimately, the class should also consider generic noun phrases in everyday conversation since this is the richest source of the *a/an + noun* pattern. the

dictionary entries were simply too formal to give the learner adequate data making any generalizations about this generic pattern.

CONCLUSION

In beginning to draw my remarks to a close, I want to emphasize that this discourse-based approach to grammar will require that students experience and analyze sufficient relevant data and subsequently apply the generalizations drawn from these data to producing their own texts on topics reflecting their needs or interests. If my predictions are accurate, then language teaching materials, teachers and learners will work primarily with texts--instead of sentences--when they teach/learn grammar, for grammar will ultimately be understood not at the paradigmatic sentence level, but at the level of discourse: what forms mean and how they distribute themselves in relation to similar forms within a particular genre or register or modality which happens to be reflected in a particular text.

This discourse-based approach, which I predict will become more popular in the 1990's, may be perceived, to some extent, to be in conflict with the highly social and interactive activities and exercises characteristic of the communicative approach (pair work, group work, information gap, etc). It would be a mistake to come to this conclusion, for this is not at all what I intend. The proposal I make here is one to supplement the social-interactive work now accomplished successfully in the best of the communicative materials and its purpose is to move learners beyond that level of fairly superficial everyday communication to the expression of experiences, proposals, thoughts, and ideas that can only be adequately expressed in extended discourse. There is, of course, no reason why the comprehension and analysis of example texts as well as the production and subsequent reworking of similar texts by the learners cannot be the source of numerous pair and group activities that make such discovery and learning enjoyable cooperative experiences. This is why I emphasize that increased use of texts--oral and written--to extend and enrich learner awareness of how grammar functions in discourse will supplement and extend rather than replace the current communicative materials.

I'd like to end this paper on a personal note. The prediction I am now making, ie that grammar will be taught and learned through discourse, has taken me back to an intriguing experience that I had many years ago. While in Nigeria from 1964 to 1966 on my first overseas teaching assingment, I met and was able to talk on one occasion with Chinua Achebe, the well-known Nigerian novelist. Since Achebe controlled the English language brilliantly and most of my university-level students did not, I asked him how he had been able to acquire such perfect English, what he had done that made him different from my students. (For the record, I asked him and he told me that until his university studies in

Ibadan, he had never had a native speaker of English as a teacher). Achebe thought about my questions for a while, and then he told me of his early passion for the novels of Charles Dickens. He would beg, borrow, or steal every Dickens novel he could, and when he got hold of a new one, he would completely devour it, virtually memorizing it from beginning to end. Achebe was fascinated not only by the stories Dickens told but by the way in which he told them. Achebe had become, as an adolescent, a very efficient analyzer of Dickens' discourse, and the results were phenomenal.

I'm not suggesting that we can get our students to study texts with Achebe's enthusiasm and skill. Achebe is an exceptional case, a creative genius and a gifted learner. However, on a smaller, more modest scale, and with a more diverse data-base in terms of genre and register, we can teach our students a version of Achebe's "text-based" strategy. In so doing, we will help them acquire grammar through discourse, which is an approach grounded in contextualized language that is thoroughly compatible with teaching language as a system for communication.

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COLLOCATIONS: WHERE GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY TEACHING MEET

Graeme D Kennedy

Language teachers are well aware that fashions or emphases change in their profession every few years. In the last decade or so, for example, there has been a focus at different times on the language learner, on the use of language, on authenticity of the spoken or written texts to which the learner is exposed, on interaction in the learning context, on communicative teaching, and on the teacher as an organizer of opportunities for learning. All of these have been important emphases. But there has also been, to the bewilderment of some language learners, an unwillingness by many teachers in recent years to focus on grammatical form or to analyse the units of the language being learned.

As Sinclair (1985) has written, however, "absence of interest in what one is teaching is surely a perilous condition". Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, there have recently been calls by applied linguists for a re-examination of the role of grammar in language teaching. At the same time, while the future can hardly be expected to lie in a sterile emphasis on teaching grammar and vocabulary as an unapplied system, neither can language teaching be improved simply by slogans such as 'Grammar is a good thing'. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that text-based pedagogically-appropriate descriptions of language need more emphasis as part of language teacher education in that they properly form part of methodology, informing curriculum designers and classroom teachers not only how a language is put together, but also throwing new light on what some of the units of learning might be. In this sense, more emphasis on pedagogical grammar can complement the greater focus on empirically-based instructional activities or learning tasks, a focus which promises to be important in the years ahead (Crookes, 1986).

The growing availability of microcomputers has begun to make easier the analysis of texts and there are indications that it might be possible to reinterpret what constitutes grammar and vocabulary respectively and thus enhance our understanding of what it is we learn when we learn a language. I am referring, of course, to research on the company words tend to keep, the routines, set phrases or collocations we habitually use when we speak or write.

The mainstream of both theoretical and applied linguistics has been fascinated over the last two or three decades by the generative character of language and especially its creative or innovative nature.

Chomsky, for example, who was probably the greatest single influence, made claims such as the following:

> We constantly read and hear new sequences of words, recognize them as sentences and understand them. It is easy to show that the new events that we accept and understand as sentences are not related to those with which we are familiar by any simple notion of formal (or semantic or statistical) similarity or identity of grammatical frame. (1959: 57)

Chomsky was of course reacting against behaviourist models of learning and especially against Skinnerian notions of verbal chaining. However, not everyone would agree that novelty lies at the heart of language use, and we do not have to go to Skinner for a statement to that effect. For example, that celebrated sailor, novelist and learner of English as a second language, Joseph Conrad, wrote in his great novel *Nostromo:*

> The value of a sentence is in the personality which utters it, for nothing new can be said by man or woman. (1904: 183)

The issue is then - Do we have largely open choice in rule-governed grammatical frames in the words we use, or do we learn and use collocations to a greater extent than is usually recognized? Although behaviourist models of language learning no longer enjoy widespread currency, research on collocations suggests that automaticity or habit formation from an information-processing or skills perspective still has some explanatory power. The extent to which collocations occur also suggests that it may be possible to teach some of what has usually been considered as grammar in terms of vocabulary. Thus, for example, ***at the present time*** can be considered from a grammatical viewpoint to be a prepositional phrase, or it can be viewed as a lexicalized unit which is often synonymous with the word ***now***.

In a statement as well known as that quoted above, Chomsky (1965: 5) characterized so-called traditional grammars as being deficient in that they leave unexpressed many of "***the basic regularities*** of the language with which they are concerned".

Traditionally and conventionally, regularity in language has been seen primarily in terms of rules of grammar (and discourse), and in vocabulary choice. In the last decade, however, a number of researchers have explored the nature of collocations as a particular type of regularity - the occurrence of particular sequence of words in language use by first and second language learners.

Papers by Krashen and Scarcella (1978), Nattinger (1980), Pawley and Syder (1983), Peters (1980) and Sinclair (1987) are among many which have summarized research on collocations and most recently there have been diction-

aries which record or take account of collocations (Benson et al, 1986; Sinclair et al, 1987).

Regrettably there is something of a forest of terminology, much of which overlaps. Researchers have often used different terms, many of which are synonymous, for *collocation*. These include the following (cf. Becker, 1975):

prefabricated routines	(how are you)
prefabricated patterns	(that's a ___)
sentence builders	(that's a ___)
unassimilated fragments	("to meet you" as a greeting)
formulaic speech	(as a matter of fact)
idioms	(kick the bucket)
cliches	(as a matter of fact)
lexicalized sentence stems	(as a matter of fact)
non-canonical forms	(on with the show)
polywords	(the powder room)
phrasal constraints	(by pure coincidence)
deictic locutions	(as a matter of fact)
situational utterances	(I'm glad to meet you)
verbatim texts	(oozing charm from every pore)
fixed phrases	(in brief; at the present time)
set phrases	(in brief; at the present time)

Sometimes, the term "patterned speech" has been used to include all the above. Since it is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss the various varieties of patterned speech, the word *collocation* is used here to include any recurring sequences of words. Suffice to say that whereas some researchers such as Krashen and Scarcella deny that collocations constitute "a large part of language", other researchers such as Pawley, Nattinger and Sinclair have argued that they are overwhelmingly pervasive.

In the research literature, the focus has been on the learning and use in discourse of what are often colourful collocations such as those illustrated. However, little attention has been paid to less striking but no less pervasive patterning throughout the grammar. Yet if the theory of collocation is to work, it has to work at the less striking, more mundane level. For example, English prepositions are considered to be hard to learn and teach, yet ten or twelve prepositions constitute about 10% of any spoken or written text. Computer analysis of large corpora makes possible the description of patterning and indeed shows that it exists to a striking extent at the level of the prepositional phrase. The remainder of this paper presents data from a computer-assisted analysis of the use of four English prepositions, AT, FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH - part of a study of the ten most frequent prepositions in the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen)

corpus (Johansson et al, 1978).

The LOB corpus is a 1-million-word representative sample of adult written British English. It is made up 500 samples, each of 2,000 words from a wide variety of genre. Although the texts in the LOB corpus are now almost 25 years old, it is one of the most accessible databases for computer-assisted analysis and in any case while language changes constantly, it is likely that prepositional usage is more stable than content word usage.

There are about 6000 occurences of AT in the one-million-word LOB corpus. That is 0.6% of the words, or one AT in every 166 words. FROM is slightly less frequent, occurring about once in every 216 words. BETWEEN occurs about once in 1,164 words, while THROUGH occurs about once in 1,314 words.

It is not difficult to find patterning in the use of the prepositions AT, FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH in the corpus. For example, Table 1 is a rank ordering of the 142 collocations beginning with AT which occur four or more times. They total 2,575 tokens, thus accounting for 43% of the uses of AT in the corpus. Close examination of Table 1 shows that a few collocations occurred with very high frequency; others, marked with an asterisk, probably reflect the particular texts in the corpus or do not seem to be formulaic (eg *at the Tate Gallery*); still others, while apparently formulaic, did not occur very often (eg *at the most* occurred only four times).

A further 932 tokens of AT occurred before the names of towns, institutions or events (eg *at Ascot*) but because none of these individual place names occurred four or more times, they are not listed in Table 1. Similarly, there were 236 tokens in the corpus of AT followed by personal pronoun (eg *at her*, *at him*). If these names of towns, institutions or events and the various personal pronouns are treated as allomorphs of collocations (AT + (THE) + PROPER NOUN DENOTING PLACE) and (AT + PERSONAL PRONOUN) then the total number of collocations beginning with AT occurring four or more times as listed in Table 1 would be 3,743, or 63% of the tokens in the corpus.

Thus, in a single table, almost two-thirds of the collocations beginning with AT in a representative sample of written British English can be indicated. As Table 1 shows, *at least* was the most frequent collocation, while others of less frequency such as *at the tailplane* may not be formulaic at all. Such a table may be of use to curriculum designers in checking the coverage of materials for language teaching, but is probably not of major theoretical interest.

It is, of course, possible to provide similar tables for each of the other prepositions. In this paper, however, it will be of more value to compare the four prepositions with regard to the left and right collocations they are associated with. Such a comparison shows that to treat these prepositons grammatically as roughly substitutable parts of speech can be very misleading. Yet most grammars of English do assume that English prepositions behave in a similar

Table 1 Right collocations of AT arranged in order of frequency

at least	249	*at the hotel	7
at + numeral	181	*at a temperature (of)	7
at all	175	*at a meeting (of)	6
at last	111	at any moment	6
at once	98	at best	6
at the same time	92	at dawn	6
at the end (of the)	88	*at his desk	6
at home	83	at rest	6
at the time	77	at stake	6
*at which	61	*at technical colleges	6
at present	57	at the edge (of)	6
at first	50	at the sound (of)	6
at any rate	34	at the thought (of)	6
at night	34	*at Manchester	6
at the moment (of)	34	*at Oxford	5
at the top	31	*at Covent Garden	5
at times	30	*at Christmas	5
at the beginning (of)	30	at the turn of	5
at this time	28	*at the school	5
at work	26	at the wheel	5
at the meeting (of)	25	at the worst	5
at that time	24	*at the India Office	5
at the age of	24	*at the July meeting	5
at the back (of)	22	*at the church	5
at any time	21	at the close of	5
at the bottom (of)	20	at the cost of	5
at the present time	20	at the far end	5
at about ___	19	at the first	5
at the expense of	19	*at the gate	5
at school	18	at the rear (of)	5
at this stage	18	at heart	5
at this point	17	at most	5
at one time	17	at right angles	5
at a point	15	at a later date	5
at length	15	at a rate of	4
at the head of	15	at a later stage	4
*at the same ___	15	at a loss	4
at the side (of)	14	at all costs	4
*at the door	14	at all levels	4
at a time	13	at arm's length	4
at a time when	13	*at around ___	4
*at Cambridge	13	at college	4
*at what	12	at each other	4
at the point (of)	12	at fault	4
*at the University	11	at high temperatures	4
at dinner	11	at low temperatures	4
at that moment	11	*at his feet	4
at. (clause final)	10	at its best	4
at hand	10	at long last	4
at large.	10	at midnight	4
at that.	10	at peace	4
at the foot (of)	10	at the base (of)	4
at the start	10	*at the dance	4
at the surface	10	*at the election	4
*at various ___	9	*at the hospital	4
at random	9	*at the house	4
at sea	9	at the last moment	4
at the front (of)	9	at the most.	4
at ease	9	*at the level of	4
at first sight	9	at the ready	4
at all times	8	at the root (of)	4
at a cost of	8	*at the other	4
at intervals	8	*at Eton	4
at the office	8	at the way	4
at the rate (of)	8	*at the tailplane	4
at this moment	8	*at the Foreign Office	4
*at London Airport	8	*at the Tate Gallery	4
at the table	7	*at universities	4
at the weekend	7	at will	4
at the centre (of)	7	at one point	4
at the corner (of)	7	at one.	4
at one end (of)	7		
at the heart of	7	Total	2,575

fashion, differing mainly in their so-called locative meanings.

Tables 2 and 3 compare the right and left collocations of the four prepositions. The rank ordering of the words which occur most frequently before and after the four prepositions are not strictly comparable because the preposition AT, for example, is much more frequent than BETWEEN or THROUGH and therefore the actual number of tokens of the collocations in each category are themselves not strictly comparable. To assist comparisons, therefore, a line is drawn across each column at approximately the point where a collocation occurs once in every 200 instances (or 0.5%) of that preposition. It is immediately apparent, for example, in Table 2, that whereas AT occurs in twenty right collocations which have a frequency greater than 0.5%, FROM has only three right collocations with comparable frequency, and only *from time to time* among these seems lexicalized. AT collocates strongly with certain preceding and following words, whereas BETWEEN and THROUGH tend to collocate most strongly with preceding words, as a comparison of Tables 2 and 3 shows.

A particularly striking point to note in Table 3 is that the prepositions can differ markedly not only in the particular lexical items which precede or follow them, but also in the parts of speech which the collocating items represent. Thus, as Table 3 shows, the most frequent words immediately preceding BETWEEN are nouns (eg *difference, relationship*). The most frequent words preceding THROUGH are typically verbs (eg *go, pass, come*).

From the evidence for these four prepositions , they cannot be taught as grammatical items which can be substituted for each other, differing only in the basic locative meaning in each case.

In fact, the basic locative meanings of AT, FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH do not notably stand out in the most frequent collocations which these four prepositions form part of. In English language teaching, however, it is the basic locative meanings which normally constitute the main pedagogical focus.

Text-based descriptions of the company kept by individual prepositions can also indicate the relative frequency of recurrent patterns of words and this should influence the work of curriculum designers and classroom teachers. For example the basic locative use of AT followed by a noun which is part of something occurs 281 times in the LOB corpus, (about 5% of the occurrences of AT). These are listed alphabetically in Table 4. However, not all are of equal likelihood of occurrence, as Table 4 shows.

least	249
(personal pronoun)	236
(number)	181
all	175
last	111
once	98
the same time	92
the end (of the)	88
home	83
the time	77
which	61
present	57
first	50
any rate	34
night	34
the moment	34
the top	31
times	30
the beginning (of)	30
this time	28
work	26
the meeting	25
that time	24
the age of	24
the back (of)	22
any time	21
the bottom (of)	20
the present time	20
about	19
the expense of	19
school	18
this stage	18
this point	17
one time	17
a point	15
length	15
the head of	15

from	(personal pronoun)	252
	(number)	165
	time to time	34
	(clause final)	30
	being	20
	London	18
	the first	17
	about	16
	outside	14
	behind	13
	home	12
	school	11
	the start	11
	early	10
	the beginning	10
	the fact that	10
	the window	10
	the point of view of	8
	the top	8
	all over	7
	going	7
	having	7
	here	7
	the house	7
	the outset	7
	there	7
	under	7
	all parts	6
	the back	6
	the end	6
	the moment	6
	within	6
	year to year	6
	abroad	5
	a number of	5
	the kitchen	5

between	(number)	96
	(pers.pronoun)	73
	the two	37
	(place) and (place)	22
	two	17
	(date) and (date)	12
	(clause final)	9
	these two	6
	the various	6
	earnings	4
	thumb and forefinger	3
	kin	3
	different	3
	now and	3
	road and	3
	any two	2
	changes	2
	home and	2
	jobs	2
	management and	2
	members	2
	objects	2
	people	2
	phenomena	2
	private and	2
	the ages of	2
	the bars	2
	the lines	2
	the parties	2
	the type of	2

through.	(clause final)	70
	(pers.pronoun)	47
	(person's name)	17
	the window	15
	to	14
	(number)	12
	(place)	8
	(her) mind	7
	with	7
	the door	6
	the house	5
	the trees	5
	her hair	4
	each point	3
	lack of	3
	the ages	3
	the books	3
	the day	3
	the town	3
	the years	3
	a door	2
	fear	2
	his fingers	2
	his teeth	2
	life	2
	negotiations	2
	Parliament	2
	prayer	2
	several editions	2
	the centuries	2
	the doorway	2
	the eyes of	2
	the foyer	2
	the good offices of	2
	the influence of	2
	the meal	2
	the motions	2
	the street	2

Tables 2 Comparison of rank ordering of right collocations

Table 3 Comparisons of rank ordering of left collocations

look (v.)	at	201
be		195
and		111
that		51
stare (v.)		49
up		45
arrive		44
not		43
but		35
it		35
down		34
(number)		32
live		30
glance		29
out		29
or		28
aim		26
smile		26
have		25
look (n.)		24
make		24
do		24
man		23
back (adv.)		23
him		22
stand		21
time		21
stay		20
year		20
her		19
here		19
house		19

away	from	136
come		110
apart		99
and		62
far		50
be		47
derive		37
range		35
up		33
arise		30
back (adv.)		29
obtain		26
it		25
take		24
out		23
vary		22
off		22
him		22
different		21
draw		21
free		21
learn		21
rise		21
result		21
make		19
suffer		19
but		19
differ		18
her		18
home		18
you		18
down		17
remove		17
them		17

difference	between	59
relationship		25
distinction		19
relation		16
gap		12
agreement		11
contrast		11
distance		11
place		11
be		10
exist		9
comparison		9
meeting		9
contact		8
link		8
in		7
and		7
lie (v.)		6
conflict		6
correlation		6
gulf		6
time		6
as		6
that		6
connection		5
interval		5
distinguish		5
pass		5
agree		5
out		4
border		4
exchange		4
proportion		4
quarrel		4
similarity		4
space		4
struggle		4

go	through	36
pass		33
come		20
be		15
and		13
get		12
break		10
run		10
him		10
way		9
it		8
fall		7
lead		7
look (v.)		7
out		7
in		6
live		6
them		6
only		6
all		5
carry		5
down		4
right		4
or		4
cut		4
flash		4
see		4
shoot		4
one		4
line		4
me		3
progress		3
obtain		3
peer		3
read		3
shine		3
for		3
but		3

Table 4 AT + THE + noun which is part of something

	No. tokens
back	22
base	4
bottom	20
centre	7
corner	7
door	14
edge	6
end	88
foot	10
front	9
head	15
heart	7
point	12
rear	5
side	14
surface	10
top	31
	281

Similarly, Table 5 shows what is perhaps really a commonsense patterning in the rank ordering of the occurrence of personal pronouns after the four prepositions, but one which shows that BETWEEN behaves somewhat differently from the other three, in that plural pronouns are most frequent after BETWEEN.

Table 5 Rank ordering of occurrences of personal pronouns following AT, FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH

AT		FROM		BETWEEN		THROUGH	
him	67	it	29	them	36	it	12
her	58	him	28	us	13	him	7
me	41	her	18	her	5	them	6
it	39	them	16	him	4	her	2
them	15	me	15	you	3	me	1
you	10	you	4	it	3	you	1
us	6	us	3	me	1	us	0

The data in Table 6 shows quite striking differences in the part of speech likely to occur immediately before each of the four words. THROUGH, for example, shows verbs as the most frequent category, whereas the other three show nominals as the most frequent, most strikingly so in the case of BETWEEN. FROM is less likely than the other words to begin a sentence or clause, although as Table 2 shows FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH often end a sentence or clause.

Table 6 Parts of speech occurring immediately before AT, FROM, BETWEEN and THROUGH

	% of tokens			
	AT	FROM	BETWEEN	THROUGH
Nouns or pronouns	41.6	45.0	66.2	28.7
Verbs	31.6	29.3	16.2	44.0
Adjectives	3.1	4.8	1.7	3.4
Other P.O.S.	16.7	17.2	10.1	15.0
Clause initial	7.0	3.7	5.7	8.9

In spite of the information which can be found by studying collocations in corpora, there are nevertheless some major problems in interpreting and using such information as is found in Tables 1-5. First, while there are some word sequences which we can be confident are lexicalized as a single unit (eg *at the moment*), there are other sequences which, while occurring reasonably frequently, do not have such a strong sense of belonging together (eg *from the outside*). On the other hand, there are others which occur in a particular corpus perhaps only once or twice, yet are recognized by users of the language as familiar or formulaic. Table 7 contains some such examples of collocations with AT.

Without psycholinguistic research, it is of course not possible to make valid judgements about which word sequences are significant as collocations and which are not.

Second, some collocations can be discontinous and therefore the study of recurring adjacent sequences alone is not enough to get a picture of how frequent a particular collocation really is. In the following sentence from the LOB

Table 7 Collocations with AT which occur infrequently in the LOB corpus

is not to be sneezed at	1
there is no chance at all	1
in no time at all	5
some at least of	1
for me at any rate	2
none at all	1
love at first sight	2
if at all	4
make yourself at home	1
what you are driving at	1
it was really no problem at all	1
what on earth was he playing at	1
near at hand	4
what is at stake	2
he was upset at being	1
yet, at the same time,	4
significant at the n% level	4

corpus, for example, six words come between *different* and *from*.

> Non-cooperators were not *different* in age or other environmental factor *from* the rest.

In the corpus, the word *different* occurs 364 times. On 21 occasions, it is immediately followed by *from*; on another eight occasions *different* has one intervening word before *from*; on two occasions there are two intervening words; once each there are three or four intervening words; and twice there are six. On 329 occasions, *different* is not followed by *from* at all.

Examination of discontinuous collocations suggests that a search of up to about five places either side of a key word is necessary to get a reasonably accurate picture of the frequency of a particular collocation. Simple computer programmes which identify a key word or node in context typically highlight words immediately adjacent to the right or left of the key word. It is also possible, however, to get the programmes to identify discontinuous collocations in text.

Even more striking than the possible discontinuity in collocations is the fundamental issue of the different functions of formally identical collocations. Consider the collocation *at the turn of* in Table 1. It is shown as occurring five times. These tokens were as follows:

1. at the turn of a knob
2. at the turn of the stairs
3. at the turn of the path
4. at the turn of the century
5. at the turn of Leo's key.

Semantically these have been little in common. In context, the first is an adverbial of manner. The second and third are locative, while the last two temporal.

Similarly, ***at once*** occurs 98 times in Table 1. Close examination of the collocations in context, however, shows that there are two quite different functions.

1. immediately (eg I replied at once)
2. simultaneously (eg I can't be everywhere at once).

In the LOB corpus, 89 out of the 98 tokens of *at once* mean *immediately*, and the remaining nine are used to mean *simultaneously*.

Collocations, of course, are frequently made up of more than two words. As noted above, FROM is immediately preceded by ***different*** on 21 occasions. In the case of fifteen of these occurrences, there is a preceding quantificational word showing a tendency to hyperbole, as Table 8 shows.

Table 8 Words which precede *different from* in the LOB corpus

	No. of tokens
very different from	3
so different from	3
fundamentally different from	2
little different from	1
too different from	1
completely different from	1
significantly different from	1
totally different from	1
utterly different from	1
essentially different from	1
	15

A similar tendency to hyperbole is seen with *support from* which occurs 9 times. Five of the nine words which precede *support* are *little, influential, utmost, unanimous, energetic*.

A further example of how statistical information on collocations might provide insights into the dimensions of the language learner's task can be seen in the adjectives which typically precede each of the four prepositions discussed in this paper. Table 9 contains the examples which occurred two or more times.

Not only are the adjectives or quantifiers almost entirely different, but there are also striking differences in the actual numbers of adjectives which occur before each preposition. *Available* and *far* are the only adjectives in the table which precede more than one of the prepositions.

It should be clear, then, that computer-based analysis of text can provide striking, often previously unknown information about the way a language fits together - something which is not grammar in the sense usually used by linguists because collocational studies go beyond systemic possibility by adding a statistical aspect, an aspect based on actual use.

The data described in this paper is of course indicative rather than comprehensive and ways of exploiting such information for language teaching are not yet clear. It does seem, nevertheless, that some items that have usually been considered pedagogically from a grammatical perspective can be treated more as vocabulary. There are several possibilites. In terms of approach, experiential teaching methods are already established as important for the teaching of both grammar and vocabulary. Interactional activities requiring, for example, the matching of collocations with glosses are consistent with communicative language teaching procedures. Cloze exercises which are often used for both vocabulary and grammar teaching can encompass collocations - the focus being on both form and meaning.

Reading activities can also be important for learning collocations. Texts for reading are often selected or modified on orthodox vocabulary grounds and there is typically some gradation or sequencing of grammar teaching. Systematic exposure to the most frequent lexicalized collocations could be another criterion.

There is another approach to the learning and teaching of prepositions which needs considering in light of the data I have described. If little of the richness and complexity of English prepositional use is captured by teaching prepositions as grammar, perhaps they should not be taught at all, but rather left to be absorbed through language experience, recognizing nevertheless that experiential learning, while natural, is not necessarily time efficient. That is a question which can of course be resolved only by more systematic research into the effects of different pedagogical practices.

What text-based collocational studies do suggest is that the description of grammar is, from the teacher's point of view, an essential part of methodology, but it needs to be based on more than the orthodox grammatical and lexical

Table 9 Adjective-preposition collocations

- AT		-FROM		-BETWEEN		-THROUGH	
present	10	far	50	far	3	all	5
good	10	different	21			available	2
more	8	free	21				
available	5	absent	11				
old	5	remote	8				
active	4	safe	5				
alone	4	clear	5				
high	4	distinct	5				
open	4	apparent	4				
significant	4	exempt	4				
hard	3	effective	3				
little	3	evident	3				
outstanding	3	forthcoming	3				
possible	3	fresh	3				
straight	3	immune	3				
useful	3	isolated	3				
aghast	2	available	2				
agreed	2	attractive	2				
alarmed	2	best	2				
brown	2	distant	2				
cheap	2	distinguish-					
clear	2	able	2				
important	2	indistinguish-					
mad	2	able	2				
necessary	2	due	2				
repayable	2	inseparable	2				
sad	2	familiar	2				
strong	2	obvious	2				
uncomfortable	2	latest	2				
usual	2	necessary	2				
warm	2						

description. Just as the teacher of botany does not take students into the jungle and expect them to learn about all the plants by simply being exposed to them, so the language curriculum designer and classroom teacher can facilitate learning by systematic presentation of the role of important language items and their linguistic ecology - the company words keep.

Whether we learn and use prepositions as parts of collocations or routines than as grammatical devices differing only on semantic grounds cannot be of course resolved on the basis of the data I have described. But we can be sure that there are more regularities in prepositional use than it has hitherto been possible to demonstrate, and that habit formation as part of language learning need not be inconsistent with post-behaviourist learning models. The study of collocations may thus have implications for our theories of language learning and for theories and models of language processing, as well as for the content of language teaching syllabuses, and pedagogical practices.

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USING DRAMA TECHNIQUES IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Hyacinth Gaudart

One has only to mention the word "Drama" and a vision of some stage production is raised. Mention "Drama" in language teaching and the vision of the stage production is transported into the domain of the language teacher who is then seen as putting on a stage production of some kind. To many teachers, the terms "drama" and "theatre" are synonymous. This concept has deterred the spread of the use of drama techniques in language teaching in Malaysia. Whenever the techniques are discussed, they are discussed among the initiated or those who would like to be initiated. The majority dismiss the techniques out of hand, feeling that they know what drama in language teaching is all about. Their assumption is that they will be taught how to put on a play and at that point they stop reading or listening.

It does not help that there are varying ideas as to the scope of drama, drama in education and drama in language education. The teacher can never be certain, therefore, which approach he or she will be faced with.

WHAT DRAMA TECHNIQUES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION ARE

It is extremely difficult to define drama techniques in language teaching. Watkins (1981) says that there exists no universally accepted idea of what drama is or what its purpose is in education. Accordingly to Holden (1981: 1), however, "drama applies to any activity which asks the student to portray himself in an imaginary situation; or to portray another person in an imaginary situation."

It is easier, in fact, to say what drama in language teaching is not. It is certainly not theatre. Theatre, implies performance. It is largely concerned with communication between the actors and their audience. One could go so far as to say that theatre is dependent on an audience. In Britain, in the 1950's and 60's, a distinction was made between drama in education and theatre activities. The developmental aspect of drama was stressed and emphasis was given as to how drama could be used to increase awareness, self-expression and creativity (Slade, 1967 and Way, 1967). Maley (1983) says that:

drama is more concerned with what is happening within and between members of a group placed in a dramatic situation. It is never intended for performance and rarely if ever rehearsed, since it depends on the spontaneous inventions and reactions of people involved in it ...drama involves the participants themselves.

Because theatre is a performance genre, it becomes inaccessible to a large portion of Malaysian society. It is important, therefore, that drama techniques for language teaching are not confused with "theatre".

In the context of this paper, drama techniques in ESL focus on doing, not presentation. The techniques provide learners with an atmosphere which enables them to get out of themselves and into situations and roles, which, in turn, allows them to practise the target language in meaningful contexts.

The techniques are largely problem-solving activities of various sorts. The students may or may not "show" their scenes to the rest of the class. The presentation, if any, is secondary to the preparatory work the students have put in.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF DRAMA ACTIVITIES

A review of the literature on drama in education would reveal its preoccupation with psycho-social aspect of the value of drama and their application in monolingual education systems. McGregor (1976), for example, offers two aspects of educational drama. The first, she calls, "learning through drama". This involves the exploration of issues and people through drama. The second aspect "envisages drama as an art form in its own right." Students are given a stimulus by the teacher and the students produce ideas and decide how to put them together and create a scene, with its own characters and situations, which is meaningful to them and sometimes to others. For McGregor, the value lies in the creative process and also the experience of working with other people.

In the teaching of ESL/EFL in Malaysia, this cannot be an end in itself. Inevitably, teachers will ask, "What area of the syllabus will this teach?" The advocate of drama techniques must be able to answer that demand. In teacher training, there is a need to show teachers how these techniques will fit into an overall plan, into their curriculum, and even more than that, show how these techniques can answer their needs effectively. It has not been enough, therefore, that Mrs X can use drama techniques effectively. What has been more necessary has been to discover what activities would work more universally than others, what teacher and pupil variables contribute to the success or lack of success of the activities and what adjustments could be made to make the techniques more universally applicable. We who are interested in *language* education, need to

consider the pedagogical and linguistic aspects of using drama techniques in the language classroom.

USING DRAMA TECHNIQUES IN THE ESL/EFL CLASSROOM

To try and consider these pedagogical and linguistic issues, research was begun in 1978, involving more than 300 secondary and tertiary teachers, some in a one-off observation, others in continuous observations over a number of years. The results of the research are based on observations by the researcher as well as self-reports by teachers and pupils.

THE TEACHERS

The teacher-subjects have ranged in experience and abilities. They may be categorised into the following:

(a) teacher trainees with minimal classroom experience
(b) teacher trainees from inservice programmes with less than five years of teaching experiences
(c) teacher trainees from inservice programmes with more than five years of teaching experience.
(d) secondary school teachers who were first introduced to the techniques in pre-service teacher training and are currently using the techniques in secondary schools.
(e) tertiary level teachers.

Of the five categories, categories (d) and (e) were the most confident and convinced about the use of drama techniques in their classes. They did not use the techniques as much as they wanted to, however, for various reasons. The major problem was the fear that the institutional authorities would not approve of what they were doing. Both the tertiary and secondary teachers in the study were able to devise activities to suit the different abilities of students in the various classes they taught and were also able to create activities to suit the interest of their students.

The teacher trainees from inservice programmes varied in their acceptance of the techniques.

(i) Those with more than five years of teaching experience were generally less willing to apply the techniques in their classes, dismissing them as unworka-

ble. The exceptions are five teachers who are attempting these activities on "hot afternoons".

(ii) Those with less than five years experience, on the other hand, were more willing to try. They report different degrees of success.

As it has not yet been possible for the researcher to conduct observations of the classes of this group of teachers, the data gathered by these teachers have been set aside for purposes of this paper.

Where the teacher trainees with minimal teaching experience are concerned, some were better teachers than others. As such, the data gathered from these subjects will be treated separately from that gathered by experienced teachers.

THE STUDENTS

The student-subjects may be divided into those in lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools and tertiary institutions. They were further subdivided as follows:

(a) advanced learners in schools
(b) advanced learners at tertiary institutions
(c) intermediate learners in schools in urban areas
(d) intermediate learners in schools in rural areas
(e) intermediate learners at tertiary institutions
(f) low-level learners in schools in urban areas
(g) low-level learners in schools in rural areas
(h) low-level learners in tertiary instutions.

The classes at tertiary level ranged from 10 to 30 students. The minimum class size at secondary level was 35 and the largest 51. The average secondary class size was 43.

The learners varied in social background, attitudes towards English and attitudes towards their teacher. In some schools, for example, learners were in English classes because they were forced to be there. In other schools, students were highly motivated to acquire so that they could study abroad. In yet other schools, students studied English but had no idea why they were studying English or when they would ever use English once they left school. Such situations played a great part in determining the success or otherwise of drama techniques. Learners with intrinsic motivation accepted the techniques whole-heartedly. However, although the vast majority of those with extrinsic motivation accepted the techniques, there were some who felt they were having too much fun for

them to be learning very much.

On sub-categorising the learners according to sex, it was found that it was easier to use drama techniques in single-sex schools than in coeducational schools, and the easiest of all in single sex girls schools. In girls' schools, while one or two girls were reluctant, the large majority entered into the activities with a great deal of enthusiasm. In boys' schools, while some boys seized the opportunity to become as rowdy as possible, others really put their best effort into all activities. In coeducational schools, however, reactions varied. In urban schools, more girls were reluctant to volunteer for activities which implied any sort of performance and were generally more subdued than girls in all-girls' schools. The boys in coed schools, however, were easier to organise than boys in single sex schools. They were more submissive. However, there were also "shy" boys in coeducational schools. There appeared to be none in the boys' schools in the study.

It should be pointed out, however, that the single sex schools are also the premier schools in the country. How much the schools climate has contributed to this situation is difficult to ascertain.

TYPES OF DRAMA ACTIVITIES

In training teachers to use the techniques in their classes, certain types of drama techniques have been given emphasis. The research thus looked at the success of each of the following:

1. Language games (including improvisations)
2. Mime
3. Role play
4. Simulations.

These were related to the four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing, with greater emphasis on listening and speaking. It should be pointed out that the sub-divisions are purely administrative because overlapping takes place. It has not been important for teachers to distinguish among the types of drama techniques. Such distinctions have been more for the researcher's reference than for the teachers'.

LANGUAGE GAMES

The games ranged from structured language practice (like using a pack of cards eg "Happy Families" to practise making and receiving phone calls or to

introduce themselves to one another) to less structured activities which sometimes border on improvisation.

An example of a "warm-up" drama used in class is "Circles of Fun" (Gaudart, 1979) in which students are placed in groups of eight or ten. They sit around in a circle, holding hands, legs straight in front of them. They have to rise to their feet without bending their knees and without releasing their hands. How they go about it is up to them.

Generally, language games are based on observation (memory), interpretation (guessing) and individual/group interaction. Most "games" are based on exercises used in drama training, usually for relaxation and warm up.

From the research it was found that, unless the games were of the structured kind, teachers were less willing to use them in their classes. Observations indicated that the less structured games allowed students the easiest switch to their mother-tongue or Bahasa Malaysia. Even in upper-intermediate and advanced classes, when the game got exciting, student switch out of English. The exceptions were two schools where the large majority of pupils used English as their home language or one of their home languages.

Unstructured game also demanded very minimal teacher control. To a casual observer (like an authority figure) it would indeed seem that the class was out of control. This gave teachers the added pressure to convince the uninitiated that the class was indeed under their guidance and that the apparent disorder was in fact in order. Thus, although students reported having enjoyed the lessons, teachers were reluctant to use the activities again in class. Instead, unstructured games were relegated to meetings of the English Club.

MIME

To the language teacher, one could generally say that mime is acting out an idea or story through gesture, bodily movement and expression, without using words. This may seem strange in a language classroom. Why advocate a technique that does not require students to speak? But educational technology is full of audio-visual aids which just as silent until they are used to prompt language. Savignon (1983: 207) says that the mime helps learners become comfortable with the idea of performing in front of peers without concern for language and that although no language is used during a mime, it can be a spur to use language. John Doughill (1987: 13) supports this when he says that not only is mime one of the most useful activities for language practice, it is also one of the most potent and relatively undemanding. Its strength lies in that although no language is used during the mime, the mime itself can act as a catalyst to generate and elicit language before, during and after the activity.

Mime activities can be carried out individually or in groups. A story or

newspaper article could be read and then mimed. Alternatively, students could listen to an account and then mime what they hear. For example, a simple story could be planned and executed by the students in a mime. Possibilities for follow up language work are then tremendous. Questioning techniques could be practised, explanations of particular events given, or the story could be related or written out. Melville, Langenheim, Spaventa and Rinvolucri (1980) suggest a number of ways in which grammar could be taught through mime. They suggest tense drills through mime, questions through mime, teaching prepositions and phrasal verbs through mime. They also suggest ways of using the mime form to stimulate oral narrative work. In an English language classroom where literature and drama are incorporated as components of the subject and are integrated for classroom activities, the mime can take the form of improvisation of literary work. The possibilities go on.

It would be incorrected, however, to over-estimate the use of mime. Long and Castanos (1976: 236) warn us that "mime clearly has its limitations in the communication of many language items and should not be relied upon for teaching them." Certainly it should not be the sole teaching technique used to teach any language item.

There have been three main ways in which thespians say the mime can be used in the classroom. The first way requires learners to imagine themselves in a certain physical environment and then act in mime as though they are. The second way is the formal mime which involves more precise formalized movements. The third type is done in groups. Different parts of the body and space are explored and personal relationships are built through physical contact. It has been found that the latter two ways are less possible in a Malaysian context. The stylised mime may be used as a drama club activity but is less acceptable in the context of the classroom as time is spent on physical training rather the job in hand. Some pundits would say that because the teacher is using the second/foreign language for the activity, students are being exposed to the language. Teachers, however, need a more convincing argument than that. Teachers want a teaching point to justify the use of the activity and acqu ing English incidentally is not one of them.

In the third type of activity, physical contact goes against cultural norms in most Malaysian schools and even causes discipline problems in some. A course on using drama activities, therefore, has to give students a context for this form of mime and movement. For example, students could be asked to be parts of a machine and have to interact together to create that machine. Single sex groups are optional and how much physical contact takes place is totally up to each group.

The problem with the mime form is that it is difficult to remove the "performance" aspect form it entirely. That may be a stumbling block. Students who are quite happy to watch a mime may not be as willing to perform. The teacher

has to be sensitive to these students and plan activities so that there is a way out for these students not to perform, for the teacher not to have to insist that they perform, and yet encourage those who might like to perform but need that final push to do so.

Among forty trainee teachers who tried out the mime form in their classes, for example, five student teachers reported a lack of or limited success with using the technique in their classes. All five appeared to have insisted that students perform when the students were reluctant to. Here are some of their comments:

(1) It was not successful. They didn't know how to act. I had to demonstrate first but still the pupils were too afraid and shy to act. Only the last two groups were good.
(2) Even after prior explanation and discussion they were still shy of acting the mime. The amount of time taken just to cajole them into acting gave me little time for the followup activity which was for them to describe the mime.
(3) The students made a lot of noise. They were reluctant to come out and act.
(4) Was it successful? Yes and no. "Yes" because they finally did actually come out to the front for the class) and did something. But it was minimal. So I would also say "No" because there was not much action.
(5) Some of the students enjoyed this activity. They were eager to act and mimed out the story well. Other students (especially the girls) were more reluctant to carry out this activity.

Students four and five later reported better success when they designed activities which did not need each person to act. Instead, students were given the option to supply sound effects or be "props", like trees or rocks. In other activities, they would mime only to their own groups but not to the rest of the class. Sometimes, the teachers identified those who were eager to perform and those students performed for the class which then used the mime for the follow-up activities. Students 1, 2 and 3 could not design activities that students 4 and 5 did. They reported consistent failure. When given a lesson plan which had been successful in an almost similar class, they found limited success with it.

In my observations of their classes as they tried out the lesson plan given to them, I found their learners tolerant rather than enthusiastic. They had had so many mime activities by then that, as one student said, "Aiyah! Again, ah, Boring, lah."

There is the danger then of overkill, especially if the teacher cannot create activities which stimulate rather than traumatise. Students 1, 2 and 3 were "borderline pass" cases for their practical teaching. Their marks were, in fact, among the lowest five in the class of ninety. The question one could ask is

whether such teachers should only keep to a coursebook. Would their learners be better off not doing mime activities with these teachers? We cannot answer that question at this stage.

ROLE PLAY

Role play is possibly the most familiar to teachers, and therefore the most acceptable of the drama techniques. Research indicates, however, that teachers' interpretation of role play varies. The most common form of "role play" is to select a dialogue, often an extract for listening comprehension, assign parts to the students and get them to read the dialogue aloud with the teacher correcting pronunciation errors. In training and retraining teachers, we have attempted to move them away from this "model" and teach them to create situations which would give rise to more spontaneous speech.

There are many types of role play: dramatic plays, story dramatization and sociodrama, seminar style presentations, debates and interviews. They range from beginners' role play for weaker students to advanced role plays for the more proficient students in the ESL classes. At lower levels, for example, students, working in pairs may be asked to greet each other, or invite the other person for some occasion. At a higher level, the invitation can be of increased difficulty when one student is asked to persuade the other person to attend an occasion but the other person is very reluctant to do so. At an even higher level, students, working in groups, are given pictures of people. They are assigned roles, each student playing the role of someone in the picture. They are given a few minutes to decide what the person is like. They then act out what is happening in the picture, what the people are saying, how they are behaving and so on. The next challenge can come when the teacher changes the situation. For example, the picture shows a street scene. The teacher, after about ten minutes of the first role play, changes the scene. "You are now attending a party," she tells them. "So-and-so is the host. How will you behave now?" Different types of role play demand different approaches. The way the role play is introduced, the description of the roles, the facilitation and debriefing sessions vary accordingly.

Teachers often feel that a great deal of preparation is required from the teacher because the students must be given clear guidelines as to how to carry out the role play. Although this is true, the same could be said for any classroom activity which is not tied to a coursebook. The presentation needed for a role-play activity is not much more than for other non-coursebook activities.

Another objection which has been expressed is that role play is too emotionally demanding because the task is performed in front of others. Contrary to this belief, however, role play does not automatically mean that the task has to be *performed* in front of others. In the pairwork activity described earlier, for

example, when students greet each other, they are not "performing" for the other person. The whole class could be working in pairs at the same time so no one is *performing* for anyone else. The question of the task being emotionally demanding therefore does not arise. It is important, in fact, not only for role play but for all drama activities in the classroom, that there is no audience.

Our teachers are reminded, therefore, that at all times, they need to keep in mind that they are language teachers. They are not psychiatrists or psychologists or directors of stage companies. The role-play activities they choose should be relevant to the *language* needs of their students. Students' emotional needs are best left to other experts.

As in the case of other drama activities, however, we cannot over-estimate the importance of role play as a teaching technique. One claim which has often been made for role play and other drama activities, for example, is that it allows students to practise paralinguistic communication. Such practice is possible only if two variables are present:

(i) that the teacher knows the "correct" gesture in the target language and
(ii) that students have been taught the gestures.

There are two communication acts, for example, which have posed real problems for learners:

(i) the hand gesture asking/indicating/requiring someone to approach the initiator of the communication act.
In Malaysia, it is rude to gesture with one's finger. The whole hand is used, palm downwards. This, in British and American culture is a leave-taking signal.
(ii) uh-uh.
In Malay culture, this is an agreement signal. In American culture, this is a disagreement signal.
We have found that knowledge of the difference in speech acts has not been sufficient to deter students from using their own cultural forms in role play and simulation.

SIMULATION

Jones (1980: 4) calls a simulation a case study where learners become participants in an event and shape the course of the event. The learners have roles, functions, duties, and responsibilities within a structure situation involving problem solving. A proper simulation does not encourage a teacher to control the behaviour of his or her learners. It is, in fact, dependent on what each partici-

pant contributes to the situation in the form of skills, experience and knowledge.

A clear line cannot be drawn between role play and simulation. These two drama activities overlap. Role play is frequently used within simulations. In role-simulation, the participant remains the same individual while reacting to a task that has been simulated on the basis of his own personal or professional experience. In language teaching, the differences between role play and simulations are not that important. As Livingston (1983: 1) pointed out, "the main concern for the language teacher is the opportunities role play and simulations provide."

The function of a simulation is to give participants the opportunity to practise taking on specific roles and improvising within specific situations on the assumption that with practice the participants will play their roles more effectively when situations involving similar skills occur in real life. A simulation activity provides a specific situation within which students can practise various communication skills like asserting oneself, expressing opinions, convincing others, arguing eliciting opinions, group-problem solving, analysing situations and so on (Smith, 1984). Using given details of the relevant aspects of a situation, participants have to make decisions or come to some agreement or resolve a problem, thus meeting a challenge posed by the simulated situation.

Role play and simulations have long been used as a form of training in the professional field, but it was only in the 60's that simulations became more acceptable in classrooms. It was even later that their value as effective devices for facilitating communication practice in the foreign language classroom was formally recognised.

In ESP classes, simulations are particularly useful in practising and evaluating the use of procedures and language (vocabulary and structures) specific to particular skills. For example, tertiary level law and syariah students have benefitted from simulations of court room trials, while business students have enjoyed participating in meetings of various sorts. Thus a marriage of the original role of simulation as a training device in the professional arena and of its new found role as a language and communication generator are allowed to merge to bring about successful language learning. The relevancy of the activities to student needs are immediately apparent to the learner, motivating him to participate more fully in the speech acts and events simulated.

Simulations in ESL classrooms in schools can involve the students in making decisions or negotiating with one another. They can be in the form of any problem-solving activity based on any area relevant to the ESL students. They could also arise out of well-used teaching materials like maps, cartoons, diagrams, recorded interviews, newspaper and magazine extracts and so on, as well as less used teaching materials like items found freely in the environment - leaves, sticks, stones and so on.

Role play and simulations differ from traditional dialogue drills in that

students are encouraged to develop genuine conversational skills. They are required to listen carefully and then choose possible responses rather than repeat what has been written for them.

Butler (1977) incorporated, as part of her evaluation, simulation exercises which explored attitudes and promoted language awareness. Results indicated that students participating were involved and interested, gained awareness were required to be highly observant, were able to communicate and were indeed motivated to express themselves.

ESL research in simulation or role-simulation is generally silent. Besides defining and describing modes of simulation as a dramatic technique beneficial to learning, and suggesting examples of this, most pundits do not present evidence of any research to back their claims as to the suitability of role-play and simulations.

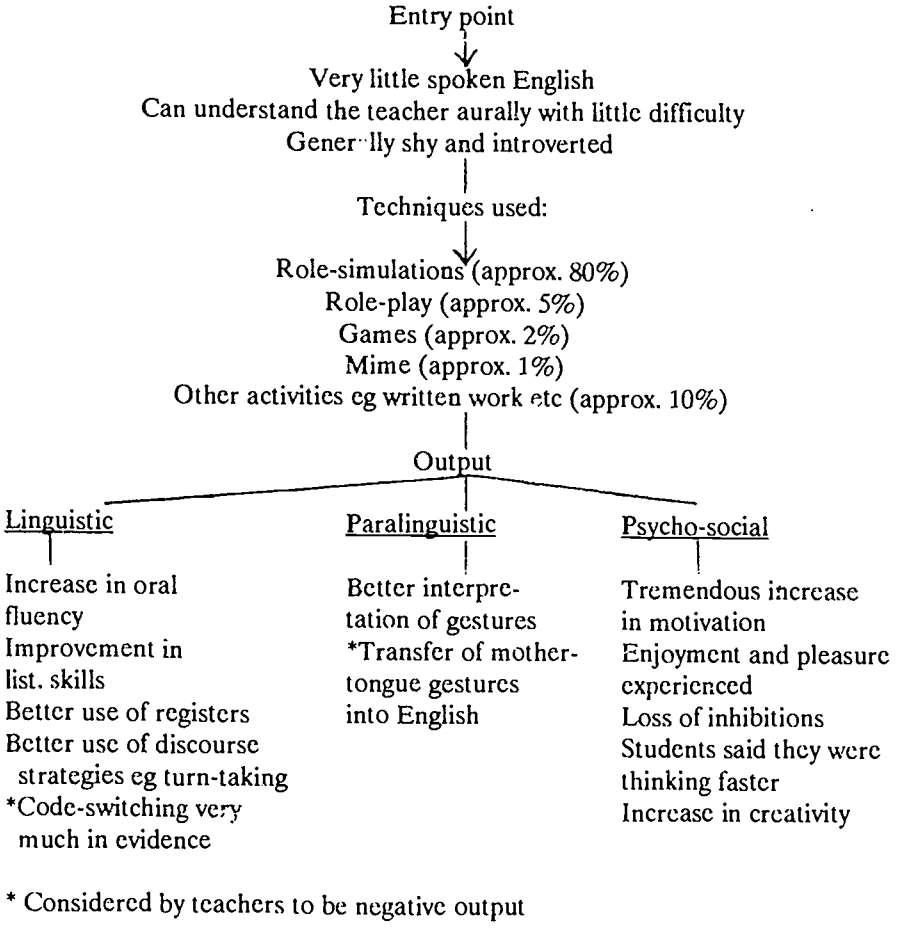
This has been true, to some extent, of this research too because it is difficult to isolate the variable and say that simulation is more or less effective than any other technique. There are three teachers in the project, however, who prefer using role-simulation to other techniques and indeed use it more than 50% of the time in their classes. These three case studies involve Form Four (Grade 11 or sixteen years old) students in secondary schools in Malaysia. All three teachers teach in single sex schools in small towns. The students are intermediate and advanced level learners of English. Some of the students are from village but room in school hostels in the towns and go back to the villages about once a month.

In all three case studies, the teachers report success in oral skills after using simulation activities for a year. Fig. 1 shows the progress made:

Where pedagogy was concerned, however, it was apparent that the teachers had put in a great deal of thought into making the simulations relevant and exciting. In the three case studies, the pedagogical problems reported were:

* the teacher needed to be creative
* fear that the administrative might feel that the teacher had lost control of the class
* there was a great deal of noise generated which did disturb the other classes
* it was difficult to get some of the pupils involved in the tasks and conversely,
* some pupils dominated the activities.

Figure 1



* Considered by teachers to be negative output

Besides these case studies, a number of one-off simulation activities have been reported by teachers at secondary and tertiary levels. All of them report the same problems. It is interesting, however, that in the case studies, the teachers found that after a few weeks, the behaviour of pupils changed. The problems decreased as the year went on. A positive note is that in both the one-off reports and the case studies, except for low-level secondary school students, pupil enjoyment and, through that, motivation, increased tremendously. Teachers report that pupils who had expressed boredom with their lessons said that they looked forward to their English classes.

SUCCESS AND PROBLEMS OF THE DRAMA TECHNIQUE

In general, we can say that drama techniques have worked for most teachers. Some techniques have worked better in certain circumstances than in others. The variables have been teacher competence and experience, linguistic competence of the pupils and the social setting. Drama activities which do not emphasise performance are more universally applicable then those which do.

A survey of attempts at various activities indicates that advanced students at tertiary, upper secondary and lower secondary levels generally enjoyed language games, mime, role-play and simulation. Intermediate level urban students in lower and upper secondary schools also enjoyed and found those activities useful. While rural intermediate level students in lower secondary classes entered into the activities whole-heartedly, however, it was difficult to enthuse upper secondary intermediate level rural students in role play. They were more open to language games, simulation and the mime form. Tertiary level intermediate students, on the other hand, enjoyed role play and simulation activities but considered mime activities "acting" rather than language learning and felt that the games were not very useful for them.

Role-play and simulation were also successful with low-level tertiary students. These students also enjoyed the language games and mime activities. Low level lower secondary rural and urban students also enjoyed language games and mime activities, even though pedagogically, the urban lower secondary pupils appeared the most difficult to organise and keep in order.

Table 1

Willingness of Learners to Carry Out Drama Activities

	Advanced	Intermediate					Low Level Learners				
	All	Urban		Rural		Ter.	Urban		Rural		Ter.
		LS	US	LS	US		LS	US	LS	US	
Games	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mime	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Role-play	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Simulation	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Table 2

Ability of Learners to Carry Out Drama Activities

	Advanced	Intermediate					Low Level Learners				
	All	Urban LS	Urban US	Rural LS	Rural US	Ter.	Urban LS	Urban US	Rural LS	Rural US	Ter.
Games	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mime	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Role-play	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Simulation	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y

Not so with upper secondary students. Upper secondary, low-level rural students participated more fully in mime and role play activities than in language games and simulation. None of the activities were successful with urban upper secondary low-level students, even though their teachers felt that they had enough language to at least attempt the mime and role play. The girls remained reluctant and the boys disrupted not only their own class but other classes too.

While the low-level tertiary students attempted to use English all the time in their classes, the low level upper secondary students used English about half the time in role-play activities and no English at all in the other activities. The low level lower secondary students attempted to use English most of the time in role-play activities and some of the time in the other activities. They had problems carrying out the simulations to the teachers' satisfaction, however. Teachers felt that too much code switching took place in the simulation activities. Although the teachers felt that the learners were able to carry out role-play activities, they had to be guided in their attempts.

In sum, therefore, one could say that drama activities were less successful with upper secondary school low level learners than with the other learners. This may not necessary mean failure for drama techniques or the application of them, however, but might be due to other problems not peculiar to English. In two schools where students were "streamed" according to ability, for example, these low level learners of English were also considered "low level" in all other subjects. They were also disruptive in their other classes.

USE OF DRAMA TECHNIQUES

Teachers have used drama activities to introduce and conclude lessons and have found that using a drama activity as a set induction has caught and held the attention of the students and stimulated their creativity. ESL lessons became less monotonous.

The activities were also used as a follow up to the teaching of particular language forms and functions and provided practice for students. It was found that not only was the language reviewed and consolidated, but that the activities stimulated other language forms as well and also motivated the students.

This motivation factor is important in Malaysia as many students have no idea why they are studying English. Most of them do so because the Ministry of Education has decreed that they do so (Gaudart, 1985). The drama activities have added relevance, variety, excitement and fun to the ESL classroom. They have provided a change from the traditional classroom arrangement and allowed students to be totally involved in the task.

This has also meant that the role of the teacher has changed. The class is more of a learner-centred than a teacher-centred one. The teacher is merely the facilitator. Although this concept of the teacher as "mere" facilitator, is not new in ESL, the pedagogical applications of this concept in the Malaysian classroom has not been easy for many Malaysian teachers to accept fully. The teacher who uses drama techniques has to pay more than lip service to the concept. To create a conducive atmosphere which relaxed and informal, s/he will not only have to willingly accept the idea of a learner-centred classroom but advocate it as well to his or her learners.

Some teachers have therefore expressed their reservations regarding the use of drama techniques for language teaching. Their main complaint has been that the teacher "loses control" of the class, not only over what is learnt and the order that it should be learnt, but also over class discipline. In a number of classes, the students got so carried away that they became noisy and disruptive. This problem of noise level has been further aggravated by class size and thin/missing classroom walls.

In some cases, teachers are afraid that drama techniques would be regarded as too entertaining or frivolous. The ESL students would then not take the lesson seriously. They would merely enjoy the lesson but at the end of the lesson, complain that they had learnt nothing. Students might fail to see the objective behind each activity.[1]

Cohen and Manion (1985) suggest simulations as a means of assessing work. Interestingly, none of the teachers reported using any of the drama techniques for assessment purposes. There are two possible explanations for this:

(i) it could be the fault of the researcher who did no emphasise this use to the

teachers, or,

(ii) it could be the influence of the examination system which lays greater emphasis on written products for testing. Teachers then begin to think in terms of monthly tests and end-of-term tests which are mini replications of the public examinations.

THE FINAL WORD

It is true that when planning a lesson using drama techniques, it is important that the learners' level of proficiency, needs, attitude, motivation, experience, abilities, personalities, age and interests be considered. Since this sort of planning should be true not only for drama activities but of all teacher-designed activities, it should not discourage teachers from attempting drama activities in the class. The teacher should, however, be clear as to what his or her role is and what his or her relationship is with the students. Will s/he be an observer, a consultant, or a facilitator? If s/he intends running a teacher-dominated classroom, then drama techniques are out. A warm relationship between teacher and students will go a long way towards the success of the activities. It should be emphasised, however, that this warm relationship is a two-way process. In a large class, if students refuse to meet the teacher halfway, the teacher, for self-survival, will be forced to seek alternative measures and resort to the traditional teacher-centred classroom.

Teachers who have reported success after using drama techniques over a long period of time, have not had it easy initially. Their students were not used to learner-centred classroom and some preferred teacher-centred classrooms. Some students became involved when they saw the rest of the class having fun while others sought to prevent their classmates having fun. When they did get involved in the activities, however, most students expressed their appreciation of their lessons and most of them demanded such lessons on a regular basis. Once this happened, the teachers reported that life for them was much more pleasant as students were motivated and cooperative. It became easier for them to organise activities. Their work, in fact, became lighter.

It was found, however, that not all teachers are able to use these techniques as their personality, world view and preconceptions about teaching persuaded them into a different style of teaching. Since their style of teaching had worked for some of them for years, it is difficult to see why they should be persuaded to change and no attempt was made to do so.

The results of the research, therefore, have as their main limitation the fact that only teachers who are convinced about the techniques continue to be involved in the research and they also happen to be those who, as student teachers, had done well in their course. They are therefore very competent and creative

and able to select relevant tasks for their students. How less competent teachers could be taught to approach the techniques is now under investigation.

The possibilities of using drama techniques as teaching techniques are limitless. The main problem is not in the techniques but in convincing teachers that drama techniques can usefully be used as teaching techniques. The idea that performance is required scares many teachers. "Drama" unfortunately then, has negative connotations for many teachers because of its tie to performance. This has prevented teachers from getting acquainted with the teaching techniques. They assumed that performance is required and are no longer interested. This has prevented the use of drama techniques in language teaching from extending over the country as widely as it should. For greater acceptability, therefore, the performance aspects will need to be deemphasised as much as possible in teacher education.

NOTE

1 *These fears were in fact justified when a few tertiary level students, during interviews, said that the lessons were fun but they had not learnt anything. They felt that such lessons should only be conducted once or twice a year.*

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TELEVISION NEWS, THE COMPUTER AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Ulrike Hanna Meinhof

The last decade has seen an explosion of modern technology in the foreign language classroom. Television screens, video-recorders and an increasing number of micro-computers are for many teachers at schools and universities part of their every-day tools. However, much of this technology is not yet integrated into the curriculum, and its specific potential largely underused and underdeveloped. In foreign language teaching many of the activities engendered by modern technology support poorly or not at all the goals of achieving communicative competence (Hymes, 1972) in a foreign language, still considered to be the essence of foreign language teaching. Much of the potential of both technologies is left unrealized, because of some inherent limitations of both media as pedagogic tools. Taking television news (and, in the European context, specifically Satellite TV) as a paradigm case, the paper will introduce a new interactive video project, still undergoing development, which is building on the pedagogic potentials of video and computer technology whilst avoiding their pitfalls. The "Interactive News" project(1) will be presented as a novel way of introducing learner-centred and learner-directed computer software into the communicative, interculturally oriented foreign language classroom of the future.

TELEVISION NEWS

Television broadcasts, especially satellite TV, are an increasingly signficant resource for bringing authentic foreign language material of tropical significance into the classroom. News broadcasts, in particular, offer access to contemporary sociocultural information in an attractive and inexpensive form. However, for a number of reasons, much of this material is often not used effectively.

DIFFICULTIES FOR THE LEARNER

Since learners lack the necessary background information, the items appear decontextualized and confusing. At the same time, the visual images on the

screen do not necessarily further linguistic understanding: quite often they hinder the comprehension process by associating different events and schemata with the sound track. To learners struggling with difficult spoken discourse, the pictures can distract or mislead.(2)

DIFFICULTIES FOR THE TEACHER

Using TV broadcasts in the classroom causes additional problems for the teacher because of the time and effort required to select, annotate and recontextualize the broadcast. TV programmes shown without proper preparation make comprehension difficult, programmes prepared in advance are soon out-of-date, and encourage a teacher-rather than a learner-centred approach.

In this paradoxical situation, computer technology has an outstanding contribution to make, which cannot be matched by any other resource or teaching support. Computers have a unique potential for storing and representing information in a variety of ways suitable to learner needs and selectable by learner choice. In interaction with television, which is a unique resource for up-to-date, culturally encoded, live material from the target culture in the target language, each technology can be used to its utmost advantage, and greatly enhance the learners' language acquisition and engagement with the target culture. Such interaction can take the form of interactive video programmes.

In this paper I will introduce a prototype of an interactive Video project, still undergoing development, which is based on television news broadcasts. Other prototypes for lectures, science broadcasts and "soap operas" are planned.

News broadcasts were chosen as a starting point not only because of their importance for intercultural learning, but also because the news is more predictable in format and content than many other text forms. This is one of the reasons why comprehension of news stories by computers has received a great deal of attention from researchers in Artificial Intelligence (see for example the FRUMP system for understanding "sketchy scripts": de Jong, 1982; or Winston's frame systems for specialist news stories such as "disaster events", Winston, 1984).

THE PROJECT: INTERACTIVE NEWS

Interactive Video programs in language learning have the potential to become an essential pedagogic tool if we give careful consideration to the question: "which technology is most suitable for which pedagogic task?" The Interac-

tive News (IN) project is being developed on the following premises:

- Television provides the textual resource, which can be selected, adapted, extracted in group work with or without the presence of the teacher.
- The computer provides the tool for interacting with the programmes in a highly flexible way which allows both, a whole range of guided paths through the system's sets of resources as well as open frames and slot-fillers within each chosen path for annotating and analysing the programmes.

The aim of Interactive News is the development of an educational software package applicable to:

- Foreign language teaching (prototypes are currently developed for English and German).
- Area Studies (socio-cultural information about a target culture).
- Media Studies, first and second language learning (news analysis).

1. THE RATIONALE OF INTERACTIVE NEWS

Interactive News differs from existing interactive video developments in three essential ways:

- IN supports video material recorded off-air by the teachers or learners themselves.
- IN is a cognitive support tool for the comprehension of these programmes.
- IN is a generic tool which allows the teacher/learner to build up their own data bank and materials.

1.1 Why Use Off-Air TV?

Interactive Video projects currently available or under development, with the exception of authoring programs, use a pre-fabricated, often purpose-built, video programme as their textual resource. This involves all the shortcomings of manufactured texts, which have been pointed out time and again in the applied linguistics literature (see for example Widdowson, 1979, 1983; Meinhof, 1983, 1985).

Those Interactive Video programs which make use of ordinary linear video cassettes tend to be linked to BBC computers, with their restricted memory

space, which negatively affects the format and length of interaction which the programs allow the learners to make; in other words the majority of them use multiple choice or very short one-line utterances. (eg, AUTOTUTOR and TELSOFT).

The majority of IV programmes outside the school context use video discs rather than cassettes. These are restricted to pre-fabricated programmes by the nature of the technology itself, although developments of disc-players which can record their own disc are coming forward (WORM machines). Thus, the obvious advantage which disc players bring in the speed and accuracy with which the computer can locate the relevant slots on the programmes is outweighed in an educational context by their disadvantages: the impossibility of taping material via aerial or satellite dishes and the costs of pressing a disc. There is clearly an enormous potential for interactive video programmes on discs for specific areas, where the information on the disc is of long term interest(3). But for a communicative approach to FLL, the need for learner interactions, the ability to intervene in the programme itself, and not just choose from given options and the exposure to many different and changing texts from the target culture is of paramount importance. These possibilities are secondary or non-existent in current disc-based systems, which would presuppose a need to use the same disc over and over again. Until video-disc players can be used in the same way as video cassette recorders and at a price which schools and universities can afford, IN will accept the relative slowness and inaccuracy of linear video. However, in contrast to authoring systems developed on BBC micro-computers which tend to be very restrictive in their format and not transparent in their programming language, IN provides a much more powerful and extremely flexible system, which teachers and learners can easily adjust and extend to their own needs. Based on the easily comprehended programming tool Hypercard for the Apple Macintosh, IN is a system for running and annotating linear videos, which exempts designers and users from having to learn a more difficult and less intuitive programming language such as BASIC.

1.2 Why do we Need a Cognitive Support Tool for Comprehending News Discourse?

IN supports the learner's comprehension process by encouraging learners to form a hypothesis about the ensuing news programme. IN activates situational knowledge which native speakers possess, but which, in a foreign language and context is unavailable or lies dormant. It thus helps the foreign learner by encouraging and guiding the predictive strategies, which native speakers would employ naturally. Sociosemiotic and cognitive research into the way we comprehend natural discourse has focussed on the complex ways in which native speak-

ers anticipate the discourse they are confronted with. Halliday's description of how speakers activate different kinds of situational knowledge in order to "tune in" to the meanings about to be exchanged (Halliday, 1978: 189) correspond on a general level to the cognitive processes described by psycholinguists and discourse analysts such as van Dijk and Kintsch (1973) and cognitive constructs such as scripts, frames, schemata in Artificial Intelligence. (eg Schank and Abelson, 1977; de Jong, 1982; Winston, 1984). All these concepts attempt to capture the knowledge which native speakers activate in the process of comprehending discourse(4). To briefly give a brief example of such knowledge structures in relation to news broadcasts.

1.2.1 Format knowledge

Native viewers as they switch on a TV news programme, have tacit knowledge about the format of the programme in question. English TV viewers bring specific expectations about Channel 4, ITV, or BBC 9 o'clock news, such as length and overall organisation of the programme. Channel 4 news at 7.00 pm lasts fifty minutes, but is interrupted by adverts; BBC 9 o'clock news lasts 25-30 uninterrupted minutes, if one includes regional news. Obligatory news items such as the weather forecast occur in different positions depending on the channel and whether they form part of regional or national news.

Most news broadcasts start with a preview of key items at the beginning of each programme and end with a summary, but the number and types of items vary. BBC 9 o'clock news previews five items, concentrating usually on the most important political news. ITV News at Ten is interrupted by an advert break and has therefore two previews at the beginning and end of part I. The opening preview tends to cover items from both parts, to arouse curiosity about the second part, and usually includes a human interest story. German SAT previews three items, often including one popular story.

Tacit knowledge of such news formats is not irrelevant. Choosing a particular channel arouses expectations about the format, which affects the native viewers' attention span, the anticipation of numbers of items, and of the length and depth devoted to each of the items.

1.2.2 Content knowledge

Communication, however monologic in form, is always a dialogic process, in the sense that an implied reader or listener is built into the encoding process (Volosinov, 1928/1973). News programmes, unless specifically designed for overseas consumption (eg BBC World Service on radio), are directed to viewers

of a specific culture. As was discussed in Part I of this paper, decisions as to what broadcasters can expect or take for granted as background knowledge are based on the assumed sociocultural knowledge of their assumed audience. Such assumptions affect every detail of news reporting and make the news hard to understand if the assumed shared background is non-existent.

1.2.3 Schematic knowledge

Each news item also triggers schematic knowledge, which guides the comprehension process. Van Dijk and Knitsch (1983) argue that discourse comprehension depends on the activation of different types of schematic knowledge. Hypothesis formation begins with the very first textual clue, but is constantly updated and adjusted as the text unfolds. Initial clues and signals in English and German television news are linguistic and/or pictorial: a spoken headline or title may be accompanied by a picture which symbolically or literally represents the news item, thus encouraging the activation of contextual and textual knowledge. However, these clues also depend on shared knowledge. Headlines (especially in the German Satellite news) are often colloquial in style and highly associative depending on the audience's ability to make inferences from a simulataneously given pictorial clue.

1.2.4 IN supplies various linear and structural views of news broadcasts which directly aim to support the cognitive processes of discourse comprehension for non-native speakers. (see section 2)

1.3 Why do We Need a Generic Tools?

In a communicative approach, the involvement of teachers and learners in building up their own resources is a vital factor. The idea that teachers could also be their own programmers was until recently dependent on the use of available "authoring languages" of a very restricted kind, unless teachers became computer fans willing to struggle with the difficulty of programming languages such as BASIC. This is no longer the case. "Hypertalk", the high-level programming language in which **Hypercard** is written, provides an easily accessible way of linking parts of texts with other parts of texts. Commands need to be no more than "go to card "x"" plus the naming of the card, but more sophisticated commands in the network are equally easy to apply. The transparency of the system allows a totally different approach to the design of educational computer software. **IN** exploits the potential of **Hypertalk** by providing a network of interconnected templates, which allow the learners to explore different path through

various news programmes. But at the same time, learners are constantly adding to the program's resources. They can thus adjust the program entirely to their needs. IN is an incremental package which encourages the building up of resources over a numbers of years and generations of students. Therefore every part of the package is easily changeable, testable, adjustable, correctable. This also means that the amount of information available grows according to the specific needs of learners.

2. MODELLING THE NEWS WITH IN

IN exploits the fact that news broadcasts belong to a category of text more fixed in their structure than many other text forms. IN provides a computer model of those aspects of news broadcasts and news stories which are generally occurring, repetitive and therefore predictable. These aspects are written down on interconnected computer note-cards, leaving open the specific, the unsystematic, the particular and the unusual for learners to fill in themselves. Learners can choose various paths through the system which correspond to the TV news programme they have selected to watch. The mechanism for moving around within the package is pre-programmed links accessible through clicking so-called "buttons" with the computer mouse.

There are two interconnected views of each news programme covered by the package, each supported by a range of help facilities. The program encourages cross-referencing within and across the resources of each path and provides the facility for creating a combined view of the linear and structural representations of each news item.

2.1 The Linear Path

The linear path, or as it is called in the package, the "programme overview", gives an on-line, chronological view of the particular news programme. Starting from the introductory sequences, it passes through the various sections of the programme to weather forecast and ending sequence. The linear view is topic and theme oriented, allowing annotations in the form of titles, unstructured notes and total transcripts of text. It includes transcript sheets for describing the film footage in chronological sequence.

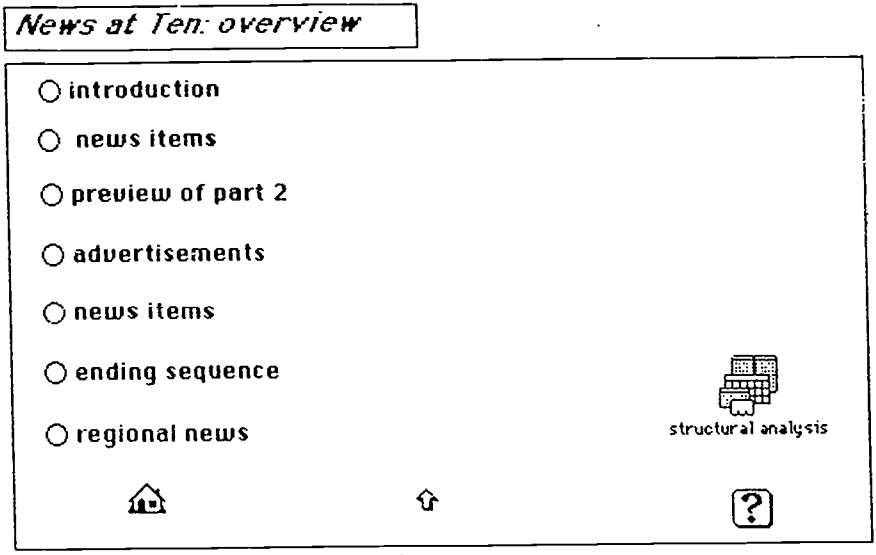

Figure 1: The Linear View

The linear view as exemplified in figure 1 can fulfill a variety of functions:

- it gives a first sighting of the programme in a pre-set format. In our example an overview of ITV News at Ten;
- it allows learners to fill in the slots for headlines and other initial textual clues (eg ITV/headlines). This way they can familiarize themselves with the selection of items and the overall pattern of the broadcast and to make a record of the total sequence of news items;
- it allows learners to mark the beginning and end of items on the video to make the running of the video-tape controllable by the computer;
- it allows learners to transcribe items wholly or in part as sequences of text;
- it allows learners to transcribe items wholly or in part as sequences of film to encourage the separation of text and film for comprehension and analysis.

2.2 The Structural View

The structural view provides two main branches for selecting and marking the internal structure of each news item: a schematic view described as "pattern" in the package and a "format" view. Both together form a combined structural view of each news item.

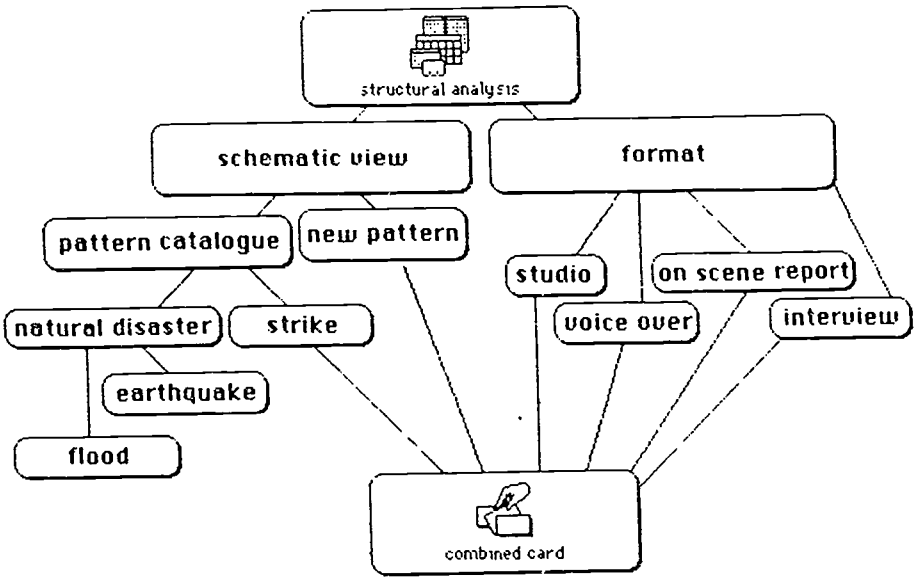

Figure 2: The Structural View

2.2.1 The schematic view

The schematic view encourages the learner to think of specific news items as systematic patterns of discourse similar to what are commonly called "schemata", "frames" or "sketchy scripts". Learners are asked to choose from a given catalogue of news schemata, comprising patterns such as "strike", "natural disaster", "elections" and "terrorism". Many of these split into sub-categories. For instance election divides into "election campaign", "election results", "election aftermath"; or "natural disaster" divides into types of disaster such as "earthquake", "flood" etc, (see also Winston's "disaster event", Winston, 1984: 267). All schematic patterns lead to questions which are intended to capture the central information in the text. Figure 3 shows the questions in relation to the "strike"

pattern.

All the existing news schemata of IN and the questions related to them are under review and form the main focus for the on-going research and evaluation of the package.

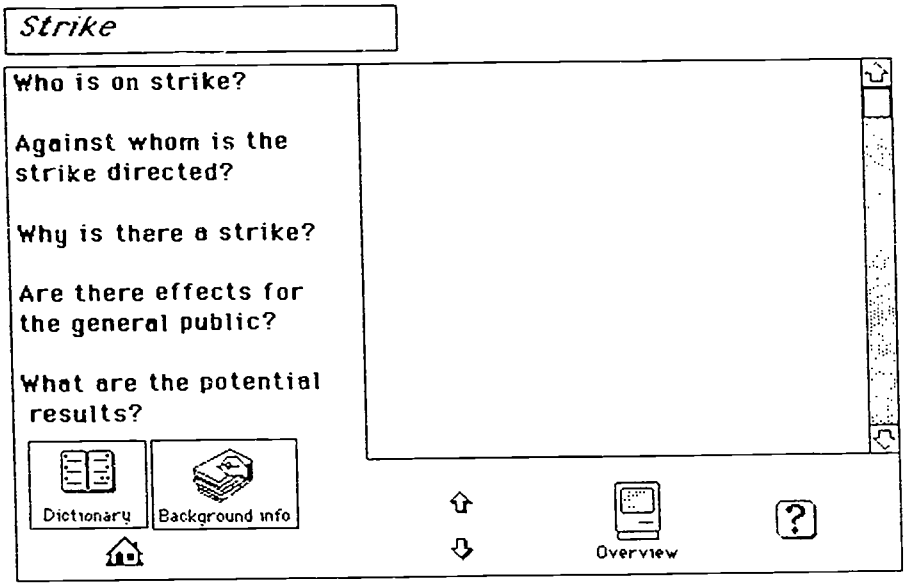

Figure 3: The Strike Pattern

The function of the schematic view is

- to help gist comprehension of the news items by activating schematic knowledge;
- to direct learners to key points of the news items by asking them questions which elicitate essential information only;
- to allow insights into the variability of the amount of information provided by different news items in the same pattern for the different slots (see below);
- to allow the adding and adapting of news patterns according to new insights into the schemata themselves, or in response to different presentations in a particular news item.

2.2.2 The format view

The format view allows the learners to select the types of presentations used in a specific news item. These are limited in number and relatively invariable. Figure 4 shows the four main types of presentations.

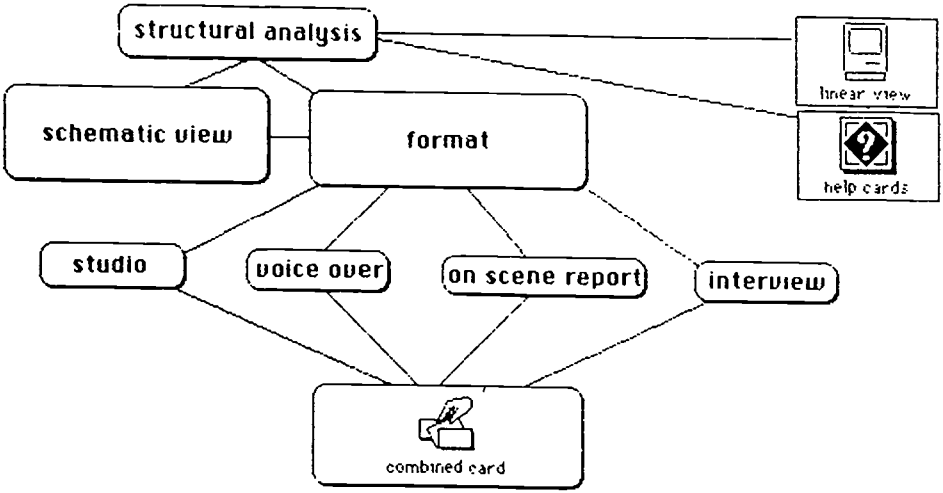

Figure 4: The Format View

The function of the format view is

- to allow a separation of the linguistic content of an item from its presentation in the studio or on the scene;
- to keep a record of the various formats employed in a news item for later analysis.

2.3 The Combined View

The combined view allows the learners to view each item as made up

- as a linear sequence of text accompanied by a sequence of pictures and
- as a structure of essential pieces of information presented in a particular format.

Together the information contained on the combined cards from the linear and from the structural view can be used for a complete analysis of the news item in question. An example of this is given in section 5 below.

3. FINDING HELP WITH IN

Help facilities of different types can be accessed at relevant parts of the program..

3.1 Dictionaries

Specific dictionary facilities are incorporated relating to different aspects of situational parameters. Some initial lexical items will be supplied with the package, but the main emphasis will be on facilitating the building up of a learner- or classroom-specific resource. Like "spelling" facilities available in most word-processing software, dictionaries can be incremented every time a word or idiom occurs which learners or teachers would like to add to one of the dictionaries. More will be said about this under section 4. An important factor is the development of separate specific dictionaries: each dictionary is selective, in that it is organised according to thematic, schematic and other sub-categories. The vocabulary of, for example, the air traffic controller's strike, would be accessed through different sub-dictionaries such as:

- a thematic dictionary for air-traffic
- a schematic dictionary for strike
- a format dictionary for speech acts (for example: interview-related speech acts).

3.2 Background Information

Background information about location, theme, or participants will be accessible from various points in the program. Just as the dictionaries in the package are an incremental facility with a fixed structure but with little more than just a basic initial content, the background facilities come as patterns to be filled and expanded by the learners themselves. Some information sheets will be supplied with the software. In the case of the German news, this will comprise for example, a map of German speaking countries and some basic sociocultural information such as names of heads of state and of political parties. But the majority of the information in the background facility is to be build up by the

users themselves, exploiting the **Hypercard**'s facilities for adding new cards, stacks or folders to the package.

3.3 A Data Bank of Previous Cards

Equally accessible from different points in the package will be catalogues and records of previously annotated material. Depending on resources, cards can be stored on computer disc alone or can be supplemented by a video-library of the annotated programmes. Key broadcasts can thus be re-shown and re-analyzed. At the very minimum, though, the annotated combined card on each item should be kept as part of the data-bank for future reference.

3.4 Information about the Organisation of IN, and an Explanation of Icons and Meta-Language Employed

Information about the organisation of the package and its metalanguage is not only intended to make the learners' path through the system easy and help them to relocate themselves should they get lost in "hyperspace". It is also essential for making its structure transparent and adjustable by users to their needs. Giving access to the metalanguage is in addition valuable sociosemiotic information about a metalanguage for analysing news. Help cards such as "help: location" will explain that news representation is dependent on the relative closeness or distance of the place of occurrence to encourage the learners to reflect and comment on such effects. Figure 5 shows the card which explains the purpose behind the "format view" of the news item.

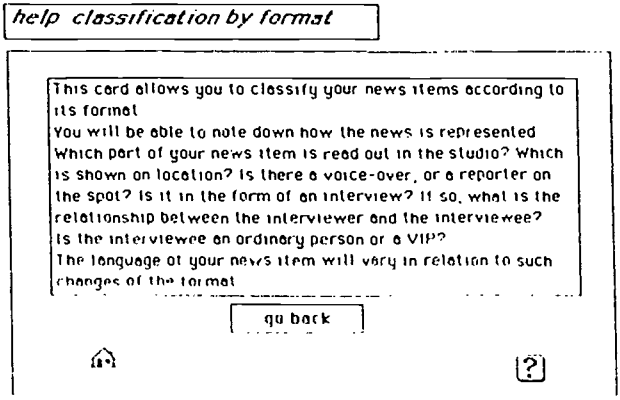

Figure 5: "Help: Classification by Format"

4. ANNOTATING THE NEWS WITH IN

4.1 Filling in Slots

IN provides different types of fixed slots for annotation by the learners. Depending on the place in the package, these slots vary in size and in kind. They comprise for example:

- Small fields for filling in headlines and topic markers.
- Scrolling fields for taking down notes or for answering pattern questions.
- Fields for transcribing larger chunks of text or describing the film footage.
- Split cards for juxtaposing different views.
- Various fixed format cards for dictionaries and other help facilities.

All of these are cross-referenced to allow free movement between each level of transcription, extraction, or analysis.

4.2 Indexing and Marking of Text

IN enables the learners to copy any part of the text onto worksheets for further practice (see Section 6 below).

Learners can for example:

- index and mark key sequences for closer thematic analysis
- index and mark key structures for closer linguistic analysis, dictionaries and open worksheets
- index and mark key words for dictionaries and open worksheets.

5. ANALYZING THE NEWS WITH IN

By juxtaposition and contrastive arrangement, news items are not only much easier to comprehend, they are also much easier to analyze.

5.1 Juxtaposition of Internal Structures of News Event

Annotated key items appear side by side according to different categorizations. Combined cards, juxtaposing the information from structural and linear paths, allow insights into the way news items are represented as semiotically encoded communication. Although such insights could be arrived at by other

means, they are particularly easy to obtain through the combined cards of IN, which is essential, if analysis is to be conducted in a foreign language. By keeping separate records of the different views of a news item (theme, location, central information, visual presentation and format) their different contributions to the fully encoded news item can be separated out and analyzed. For example, the combined card for the news item "strike by Spanish air traffic controllers" shows the relationship between actors in text and actors in film sequences as follows:

Actors in text: The Spanish air traffic controllers on strike.
Actors in corresponding film sequence: The suffering passengers at Gatwick airport = affected public.
Format: Voice over by newsreader.

This particular strike item was clearly represented through the eyes of the passengers (those affected by the strike), rather than through the eyes of the striking controllers (those who are on strike). This effect is further strengthened by the almost total blank in the pattern question: "Why is there a strike?" That this is not the only way strikes are represented on British news, becomes clear when we compare these results with those of 5.2.

5.2 Juxtaposition of Current and Previous Broadcast

The analysis made possible from combined cards is particularly useful if compared with the results from other news items which belong to the same schematic pattern but to a different geographical or political location.

Within the strike schema, the comparison between the Spanish air traffic controllers' strike and a subsequent strike of Polish steel workers produced the following alternative presentation:

Actors of text: The Polish steel workers on strike.
Actors in corresponding film sequence: Polish steel workers outside the factory gate.
Format: Voice over by newsreader.

This time, the strike is clearly represented through the eyes of the striking workers. The empathy with the strikers is further strengthened by the entries to the pattern question: "Why is there a strike?". Whereas the reasons for the air traffic controllers' strike remain largely obscured behind the reporting of the effect of the strike, here the same question produces a plethora of information about poor living conditions, inflation etc.

It thus becomes obvious to learners

- that the news presentation favoured the cause of the steel workers in Poland, but not those of Spanish air traffic controllers and
- how such an inclination was achieved by the interaction of linguistic, visual and structural means.

5.3 Juxtaposition of Different Representations of the Same News Item

If students have access to different news programmes, IN also enables a contrastive analysis of how the same piece of news can be presented in a variety of different ways. In a recent analysis of an item about Afghanistan, students(3), discovered for themselves how we draw inferences from a combination of picture and text, even though neither makes its meaning explicit. Both news programmes, BBC 1 and the German Sat 1, showed the identical footage but accompanied the pictures with different text.

The pictures from Kabul first showed a water-carrier followed by a picture of a cyclist carrying a canister on the rack of his bike. The German news accompanied these pictures with a text about the food shortage in Kabul, stressing the threatening collapse of the city. The English news spoke of a petrol shortage. It became clear that the viewers of the German news saw the canister as containing water, thus adding to the sense of despair which the local population was said to feel. Viewers of the English news, however, put petrol into the canister. An unfortunate shortage, but not of the same distressing nature. Of course, neither of these interpretations were verifiable, nor were they particularly relevant to the situation described. But the emotional appeal of the news item was significantly influenced by correlations such as these.

Such conscious insights in the construction of news programmes and their usually unconscious effect on viewers are an important educational achievement in our native language and native culture. Developments in mother tongue and literacy teaching are increasingly taking account of the needs of native speakers to learn how to decode socially encoded meanings and not just to decipher graphic symbols. To be able to conduct such analysis even in a foreign language and across cultures is therefore a highly significant contribution to a general learning process about media communication and a vital pre-requisite for coping intelligently with the global expansion of satellite TV.

6. PRACTICING THE NEWS WITH IN

6.1 Linguistic Exercises

Because **IN** enables learners and teachers to mark, index and copy any number of lexical items appearing anywhere in the package, the construction of follow-up activities using the same or similar items in a different context becomes very easy. **IN** will include a variety of worksheet templates with pre-set structures for different kinds of exercises which can be filled with the linguistic items from the annotated programmes. Some of these follow-up activities will be similar to the kind of exercises developed on conventional CALL programs, ie cloze exercises, reformulations, true/false questions etc. But because the words and structures relate to the original TV news item, they are much more contextualized than would normally be the case.

6.2 Communicative Exercises

Since **IN** provides linear and structural views of existing news programmes, these templates can be used by learners to rewrite, invent and produce a news programme. Such projects are ideal for group work because of the many different tasks engendered by the work. The following are only a selection of many possible types of project work on the basis of **IN**:

- Re-writing a broadcast so that its emphasis and perspective changes would, for example, imply a change in the amount of information given as an answer to pattern questions or a change in the format.
- Inventing a news programme would simply require the filling of the existing slots with imagined events.
- Producing a news broadcast (with or without a video-camera) could entail the composition of a full linear text by the group, together with directions about format and film footage. Such composition is made easy by the transcript sheets which align the text with its mode of presentation. But the linear text could equally well be produced spontaneously, on the basis of the structural cards alone. The different roles which learners could play as news presenters, interviewers, interviewees stimulate a whole range of communicative interactions.

SUMMARY

Interactive News is a new support facility currently being developed on the basis of *Hypercard* on an Apple Macintosh SE. It combines the facilities of a cognitive support tool for comprehending off-air TV news programmes with a system for annotating these programmes and for building up a resource bank of linguistic and cultural data. It comprises prototypes of linear and structural views for a range of existing news broadcasts, a set of help facilities and a network for generating further facilities by the users themselves. Working with IN will replace passive viewing with an active, problem-solving approach to the comprehension of television news.

FOOTNOTES

1 *I would like to thank the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) for supporting this research with a grant. I would also like to thank Apple Macintosh UK for their generous provision of computing facilities and the British Council for their encouragement. IN is being developed with the collaboration of my colleagues Dr Sharples and Dr Pemberton at the University of Sussex. I would like to thank them for their invaluable help in setting up the project and advising on its progress. However, any possible mistakes in the program itself or in my description of IN are entirely my own responsibility.*

2 *The relationship between the pictures and the text of news broadcasts is very complex and cannot be discussed here. But see Meinhof, forthcoming, "Double-talk in news broadcasts: a cross-cultural comparison of pictures and texts in television news".*

3 *For example, visual reference libraries, views of the human body for medical research, environmental studies etc. See, for example, the "University of London Video-Disc Library of Anatomy" developed by the Audiovisual Centre of the University of London (Clark, 1987).*

4 *See also patterns of interaction ("formats") between small children and parents which enable early language learning (Bruner, 1983) and their application in Ward's programs. (Ward, 1988).*

5 *The group of students referred to are undergraduates at Sussex University with either an O- or an A-level knowledge of German.*

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